Grave Matters: Mapping the Untold Stories of the Saint-Colomban Cemetery

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ABSTRACT

Grave Matters: Mapping the Untold Stories of the
Saint-Colomban Cemetery

Kelley O'Rourke

This research undertakes a deep exploration of the Saint-Colomban cemetery in Québec, aiming to unveil the hidden stories within its burial grounds. While the first settlers arrived from Ireland as early as 1819, my primary focus centers on the years 1836–1847, mirroring the establishment of Saint-Colomban Parish and Cemetery in 1836. The primary objective is to bridge historical gaps in the Irish diaspora, spotlighting the significance of these absent markers in shaping the cultural narrative of the Irish community within the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Specifically, the research seeks to identify missing names using parish records, exploration of broken gravestones, undecipherable markings and meanings behind some of the epitaphs. Through this detailed research approach, preservation challenges encountered during the research process emerged as crucial elements, contributing essential insights to the broader historical picture. By incorporating oral histories from descendants, this study not only breathes life into the cemetery's historical narrative but also uncovers personal stories overlooked in traditional historical accounts. Through the combination of visual representations such as existing headstones and parish records, interviews with descendants, and mapping the cemetery layout, the research provides a comprehensive understanding of the missing monuments, their cultural significance, and the preservation challenges encountered with their discovery. This research goes beyond the surface, to uncover the missing monuments and their hidden stories, offering a meaningful perspective on the Irish diaspora in Canada. The focus on uncovering these gaps in history not only enriches our understanding of the past but also paves the way for a more inclusive and complete narrative of the Irish community in the Saint-Colomban parish.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

To my dad, Michael C. O'Rourke, brother, father, fisherman, friend, grandfather, husband, musician, son, sportsman and railroad man. Missed by all who knew and loved him. An Irishman in every respect who couldn't repeat a joke without laughing all the way through the telling of it

and to Annie Skelly, my grandmother, fiddler

thank you

"I dwell among my own people."
"True are these words for me—God knows how true!—
My people, my own countrymen, my friends;
For, ever, as I trust till this life ends,
My love, my life, my hopes are vowed to you.
When sorrow came, when grief or pain I knew,
With reverent love and tender watchful care
My burden with me you have sought to bear,
Hiding your tears lest mine should start anew.
I fancy – if God wills it – when I die
Your children, playing where the sunbeams pass,
May gather daisies near me as I lie,
While you, reclining on the pillowed grass,
May say, 'She love us, dwelling midst her own;
God grant that we may meet around His throne.'
(Charlotte Grace O'Brien 1845–1909
Our Poets)

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Prologue

The Saint-Colomban parish and cemetery are situated in the province of Québec located 67 km north of Montréal in what was the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Lake of Two Mountains) seigneurie. This particular region in the 1820s was a forested area in the lower Québec Laurentians (Bourguignon 1988) and representative of the small communities settled by these early Irish immigrants.

As a descendant of the Irish settlers who shaped the Saint-Colomban community, the echoes of their stories have always resonated with me. My journey into the heart of Saint-Colomban's history isn't just an academic pursuit; it's deeply personal. Growing up, I spent countless hours exploring Saint-Colomban, forging memories of the Irish families who called it home. I listened to stories of my grandparents, Michael O'Rourke and Annie Skelly, recounted how they first met at a barn dance. My grandmother, Annie was playing the fiddle! My fond memories of lively gatherings, filled with music and dance, painted a picture of a proud and united Irish community. These experiences, coupled with the warmth and openness of individuals willing to share their family stories, revealed the depth of pride and understanding of the sacrifices made by their ancestors.

Over the years, I witnessed a bittersweet transformation. The once active Irish community gradually dispersed, leaving behind fading landmarks, like the monuments in the cemetery and the remnants of the first schoolhouse recently torn down and replaced by a gas

station. These changes fueled my determination to preserve the rich history that seemed to be vanishing with each passing year.

Throughout the 1800s, the significance of the Irish settler experience served as a model for the thousands who followed in their footsteps, writes McGaughey (2020). Between 1815 and 1860, the Irish dominated global migration routes and the number of incoming Irish exceeded the total number of migrants from the rest of the United Kingdom to North America. Montréal was a receiving point for a vast number of Irish diasporas (McGaughey, 2020, 169). Montréal experienced rapid growth described by Raoul Blanchard (1953) as an "Irish invasion." Blanchard's analysis examined demographic characteristics, occupations, settlement patterns, and cultural contributions of Irish immigrants to Montréal, recognizing the challenges and discrimination faced by the community (Blanchard 1953). The Saint-Colomban Cemetery, a physical testament to the farming community established by these Irish settlers in the 1820s and 1830s embodies their commitment to their faith and community.

The restoration of the historic Irish headstones in Saint-Colomban was a deeply personal project for me and a group of dedicated descendants. The project began with a pivotal visit on October 1, 2005, when together with a group of descendants, we discovered that many of the tombstones of our ancestors had been vandalized or simply neglected. Sadly, several monuments had been discarded behind the Saint-Colomban Church (located across the street from the cemetery), piled up in the bush, broken and forgotten (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Left: Broken monuments discovered discarded behind the Saint-Colomban church. Right: Monuments stored safely in a protected area at my home. Photos by Kelley O'Rourke

As descendants of these early Irish settlers, we felt a deep sense of responsibility to honour their memory. Determined to restore these monuments our volunteer group painstakingly collected as many pieces as we could find. With permission from the Church wardens, La Fabrique, I brought these fragments to my home. La Fabrique of Saint-Colomban is a not-for-profit ecclesiastical corporation that manages the parish's religious and community properties. These powers enable the parish of Saint-Colomban to effectively oversee its religious and communal responsibility which includes the caretaking of the cemetery.

Once the pieces were safely brought to my home I cleaned and labeled each one. We raised funds to build three walls where we carefully mounted the pieces, ensuring they fit together with the correct families, ensuring that the legacy of our ancestors was preserved with care and respect. This collaborative effort not only honoured the memory of those buried in Saint-Colomban but also served as a foundation for my master's thesis. I wanted to tell their stories and explore the rich history of the early Saint-Colomban Irish.

1.1 Research Objectives

Being intimately connected to Saint-Colomban and its cemetery has undoubtedly influenced my approach to this research. I have chosen to concentrate my research to the time period 1836-1847 because the parish of Saint-Colomban was established in 1836, and the majority of people buried during that time period arrived prior to the mass migration caused by the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-1852). Given this historical context, the central question guiding my research is: To what extent can we identify missing Irish settlers known to be buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836 and 1847?

To address this question, my research undertakes a compelling journey to uncover the lost narratives within the Saint-Colomban cemetery by using various sources of data and forms of spatial expression. Throughout this project I seek to bridge the historic gaps and provide a more nuanced view of the Irish diasporic experience, with a specific focus on the transformative years between 1836 and 1847.

Within this cemetery lie the remains of the Irish immigrants who played a fundamental role in the founding and development of Saint-Colomban Parish in 1836. Over time, many of these monuments have succumbed to environmental factors, vandalism, or disappearance all together, prompting a call to reconstruct and safeguard the memory of these early Irish settlers. The primary objective is the creation of a detailed map of the burials, detailing burial plots of the historic section of the cemetery and resurrecting some of the stories of the individuals and families who found their final resting place there.

In essence, this project seeks to address historical lacunae, underscore the significance of the pre-Famine era, and contribute to a nuanced understanding of the Irish diasporic journey in Canada. Collaboration with members of the community, the parish of Saint-Colomban, the city

of Saint-Colomban, descendants, Irish historians, and genealogy groups is essential to establishing the cultural context and interpreting the historical significance of missing monuments. The meaningful cultural narrative included in these elements will be expressed through visual representations of mapping, in addition to using primary records and oral histories conducted through interviews. This combined method transforms the research into a tool for preserving and documenting the important cultural past embedded in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

My thesis is organized into five chapters.

Chapter One provides the general context of the research and explains the reasons for choosing the topic of this thesis. This chapter introduces the early Irish settlers of Saint-Colomban as the particular focus for my research and how the Saint-Colomban cemetery serves as a repository of information. Additionally, this chapter identifies the research question and explains the importance of preserving and documenting the history and culture of Irish families who settled in Saint-Colomban.

Chapter Two embodies what is essentially part one of my review of literature by exploring the sociopolitical scene of nineteenth-century Ireland, which was defined by conflict and oppression under British authority. This chapter looks at how Irish Catholics sought refuge in Québec, encouraged by promises of religious freedom and tolerance. It stresses Québec's distinct cultural dynamics, which are shaped by the coexistence of French and Irish Catholics, as well as the critical role that law such as the Québec Act of 1774 plays in protecting their rights. The second part of my review of literature looks at various studies of cemetery landscapes and early settlement histories in the context of Saint-Colomban. Based on multidisciplinary research,

with resources from anthropology, archaeology, geography, and history, the chapter begins by noting the variety of cemetery designs, categorizing them as rural, urban, and country cemeteries, with Saint-Colomban incorporating characteristics of the latter. The chapter also emphasizes the importance of different elements such as physical structure, symbols, and memories in cemetery studies.

Chapter Three introduces the methodology employed in this research, providing a detailed outline of the steps taken to uncover missing monuments and capture the cultural details within the cemetery, locating place of origin and familial connections. This methodology involved developing a systematic method of mapping the burials in the cemetery, integrating primary records to identify people and their origins where possible, creating genealogical profiles of selected families, and mapping their stories, to fully understand the meaning of the cemetery's landscape.

Chapter Four analyzes the outcomes of my research examining in depth what I define as the successes of this project, such as constructing the detailed burial list, as well as the challenges encountered in the course of this project, including creating a map of the cemetery. Each of these successes and challenges are illustrated by specific examples.

Chapter Five summarizes the knowledge gained and the lessons learned throughout the course of my research and discusses how the resulting methodology outcomes can be carried forward in future projects.

Beyond the methodological contributions of this thesis, each chapter contributes to the general goal of producing a refined picture of the Saint-Colomban Cemetery and its relevance, reaching a conclusion that summarizes the findings and emphasizes the broader implications of

uncovering missing monuments and the importance of preserving cultural heritage using a

variety of methods.

Chapter 2
Review of Literature

For most rural Irish Catholic families in the early 19th century, explains Scully (2011), the dramatic economic, environmental, and political tensions in Ireland led to poverty, disease, and starvation on an unprecedented scale. It was marked by a combination of violent resistance, political movements, and demands for change among the Irish population. The struggle for independence, coupled with the demands for Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Act of Union, sparked the conflict and intensified the struggle between England and its internal colony (Scully 2011). It was a matter of life and death for most, which increased the pressure to emigrate and contributed to their decision to leave Ireland (McGaughey 2020).

The conflict in Ireland caused by British colonialism has a long history, dating back to the Norman invasion of 1179. Ireland's Catholic elites were defeated at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, a significant event in this conflict. The result was the introduction of the Penal Laws, which granted privileges to the Anglican Church while imposing restrictions on Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. These laws prevented them from owning land, educating their children according to their respective religions, and holding public office (Rahman, Clarke, and Byrne 2017). The pursuit of independence, coupled with the demands for Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Act of Union, fueled the conflict and intensified the struggle between England and its internal colony (Scully 2011).

2.1 Pre-Famine Migration

Wilson (1989) explains, that long before the 1847 Famine-driven migration of Irish in the middle of the nineteenth century, there were numerous crop failures in Ireland, a restructuring of agricultural practices from tillage to pasture and dairy farming, and several state-sponsored emigration programs that intended to remove the Irish tenantry from their lands. Wilson (1989) further explains that between 1780 and 1845, an estimated one and three-quarter million Irish left the country voluntarily.

Irish Catholics who immigrated to Québec as part of the larger Irish diaspora were able to establish themselves and contribute to the social fabric of the region (Kelleher and Kenneally 2016). Within the larger context of Québec society, they were able to freely practice their religious beliefs, establish their own churches, and maintain their cultural identity. These authors explain that the parallel systems of governance and religious tolerance allowed Irish Catholics to flourish and contribute to Québec's development alongside other cultural and religious groups. The presence of Irish Catholics in Québec increased the region's cultural diversity and contributed to its distinctive character. In addition to influencing the policies and practices of the British Empire in the region, their experiences, along with those of other immigrant groups, helped shape the social, cultural, and political outlook of Québec (Kelleher and Kenneally 2016).

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 saw the British assume control of New France. This treaty ended the Seven Years' War (also known as the French and Indian War) and resulted in substantial territorial changes. Under the terms of the treaty, France ceded to the British most of its North American possessions, including New France (Kelleher and Kenneally 2016). Subsequently, the British renamed the territories Lower Canada (Québec) and Upper Canada (Ontario), thereby assuming control of the region. This event was a turning point in the history of

North America, as it led to the transfer of power from French to British rule in the former French colony. Authors Kelleher and Kennealy further explain that the early development of the British Empire in Lower Canada (Québec) was influenced by deeply rooted cultural traditions and the need for a parallel system of governance, particularly due to the region's unique history; this parallel system arose in response to the cultural and religious diversity in Québec, which included the presence of Irish Catholics (Kelleher and Kenneally 2016).

In the lead-up to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, post-conflict negotiations for the restoration of colonial establishments were not conducted on behalf of Indigenous owners (Cavanagh 2014). They were instead conducted among European diplomats for colonial interests. The word "Crown" replaced "Compagnie." Indigenous communities were forcibly removed from their ancestral lands, eventually placed on reservations; their access to resources was restricted; and their way of life was disrupted without them ever ceding their land. Indigenous peoples continue to fight for recognition, restitution, and the restoration of their rights and land as the consequences of this land theft continue to reverberate through generations (Cavanagh 2014).

Therefore, as Cavanagh (2014) explains, settler colonialism in New France began without recognizing the Indigenous people's property rights. Companies granted land on a seigneurial basis to a seigneur, who was either a merchant, nobleman or religious congregation, who then sub-granted land to tenant farmers known as censitaires or habitants, who held and cultivated it. Cavanagh (2024) further explains that these land titles lacked endorsement from resident Indigenous communities, and the vague endorsement they received from the Crown played a smaller role in the development of New World feudalism than it did in France's earlier centuries and was primarily conveyed by outsourced corporate entities. The largest of these was the 1627-chartered Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France (Cavanagh 2014).

This process has been defined as land theft (Denieul-Pinsky 2023). Cole Harris (2004) defines land theft, or "the management of dispossession," as the process by which colonial governments replaced Indigenous customary land tenure with private property, allowing them to allocate only a portion of the land to Indigenous people and sell the remainder to settlers for development. The author continues that those who had access to vast tracts of land in the past found themselves in a precarious "trespass" situation subject to the authority of others. This reorganization of Indigenous territorial relationships, explains the author, was cemented by legislation such as the Indian Act, which sought to eradicate Indigenous land rights and relationships and assimilate them into Canadian culture (Harris 2004).

Following the colonization of Indigenous lands by France and then Britain, Pearson (2009) notes that the seigneurie of Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Lake of Two Mountains), which originally began as a mission by the Sulpicians aiming to Christianise Indigenous people, eventually became a tool of colonization (Pearson 2009). Des Rochers (2013) explains that the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice priests, who were responsible for the seigneurial management, noting that many of the Irish were farmers back in Ireland, granted land in the early 1820s to those recent Irish arrivals in Montreal who wished to continue to farm. Des Rochers (2013) explains that the fief attracted only a handful of French-Canadian artisans and merchants due to its reputation as a First Nations mission. Beginning in 1780, when land grants began, agricultural development began in earnest (Des Rochers et al. 2013). Denieul-Pinsky (2023) explains that before giving up their territory to the British Crown, the Sulpicians in the Seigneurie du Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes had to prove it was theirs. They utilized concession deeds to transfer their New France property to Montreal in 1764, allowing the Sulpician order to continue as British citizens loyal to the King (Denieul-Pinsky 2023). The development of the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes

seigneurie, the westernmost in what was then New France, was much slower to be developed than other regions (Des Rochers et al. 2013) (see Figure 2).
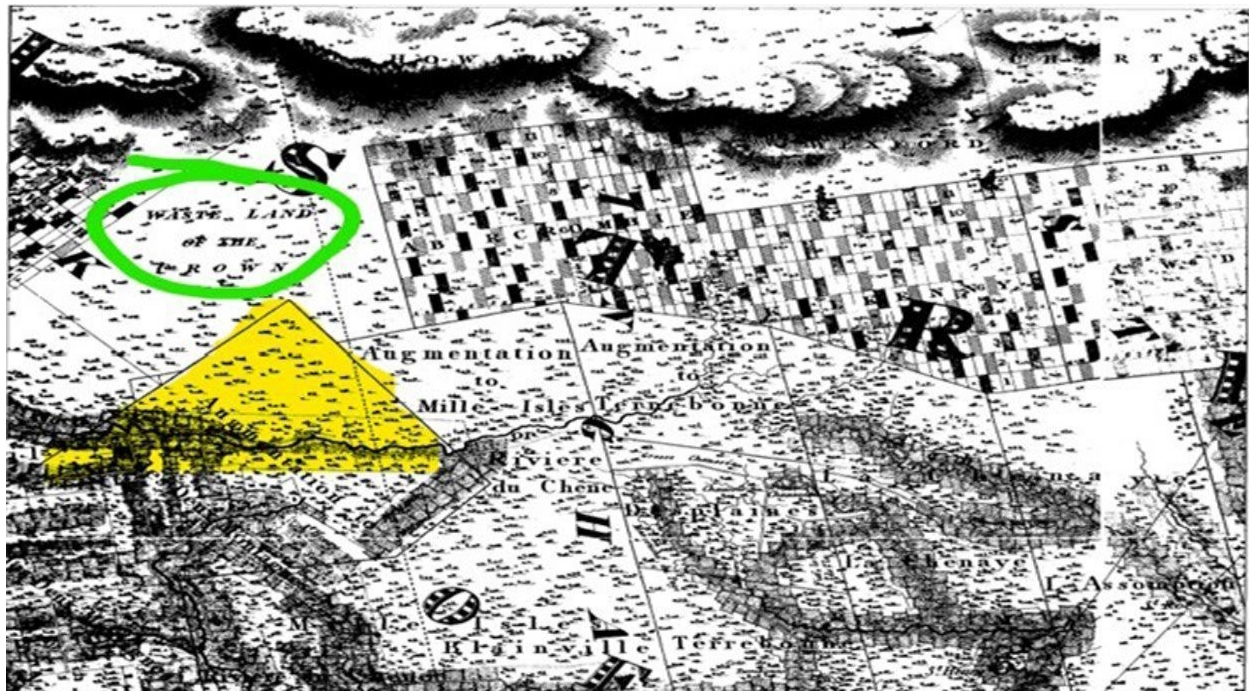
Figure 2: Circled in green is written, 'Waste land of the Crown' and the yellow triangle is the area allotted for the Saint-Colomban territory. Le Territoire de Saint-Colomban en 1815, Source: Joseph Bouchette, Extrait de Carte topographique de la province du Bas-Canada, 1815.

Phillip Buckner (2012) examines early British attitudes toward French Canada in the establishment of Québec as a British colony, as well as the challenges the British had while dealing with the French Catholic populace. The author explains that the British initially planned to Anglicize the French Canadians, but they quickly realized that this was impossible due to the French Canadians' distinct language and culture. Québec had a distinct cultural and religious environment, with the majority of its residents being French-speaking Catholics. Buckner (2012) explains that the British Empire recognized the value of accommodating these cultural and religious traditions in order to maintain social stability and efficiently govern the region, understanding the significance of recognizing and respecting the local culture (Buckner, Reid, and University of London. 2012).

Recognizing the sizable French-speaking population and its distinct culture in Québec, Britain permitted the French regime to continue largely unchanged (Campey 2018). Québec was the only place in the British Empire where Catholics and Protestants were treated equally, and the French population was granted the right to adhere to their traditional laws and customs, according to Campey (2018). Many Irish ex-soldiers who had fought for France in the Seven Years' War chose to remain in Québec, and this decision offered Irish Catholics a safe haven. Catholics in this region of North America were the only individuals who were not subject to religious discrimination in the New World (Campey 2018).

The Québec Act of 1774 was instrumental in fostering religious and cultural tolerance among French and Irish Catholics in Québec, explains Kelleher and Kenneally (2016). Québec acknowledged and safeguarded the rights of the Catholic Church, allowing Catholics to practice their faith without interference. The Act also provided legal protections for French civil law, thereby preserving the cultural traditions of French Canadians. This Act had implications for Irish Catholics as well, granting them religious freedom and allowing them to participate in the social and political life of Québec (Kelleher and Kenneally 2016), while under British rule, Irish Catholics in Ireland faced discrimination and restrictions (Wilson 1989). The legislative shift inherent in the Québec Act of 1774 had a profound impact not only on their rights related to education and land ownership, but also on their burial practices, ensuring that their religious beliefs and customs were respected and allowing them to continue their long-standing practices (Watkins 2002). Whether drawn by the prospect of a better life in the New World or forced to leave due to a lack of opportunities at home, the majority of Irish emigrants made decisions based on a rational evaluation of their own and their family's best economic interests (Roddy 2014).

According to O'Driscoll and Reynolds (1988), Irish emigrants experienced many barriers and hardships in their attempts to adjust to a new environment, yet their stories are often forgotten or lost. We can obtain a clearer understanding of the challenges these migrants encountered and the long-term impact they had on Canada's growth by exploring these forgotten stories (O'Driscoll and Reynolds 1988).

Whether forced or deliberate, migration can be difficult on many levels, as witnessed by Kobelinski and Furri (2020) who provide an overview of Catania's situation between 2015 and 2018, during which time the city emerged as a prominent arrival port for migrants wanting to enter the European Union without authorization. The authors explain that while some migrants make it through the journey, others are discovered dead, with their bodies held in the cold chambers of Italian Coast Guard ships or misidentified as living people. Kobelinski and Furri (2020) note that these deceased migrants are frequently subjected to a quick examination by on-site forensic doctors before being brought to the morgue and buried, sometimes without thorough identification procedures. Kobelinski and Furri (2020) underline the rarity of government investigations into the names of these deceased individuals, even when criminal behaviour is suspected. Due to the lack of registration in European databases and antemortem profiles of the deceased or their family, fingerprinting and DNA sampling provide minimal aid (Kobelinsky and Furri 2020).

The authors describe the proactive response of a small group of residents, particularly those associated with the Red Cross and the Restoring Family Links program, who arranged themselves to "respect" the deceased migrants. Motivated by a sense of duty and empathy continue Kobelinski and Furri (2020), they began efforts to identify the remains and reconnect them with their relatives. This required the mapping of the cemetery and the development of a

comprehensive database containing all available information on the deceased migrants buried in the municipal cemetery. They hoped that their activities would help to address the tragedy of unidentified migrant deaths and provide closure to grieving families (Kobelinsky and Furri 2020).

The mapping of burial sites in Sicily as pointed out by Kobelinski and Furri (2020), where unnamed migrants are laid to rest, reveals the invisibility and sorrow felt by these people and their loved ones (Alavez 2022). This observation touched a similar note with my research on the Saint-Colomban cemetery, where I hope to uncover the stories behind the missing monuments and identify these Irish migrants without any obvious markers. Who speaks for the dead and missing? I am hoping through various methods and levels of research to bring their identities and stories to life.

Fleeing the socio-political challenges of the time, Irish migration was not merely a personal endeavour but a response to broader global forces. I find it valuable to include a timeline of world events as a reference point. This not only provides historical context but also offers perspective on the circumstances that might have influenced the decisions of these pre-Famine Irish families to leave their country of birth. By juxtaposing local narratives with global events, the timeline becomes a crucial backdrop, helping us connect the personal stories of these families to broader socio-political and economic trends (Campey 2018).

To aid in understanding the historical forces that drove Irish migration during the specified period, a chronological timeline featuring key events in Ireland's history that contributed to mass migration provides a visual representation in a contextual background. The timeline spans significant years, between 1600 and 1845, showing a notable increase of migration during the economic downturn in 1837, and the onset of the Great Famine in 1845. By

juxtaposing local narratives with global events, the timeline becomes a crucial backdrop, helping

us connect the personal stories of these families to broader socio-political and economic trends.

This approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of the factors that shaped their migration

decisions, adding depth to the exploration of their experiences in Saint-Colomban and the

broader context of the Irish diaspora (Campey 2018) (see Figure 3).
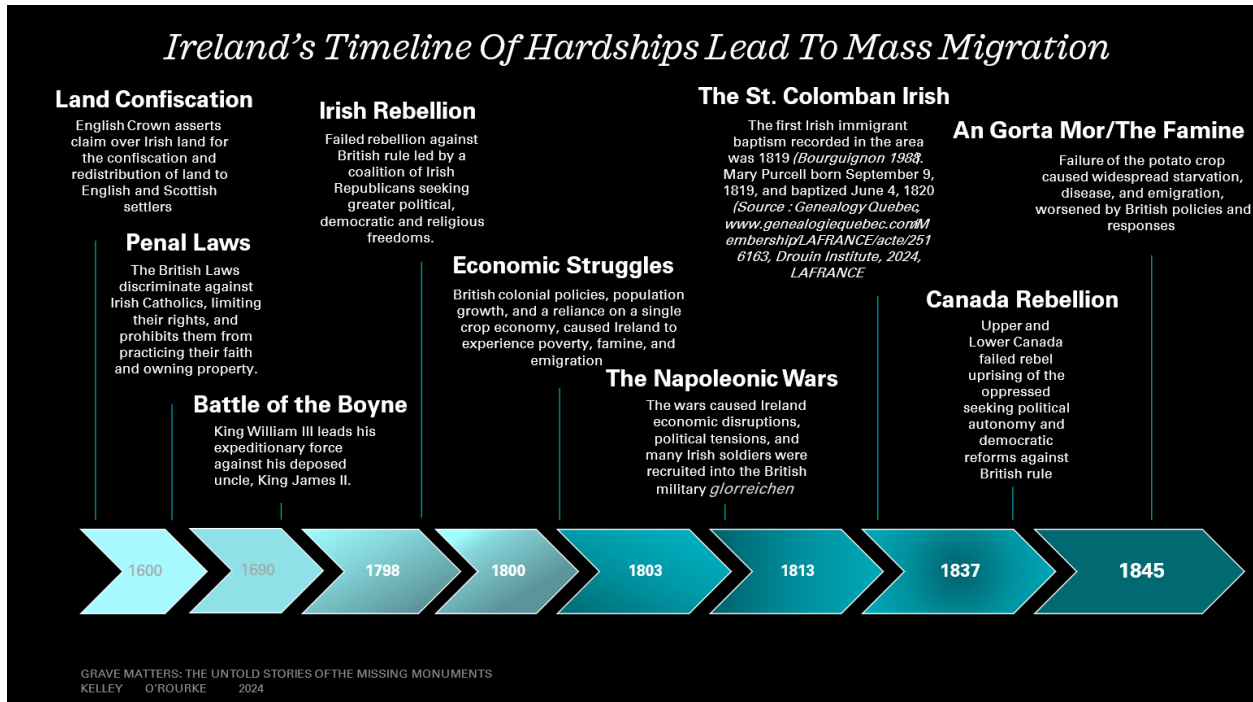
Figure 3: A chronological timeline highlighting key events in Ireland's history that contributed to mass migration. Source: Created by Kelley O'Rourke.

This period between 1836 and 1847 is particularly important as the majority of early Irish

settlers, buried during this time, lack headstones, placing their stories at risk of being lost

forever. This gap in commemoration and documentation places a sense of urgency on the

research in preserving the memory of these individuals and the remaining ones with monuments

considering perpetuity is not "eternal"; it has been limited to 100 years by the Civil Code of

Québec since 1994 ("- Act Respecting Roman Catholic Cemetery Companies," n.d.).

Despite the extensive attention given to the Great Famine (1845-1852) by historians in recent years, little focus has been placed on various aspects of Ireland's social and economic history leading up to this catastrophic event (O'Neill 1973). Most existing research tends to concentrate on the Famine era and its aftermath, leaving a notable gap in our understanding of the Irish experience in Canada during the preceding years. This stresses the need to dig deeper into the early decades of Irish settlement in Saint-Colomban, offering a unique perspective on a relatively understudied period.

2.2 Saint-Colomban's History

The Saint-Colomban parish and cemetery are historically significant because they were the homes and final resting places of many of Lower Canada's earliest pre-Famine Irish settlers. During the 1820s, a large number of Irish immigrants made their way to the port of Montréal. and from this group of Irish families came the first wave of Irish immigrants to the Saint-Colomban region (Bourguignon 1988).

Saint-Colomban did not have an established parish or cemetery until 1836, and because of this, the pre-1836 vital records of births, marriages, deaths, and burials of Irish settlers living in Saint-Colomban were recorded in the neighbouring parishes of St-Jerome, Ste-Scholastique, St-Benoit, St-Canut, and Ste-Sophie, depending on the proximity of their farms to the other parishes. Having no chapel initially, the Irish immigrants attended Mass at Ste-Scholastique. This required a roughly eight-mile walk, so it was only attempted in good weather. A cross was erected near the crossroads of Saint-Colomban, and people gathered there to pray during inclement weather. In 1835, a chapel was constructed near the wayside cross; it included a classroom. After the chapel was rebuilt, the school was transformed into a sacristy, and a separate school was constructed. During the construction of the present parish hall, remnants of

the old school's foundation were discovered. People used "to go to the Cross" instead of "To go to Church" for many years, demonstrating their devotion to the old roadside cross where so many people had recited prayers (Kennedy 1970, 4–5). The cemetery in Saint-Colomban embodies their commitment to their faith and their community.

Over time, most of these Irish settlers left the Saint-Colomban area in search of employment opportunities elsewhere (Bourguignon 1988). The Saint-Colomban cemetery remains as visible evidence to their presence and the once thriving farming community they established there. As remnants of this rich history slowly fade, the Saint-Colomban Cemetery stands as a poignant reminder of the enduring contributions of the Irish settlers and the importance of preserving this site as a key link to their past (see Figure 4).
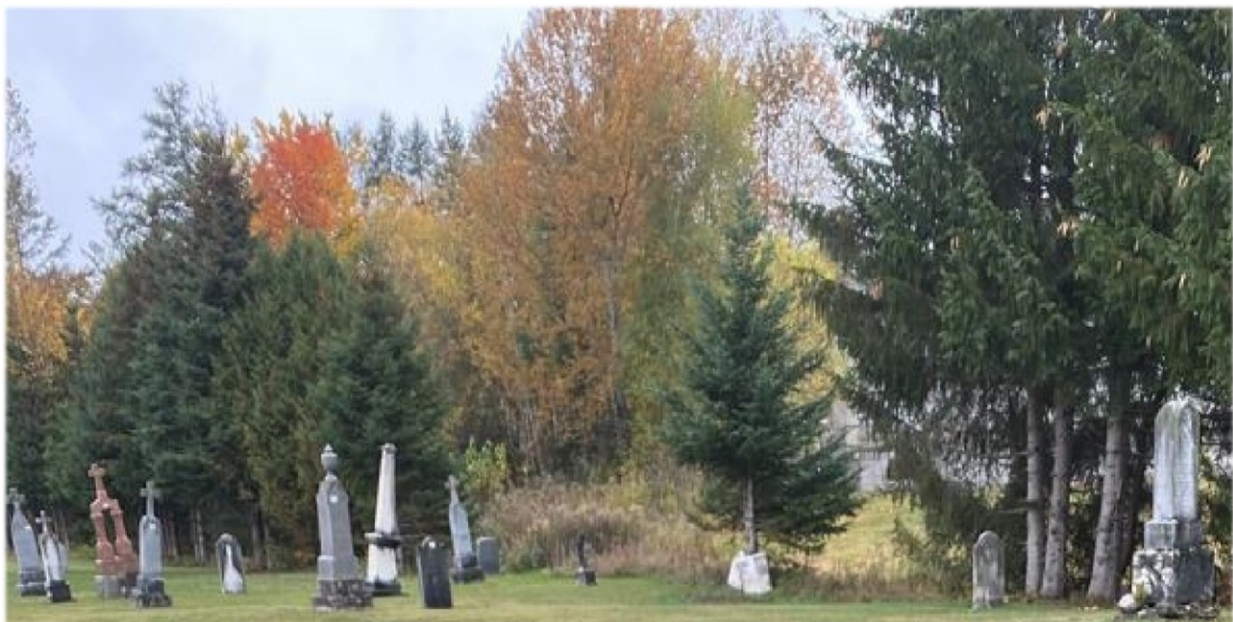

Figure 4: Broken and leaning monuments in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Photo by Kelley O'Rourke

Through my project, I hope to bring visibility to these overlooked Irish pioneers and address historical gaps within the Saint-Colomban community, contributing valuable insights to the broader narrative of the Irish diaspora in Canada.

2.3 Cemetery Studies

The study of cemeteries in North America, both recent and past, tends to concentrate primarily on the existing cemetery landscape and what is known about its conception and development. It also focuses on the community to which cemeteries were associated. Such research utilizes the most evident data clues to explain the diversity and variety of cemetery and monument design. Foundational cemetery studies by authors such as Kniffen (1967), Francaviglia (1971), and Meyer (1992) attribute significance to indicators such as monument size, design, and inscription, as well as cemetery location, design, and layout (Watkins 2002).

By analyzing burial sites, grave goods, and mortuary practices, the patterns of migration and cultural exchange can be identified, resulting in the creation of distinct burial practices that reflect the assorted cultural backgrounds and migration histories of the populations in the area (O'Gorman, Bengtson, and Michael 2020). Cemeteries are organized cultural landscapes that reflect migration patterns and cultural shifts within communities. They follow the migration patterns of their communities and undergo the same spatial and architectural changes as their larger surroundings over time. Cemeteries become physical manifestations of the movement and settlement of various groups of people as communities grow and evolve (Francaviglia 1971). Different sections of cemeteries frequently reflect the demographic shifts and migrations of a society, with multiple cultural, religious, and ethnic groups represented (Watkins 2002). They can reflect a community's mixed heritage and serve as a symbol of its history and identity (Francaviglia 1971).

These separations serve as a visual representation of the community's assorted cultural fabric as well as revealing the migration patterns that brought various groups to the area. For example, in areas where there has been a history of immigration, you may come across clusters

of graves belonging to individuals or families from the same place of origin (Francaviglia 1971).

Research on epitaphs reveals the potential of cemetery research to uncover essential information about individual and communal identities, values, and beliefs (Meyer 1992). These clusters frequently reflect the social networks and communal ties formed by immigrants seeking familiarity and support from their fellow countryfolk in a new land. Cemeteries are not merely passive burial grounds, but actively contribute to the formation of "necroscapes," which are landscapes imbued with significance and memory (Semple and Brookes 2020).

Migrants bring their material culture, practices, skills, and attitudes with them to their host lands, as revealed by Evans and McCarthy (2020) through a comparative study of migrant death markers across the British and Irish worlds. They reveal how new notions of 'home' underscored the historical events of colonization and the imposition of European cultural norms, which gave rise to Eurocentric approaches to organizing the dead. The author's study indicates that these methods include standardized burial procedures, grave markers, and formalized cemetery layouts that reflect European religious and cultural traditions. By investigating burial traditions, scholars can trace the evolution of social and cultural practices, taking into account the impact of historical and political events on societies' treatment of the departed (Evans and McCarthy 2020).

Ariès' (1974) study of changing attitudes about death in Western countries gives fresh perspective on the evolution of funeral traditions and cemetery architecture. He detected a trend toward simpler funeral ceremonies, which undermines funeral directors' traditional notions about how consoling elaborate funerals are. Ariès (1974) draws comparisons between contemporary American cemeteries and 18th-century French necropolises, implying a revival of Enlightenment ideals in cemetery activities. These cemeteries, influenced by Enlightenment ideas, were

purposefully created as rational, orderly environments placed outside of cities, embodying values of reason and progress. In contrast, Ariès (1974) observes Romanticism's lasting influence on European cemetery design, as evidenced by Père Lachaise's transformation into a lovely environment studded with striking monuments. The differences between Enlightenment-inspired cemeteries and Romanticism-influenced architecture emphasizes the role of reason and emotion in society attitudes toward death (Ariès 1974).

Ariès (1974) goes on to say that the disparities between Enlightenment and Romanticism ideas extend to their opposing perspectives on death and cemetery traditions. Enlightenment principles, as illustrated by designed necropolises and modern American cemeteries, emphasize logic, progress, and individuality. In contrast, Ariès (1974) notes that Romanticism added emotionalism, creativity, and the sublime, which had a tremendous impact on cemetery design throughout Europe. The cemetery of Père Lachaise's transformation into a romanticized setting with towering monuments, explains Ariès (1974), exemplifies this shift away from the rational architecture of Enlightenment-inspired cemeteries. While Europe remained in Romanticism before rediscovering Enlightenment ideas, America, influenced by Puritanism, which emphasized modesty and simplicity continued the author, quickly adopted Enlightenment attitudes toward death, focusing on reason and progress. This divergence demonstrates America's affinity with Enlightenment principles and swift departure from Romanticism, putting it at the forefront of modern cemetery practices (Ariès 1974).

Islamic burial grounds across Western Europe, despite their rarity, can also be read as meaningful sites of belonging as discussed by Balkan (2023) in his study of cultural expressions found in diaspora cemeteries. Balkan (2023) explores how these burial grounds serve as symbolic landscapes that convey a sense of self and belonging for Muslim communities. The

epitaphs, images, and designs on the graves reflect connections to various groups with shared commonalities. By symbolically inscribing the physical landscape, these burial grounds provide valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of membership and identity in contemporary multicultural societies (Balkan 2023).

Burke et al. (2018), studied the Irish in Australia, with the goal of identifying elements that reflected "Irishness" from various colonial sites that distinguished the Catholic and Protestant Irish as a group set apart from the non-Irish among their headstones in the cemetery. The authors researched several aspects of memorialization styles, such as iconography, inscription language, and the peculiarities of headstones, fences, and footstones from different generations. The authors' research challenges the common perceptions that the Irish in Australia are very similar to their British counterparts, except for their religion. Their study examined archaeological evidence from colonial sites in South Australia, revealing unique types of "Irishness" that distinguished Irish Catholics and Protestants from other groups. It also uncovered sectarian tensions within the Irish community. Material artifacts, such as headstones, were shown to play a significant role in shaping individual and group identities (Burke et al. 2018).

The detailed examination of religious symbolism among Irish Catholics and Protestants during the 19th century brings into focus the evolving cultural and religious identities within the Irish community. These findings not only provide insights into the religious practices and beliefs of the time but also contribute to our understanding of broader historical and geographical patterns within cemeteries (Burke et al. 2018). By analyzing the changing usage of symbols like Celtic crosses, shamrocks, and other emblems, Burke et al. (2018) maintains that a deeper appreciation can be gained for the intricate layers of meaning embedded in burial practices. Such

insights can aid in "reading" the history and geography of cemeteries by deciphering the socio-cultural dynamics and religious affiliations of its people. This work strikes a similar note to my research on the Saint-Colomban cemetery as it brings into perspective the importance of burial sites in preserving cultural heritage and collective memory within diasporic communities. Just as Islamic burial grounds serve as spaces for asserting belonging and identity in Balkan's (2023) work, the Saint-Colomban cemetery serves a similar role for the Irish settlers, offering a solid link to their history, culture, and legacy in Canada.

Moving from the detailed study of religious symbolism among Irish Catholics and Protestants, as explored by Burke et al. (2018), provides a broader view of mortuary archaeology. In their review, Arnold and Jeske (2014) look at the area of mortuary practices, emphasizing their universal significance and the challenges of interpreting burial records. This body of work connects the specific findings of religious symbolism to the wider understanding of burial rituals and their cultural meanings (Arnold and Jeske 2014). These authors examine four primary research axes: biological, social, material, and political factors. They emphasize the universal importance of ritualized disposal of human remains as a fundamental feature of human society, notwithstanding the impossibility to develop universal laws governing death-related actions. The symbolic weight carried by mortuary practices underscores the emotional and political complexity inherent in studying and interpreting burial records (Arnold and Jeske 2014).

These authors also discuss recent research trends that focus on the incorporation of the dead into living structures, where human skeletal remains are often found in settlement contexts across various prehistoric settings. This phenomenon whether intentional or incidental, holds significant value but is sometimes overlooked in favor of investigating formal funerary spaces.

Monumental memory maps, whether manifested as built environments or symbolically inscribed through ancestral associations with natural landscape features, serve as material representations of the enduring relationship between living inhabitants and their ancestors (Arnold and Jeske 2014). Ultimately, the human act of symbolically inscribing meaning onto these monuments and patterns imbues them with profound significance, shaping our understanding of past societies and their mortuary practices (Arnold and Jeske 2014). The arrangement of burial grounds within settlement contexts demonstrates the connection between the living and the dead. The cemetery itself acts as a massive memory map, reflecting the community's longstanding bond with its ancestors. This stresses the need of considering both physical and symbolic characteristics when evaluating burial sites and their value in the landscape (Arnold and Jeske 2014).

An occasion to investigate the subject of dealing with identified graves through linking to genealogy sources and theoretical approaches that are seldom found in archaeology was presented by the excavation of a cemetery in Copenhagen from the 19th and 20th centuries. This work as presented by Anthony (2018) demonstrated the complementing perspectives that may be produced by using alternate genealogies of grave plots based on several source materials: family trees, burial plot registries, and excavated archaeological data (Anthony 2018).

Basu's (2006) analytical methodology investigates the significance of place, ancestry and territorial attachment in the context of mobility and tracks journeys between imagined homelands and physical landscapes. As eloquently expressed by Sharon, a participant in an oral interview research,

> I read somewhere that a person dies three times, once when the soul leaves the body, the second time is when they are interred in the grave, and the third time is when their name is spoken for the last time. . . . Until I 'found' him in 1997 his life had passed into history. I

have to wonder who the last person was to speak of him before me and how many years he had lain in that kirkyard before I came to visit. . . . I sometimes feel he lives again through me (Basu 2006, 224).

This heart felt reflection captures the profound impact of genealogical research and heritage tourism on individual identity and sense of connection to the past. Sharon's words mark the transforming power of tracing one's family roots and visiting ancestral sites, as well as the responsibility and privilege of preserving familial histories for future generations. Basu (2006,154) quotes Alois Riegl who defines an intentional monument as a "human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events . . . alive in the minds of future generations (1982:21)" (Basu, 2006, 154). This description encapsulates the core of commemorative monuments as instruments for preserving individual stories and historical events, ensuring their long-term importance and meaning across time (Basu 2006).

Basu (2006, 158) further elaborates on the profound significance of genealogical research and heritage tourism, describing them as "(…) these journeys to the past are also journeys of self-understanding and self-knowledge, and, thus, in a fusion of the metaphorical, the metaphysical and the mundane, the sites of memory, which are their destinations, become hugely significant." It is the process of tracing one's ancestry and visiting ancestral sites as a physical expression of a deeper, internal exploration of identity and belonging. This process involves digging into personal and familial history, understanding cultural heritage, and reconnecting with ancestral roots. This characterization focuses attention on the idea that engaging in these activities not only involves real actions, such as tracing lineage and visiting ancestral sites, but also serves as a deeply personal and introspective journey of self-discovery and connection to one's cultural heritage (Basu 2006).

Migration-related loss and grief have several facets explains Maddrell et al. (2023), ranging from the upheaval of home and nation caused by conflict, exile, or environmental degradation to the emotional process of pre-migration mourning, which can act as a motivator for movement. Maddrell (2016) advocates for the use of deep mapping to depict complex and dynamic landscapes connected with loss and grieving. Maddrell's (2016) method distinguishes three separate spaces—physical, embodied-psychological, and virtual—that interact and overlap in the feeling of loss. The author continues that places include concrete aspects such as artifacts, memorials, and landscapes, as well as psychological dimensions related to emotions, memories, and psychological responses to locales, as well as virtual arenas such as online communities and theological concepts like paradise or hell (Maddrell 2016).

While current literature on the geography of the body has mostly ignored the significance of bodies after death (Marjavaara, 2017), certain research has indicated an interest in tracking and evaluating migrants' burial places. Maddrell's (2013) concept of "absence-presence", is based on empirical examples from contemporary practices of memorialization and recollection. This study investigates how living with absence as a result of bereavement is mediated through various material forms and behaviours, including representations of 'lasting connections' (Maddrell 2013). This term conveys the notion that, despite their physical absence, individuals who have passed away continue to exert influence and presence in the lives of the living through the emotions and memories they evoke (Alavez 2022). Maddrell (2013) explains that people are increasingly using informal monuments in public settings to express private sadness and remember individuals, resulting in a 'Third Emotional Space' for the bereaved. These memorials tell the interconnected stories of people traversing specific places and eras, combining emotional, spiritual, and practical aspects of loss (Maddrell 2013).

Ryden (1993), influenced by cultural geography, contended that traditional maps fail to capture the emotional elements of location and that language is necessary for full spatial analysis. While traditional maps portray observable landscapes such as geographical features and quantifiable characteristics such as pollution and noise, Ryden (1993) argued that they exclude hidden features laden with meaning, memory, and emotion. Ryden (1993) provides an excellent illustration of the intertwining of history, landscape, and narrative using Kim Stafford's poem as an example, "There Are No Names But Stories." The poem, based on Franz Boas' "Geographical Names of the Kwakiutl Indians," depicts the Kwakiutl people's relationship with maps and storytelling. Rather of a traditional map, the anthropologist in the poem is taken on a vivid voyage across time and place, a series of narratives firmly anchored in history and progressively connected along the ocean beach (Ryden 1993, 244).

In his study of necrogeography, Alan Nash (2018) emphasizes the importance of understanding gravesites, cemeteries, and deathscapes, beyond just their physical aspects. He advocates for a broader perspective that considers the cultural and social significance of these burial practices. His emphasis on the deathscape approach encourages researchers to view cemeteries not as isolated entities but as integral components of a cultural footprint, influenced by a multitude of factors. Conversely, individuals buried without headstones become equally compelling subjects within the deathscape. Nash's (2018) exploration prompts me to consider the reasons behind this absence. The cemetery, characterized by a wide range of identifiable and unidentified burial sites, assumes a dynamic and ever-changing presence inside the domain of death, where cultural shifts, commemorative customs, and the physical surroundings are interconnected in a shared story (Nash 2018).

Mytum (2003) explores the concept of artefact biography in the context of material culture, with a particular emphasis on Irish gravestones. He investigates how these artifacts' roles and meanings have developed over time and in various contexts. Mytum (2003) further emphasizes the need to compare individual monuments within the same burial ground, which can provide useful insights into their contextual significance and social history. While gravestones are not museum items, they continue to be used and interpreted differently in each generation. Viewing gravestones as having social histories enriches their biography, revealing previously overlooked significance. Mytum (2003) shows that this comparative method can be successfully applied to a greater spectrum of material culture across various periods. His approach emphasizes the dynamic nature of gravestones as long-lasting relics with rich lives emphasizing the greater importance of material culture studies in comprehending the complexity of memorial and remembrance (Mytum 2003).

Elliott's (2004) research of Protestant migrants from Tipperary, Ireland to Canada is significant for both the contribution he provides to our understanding of migration history from the Old World to the New, as well as his novel methods for gathering this information. Elliott (2004) undertook a genealogical study meticulously tracking the lives of hundreds of individual migrants, locating both their starting point in Ireland and their course through the migration channels to their establishment in Canada. This was done with a sizable number of people from the same family so that he could follow the migration process of this group. The fact that Elliott (2004) was able to locate 775 families should be viewed not only as a tribute to his own academic zeal but also as an intense focus on the details of his research in creating a more accurate depiction of those families in a larger historical context. He was able to reveal the geographic and social origins of these immigrants, their reasons for migrating, and the nature and

direction of their settlement (Elliott 2004).

Researchers have approached the study of cemeteries from different perspectives, reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of the field. Some, like Mytum (2004) focus on the physical aspects of cemeteries, such as grave markers and spatial organization, to glean insights into historical demographics, cultural practices, and social structures (Mytum 2004). Others like Watkins (2002) researched the symbolism and iconography of tombstones of three main culture presences in Montreal, French Canadians, Irish Catholics and English Protestants, Evans and McCarthy (2020) again Mytum (2009) to decipher religious beliefs, ethnic identities, and societal norms. Additionally, scholars such as Basu (2006) incorporate oral histories and archival records to reconstruct individual narratives and community dynamics associated with burial grounds (Chaddock 2011). The study of cemeteries serves as a gateway to understanding broader historical, cultural, and social contexts, exposing the many and various ways in which humans commemorate and interact with their deceased (Francaviglia 1971).

Nash's (2018) framework provides a valuable lens through which to interpret the significance of both marked and unmarked graves. Those with headstones represent substantial artifacts within the deathscape, contributing to the broader narrative of the Irish diaspora in Canada. The inscriptions on these markers offer glimpses into individual lives, relationships, and the cultural context of the time, aligning with Nash's (2018) notion of gravesites as reflections of cultural and historical values. Cemeteries possess significant educational potential and are sometimes overlooked as historical resources. However, their sacred character requires a careful equilibrium between historical analysis and reverence for the spiritual aspect. As time passes, conserving this site, this living, outdoor museum, and others like it becomes more vital in

maintaining our link to the past, and preserving history for future generations ("Cemeteries as Outdoor Museums" 2017).

2.4 The Saint-Colomban Cemetery

Drawing inspiration from Bourguignon's (1988) comprehensive exploration of the Irish settlement in Saint-Colomban, the research journey seeks to enrich our understanding of the community's history, culture, and daily life. Bourguignon's (1988) formative work, a cornerstone in the literature on the early Irish settlers in the Québec Laurentians, offers a wealth of information on the community (Bourguignon 1988). His carefully detailed research unravels migration patterns, social dynamics, and the invaluable contributions of the Irish settlers to the community's development. For instance, his research may bring into focus the origins and backgrounds of the early Irish settlers buried in the cemetery, allowing for the reconstruction of their journey to Saint-Colomban and their role in establishing the parish (Bourguignon 1988).

The research emphasizes the cemetery's role in preserving the memories and stories of the Irish community. While Bourguignon's (1988) research touches on the broader history of the Irish in Saint-Colomban, my research focuses on the cemetery as a crucial site for understanding the lives and legacies of the Irish settlers. By incorporating Bourguignon's (1988) findings into my study of the Saint-Colomban cemetery, I was able to establish a more solid basis for interpreting its significance.

Another important contributor to the research of the Saint-Colomban cemetery's history is Léger. In 1991, Léger produced and published a booklet documenting the necrologies of the cemetery's monuments. His objective was to record and preserve the inscriptions and details of the headstones, including the historic section of the cemetery for historic and genealogical purposes. This work is invaluable to my research as it offers crucial insights into the evolution of

the cemetery and the lives of those buried there. The data collected by Léger (1991) provides a detailed snapshot of the cemetery's condition at that time, capturing information that might otherwise have been lost to time and neglect. His documentation served as a foundational resource, helping to identify and interpret the importance of the cemetery's monuments, particularly in the historic section, and the individuals they commemorate. By comparing Léger's (1991) records to existing monuments, I can find missing headstones and reconstruct their original placement in the cemetery. In addition, Léger's (1991) Saint-Colomban's Cemetery Gravestones Necrology allows me to cross-reference parish data, which helps in identifying those buried in the cemetery who did not have corresponding headstones at the time of his documentation (Léger 1991).

Léger's (1991) recording of the inscriptions of names and dates has great historical importance since it gives a concrete link to the past by chronicling the persons who were laid to rest in the cemetery as well as the time periods in which they lived. These names and dates serve as historical markers, allowing the research to trace family lines, reconstruct family genealogies, monitor demographic changes, and comprehend the chronology of the graves in the cemetery. I appreciate the amount of time and work put into recording information on the headstones. The one drawback I saw was that the photographs of the headstones associated with the epitaphs were not included in the data; especially since many of the stones have perished over time, this is critical visual information for the study of the iconology with reference to Irish culture and heritage.

Aside from names and dates, Léger's (1991) recording of epitaphs provide an abundance of background information, such as religious affiliations, familial relationships for example "Son of", "Daughter of", "Wife of", and even clues of military service, providing insight into the

community's history. By documenting birthplaces, such as Wexford, Limerick, and Cork, Léger's (1991) work contributes to the study of Irish identity through burial customs or "Irishness" as previously mentioned by Burke et al. (2018) who investigated the subtleties of identity and heritage preservation through a study of commemoration styles. The research on memorialization practices enhance our understanding of those buried, serving as a reminder of its cultural and historical significance (Burke et al. 2018).

My research aims to uncover the deeper significance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery and bridge historical gaps by compiling archival documents, collecting data in the field interviewing individuals and mapping the results. From the work of Bourguignon (1988) and Léger (1991), we learn that the Saint-Colomban cemetery is not just a burial place for the early Irish settlers; it is also a significant historical site that tells the story of the community's development through personal histories. Bourguignon's (1988) research reveals the migration patterns and social dynamics in and out of the cemetery. Those with large stones versus those with smaller stones can reflect their social and economic status. We don't necessarily know about those with no stones because the stones have simply disappeared over time. Groups of people from one particular place, like Kilkenny for instance, reveal families and communities moving together.

Léger's (1991) detailed recording of epitaphs provides a more personal look into the lives of the individuals buried there and makes familial connections. For instance, gravestones in a cluster and sharing the same last names could divulge a large family and extended family plot, allowing us to learn about their religious and military affiliations and their values.

Overall, their work helps to identify the Saint-Colomban cemetery as a significant place, reflecting both the collective and individual stories of the Irish settlers who lived and died there

and who shaped the region. Incorporating their findings into my research, along with oral stories passed down through generations, helps address key questions such as how the identification of Irish individuals buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836 and 1847, who lack monuments, can fill historical gaps.

The Saint-Colomban cemetery honours the memory of Irish settlers' long-term contributions to the region. As time passes, conserving this site becomes more vital in maintaining our link to the past. The study of this site deepens our understanding of the Irish community's cultural narrative and helps to preserve cultural legacy and collective memory among diasporic communities, reinforcing the importance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery to Irish settlers in Canada.

Chapter 3
Ethics and Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used to uncover missing monuments and identify some of the cultural aspects within the Saint-Colomban cemetery. My research on the Saint-Colomban cemetery was conducted using a mixed-methods approach, combining detailed research of the cemetery using archival records, researching the burials and families associated with them, creating genealogical profiles for selected families, and mapping the burials associated with the life stories of the people interviewed. The research process enables us to examine both the cemetery's spatial and cultural components through different analysis, allowing for more in-depth and comprehensive coverage. I felt by combining quantitative and qualitative methods my research would reveal the deeper meanings embedded with the Saint-Colomban cemetery. This process entails the mobilization of four main methods:

1) Data Collection Through Archival Work: This method forms the foundation of the research, providing essential information about the individuals buried in the cemetery and the historic context in which they lived.

2) Genealogy Profiling: This method involves tracing family connections and relationships by cross-referencing archival data to construct family trees and understand familial networks.

3) Oral History Interviews: These interviews with descendants, scholars and historians are invaluable for gathering information not typically found in archival records. They are also used to connect different families through the mapping process of their stories.

4) Mapping the Cemetery: This method reveals spatial patterns based on burial plots and monuments. By integrating all the methods, the research aims to identify family clusters of

burials and hypothesize about the locations of unmarked graves to better understand the

cemetery's cultural landscape.

3.1 Data Collection Through Archival Work

The Saint-Colomban cemetery is a church cemetery, which means that it is located on

ground owned by the church and, in most cases like Saint-Colomban, is near to the church itself

(Snider 2017). The Saint-Colomban church is located across the street from the cemetery. The

primary focus for this research was on the cemetery's historic section which is located at the

front of the cemetery and closest to the main road (see Figures 5 and 6).

Figure 5: Land donated by Edward Elliott between 1829- 1834 (original document not found) for the historic section of the cemetery and in 1937 by Gerald Phelan for the newer section. Image Credit: Google Earth view of the Saint-Colomban cemetery 2024.

Figure 6: The 1929 cadastral map of Saint-Colomban, overlayed on Google maps. Green dot: Church - Orange dot: Cemetery Montée de l'Église and Côte St-Paul. Image Credit: Created by Jeff Legault in 2014 for the purpose of the Saint-Colomban Irish Research and Facebook page.
https://www.facebook.com/groups/2422702736

To gain a better overall view of the cemetery, I employed a variety of research methods,

each contributing to a wide range of valuable data and insights. I began by visiting the cemetery

and I photographed every visible headstone in the historic section of the cemetery. This was

important for creating a record of the existing markers and their inscriptions. It was a good tool

to use for cross referencing vital information such as births, deaths, age, sex and family

connections with other data collected such as parish and notarial records. It also helped in

identifying burial patterns and family clusters.

Secondly, I utilized Google Earth aerial views, to get an overall layout of the cemetery.

This method allowed me to visualize the spatial arrangement of burial plots and identify potential

blank spots for further research. It also helped me with the initial hand drawn layout of the

cemetery map and its position to other landmarks, such as the church and road for example. This

step laid the groundwork for the mapping process and the creation of the map.

Once these initial tasks were completed, I reviewed the parish records, compiling a list of

burials from the parish's beginnings in 1836 to 1847. Detailed census records were not available

until 1851. Prior to this the earlier census record usually just listed the head of a household. This

period was chosen for its relevance to the pre-famine era. The data collected from the parish

records provided the foundation of the database and an understanding of the individuals buried in

the cemetery. I was pleased to receive permission from Généologie Québec to use their

copyrighted material for my study as it is digitized, and the documents are much clearer and

better organized than some of the other primary records available (see Appendix I). With the

database I created, I was able to construct a timeline of burials which was very helpful in

building family connections. The complete list of these burials is included in the Appendices (see

Appendix II).

In this phase of my research, I deliberately chose to focus on the narratives of pre-famine

Irish settler descendants. This decision was rooted in the belief that these narratives can

significantly contribute to the historical footprint of the Irish community in Saint-Colomban. By

exploring deeper into the pre-famine era, I planned to uncover stories that precede more widely

documented events, providing insight into the experiences, challenges, and triumphs of these

early settlers. The stories help us understand the social and cultural dynamics, migration patterns, and family connections that shaped the Irish community in Saint-Colomban. By setting them against the backdrop of the broader history, the stories provide valuable insights into how the community was established and grew, and how it was affected by external factors like the famine and economic hardship.

Researching all 156 families for the present project was too ambitious, so I chose to focus on 20, hoping to add more after my master's thesis is completed. I see this research as the foundation to build upon for future study. Each interview was about 45 minutes to an hour each, depending on how much time the interviewee had to share. Interviewing a diverse range of individuals, including descendants, scholars, and historians some of whom are involved in similar cemetery projects, significantly added to the depth of my research project. Each interviewee provided unique perspectives and firsthand narratives that added to the construction of the family narratives. Descendants shared personal stories and family histories highlighting the experiences of those buried in the cemetery. These insights validated some of the findings from archival research and genealogical profiling, increasing the accuracy and reliability of my understanding. The interviews were a great experience. Most interviews were conducted on Zoom, which increased access to participants, offering more flexibility in scheduling and offered an economical option given most of the people interviewed lived far away.

Going a step further, I interviewed an ethnologist, Claude Bourguignon whose major work was on the Irish of Saint-Colomban, and two scholars, Léa Denieul-Pinsky, whose research focused on the Sulpicians and land grants and Angela Robinson who specializes in Irish history and is currently recording a cemetery in Newfoundland. I also interviewed an author and amateur historian, Steve Cameron, who after his retirement in 2006 has immersed himself into learning

about the Irish in the South Shore of Québec. Steve is experiencing many of the same challenges that I am experiencing in the preservation of the historic monuments and gravestones. He got involved with the cemetery because he was intrigued by the stories it had to tell, just as I was and then, like me discovered that the old Irish headstones were slowly disappearing. (see Appendix V – QR Codes, Video Links, and List of Interviews).

3.2 Creating Genealogical Profiles

Creating genealogical profiles provided me with a great deal more information about the individuals buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery and their families. I used the documentation gathered from the parish records to create family genealogies and locate potential descendants from the early Irish settlers that I could interview. I used Ancestry to keep my records organized. One big advantage of the Ancestry database is that you can also see other people who are researching the same families. I snagged a few interviews by reaching out to some of these individuals, namely the Howards and the Maddens. I also leveraged social media, specifically the Saint-Colomban-Irish Descendants Facebook page. I issued requests for photographs, and interviews. This method was instrumental in meeting descendants and getting interviews. It had a snowball effect and there was very positive feedback from those who participated which in turn encouraged others to contact me and schedule an interview.

I also gave several presentations on my project and met lots of people interested in what I was doing and offered good moral support. Word spread about the project, and I received two interviews from scholars who are working on similar projects, Steve Cameron and Angela Robinson. In addition to looking through the parish records, I conducted other archival searches using historic newspapers, land records and notarial records available at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec and the Archives de la Compagnie des prêtes de Saint-Sulpice.

These visits yielded documents and some old photos providing further context about Saint-Colomban's history and the original acquisition of the land. I found that using parish records in addition to notarial documents such as wills, and land transactions, was extremely beneficial. Parish records often contain specific information such as names, birth and death dates, and family connections (Strangstad 2013), and are essential for comparing burials with headstones. This combination of information allowed me to translate inscriptions more accurately on the headstones and identify those buried in the cemetery without a headstone. This approach provides a detailed framework that connects the historical and genealogical aspects of the cemetery's burials, uncovering pieces of life stories and family ties of people interred in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

Establishing familial connections between individuals without monuments and those with monuments was essential for potentially unraveling their place not only within the cemetery but also as integral components of the broader Saint-Colomban narrative. Without investigation of the parish records, there was no way of knowing that these individuals were buried in the cemetery. Genealogy profiling serves as one of the crucial tools in making these valuable connections, contributing significantly to the understanding of the cemetery's historical legacy.

Of the 10 tangible markers, there were 6 people with headstones and 4 people with monuments. These 10 are significant because they are the last remaining tangible markers of burials between 1836 and 1847. Monuments refer to stones that are no longer in their original placement in the cemetery and headstones mark the original burial sites. One person of the 6 had a headstone, but no parish burial record. There were 2 children with a headstone who died shortly after immigrating in 1847 (see Table 1).

Table 1: List of the 10 existing stones or monuments. The person noted in red has a monument, but no parish burial record.

ID #	Last Name	First Name	Sex	Date of Birth: D/M/Y	Date of Death: D/M/Y	Origin	FIND A GRAVE LINK
12	Carey	Elizabeth	F	ABT 1807	07/02/1843	Westmeath	ELIZABETH CAREY GRAVE
57	Jacob	Margaret	F	ABT 1791	21/03/1844	Laois	MARGARET JACOB GRAVE
101	Molloy	Ellen	F	ABT 1814	13/08/1847	Ireland	ELLEN MOLLOY GRAVE
112	Murphy	Patrick	M	ABT 1803	22/08/1846	Ireland	PATRICK MURPHY GRAVE
115	O'Callaghan	Catherine	F	ABT 1764	17/03/1839	Tyrone	CATHERINE O'CALLAGHAN GRAVE
123	Phelan	John	*M	ABT 1844	05/09/1847	Abbeyleix	JOHN PHELAN GRAVE
124	Phelan	Mary	*F	ABT 1846	16/09/1847	Abbeyleix	MARY PHELAN GRAVE
136	Ryan	Héloïse Elizabeth	F	28/01/1827	21/09/1843	St.Colomban	HELOISE E. RYAN GRAVE
137	Ryan	James	M	23/07/1831	30/10/1843	St.Colomban	JAMES RYAN GRAVE
155	Williams	George	M	ABT 1800	13/06/1842	Cork	GEORGE WILLIAMS GRAVE

LEGEND:

	MONUMENTS RELOCATED TO WALL
	1836-1847 BURIALS
	MISSING PARISH RECORD
*	THE GLOBAL IRISH FAMINE WAY - IRISH FAMINE REFUGEES WHO DIED IN 1847
	EXISTING MONUMENTS FROM 1836-1847

Starting with the names of the original 10 people who had markers, I looked for family connections. Through genealogical profiling, I identified 25 potential burial locations based on these relationships. Since families are often buried in clusters within the cemetery, I was able to use this information to hypothesize about other burial locations even when direct family connections were not immediately clear.

In the context of my research, looking into the lives and constructing the narratives of persons buried during this time entailed tracking their genealogical profiles and exploring family trees hoping to find potential links to others (see Appendix III – Family Group Sheets). I relied on existing epitaphs, parish records, and genealogical profiling to hypothesize the burial locations of the Irish without tangible markers and the ones removed from their original locations. This approach aligns with the work of Otterstrom and Bunker (2013), who explored the intersection of genealogy and geography. Like their study, my thesis uses genealogical data to improve our understanding of historical migration patterns and personal identities (Otterstrom and Bunker (2013).

3.3 Oral History Interviews

3.3.1 Collecting Oral Histories

The mapping of the historic part of the cemetery and the recording of names of existing markers were factors in my decision to choose certain names to try and locate the burial locations of missing monuments. This approach helped me identify potential locations for those with missing monuments, as I believed it would have a higher success rate in connecting them to their families. This process also guided me in selecting the names of descendants to interview, hoping they could offer additional insights into those buried without monuments. By gathering more information from family members, I aimed to uncover more clues about these individuals and their connections within the cemetery.

Through these interviews, I was able to compile a collection of stories that not only record these families' historical journeys, but also serve as a dynamic tool to publish and share these narratives with others. Through interviews, photographs, and story maps, I can collect and show the voices and events that explain Saint-Colomban's history, adding to the broader narrative of the Irish diaspora in Canada. The research method includes documenting not only data but also feelings and events, that add depth to the story. The entire research journey becomes a tale in and of itself, with photographs and interviews adding depth to the narrative.

3.3.2 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were guided by the principles of respect for the deceased and ensuring informed consent and permissions. These principles were essential to maintain the study's integrity, honouring the sensitivity of the subject matter, and respecting the histories of people buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

The principles outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for

Research Involving Humans (TCPS2) emphasize the importance of ensuring respect for all

individuals, including those who have passed away. All research activities involving the

cemetery and oral history interviews were approached with a deep sense of respect. Informed

consent processes were closely followed. Participants were fully informed about the nature of the

research, its goals, and how their family's history contributes to the broader narrative. While

many participants may willingly share information about their ancestors, anonymity was

respected when participants preferred not to disclose certain information. For example, during

one of the interviews the person asked to go off record, so we stopped the recording until they

gave their permission to speak on the record again. Nothing that was said off camera will ever be

shared.

Open and transparent communication with descendants and community members was a

priority. Every effort was made to clearly articulate the objectives of the research, the

significance of their family's contribution, and how their ancestors' stories contribute to a broader

understanding of Irish heritage in Saint-Colomban. Understanding and respecting the cultural

and historical context of the Irish community in Saint-Colomban was crucial. Sensitivity to

cultural nuances, traditions, and the sacredness of cemetery spaces was maintained throughout

the research process. Collaboration with local authorities, such as La Fabrique and the city of

Saint-Colomban, ensured that research activities align with community values and expectations.

Regular communication helped address concerns and ensured that the research contributes

positively to the preservation of cultural heritage. By upholding these principles, the research

process remains ethically sound and honours and respects the memories of those interred in the cemetery.

Participants gave expressed and written informed consent before any oral history interviews were conducted (see Appendix IV). The permission process included a clear explanation of the research's objective, participants' rights as contributors, and the strict confidentiality and anonymity protections in place. While none of the participants requested anonymity, all data was treated with care and maintained securely with access to interviews allowed publicly only with signed consent. The dedication to participant confidentiality and privacy is strong, and all ethical requirements are strictly followed throughout the research process.

Maintaining ethical standards is critical in this research process. The Concordia University Ethics Committee approved the proposal, and all required documentation, including the questionnaire and protocols for managing acquired data, which was submitted prior to beginning my research.

3.4 Mapping the Cemetery

3.4.1 Mapping Memories

To map memory through the oral stories, I used the Atlascine platform developed by the Geomedia Laboratory at Concordia University (Montreal) in close collaboration with the Geomatics and Cartographic Research Center (GCRC) at Carleton University (Ottawa). Atlascine's unique approach to mapping memory and storytelling sets it apart from other programs available online. Atlascine's ability to depict the complete cartography process alongside the map made it very useful for my research. While many platforms concentrate on telling narratives through maps, Atlascine maps memory stories, allowing interviews,

testimonials, recollections, and life stories to be anchored in precise locations. It visualizes stories geographically and thematically using an interactive map, allowing for new methods to navigate and study their physical dimensions and relationships (Caquard and Fiset 2014). The software allowed for the mapping of full interviews, which can be linked together by common themes like migration for instance, or feelings like loss and places (De Nardi et al. 2019). Its core principles are that ensures that the map enhances rather than replaces the narrative, it maintains transparency throughout the mapping process and it fully interconnection the map and the narrative to expand our capacity to explore and understand relationships within and between stories, maps and places (Olmedo and Caquard 2022).

The feature that allows adding pictures to the story is particularly relevant for this project because it enhances the narrative experience. When I upload a picture to a specific location in the story, for example in the Howard interview, I had a picture appear when they were talking about the homestead in Eganville, the picture appears precisely where it's intended, and the map moves to the specific place. By using the Atlascine story mapping platform I developed a deeper level of understanding focusing on thematic, emotive, and geographical components of mapping stories. It helped construct the narratives bringing together the memories and the stories of the early Irish settlers as told by their descendants. By providing a visual and interactive platform, the mapping tool allows the viewer to follow along in the journey, automatically changing locations wherever these stories take place as interviewees recall anecdotes passed down through generations. It also puts the viewer in control, as they can click on any part of the story and the map and video will automatically change to the selected sentence. This platform enables viewers to see where historical events occurred, creating a more spatially structured picture of the past. In

addition to the stories and maps, photos of people, locations, and things can be inserted into the story and appear at appropriate points in the narrative.

3.4.2 Implementing Mapping Techniques

The second mapping endeavour consisted in locating the missing graves within the geography of the cemetery. Firstly, this requires producing a precise map of the cemetery. To do so, I employed DynaScape, a specialized Computer-Aided Design (CAD) software program, primarily designed for landscape design and drafting, providing tools for creating detailed and precise landscape plans. This design tool helped me to achieve an accurate, to-scale representation of the burial grounds to easily analyze the spatial arrangements and locations of each plot. To accurately document the physical layout of the cemetery, I divided the cemetery into quadrangles of about 20 by 10 feet each, and I identified each one of them using a lettering and numbering system (see Appendix VI for the entire layout of the cemetery). A map of the of the historic section of the cemetery is located in Appendix VII.

A significant challenge emerged early in the mapping process for the historic section because, despite thorough research, there was no trace of an actual map detailing the burial locations within that specific part of the cemetery. Extensive searches of historical documents, notarial records, and direct conversations with the parish administration, whose official name is La Fabrique, revealed no indication of a map for this historic area of the cemetery. The lack of documentation required the creation of a map from scratch, so I constructed a map and index for the historic section for burials and I added the location of the headstones based on the results of my research.

To create a detailed map of the entire Saint-Colomban cemetery, I collected and integrated data from a variety of sources. This process entailed gathering information from

Léger's (1991) Saint-Colomban's Cemetery Gravestones Necrology and its corresponding

numbering system (Léger 1991), the Saint-Colomban parish, La Fabrique's (parish

administration) cemetery layout of the newer section (with their numbering system which

differed from Léger's), and Bourguignon's (1988) ethnological research.

Although I couldn't locate notarial documentation for the original or historic part of the

cemetery regarding the land donation from Edward Elliott to La Fabrique around 1832, I found a

reference in Claude Bourguignon's book. According to Bourguignon (1988, page 46), a letter

dated June 3, 1830, from M. Hudon, priest of Rigaud, to Bishop Lartigue of Montreal, indicated

the Irish inhabitants' intention to build a chapel on land donated by Mary Phelan Skehan

(Sheehan – a spelling variation of the last name) and a cemetery on land donated by Edward

Elliott (see Figure 7).
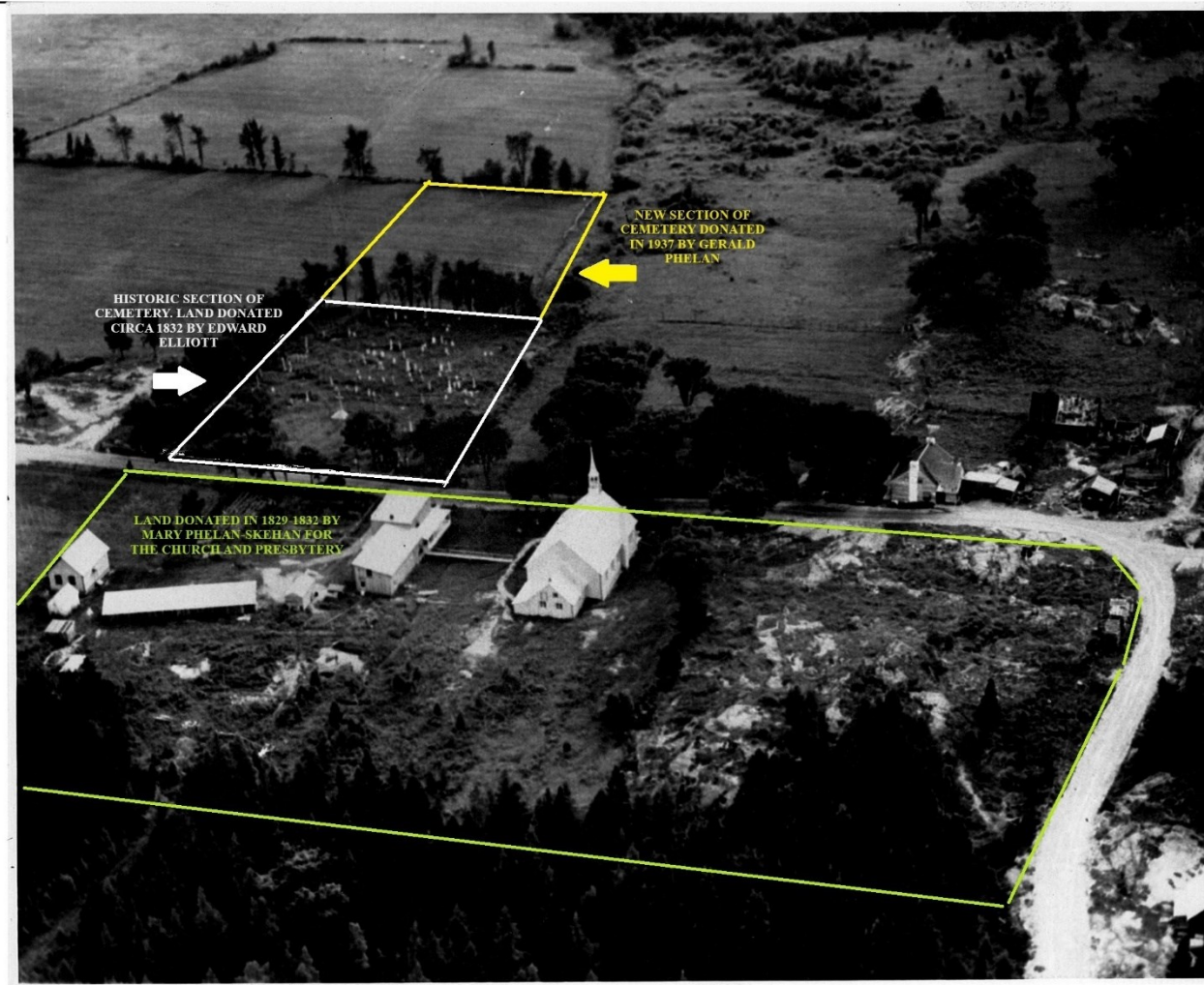
Figure 7: Land donated by Mary Phelan circa 1829 in green. Land donated by Edward Elliott circa 1832 for original historic section in white. Land donated by Gerald Phelan in 1937 for newer section in yellow. Image Credit: Claude Bourguignon Collection, photo circa 1939

Additionally, Bourguignon (1988) referenced notarial documentation for the donation of land from Mary Phelan, widow of Patrick Skehan, and her children. The first letter of intent in 1829 was signed by Norman Fitzgerald Unaicke, a judge in Lower Canada, and later notarized by Norman Benjamin Doucet. I obtained a copy of this notarial document from the Archives nationales à Montréal (see Appendix VIII – Notarial Documents – Mary Phelan- Skehan). I also acquired a copy of notarial documents signed by notary Narcisse Forest from the Archives nationales à Montréal. These documents detailed the donation of land for the newer section of

the cemetery, specifically from Gerald Phelan to La Fabrique, outlined in the document titled "Cession, L'oeuvre et fabrique de la paroisse de St-Colomban, 20 décembre 1937, nu 51766" (see Appendix IX – Notarial Documents – Gerald Phelan).

I acquired a copy of the certificate of location from the Saint-Colomban Parish administration (La Fabrique) which proved indispensable, offering crucial details about the historical context, dimensions, and ownership of the cemetery. This method allowed for easy cross-referencing, resulting in a more accurate and detailed representation of Saint-Colomban cemetery. It was interesting to note on the cadastre record of 1987, that the first burial occurred in 1832 and the founding of the parish was 1837, when in fact the official parish records opened in 1836. The integration of these different sources was crucial in ensuring that as much relevant information as possible, including burial records for those who did not have headstones, was included (see Figures 8 and 9).

To initiate the mapping process of the historic section juxtaposed to the newer section, I began with a diagram from La Fabrique (parish administration) that detailed the newer section of the cemetery only. This diagram was divided into sections using four separate pages. I taped the pages together, each page, akin to a Word document table, depicted the cemetery's upper left, lower left, right upper, and right lower sides. Within this diagram, burial plots were systematically assigned numerical identifiers, accompanied by the names of plot owners and designated locations for burials. The layout resembled a table, featuring large rectangles indicating plots, with smaller, hand-drawn rectangles contained within, representing known individual burials. These smaller rectangles incorporated both typed and hand-written details.

Plot sizes varied, ranging from 9' x 14' to 14' x 14', accommodating an average of 2 to 6 burials. As I progressed towards the older section, plot sizes increased to approximately 14' x 20'. I taped the 4 separate papers together to get an overall view of the newer section of the cemetery. I introduced **row** and **column** identifiers. Rows are labeled with numbers and columns with letters, keeping all 3 systems for cross-referencing (see Figure 10).
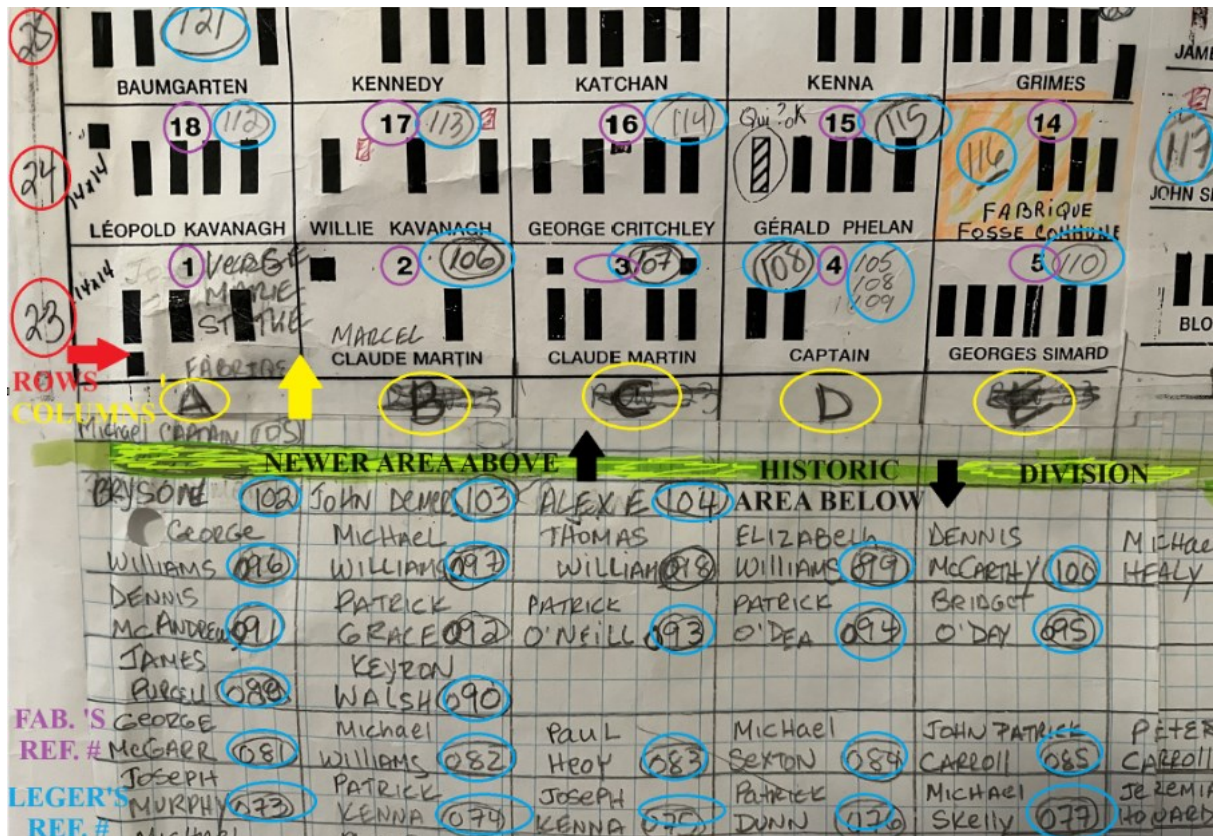
Figure 10: Example from my initial working sheet, left section. The upper section is the newer part of the cemetery and each large black rectangle is a burial plot. The smaller rectangles within it are the persons buried in the plot. Yellow circles represent lettered columns, red circles, numbered rows, blue circles are in the historic section and represent Lėger's numbering system. Credit: Kelley O'Rourke

3.4.3 Organizing a Sectional Layout

Initially, I organized the layout into 20' x 20' squares, but this did not align with the system put in place by La Fabrique, in the newer section. Consequently, I adjusted the sectional organization to 10' x 20' rectangles, aligning more closely with the existing layout. To create a

50

simpler layout, I partitioned the to-scale model into 10' x 20' rectangular sections, creating a grid. This adjustment was especially useful in the historic section, where headstones did not conform to perfectly aligned rows and columns. In the newer section of the cemetery, La Fabrique had organized the lots into compact, rectangular parcels aligned in rows, with each lot holding about two to four graves. In contrast, the historical section reflected an era of larger families, featuring more expansive lots (Goffinet 2007) (see Figures 11, 12, and 13).
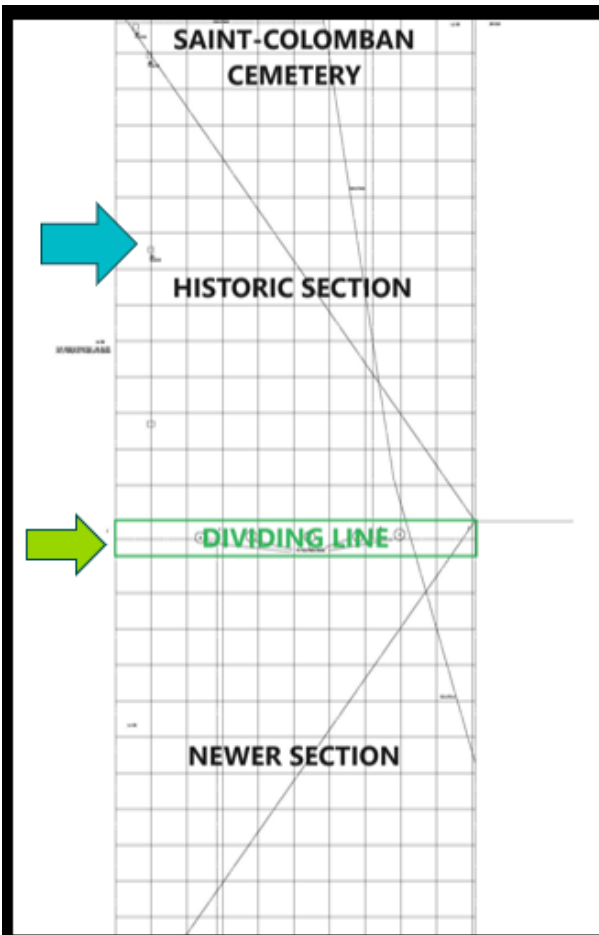
Figure: 11: First draft of the cemetery layout. Credit: Kelley O'Rourke
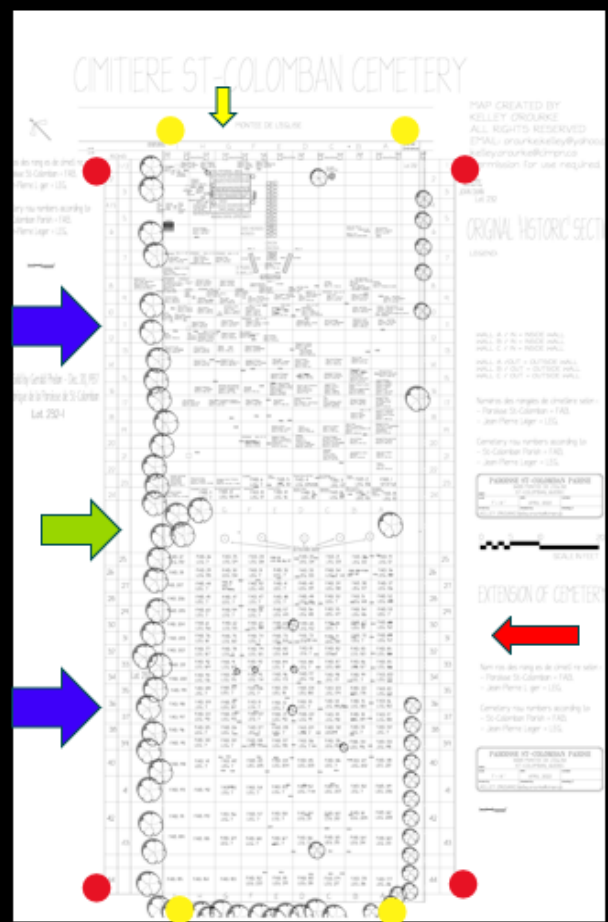
Figure 12: The entire cemetery layout with the combined numbering and lettering systems. Credit: Kelley O'Rourke
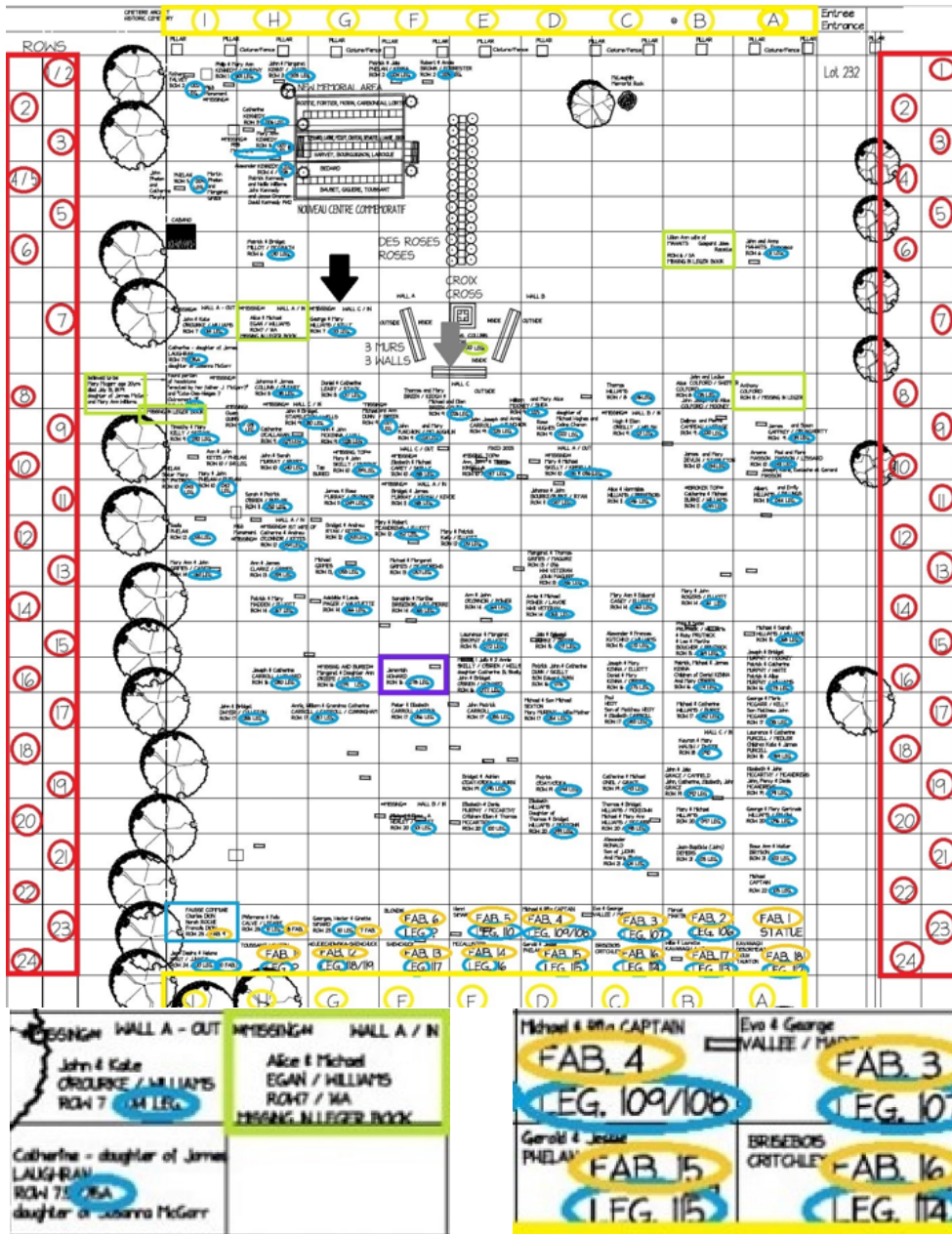
Figure 13: Top: Rows in red and Columns in yellow. Headstones not recorded in Léger's necrology appear in green. The only headstones recorded in the historic section by la Fabrique were the last two rows. Bottom Left: Enlarged view of each rectangle representing a burial plot area. The one outlined in green is not referenced by either La Fabrique or Léger. Bottom right: Enlarged view of section from the last two rows where both Léger's (LEG.) reference numbers and La Fabrique's (FAB.) reference numbers coexist. The purple rectangle denotes the location of Denis Howard's burial. It is an example of pinpointing someone who has no stone.

3.4.4 Developing a Mapping and Numbering System

When mapping the historic section of the cemetery, I found there was no existing layout

plan or record of where the bodies were buried in the cemetery. Apart from what was written on

the epitaphs, there was no way of knowing how many people were buried in each plot. For each

10' x 20' rectangular plot on the map, I used the prominent names on the epitaphs. I always used

the wives' maiden names to identify ownership. I also created a master list of all the burials

using the parish records between 1836 and 1847 (see Appendix II).

I systematically walked the entire area, documenting prominent names on headstones for

reference. The historic section is distinct, separated by a wide grassy expanse that originally

marked the end of the cemetery's original or historic part and the beginning of the newer section.

Although now utilized for vehicles or visitors, I initially labeled it as a road on my map,

clarifying its function as a grassy passage for small vehicles and pedestrians. There were many

blank spaces in between some of the headstones. Broken foundations were visible where some

headstones used to be. Not all the headstones were aligned due to missing ones and perhaps

being a family plot, they were added later, where there was space. I did not use GPS so the

location of each headstone would be approximate within the rectangle.

To address the absence of a numbering system from La Fabrique in the historic section, I

integrated both La Fabrique's numeric system and Léger's (1991) numeric system into mine. I

included Jean-Pierre Léger's cataloged numeric system with my column and row identifiers. Part

of Léger's (1991) numbering system overlapped into the newer section, and while not consistent

with La Fabrique's, it provided valuable data which included epitaphs and location of both

visible and some missing headstones (Léger 1991). My system uses numbered rows and lettered

columns to make finding burial plots simpler. Including all three systems allows for cross-referencing.

I created a colour-coded legend to show which identifiers belonged to each group: Léger (1991) was highlighted in green, La Fabrique was highlighted in peach, and my own system of columns and rows highlighted in yellow and red for the purpose of differentiating the different systems. By using columns and rows, I was able to integrate Léger's (1991) and La Fabrique's numbering systems, making it easier for cross-referencing purposes. From 1836 to 1847 most burials did not have any numbers assigned to them (see Table 2).

*Table 2: Cross Referenced numbering systems: **Léger's (1991) numeric system** is different from La **Fabrique's numeric system.** **The two systems overlap in the newer section.** I referenced burials using **Columns** and **Rows** therefore integrating the two unique systems in my map.*

Sex	Job	Last Name	First Name	Place of Baptism	Date of Birth: D/M/Y	Date of Burial: D/M/Y	Date of Death: D/M/Y	Age at Death Y/M/D	Burial Leger #	Side	Wall	Column	Row	Fabrique Plot #	Headstone	Parents
F		O'Callaghan	Catherine	County Tyrone, Irleand	1764	18/03/1839	17/03/1839	75 Years	029			H	9		Yes	
F		O'Leary	Johanna	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	18/12/1834	08/10/1840	05/08/1840	6 Years							None	Cornelius O'Leary and Mary White
F		O'Leary	Helen/Ellen	St-Colomban, Québec	09/03/1836	10/10/1842	10/10/1842	6 Years							None	Cornelius O'Leary and Mary White
?		O'Neil	None given	St-Colomban, Québec	07/04/1836	07/04/1836	07/04/1836	Newborn							None	Mathew O'Neil and Ann Butler
M		O'Shaughnessy	James	St-Jérôme, Québec	06/04/1838	14/04/1838	13/04/1838	7 Days							None	James Patrick O'Shaughnessy and Johanna McCarthy
M		O'Shaughnessy	John	St-Colomban, Québec	19/04/1841	27/04/1841	26/04/1841	7 Days							None	Patrick O'Shaughnessy and Johanna McCarthy
M		O'Shaughnessy	John	St-Colomban, Québec	18/05/1842	27/05/1842	27/05/1842	6 Days							None	Patrick O'Shaughnessy and Johanna McCarthy
F		Phelan	Anne	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1787	07/05/1845	05/05/1845	58 Years							None	Michael Phelan and Mary Corcoran
M	*	Phelan	John	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1844	06/09/1847	05/09/1847	3 Years	009			1	4		Yes	John Phelan and Catherine Murphy
F	*	Phelan	Mary	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1846	18/09/1847	16/09/1847	18 Months	009			1	4		Yes	John Phelan and Catherine Murphy
F		Phelan	Anne	St-Colomban, Québec	09/10/1846	31/10/1847	30/10/1847	12 Months				F	2		None	Patrick Phelan and Judith Kenna

Sex	Job	Last Name	First Name	Place of Baptism	Date of Birth: D/M/Y	Date of Death: D/M/Y	Place of burial	Burial Leger #	Side	Wall	Column	Row	Fabrique Plot #	Headstone
		Desormeaux	Sarah				St-Colomban, Québec	112			A	24	18	Yes
		Kavanagh	Arcade				St-Colomban, Québec	112			A	24	18	Yes
		Kavanagh	Léopold				St-Colomban, Québec	112			A	24	18	Yes

Newer Section:

LEGEND:	
COLOURS	
	J.P. LEGER NECROLOGY NUMBERS
	FABRIQUE SAINT COLOMBAN NUMBERS
	MONUMENTS RELOCATED TO WALL
	COLUMNS AND ROWS OF BURIAL LOCATIONS
	1836-1847 BURIALS
	PROPOSED LOCATION OF BURIALS
	MISSING PARISH RECORD
*	THE GLOBAL IRISH FAMINE WAY - IRISH FAMINE REFUGEES
	EXISTING MONUMENTS FROM 1836-1847
	FROM CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS OTHER THAN IRISH
	MISSING FROM LEGER'S BOOK
ABREVIATIONS:	
PROT	PROTESTANT
RC	ROMAN CATHOLIC
ABT	ABOUT

Extending La Fabrique's numbering system from the newer section to the historic section creates consistency throughout the cemetery. This integration ensures a smooth transition and improves cross-referencing. The map matches the existing records and can easily be cross-referenced regardless of the system you are using. This grid-based system makes it easier for researchers, historians, or others looking to find and identify specific graves in the cemetery.

3.5 Integrating the Data

In my research on the Saint-Colomban cemetery, I employed a variety of methods to uncover and understand its history and cultural significance, each adding unique insights to the

overall narrative. I began by visiting the cemetery and taking pictures to familiarize myself with its layout, providing a visual and physical foundation for my research. Examining census, parish, land, and notarial records then allowed me to gather detailed information about the Irish settlers, including their occupations, family structures, and religious affiliations. I discovered some were protestant converts and there was even a Protestant burial in the Catholic cemetery. This archival work helped me understand how these settlers contributed to shaping the community. Cross-referencing this information ensured a higher accuracy rate of the data and filled some of the missing historic gaps.

Hands-on work in the cemetery allowed me to engage directly with the material culture. Digging up buried gravestones (it wasn't originally the plan) and studying the details of other markers, revealed information about the people buried there, such as their backgrounds, relationships, and religious beliefs. This tangible connection to the past added another layer of material culture to the research. Interviewing descendants of the Irish settlers was important for gathering personal stories and memories not found in official documents. These oral histories added a human side and personal perspectives to the research.

Using the Atlascine application to map these interviews helped visualize the stories, showing where events happened and how different narratives connected through common themes. This made it easier to see the relationships between various pieces of information. Each of these methods produced different types of data and provided deeper levels of understanding. The archival data offered historical records, cross -referencing ensured more accuracy, cemetery work provided tangible artifacts, interviews offered personal stories and mapping connected all this information spatially.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the successes and challenges encountered in integrating all these pieces of data to offer a fuller understanding of the significance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

Chapter 4
Study Results and Discussion

Implementing the methodology I developed was complex because each element is interrelated to the other elements. It is a matrix, not a linear process; like attempting to put together a jigsaw puzzle of a thousand pieces and discovering there are pieces missing. In sorting out the outcomes of my research, I found it helpful to think in terms of successes and challenges. My research has resulted in many successful outcomes. However, during the course of my research, I encountered many challenges. The ups and downs of the journey in embracing those challenges was perhaps the greatest learning experience I gained from doing this research.

4.1 Identifying the Successes

Through a deep dive into the parish records, genealogical profiling, and mapping techniques, I have successfully identified 26 burial locations of individuals who had no markers. This work has not only brought to light the names and stories of those 26 individuals buried between 1836 and 1847 but it has also restored their place in our collective memory. By involving historians, scholars, descendants and the local community, I have puzzled together fragmented histories, establishing their identities ensuring that these early Irish settlers are no longer invisible or forgotten.

4.1.1 Completed a Physical Map of the Cemetery

Creating a physical map of the layout of the Irish burials in the cemetery was essential to determining the individuals buried in the cemetery and making connections to their families. By comparing physical mapping with church records, and available familial information, I discovered 156 individuals buried between 1837 and 1847. The Saint-Colomban cemetery holds significance as a repository of historical information, particularly for the 156 individuals

discovered in my research who were buried between 1836 and 1847. From the 156 individuals

buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery during this time, 137 were Irish, 9 people had cultural

backgrounds other than Irish (see Appendix II), and 10 had monuments or headstones, leaving

146 with neither. For an overview of the map showing the layout of the burials between 1836

and 1847, see Figure 14. For an enlarged view of the map, see Appendix X–Saint-Colomban

Cemetery, Historic Layout, Enlarged View.

Figure 14: Overview of the mapped cemetery listing all burials between 1836-1847 on the left panel and potential burial locations for those without headstones on the right. Credit: Map and design are a collaboration with Kelley O'Rourke and Sarah Bengle.

4.1.2 Completed Twenty (20) Genealogical Profiles

Genealogical profiling which included oral histories (interviews) and documenting family relationships (family group sheets) was pivotal in bridging gaps in the cemetery's history and broadening our understanding of the Irish community of Saint-Colomban. Coupled with the physical mapping of the cemetery, genealogy profiling served to deepen the cemetery's significance, providing personal insights, cultural context, and a human dimension to the historical records, transforming the cemetery into a living repository of the community's past.

In the following two examples, I have uncovered the identity of 4 children and their burial locations in the cemetery. There are two Hall siblings and two Madden siblings. The Hall siblings' parents are buried in the cemetery with a headstone which is currently located on the inside of wall C. It had been removed from its original location in the cemetery. However, I found an old picture of the stone located within the cemetery and a family plot is evident. For example, two of the Madden children's parents have moved away. I therefore must find other family members with whom they might be buried.

The Hall Siblings, Mary (1832-1836) and John (1839-1841), are buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Their parents, James Hall (1790-1877) and Alice O'Donnell (1794-1871) are also buried in the cemetery (see Appendix III for family profile). In my research, I found two pictures of the cemetery dated circa 1936 and another from 1940 that demonstrate that the burial practices in the Saint-Colomban cemetery support my theory that there were family plots. The picture shows the area where the headstones were located is surrounded by a hedge and small railing, suggesting it is a family plot. The central stone, which is now missing from the area, belonged to James Hall and his wife, Alice O'Connell. This headstone is now located on the

inside of wall C. The two Hall children have no headstone but are more than likely buried in this family plot in the time period between 1836-1847 (See Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18).
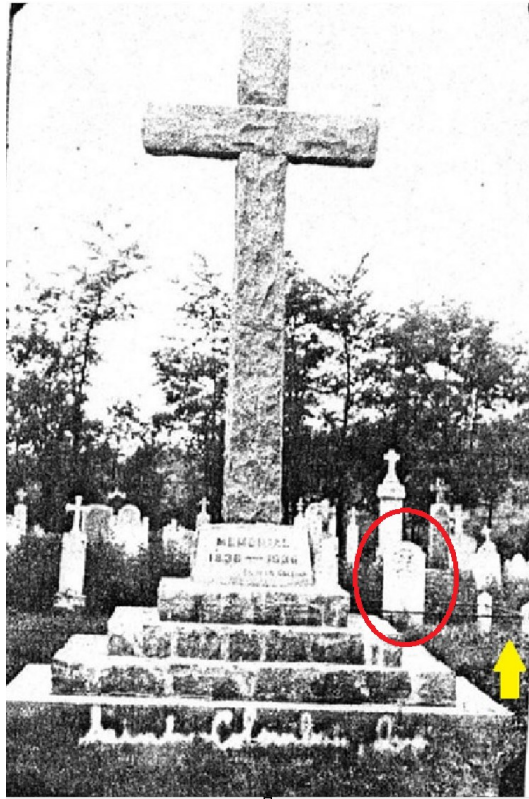
Figure 15: Circa 1936, Circled in red is the headstone of James Hall and Alice O'Connell. The fencing around the headstone is visible. Image Credit: Claude Bourguignon Collection

Figure 16: The contrast is clearer in this colorization of the old photo revealing a hedge surrounding these headstones behind the cross. Circled in red is the headstone of James Hall and Alice O'Connell.

Figure 17: Circa 1940. The metal rail and hedge are gone but the cement posts are still there. Circled in red is the headstone of James Hall and Alice O'Connell. Image Credit: Kelley O'Rourke
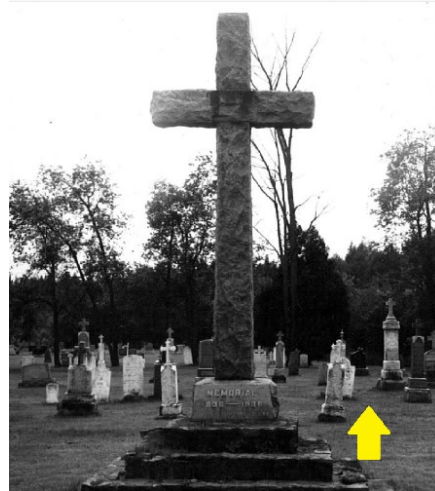
Figure 18: Circa 1985. The fencing and headstone are no longer there. Image Credit: Claude Bourguignon Collection

  The markings for the plot from that period no longer exist today but are evident in the photo. However, we did find the cement posts buried in the vicinity the photo was taken. In the picture, there are four, possibly six, cement posts around the headstone connected by what looks like a metal bar. There also appears to be a hedge around the family plot. We dug around the headstone area and found at least four of these posts driven into the ground. The tops of the posts were not flat but slightly conical. This supports my theory that the families in the Saint-Colomban cemetery practiced burying their family members together in family plots. It highlights the importance of family connections in burial arrangements and shows the care taken to mark and protect family plots (see Figures 19, 20, and 21).
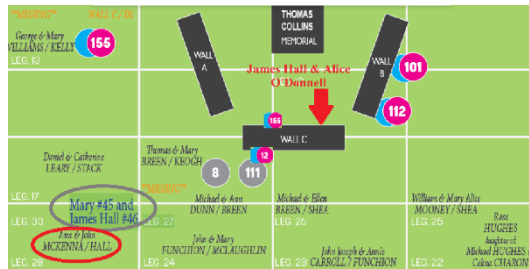
Figure 19: James and Mary Hall's location in the cemetery, gray circle, with their brother, John Hall, red circle, and the parents' location on the inside of Wall C – red arrow.

Figure 20: Circa 2023. The top of one of the buried cement posts we unearthed. Image Credit: Kelley O'Rourke

Figure 21: Circa 2023. Top photo, I copied and pasted the photo of James Hall's stone to show its original location. Bottom photo is location of headstone on the inside of Wall C. Image Credit: Kelley O'Rourke

The construction of the Madden family history is an example of the compilation of a variety of research methods used to discover the identity and possible burial location of two children, siblings, Helen (1836-1837) and Patrick Madden (1841-1841) who had no markers (see Appendix III for family profile). I established their existence using the parish records and constructed their family genealogy. I cross-referenced with existing headstones in the cemetery

to narrow down the possible location of their burials. Based on the fact that Helen and Patrick's parents James Madden and Mary Keyes were buried in Dubuque Iowa in the United States, it was my strong assumption that both Helen and Patrick were buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery with other family members, notably James' brother Patrick Madden and his wife Mary Elliott (See Figure 22).
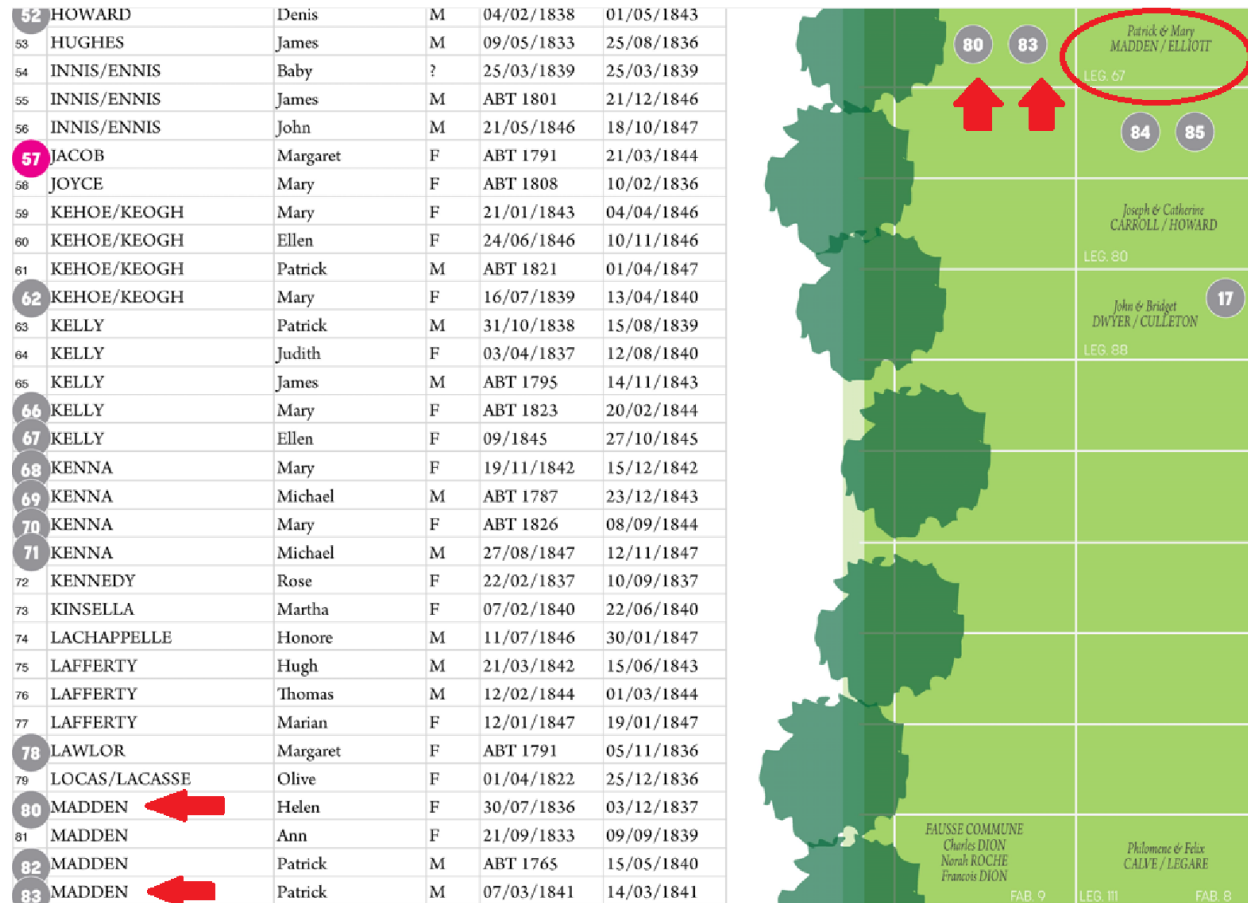
Figure 22: Close up of the list of burials and map with the proposed burials of Helen and Patrick Madden.

I also added to the depth of the story of the Maddens by interviewing Dan Madden, a descendant of the Madden family who had some amazing anecdotes to share and confirmed the family connections. The oral histories I've collected from descendants, coupled with mapping and genealogy profiling, serve to deepen the cemetery's significance, providing personal insights,

cultural context, and a human dimension to the historical records, transforming the cemetery into a living repository of the community's past.

4.1.3 Completed Twenty (20) Atlascine Stories

Creating family stories in Atlascine brought together the data gathered from physical mapping, collecting data through church records and other documents, and the genealogical profiles of the 20 families for whom I produced family stories[1]. Atlascine's unique story and mapping features greatly improved the narratives in my research. In my interview with the Howard descendants, Wayne and Isabel described James Howard's logging operation in Madawaska, Ontario. As they recounted his journey from Saint-Colomban, Québec, to Eganville, Pembroke, and Madawaska, Ontario, the interactive map in Atlascine highlighted these locations in real-time, using colored rings associated with the text to mark each place mentioned. On the left side of the screen, relevant pictures accompanied the narrative on the right, creating a detailed and engaging story (see Figure 23).

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[1] *Link for interviews with Irish descendants located on the Atlascine platform.* **https://rs-atlascine.concordia.ca/saint-colomban/index.html?module=module.stories**

Logging 3 in the J. R. Booth Limits
"Logging 3 in the J. R. Booth Limits - James Howard Senior had contracts with the company for the cutting and delivery of timber; James Andrew Howard."
Photo Credit: Isabel Howard Gorman and Wayne Gorman
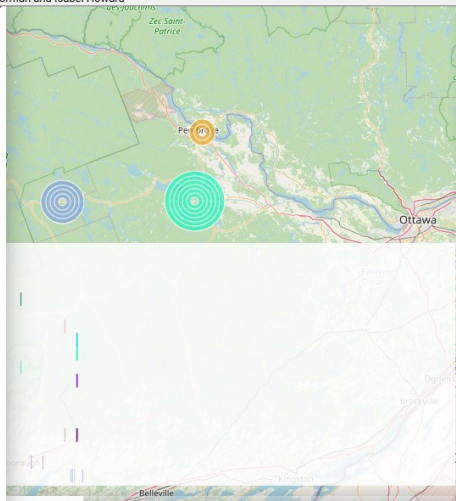
that. So I was wondering if you had any stories that were passed along in the family. Well, Isabel's great grandfather, James Howard, was a contractor for J.R. Booth. Oh, the lumber baron. He used to he had contracts with J.R. Booth to cut pine and take them out to the Madawaska River. We have a copy of one of those contracts. It basically allocates a section of the forest for that contract and they are tasked to get the trees cut and drawn out to the river and are paid so much a tree, less deductions and so forth. We have one of those contracts. And so while he was on the farm in Donegal, Ontario, which by the way, where the homestead is in Eganville, it's called actually Donegal, Ontario. It was named Donegal, Ontario. And the farm is Donegal.

Figure 23: Screenshot of the Howard Interview. On the left is a photo provided by Wayne and Isabel Howard/Gorman. In the center is the map with the circles depicting location which is coordinated with the text and the audio on the right of the screen. The colours on the text and the map refer to themes, which could be associated with a person, place, event or even an emotion.

Visual connection between the map, text, and images makes the story more compelling and easier to follow. Another feature of Atlascine is that it supports multiple languages in the text, allowing for a broader audience to access and understand the narratives. This integration of visual, textual, and cartographic elements brings a richness to the storytelling experience and provides a clearer representation of the geographical and historical context of the stories being told (see Figure 24).
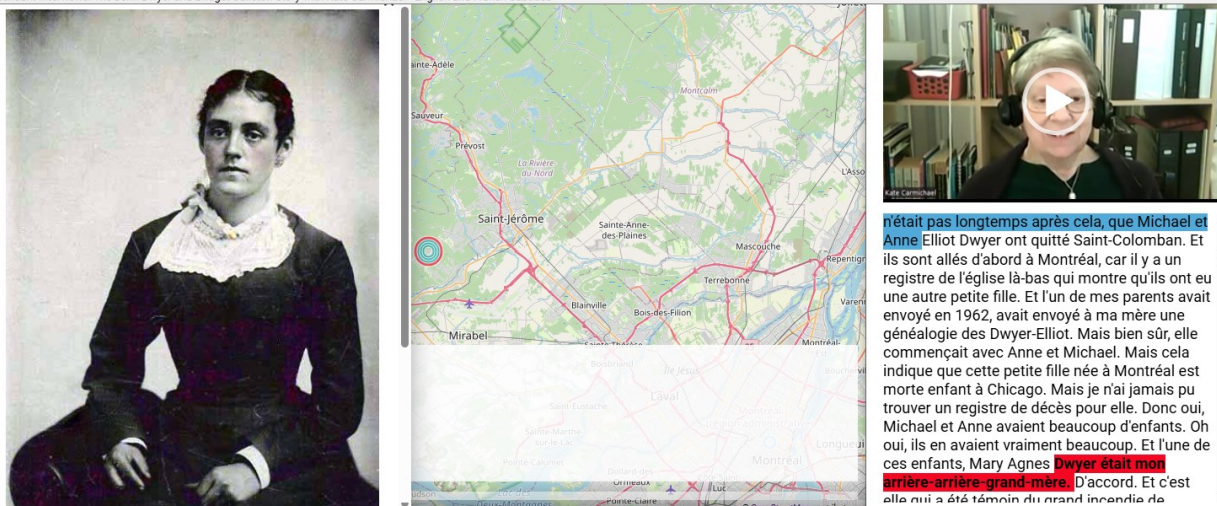
Figure 24: Screenshot of the Dwyer Culleton story with the audio in English and the subtitles translated into French. Having a picture of the person, Mary Agnes Dwyer and the locations associated with the story adds richness to the narrative. Photo on left provided by Kate Carmichael.

4.1.4 Shared the Methodology with Other Interested Groups

An important outcome of my research is that I have been able to share the results with other groups interested in the preservation of Irish history and culture in the Canadian diaspora. I have given presentations both in person and online in my capacity as president of the Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN). My colleagues, Fergus Keyes and Laurie-McKeown and I gave in-person presentations to the Irish Embassy in May 2023 and the Montreal Geography Teacher's Association in Saint-Colomban in October 2023. We gave Zoom presentations to the New Brunswick Genealogical Society in November 2023 and Québec Anglophone Heritage Network in March 2024. We have several more presentations lined up for 2024. All but the Irish Embassy presentations are available on our CIMPN website. Links to the recorded presentations were also posted on social media and in the CIMPN Newsletter.

In promoting Irish history and culture, I shared my research about the Irish community in Saint-Colomban and its historical significance with the steering committee of the National Irish Famine Trail. They were in the process of expanding the project to the Global Irish Famine Way.

My research, which uncovered the stories of Irish Famine Refugees, Mary, and John Phelan, the two children who died shortly after arriving in 1847, helped bring Saint-Colomban into the heritage spotlight. As a result, we gladly accepted the invitation we received to be part of the Global Irish Famine Way, an extension of the National Famine Way. Saint-Colomban earned the distinction of receiving a pair of Bronze Shoes, an incredible recognition, symbolizing one of the places on the journey the Irish Famine Refugees took in fleeing Ireland. The Bronze Shoes are a symbol of hope, solidarity, and remembrance on a self-guided trail that honours those who lived and died making the journey and those who helped during the Famine. In 2025, the Bronze Shoes will be mounted on a plinth in Saint-Colomban across the street from the cemetery. (See Appendix XI – Bronze Shoes).

The Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN), a group I founded a few years ago, earned the Richard Evans Award from the Québec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN) in April of 2024, in recognition of outstanding long-term contributions by an organization of volunteers to the preservation and promotion of Anglophone heritage in the province of Québec. We are very proud of this honour and the attention it brings to the Irish buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

4.1.5 Restored Headstones and Monuments in the Saint-Colomban Cemetery

Although not part of the research objectives, cleaning and restoration of monuments in the cemetery became an important element in discovering cultural and familial information about the individuals I was researching. In a sense, it became a vital part of the data collection component.

The extra steps and effort in finding, fixing, and cleaning the headstones and monuments turned the project into a much larger undertaking. In addition to this, developing family

genealogies to make those connections for both the missing monuments and existing 10

headstones was a very long and detailed process, but necessary to construct the narratives and get

a fuller appreciation of the early Irish settlers' lives.

Cleaning the stones made it possible to read inscriptions and see symbolic images that

uncovered previously hidden information about the individuals buried in the cemetery. The

epitaphs, images, and patterns on the graves in Saint-Colomban revealed connections to their

homeland and shared beliefs of the people buried there. These elements convey a sense of

identity and belonging. As noted by Burke et al. (2018), these markers not only provide insights

into the religious practices and beliefs of the time but also contribute to our understanding of

broader historical and geographical patterns within cemeteries. Despite geographical and cultural

variations, both studies emphasize the critical significance of burial grounds in conserving

cultural history and collective memory among diasporic communities, whether through epitaphs

and grave designs or the unique features of headstones like Celtic or Latin crosses.

Ultimately a dedicated group of volunteers and me, along with experts in restoration,

unearthed, cleaned, and restored about 124 headstones and monuments. The work in Saint-

Colomban cemetery is ongoing along with fundraising efforts to support continuing restoration.

4.2 Meeting the Research Challenges

This project was truly like opening Pandora's box. At every turn, I discovered layers upon

layers of complexity. What appeared to be a simple undertaking quickly became a maze of

intertwining chores and obstacles.

4.2.1 Implementation Challenges

Although the steps in the methodology sound straight-forward on paper, each step led to

more steps required to achieve the goals. A great number of pieces from each step had to be

integrated in order to make sense of the information as a whole. Because of the complex nature of this research, it took an enormous amount of time. Data collection, physical mapping, genealogical profiling, and generating family stories took place over the course of years, not months, and involved many people. At times, the process seemed overwhelming due to the quantity of data I amassed and the effort it took to gather it all. It was difficult to find a balance between work (including study) and a personal life.

Very often, the discovery of one piece of information about an individual or family leads to the need to collect more data. For example, the need for more data about George Williams led to cleaning and repair of his monument to be able to read the inscription and learn more about the dates on his epitaph. This information led to the discovery that there was a discrepancy between the date of death on the stone, the lack of church records. However, the family descendants I interviewed were convinced that the date was correct, even though by using other church records, I determined that the date was impossible.

It is impossible to do this research alone. Each step required coordinating involvement of others (experts, volunteers, descendants, & local authorities). Scheduling was certainly an issue because working in the cemetery required coordinating with the schedules of multiple people. Unpredictable weather sometimes meant canceling and rescheduling work in the cemetery. Restoration work requires professionals who know how to do this work properly, and that means dealing with the costs associated with their services. Trying to find the right professionals at a reasonable cost is difficult. It also meant fundraising effort were necessary to cover the costs. Additionally, I had to get permission for the work in the cemetery from La Fabrique, the cemetery management. Differing values about the value of the work made a diplomatic approach essential to being allowed to continue During my interviews with Steve Cameron, author and

Angela Robinson, Associate Professor at Memorial University, I discovered that both of them

are experiencing many of the same issues in their preservation work in Saint-Sylvestre, Québec

and King's Cove, Newfoundland respectively (see 3.3.3.2 Interviewing Authors and Scholars).

4.2.2 Data Collection Challenges

Data collection was often hindered by issues related to the physical evidence in the

cemetery and missing records, and discrepancies between the physical evidence and available

records or other information. The foremost challenges I encountered were: 1) Missing, broken,

and undecipherable monuments, 2) Undecipherable inscriptions, 3) Missing parish records, and

4) Discrepancies in the data.

4.2.2.1 Missing and Broken Monuments

There are several possible reasons for missing, broken, and undecipherable headstones.

One aspect is the physical deterioration of the stone over time due to the three most common

environmental factors, chemical weathering, such as the disintegration caused by acid rain,

physical weathering like the impact of freeze-thaw cycles, and biological weathering like the

growth of lichens (UCL Earth Sciences 2018) (see Figure 25).

Figure 25: Atmospheric pollution and biological growth cause headstones to become difficult to read. Photos were taken in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Image Credit: The Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network

Over time, many headstones fall into disrepair. Pieces such as crosses on the top of headstones fall off or the stone itself may be completely broken. Headstones can start to lean or fall over completely (See Figure 26).

Figure 26: Left: Broken monuments in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Right: Leaning monument with a temporary brace. Image Credit: The Canadian Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN)

The absence of specific headstones could be attributed to historical events, socioeconomic considerations, or distinctive cultural traditions of the Irish people at the time (Watkins 2002). In the case of the missing headstones in the Saint-Colomban cemetery, my

research points strongly to the possibility of lack of finances to maintain them, as families moved away, and the headstones deteriorated over time.

Another possible factor is the inability of cemetery caretakers to afford repairs, so the broken stones were either buried or discarded altogether, as was the case of the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Allegations from some of the Saint-Colomban descendants I spoke with suggested that people were taking the discarded headstones and using them as patio supports, although I cannot substantiate this story (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Examples of discarded monuments in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.
Photo by Kelley O'Rourke

This occurrence of missing or damaged headstones is not unique to Saint-Colomban, and sadly it is observed in many cemeteries' country wide. In Ste-Scholastique for instance, a parish close to Saint-Colomban, the caretakers threw the broken headstones down a ravine behind the chapel. Rather than repair the headstones, many of the broken headstones were either discarded or buried. Uncovering the reasons for these missing headstones adds to the cemetery's larger historical narrative and, by extension, the Irish diasporic experience.To address the missing stones, I made an inventory by comparing burials from the parish records to the existing 10

epitaphs and created a master list of each person buried in the cemetery between 1836-1847 (see Appendix II).

4.2.2.2 Undecipherable Headstones

Deciphering the inscriptions was another challenge in the data collection process. It is time-consuming and requires carefully cleaning the stones, however inscriptions that have been hidden from sight often yield important information related to the family of the individual buried in the cemetery. It is worth noting that the information on the memorial or headstone does not always correspond exactly with the information contained in parish records and other documents. One probable explanation for this mismatch is that in the case of monuments or headstones, they deteriorate over time, causing inscriptions to become worn or illegible because of weathering either by chemical (acid rain, pollution, salt), physical (temperature changes, wind, rain) or biological (lichen, trees, shrubs) factors and they need to be cleaned – if possible (UCL 2018).

Catherine O'Callaghan, is an example of how inscriptions can offer information that makes further research necessary. Catherine, the wife of Neil O'Donnell, was born in 1764 in County Tyrone, Ireland and died in Saint-Colomban on March 14, 1839. In her case, the inscription details and those written by the priest in the parish documents differ slightly. In the parish record, her surname name is written O'Callaghan and her age at death was noted as 75 years. She died on the 14th and was buried on the 18th of March 1839. Her husband's name is recorded as Neil O'Donnel. The epitaph gives the spelling of her last name as "O'Callahan," and the date of her death as "March 17, 1839, aged 66 years. When the headstone was fully cleaned her county of origin in Ireland was clearly visible (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Catherine O'Callaghan's before, during, and after the cleaning process.

| *Catherine O'Callaghan's headstone before cleaning. Photos by Kelley O'Rourke* | *Catherine O'Callaghan's headstone on day two of cleaning process.* | *Catherine O'Callaghan's headstone fully cleaned.* |

Discrepancies can also arise due to variations in reporting - the person giving the information might not know the exact details or the carver erred. Therefore, a thorough cross-referencing of multiple sources is important and time consuming, to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the reconstructed family profiles. If I were to add a degree of confidence to the accuracy of information gathered, parish records would be rated higher than epitaph information. I could extend this approach when searching for missing stones for example, the closer the relationship, spouse, mother, father or sibling would have a higher rating of confidence in estimating the possible location than that of a grandparent, aunt, uncle or cousin.

The symbols on the headstones, such as simple or ornate crosses reflecting their faith and references to counties like Cork, Westmeath, Queen's, and Tyrone establish geographic linkages to Ireland. For example, the weeping willow paired with a cross on Catherine O'Callaghan's headstone (shown above in Figure 28) can be interpreted as a sign of immortality. These carvings demonstrate the significant importance of genealogy in understanding both personal and historical geographies with details like names, dates and ages. Cultural and religious symbols

reflect insights into beliefs, values and traditions such as the use of the cross. Such details provide a deeper understanding of the community's origins and the personal identities of those interred in the cemetery. Carvings serve to commemorate the dead. (For the remaining 9 of the 10 photos of headstones in the Saint-Colomban cemetery from the 1836-1847 time period and interpretations of their symbols, see Appendices XII and XIII respectively.)

4.2.2.3 Missing Parish Records

Church records can help in deciphering headstones that are difficult to read or in some cases, point out inaccuracies. What happens when the Parish record is missing? One example I came across in my research, centers around the information about the death and burial of George Williams and illustrates the added research that is required when a parish record is absent.

Additionally, the headstone for George Williams and Mary Kelly was no longer in its original location within the cemetery; instead, it was discovered among numerous discarded headstones behind the church. The epitaph on George Williams' headstone, states he died on June 13, 1842, which seems straightforward. However, several factors raised questions about its accuracy and suggested that there might be another explanation. So, I needed to tackle the question of George's missing burial record.

The discrepancy in the recorded year of George's death became clear when looking at the marriage records of his children. Although the headstone says he died in 1842, the marriage records indicate George Williams was listed as deceased in events occurring before that year. For instance, at the marriage of his daughter Catherine to Mathew McGarr on April 10, 1837, and again at the marriage of his son George to Mary Burns on August 17, 1841, he is recorded as already dead (see Appendix XIV – Missing Parish Records – George Williams).

This inconsistency was further highlighted by baptism record of his son, Thomas on July 27, 1833, which shows George was still alive in 1833. Together these records suggest that George Williams likely passed away between 1833 and 1837 (see Appendix XIV – Missing Parish Records – George Williams).

Additionally, insights from an interview with Claude Bourguignon on November 15, 2023, provide valuable context. According to Claude, the 1837 Rebellion tensions led to a deliberate fire in the rectory, resulting in the destruction of records from 1836. Father Etienne Blythe, the priest at the time, attempted to reconstruct vital lists from memory. Considering this, George might have been inadvertently omitted from the reconstructed parish records, especially if he passed away during the turbulent period between 1833 and 1837. Moreover, the absence of any death or burial records for George Williams in the surrounding parishes of Ste-Scholastique and Saint-Benoit between 1833 and 1837 adds weight to the possibility that George's death was either not officially documented or the records perished in the fire in Saint-Colomban records in January of 1837. All things considered, it is possible that the original headstone broke and went missing for several reasons as previously mentioned. Subsequently, those responsible for erecting a new stone could not locate the burial record and estimated George's year of death as 1842.

This is one example of the complexity of historical record-keeping and the importance of critically revaluating the presented information when records, monuments and other information does not match. It also highlights the importance of cross-referencing information to verify its accuracy.

4.2.1.4 Discrepancies in the Data

In many instances, data from various sources doesn't match. The most unsettling discovery that I made illustrating this challenge, surrounds the twin children of Patrick McArdle and Catherine Burke, Patrick and Bridget McArdle. Twin Patrick is reported to have died December 13, 1841, one month after his birth on November 14, 1841. Patrick's twin sister, Bridget, does not appear on any record after her birth in 1841. There is no record of Bridget's burial, just Patrick's. I deduced that there was an error in the burial record. Was there another Patrick born after 1841 and before his brother (John born on July 28, 1845)? Not that I could find. John's baptism is recorded in the Saint-Colomban parish records but no other record for a second Patrick born after 1841 or a burial for Bridget, Patrick's twin sister. Yet, Patrick's name appears in the 1856 Iowa State census and 1860 United States Federal census living with his parents in Dubuque, Iowa. My assumption was either that the priest wrote down the wrong twin's name and it is Bridget who died, or the records are missing for Bridget's death and a second Patrick's baptism which seems unlikely. I believe the former theory to be correct. Neither parent was present at the burial, adding to my theory of mistaken identity and neither of the witnesses could sign their names, and the sex of infants is not readily apparent when they are clothed. More information about their interesting story is included in Appendix XV)

4.2.3 Mapping Challenges

When combining mapping results with data collection results I often discovered discrepancies that required further research. These types of discoveries included:

1. Missing monuments: A burial record exists, but no monument

2. Missing burial records: A monument exists, but no burial record.

3. Estimating a burial location in the absence of a headstone

4.2.3.1 Finding Missing Monuments

I discovered many situations in which burial records existed, but no headstone or monument could be found. For example, there are church records for the burial of five children of Patrick McArdle and Catherine Burke who died before the family left Saint-Colomban for Iowa in 1849. However, no monuments were found for any of these children. My research of the Saint-Colomban cemetery indicates the cultural practice was to bury families together or in proximity. The connection between the McArdle family and the Burke family led me to assume that the children were buried near family members in the Saint-Colomban cemetery, most likely in Edward Dwyer family plot where Catherine Burke's sister, Julia Burke is buried. The 5 McArdle children #91, #92, #93, #94 and #95 on the cemetery map (see Figure 29).

Figure 29: Presumed location of the McArdle children in the plot where their maternal aunt Julia Burke is buried.

Searching the church records combined with mapping and genealogical profiling to find family connections gave me a high degree of confidence of the location of the McCardle children. This process was essential to estimating other burial locations of individuals without

burial markers. The family group sheets for the Burke and McArdle families are found in Appendix III.

4.2.3.2 Finding Missing Burial Records

The case of James Ryan illustrates a situation in which there is no burial record, but his name appears on the headstone of his parents alongside his sister Heloisa Elizabeth Ryan who died a month prior to James. She is referred to as "sister" on the headstone. In the 1843 parish record, there was a blank area where the priest began an entry with "S30" followed by a scribble, as if he began to write the burial for James and forgot to finish it. The burial record is found in the record book where it would appear likely to be intended for James Ryan, because it follows another burial in late October of 1843, however it gives no useful identifying information. Fortunately, James's name and date of death 30 (October 1843) is inscribed on the back side of the headstone for John Ryan and Johanna Burke. The inscription reads: *"Sacred to the memory of our dear Sister Died Sept. 21 1843 AE16 yrs. 6 Mo. & to our dear little James who joined his sister on 30th Oct. 1843 AE 12.yrs"* (see Figures 30 and 31).
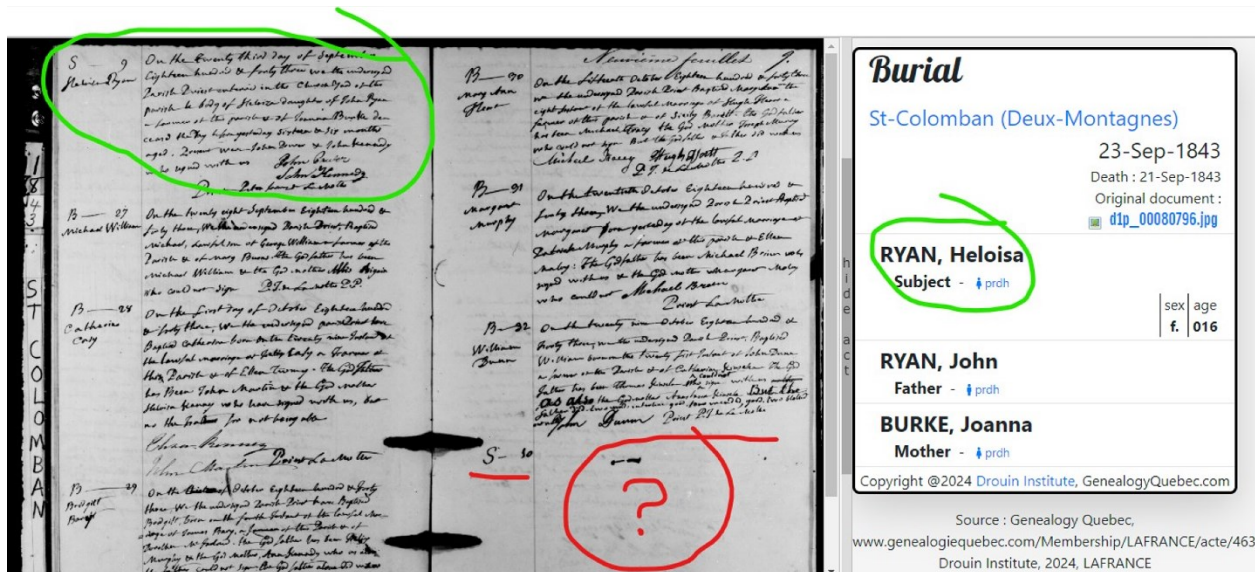
Figure 30: Saint-Colomban Parish Record from 1843 indicating the death of Heloisa Ryan in September and a blank spot for October 30 where James' burial record is missing.

Figure 31: Headstone for Heloisa Elizabeth Ryan and James Ryan. Photo by Kelley O'Rourke

4.2.3.3 Estimating Burial Locations in Absence of a Headstone

How do you estimate the burial location when there is no headstone? The following example aligns with Otterstrom and Bunker's (2013) approach, illustrating how genealogy and geography intersect to reveal historical migration patterns and personal identities. By examining parish records, I was able to piece together the life and family connections of Margaret Lawlor, who was buried in the cemetery on November 5, 1836, about 45 years old and with no visible headstone. Parish records revealed that Margaret was the first wife of Patrick Phelan. Further investigation into parish records showed that Margaret and Patrick had five children. The first

three born in Ireland, and the last two were born and baptized in Ste-Scholastique, indicating the family's migration to Canada between 1825 and 1828.

I also discovered that Patrick remarried Judith Kenna, and their headstone is present in the historic section of the cemetery. The area behind this section is now encroached upon by La Fabrique's urn garden, with headstones and steppingstones placed over old Irish burials. Some of the old headstones that might have existed in that location, were more than likely removed, and I suspect they were buried, as I found 4 other buried headstones in the area. The headstone of Patrick Phelan and his second wife, Judith Kenna is at the front of the cemetery where many of the first burials are located. It is adorned with carvings of shamrocks, ivy and oak leaves—symbols commonly associated with Ireland (Keister 2004). This evidence led me to infer, with a high level of confidence that Margaret's headstone was likely once located beside her husband's filling the gap of a missing headstone in the cemetery. Margaret and Patrick's son John is also buried in the family plot alongside Patrick and his second wife, Judith Kenna. These family connections support my theory with a high level of confidence that Margaret Lawlor is buried beside her husband Patrick and her son John (see Figure 32).

Figure 32: Presumed location of Margaret Lawlor (#78) in the area behind the headstone of Patrick Phelan and Julia Kenna.

In addition, I interviewed Frances Milliere, a descendant of Patrick Phelan and Judith Kenna, who shared that most of the family left Saint-Colomban and headed to Allumette Island, in Québec's Chapeau area across the river from Pembroke, Ontario where many of the Howards

settled. This oral history provided further context and helped trace the family's migration and settlement (see Appendix III – Family Group Sheets).

4.2.4 Genealogical Profile Challenges

Compiling genealogical profiles offers many challenges, the first one being that availability of records is limited. The churches kept records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, records such as census data for the time frame of my research is sparse. For example, census records prior to 1851 list only the heads of households but not the names of household members. The spelling of names can vary (e.g. Callaghan and Callahan), and there are many common first names within families that can cause further confusion (e.g., John, Patrick, Mary, and Bridget). Add to these problems, the instances of errors made by the recorders of records, such as the priest misidentifying the McArdle baby in the burial record.

4.2.5 Other Challenges

The fact that the Saint-Colomban cemetery is managed by La Fabrique, a legal body responsible for maintaining the cemetery, created a challenge to conducting research there. Not only is permission required to work in the historic section, but differences in viewpoint about whether the cemetery as real estate or a place of memorial and respect have become blatantly obvious.

Conflicts of interests surrounding cultural values and philosophies of land use in the Saint-Colomban cemetery have raised interesting and unforeseen challenges. The Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN), is currently facing an issue with La Fabrique regarding the encroachment on old burials. There is plenty of space in the cemetery, and so there is no need to disturb the historic graves. As well, a member of La Fabrique has glued statues onto some of the old monuments and removed pieces of old headstones to use as decorations. These

actions have created a very delicate situation in which the legal entity representing the cemetery and the those of us interested in preserving the historical section are at odds with each other.

Several factors have led to the current situation. The cultural makeup of Saint-Colomban itself has changed over the years leaving few residents with an Irish cultural background. The only group concerned with the importance of preserving the historic section are from outside the town. Also, La Fabrique is invoking a 1994 law, referred to as "the 100 Year Rule," which it believes gives them the right to sell the cemetery plots not claimed by families for 100 years. The original cemetery records have been lost, so there is no evidence of how long a plot has been supposedly "abandoned." Possibly, La Fabrique is misinterpreting the law, and we are currently exploring governmental and legal avenues to try and stop the actions of La Fabrique. Although La Fabrique acknowledges the cemetery's Irish and historic significance, they believe they have a right to continue. The legal issues being raised about who has the right to determine what happens to historic graves and monuments create an uncertain environment for researchers and preservationists dedicated preserving the historical and cultural repositories that to cemeteries represent. It remains to be seen over time whether a balance can be struck between competing needs and philosophies that arise.

As noted earlier, preservation efforts are expensive. For example, it costs $250 to upright, dig up, or straighten stones. The solution used to safely clean headstones and monuments costs $60 per liter. This reality has led to seeking grants from groups such as the Irish Embassy Support Program and Québec and the Québec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN) and seeking out descendants for donations to support our work. The Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN) hosts annual an Irish Heritage Day to expand our network, promote Irish culture and heritage, and raise funds.

4.3 Summary

To conclude this chapter, it is important to emphasize the different successes of this project. First, it provided some elements for answering the research question: To what extent can we identify missing Irish settlers known to be buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836 and 1847?. Second, it provided an original methodology to identify the missing headstones in the Saint-Colomban cemetery that could be adapted in many other similar contexts. Third, it provided a way to selectively identify what can be preserved and a way to enlarge the historical record of the early Irish settlers of Saint-Colomban. Finally, it provided a robust foundation for continuing to uncover the missing people and memories in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

The research process has been a long and arduous one, but the rewards were many. The methodology I developed was successful in uncovering data that contributes to deeper knowledge and understanding of the lives and culture of the early Irish settlers in Saint-Colomban. The cemetery, as I had initially speculated, was indeed a repository of information about the people who established small farming community there and the culture they brought with them from Ireland. This chapter summarizes the knowledge gained and lessons learned on my journey through the research process.

5.1 Answering the Research Question

Through my research, I was able to address some aspects of my research question: To what extent can we identify missing Irish settlers known to be buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836 and 1847?

Prior to starting the research, I had the names of only10 people buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836-1847, as they were the ones with visible markers. During the course of my research, I ultimately identified 156 Irish people buried in the cemetery during this timeframe. Uncovering all 156 names was a significant accomplishment, as these people are not forgotten even if they remain invisible in the cemetery. I think back on Susan's statement in Basu's (2006) work, "…Until I 'found' him in 1997 his life had passed into history. I have to wonder who the last person was to speak of him before me and how many years he had lain in that kirkyard before I came to visit. . . . I sometimes feel he lives again through me" (Basu 2006, 224).

Only 10 markers exist in the cemetery for the 156 names I uncovered. Painstakingly searching records and the cemetery grounds for the identities and locations, of the other 146 people without visible monuments uncovered huge amount of data concerning the early Irish settlers buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. To find that information meant not only searching historical records, but also finding and restoring headstones and monuments that had been discarded, buried, or otherwise missing, and seeking more information about the individuals and families from descendants. The combination of physical mapping and genealogical profiling contributed to the historical record of these people, but also added depth to their stories.

5.2 Relevance and Limits of Research Methods

Each research method, parish records, genealogy profiling, interviews and mapping, brought individual strengths to the thesis project and collectively contributed to the understanding and significance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery. While each method had its limitations, their combined use allowed for a solid analysis that supported the narrative of the Irish legacy. The integration of these methods helped construct the narratives and provided that link to the past. This genealogical reconstruction was a valuable resource for my broader thesis, which sought to explore how the absence of headstones from the Saint-Colomban cemetery (1836-1847) can fill gaps in the cemetery's history.

5.2.1 Relevance and Limits of Data Collection

Parish records are critical in building detailed family genealogies and identifying familial links. These records often include the names of parents, spouses, and offspring, which are invaluable for constructing detailed family trees. By analysing these records, I could begin to uncover the individual stories of those buried in the cemetery and understand the broader familial

networks. However, parish records have their limitations. They can sometimes be incomplete or contain errors, such as misspelled names or incorrect dates, or they are missing altogether, which can complicate the research. As in the cases of James Ryan (missing record), Patrick McArdle (misidentified) and George Williams (missing record), not all events were recorded, and some records may have been lost or damaged over time.

Another example of limitations in parish records is surnames. Surname evidence can help define cultural heritage, but it has limitations. Surnames can often reveal a person's heritage, but they are not always accurate. People may have names from one culture yet identify with another through marriage, adoption, or personal choice. As a result, while surname evidence is useful, it should be combined with other types of information to reach more precise findings.

During my study, I divided the names to obtain a better idea of how many Irish were buried in the cemetery. I used census and parish records to back up my information. In the 1825 Census for instance, the names, Pierre Miron, Jean-Baptiste Miron, Francois Labrosse and Joseph Houde or Houle are not names you would typically find in Ireland. When I cross reference with parish records, I can trace these families to a French cultural background. Census data provide more detailed information, such as place of birth, language spoken, and familial links, which can provide a better understanding of cultural background. By integrating surname evidence and census data, I was able to construct a more realistic picture of the Irish presence in the Saint-Colomban cemetery and gain a better understanding of the community's overall cultural dynamics (See Figure 33).

Tableau 2.1

Recensement de la population du territoire de Saint-Colomban en 1825

Noms des chefs de famille	Nombre total de personnes demeurant dans chaque maison	Noms des chefs de famille	Nombre total de personnes demeurant dans chaque maison
Pierre Miron	8	Owen Manning	10
Jean-Baptiste Miron	8	Michael [illisible]	6
Michael Carthy	4	John [illisible]	4
Michael Molloy	3	Philip Reily	5
Patrick Molloy	1	John Reily	3
Thomas Keogh	10	Hugh Reily	1
Richard Power	9	James Cowley	6
Michael Murphy	12	Patrick [illisible]	8
François [illisible]	2	William McCormick	3
Michael Ryan	4	Michael Fahey	7
Patrick Kelly	3	Cornelius Horan	1
Patrick Shea	5	Anthony Murphy	6
Peter Canfield	7	Michael Barden	4
Anthony Dempsey	4	James Murphy	7
Peter Dempsey	1	Patrick [Murray ?]	1
Edmund Magher	5	John Murray	4
James Quinlan	4	James Murphy	4
John Ryan	6	Duncan McNabb	9
Edward Elliott	1	François [Labrosse ?]	5
John O'Brien	4	John Ryan	4
Denis Carthy	4	Richard Burke	1
John Murphy	4	Duncan [McDonald ?]	3
[illisible]	7	Michael Mc[illisible]	5
John [illisible]	2	François [illisible]	9
[illisible] Howard	3	Joseph Houle ou Houde	2
[illisible]	4		
[illisible]	4	**Total**	**253**
Brian Fenegan	5	Source : recensement du Bas-Canada, paroisse Sainte-Scholastique, 1825	
[illisible] Casey	1		

Figure 33: Census of Lower Canada Sainte-Scholastique, 1825: These are the names that are associated with the Saint-Colomban parish. Credit: (Claude Bourguignon 1990, p. 35)

5.2.2 Relevance and Limits of Genealogy Profiling

My genealogy discoveries served as a key to understanding the lives, affiliations, and culture of the people buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Integrating genealogy profiling and mapping techniques was crucial in discovering the historical narratives. I was able to create family links that would allow me to estimate where those buried with no tangible markers might lay. It was the prequel to the construction of the family narratives. By tracing the lineage and

connections of those buried in the cemetery, I could contextualize the lives and deaths of individuals within their family and community network. Together, the information I acquired from researching epitaphs and parish records proved invaluable in laying the foundation in building family trees and narratives.

One limitation of genealogy profiling is that it relies heavily on the availability and accuracy of historical records. In cases where records are missing or incomplete, it can be challenging to draw definitive conclusions. A prime example would be the discrepancies between the cemetery epitaphs, parish records, and census records. Common sense and understanding the context of the research helps to support an alternative theory when the records do not match. Drawing from other primary sources such as probate and land records, photos, letters, newspapers, and oral stories played a vital role in the reconstruction of the family genealogies and narratives and helps to support the direction of the research when documents do not always synchronize. Another limitation is that the process is very time-consuming and often requires corroboration from multiple sources to ensure accuracy.

5.2.3 Relevance and Limits of Oral Interviews

Conducting interviews with descendants, historians and scholars provided invaluable firsthand accounts and insights that brought a very touching and human aspect into the research. These oral stories offered personal perspectives and stories that are not available in written records, helping to fill in the gaps and provide a more meaningful understanding of the community's history and the significance of the cemetery. However, interviews can be subjective, with memories potentially influenced by personal biases or the passage of time. The accuracy of the information provided can vary, and it is essential to cross-reference these accounts with other data sources. Also, the sample size of interviews can limit the scope of the

insights gathered. In the Williams case, I interviewed siblings and first cousins who shared and supported the same story.

5.2.4 Relevance and Limits of Cemetery Mapping

Mapping the cemetery was key to visualizing burial patterns and connecting unmarked graves to known family plots. This spatial analysis allowed for a better understanding of how the cemetery was organized and how the family relationships were reflected in the burial practices. The cemetery was not laid out in straight rows but more of a zigzag pattern where family members were added to the family plot. For example, you would get three stones crammed in together and one set back in the same plot area. By plotting the genealogical data onto the map, I could hypothesize the likely burial locations of individuals without headstones with a higher level of confidence.

However, the effectiveness of mapping depends on the accuracy of the initial data and the clarity of the cemetery's layout. If the cemetery records are incomplete (there was no original map in this case) or if the physical markers have deteriorated over time, it can be challenging to ensure precise mapping. Sophisticated methods and tools like Ground Penetrating Radar would be good for locating possible burials, but it is expensive and doesn't identify persons, only possible burial locations.

5.3 Reflections on the Overall Project

Reflecting on the overall methodology and the project itself, there were many exciting moments and valuable lessons learned. But there are some limits to my approach that became evident as I progressed.

One significant limitation was the size of the research scope. Attempting to cover a wide range of individuals over a large period of time proved to be over ambitious and I became

discouraged when I got lost in the details. The effort to compile detailed genealogies and conduct interviews for many families across a decade resulted in a complex and sometimes overwhelming workload. This wide focus occasionally interfered with my analysis because my base was too large.

The reliance on parish records, while invaluable, highlighted some limitations. These records can be incomplete or contain errors, which led to challenges in constructing accurate family trees and added additional work in trying to make definitive conclusions. The same was true with the interviews. While valuable and adding a humanness to the narratives it varied in reliability due to the subjective nature of personal narratives.

One highlight of my research was finding the Hall photo (See Figures 15 and 16). It supports the belief that there were indeed family plots in the historic section of the Saint-Colomban cemetery. This is evidenced by the photograph of the Hall headstone and other markers that are surrounded by a fence and hedge, creating a distinct separation from the other headstones. This physical boundary suggests that these areas were designated family plots, reinforcing the practice of family-based burials in the cemetery. Identifying these family plots was instrumental in my research as it provided important links that helped locate burials with missing headstones. By understanding the family connections and the spatial organization within the cemetery, I was able to piece together the likely locations of unmarked graves.

5.4 Lessons Learned

From this experience, I have learned the importance of a more focused approach. Narrowing the research scope to fewer families for a more focused analysis would allow for a deeper dive into the personal histories, cultural practices and social dynamics of specific families providing a more thorough understanding of their experiences and contributions. For future

projects, I would recommend focusing on only one or two specific areas of interest. Selecting a few representative families for in-depth research would make the project more manageable and ensure a higher quality of analysis. I was over ambitious!

Studying the iconology as featured in Andrea Chaddock's (2011) work. Chaddock's (2011) approach examined specific cultural symbols to discover insights into a community's values and identity (Chaddock 2011). I wouldn't change conducting the interviews with descendants because it was essential in mapping and creating the narratives. The stories and photos gave the research its depth and a human touch that you don't often see in similar studies.

5.5 Moving Forward

In conclusion, while the ambitious scope of this project offered many exciting moments and valuable insights, a more focused and concentrated approach could enhance the depth and quality of the research. This was a valuable lesson for me for refining future methodologies in obtaining precise and meaningful outcomes in any similar projects I undertake.

My thesis was part of an ongoing project that I have been working on for many years in the cemetery, and I plan to continue my work through the ongoing Saint-Colomban cemetery project. Through my involvement with the Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN), I will continue to work toward the goals defined in the CIMPN's mission statement, which are to preserve, educate, and promote Irish heritage. We are committed to protecting the historical and cultural significance of sites like the Saint-Colomban cemetery because we know that the gaps in history will continue to grow especially if the old Irish headstones are deliberately left to ruin.

The CIMPN organization also provides an avenue through which to continue sharing my methodology and results with other groups. I see my methodology as a model that can be used

not only by groups interested in preserving the history and culture of Irish immigrants to Canada, but also by groups who might be interested in preserving the history and culture of other immigrant populations. Speaking engagements and posting information on the CIMPN website and social media are channels I will continue to use to disseminate information and promote preservation of the history and culture of our immigrant ancestors. (See Appendix XVI - The Irish Stories of the Saint-Colomban cemetery, for QR Code and link to a brief video explaining the history and importance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery project.)

I am very proud of the work and the overall accomplishment of bringing Saint-Colomban's historic significance to the forefront and remembering those 156 people buried between 1836 and 1847. This work has emphasized their contributions to the Irish cultural footprint of Saint-Colomban and the overall Irish diaspora in Canada. The cemetery can be aptly described as a living outdoor museum ("Cemeteries as Outdoor Museums" 2017), the process of locating missing monuments becomes a continuing journey of uncovering untold stories, further adding layers to the rich history of Saint-Colomban.

> "– both the museum and the cemetery are places where the absent is made present. Both are sites defined by praesentia, that is '[…] a way of knowing the world that is both inside and outside of knowledge as a set of representational practices […] Both a form of *the present* and a form of *presencing something absent*' (Hetherington 2003b: 1937) (M. Meyer and Woodthorpe 2008, Introduction)."

> "Speechless,! ay, speechless, for their Gaelic tongue
>
> Is dead; as wanderers from some far-off age
>
> They strike the shores of human life, to wage
>
> A too unequal fight with toil and wrong.

"This ' Innocent!' are her steps also bound.

To thee, 0 great New World of passionate strife?

Are hearts there loving enough to guard her life

'Mid thine harsh din, 'mid thine unresting round?

"These innocents-these babes-ay, babes and men

Alike, for men all dim with age are here,

Driven from their hillside homes, so bare, so dear.

Would they had died before that bitter ' then!

"Ah, Christ! behold Thy lambs! behold Thy sheep!

Within my hands one moment they may rest,

Feed, and be satisfied-laugh light and jest;

Then forth upon their way to toil and weep--

To sin perchance. These maidens, all untried--

In womanhood so childlike-strong, yet weak,

So guardless and so guileless-wolves that reek

With scent of blood against their coming bide.

" Forth fare ye, wanderers, o'er the misty deep -

Farewell, farewell! Dumb, exiled, and oppressed,

Will ye look back to this one hour of rest?

Ah, Christ! behold Thy lambs! behold Thy sheep!"

("Our Poets. No. 20: Charlotte Grace O'Brien" 1888, 728–32)

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Appendices

Appendix I - Permission from Généalogie Québec for use of Copyright Material

Hi Kelley,

Thank you for reaching out and asking, and for your kind words. You can go ahead and use specific data from the website in your work.

Best regards,

On Sun, Jan 14, 2024 at 9:56 AM <orourke.kelley@yahoo.com> wrote:

> Good morning Sébastien and François,
>
> Happy New Year!
>
> I trust this message finds you well. I am a long-time member and dedicated genealogy researcher. I have been an active participant in the Genealogy Quebec community for quite some time. Currently, I am pursuing my master's degree and conducting research on the pre-famine Irish population, with a specific focus on Saint-Colomban in the lower Laurentians. Aside from my master's, myself and several volunteers have been dedicated to preserve the integrity and promote the invaluable historical footprint of the Irish buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery, which was officially founded in 1836.
>
> I am reaching out to express my appreciation for the valuable resources provided by Genealogy Quebec and to seek your permission to use certain copyrighted indexing data for my master's thesis. The comprehensive and well-curated information available on your platform is instrumental to my research, enhancing the depth and accuracy of my work.
>
> Recognizing the importance of copyright protection, I am seeking your formal permission to incorporate specific data from Genealogy Quebec into my academic research. Additionally, I am eager to adhere to any guidelines or requirements you may have regarding the proper citation and sourcing of the materials I plan to utilize.
>
> As a long-time member, I am committed to upholding the principles of ethical genealogy research and ensuring that the data is used solely for academic

purposes within the scope of my master's thesis. If there are any terms or conditions you would like me to follow, or if you have specific procedures in place, I would be more than happy to comply.

I value the contributions of Genealogy Quebec to the genealogy community and understand the importance of preserving and respecting the work that has gone into creating and maintaining these resources. I am grateful for your consideration of this request and look forward to the opportunity to enrich my research through the inclusion of Genealogy Quebec data.

Thank you for your time and the invaluable service you provide to genealogy researchers like me.

Kelley O'Rourke,

MSc Student, Concordia University

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Appendix II - List of Burials Between 1836-1847

The following table lists the 156 names of people identified as buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery between 1836 and 1847. There are six (6) people with headstones, four (4) people with monuments, and the proposed locations of 25 burials without headstones or monuments. One person of the six with headstones had no parish burial record. There are also two (2) children with a headstone who died shortly after immigrating in 1847. There are nine (9) people who have cultural backgrounds other than Irish.

	Sex	Last Name	First Name	Place of Baptism	Date of Birth: D/M/Y	Date of Death: D/M/Y	FIND A GRAVE LINK
1	F	Barrett	Mary	St-Colomban, Québec	13/04/1841	14/04/1841	MARY BARRETT GRAVE
2	M	Barrett	Thomas	Québec	1837	20/04/1841	THOMAS BARRETT GRAVE
3	M	Boyle	John	County Sligo, Ireland	ABT 1774	05/10/1836	JOHN BOYLE GRAVE
4	?	Boyle	Baby	St-Colomban, Québec	14/04/1840	15/04/1840	BABY BOYLE GRAVE
5	M	Boyle	Francis	County Sligo, Ireland	1807	06/06/1842	FRANCIS BOYLE GRAVE
6	F	Boyle	Sara	Ireland	1796	08/02/1843	SARAH BOYLE GRAVE
7	M	Boyle	James	Ireland	1798	03/03/1847	JAMES BOYLE GRAVE
8	M	Breen	Patrick	County Wexford, Ireland	1760	23/07/1842	PATRICK BREEN GRAVE
9	F	Brophy	Helen	St-Colomban, Québec	14/02/1837	27/02/1837	HELEN BROPHY GRAVE
10	F	Buckley	Catherine	Ireland	ABT 1793	24/03/1838	CATHERINE BUCKLEY GRAVE
11	F	Cahill	Ellen	Ireland	1795	27/05/1842	ELLEN CAHILL GRAVE
12	F	Carey	Elizabeth	County Westmeath, Ireland	1807	07/02/1843	ELIZABETH CAREY GRAVE
13	M	Casey	William	County Tipperary, Ireland ?	ABT 1772	26/08/1836	WILLIAM CASEY GRAVE
14	F	Casey	Catherine	County Tipperary, Ireland	ABT 1814	01/04/1841	CATHERINE CASEY GRAVE
15	M	Casey	William	St-Colomban, Québec	22/08/1844	05/04/1845	WILLIAM CASEY GRAVE
16	M	Cash	William	?	ABT 1791	26/05/1836	WILLIAM CASH GRAVE
17	M	Culleton	Michael	St-Colomban, Québec	25/11/1840	28/11/1840	MICHAEL CULLETON GRAVE
18	M	Daly	Hugh	Ireland	1767	22/04/1842	HUGH DALY GRAVE
19	?	Dempsey	Baby	St-Colomban, Québec	24/04/1838	25/04/1838	BABY DEMPSEY GRAVE
20	M	Dempsey	Anthony	County Kilkenny, Ireland	ABT 1758	19/06/1838	ANTHONY DEMPSEY GRAVE
21	M	Dempsey	Thomas	County Kilkenny, Ireland	ABT 1811	07/02/1841	THOMAS DEMPSEY GRAVE
22	M	Dempsey	James	St-Colomban, Québec	11/02/1839	13/02/1839	JAMES DEMPSEY GRAVE
23	M	Dempsey	Anthony	St-Colomban, Québec	14/02/1840	27/10/1840	ANTHONY DEMPSEY GRAVE
24	F	Develin	Anne (twin)	St-Colomban, Québec	07/03/1836	18/03/1836	ANN DEVLIN GRAVE
25	M	Develin	Patt (twin)	St-Colomban, Québec	07/03/1836	09/03/1836	PATT DEVLIN GRAVE
26	F	Develin	Margaret	St-Colomban, Québec	28/12/1836	29/05/1840	MARGARET DEVLIN GRAVE
27	M	Develin/Devlin	Peter	Ireland	1811	30/04/1842	PETER DEVLIN GRAVE
28	M	Doran	William	County Kilkenny, Ireland	ABT 1817	10/12/1836	WILLIAM DORAN GRAVE
29	M	Doyle	Patrick	County Wicklow, Ireland ?	ABT 1776	21/08/1836	PATRICK DOYLE GRAVE
30	F	Duffy	Bridget	County Tyrone, Ireland	ABT 1798	01/05/1836	BRIDGET DUFFY GRAVE
31	M	Dunn	Stephen	St-Colomban, Québec	18/03/1839	28/03/1839	STEPHEN DUNN GRAVE
32	M	Dunn	William	St-Colomban, Québec	11/02/1837	26/11/1839	WILLIAM DUNN GRAVE
33	F	Elliott	Alice	St-Jérôme, Québec	13/03/1838	19/05/1838	ALICE ELLIOTT GRAVE
34	F	Fahey	Margaret	St-Colomban, Québec	03/03/1838	31/07/1841	MARGARET FAHEY GRAVE
35	F	Finnigan	Anne	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	13/02/1831	03/03/1845	ANN FINNIGAN GRAVE
36	F	Flannery	Judith	Ireland	1803	02/07/1843	JUDITH FLANNERY GRAVE
37	F	Flint	Ellen/Helen	Ireland	1769	07/03/1843	HELEN FLINT GRAVE
38	M	Forrester	John	St-Colomban, Québec	14/08/1844	14/08/1844	JOHN FORRESTER GRAVE
39	F	Forrester	Ann	St-Colomban, Québec	21/10/1842	18/06/1845	ANN FORRESTER GRAVE
40	F	Gavan	Mary	St-Jérôme, Québec	07/07/1840	19/06/1841	MARY GAVAN GRAVE
41	F	Gavan	Honora	?	1835	26/04/1843	HONORA GAVAN GRAVE
42	M	Gavin	Malachy	Ireland	1808	18/02/1844	MALACHY GAVAN GRAVE
43	F	Gavin/Gordon	Mary	Ireland	1763	22/07/1842	MARY GAVIN GRAVE
44	M	Gravel	Martin	St-Eustache, Québec	1795	31/08/1845	MARTIN GRAVEL GRAVE
45	F	Hall	Mary	Ste-Scholastique, Québec ?	Nov. 1832	28/09/1836	MARY HALL GRAVE
46	M	Hall	James	St-Colomban, Québec	14/06/1839	22/05/1841	JAMES HALL GRAVE
47	F	Haly	Winifred	Ireland	1804	15/01/1844	WINIFRED HALY GRAVE
48	M	Hart	John	St-Colomban, Québec	26/11/1837	28/11/1837	JOHN HART GRAVE
49	M	Hart	Thomas	Québec	1835	17/10/1839	THOMAS HART GRAVE
50	M	Hennessy	Martin	Ireland	1817	16/05/1841	MARTIN HENNESSY GRAVE
51	F	Higgins	Ann	King's County, Ireland	ABT 1801	04/03/1837	ANN HIGGINS GRAVE
52	M	Howard	Denis	St-Colomban, Québec	04/02/1838	01/05/1843	DENIS HOWARD GRAVE
53	M	Hughes	James	Montréal, Québec	09/05/1833	25/08/1836	JAMES HUGHES GRAVE
54	?	Innis/Ennis	Baby	St-Colomban, Québec	25/03/1839	25/03/1839	BABY ENNIS GRAVE
55	M	Innis/Ennis	James	County Wexford, Ireland	1801	21/12/1846	JAMES ENNIS GRAVE
56	M	Innis/Ennis	John	St-Colomban, Québec	21/05/1846	18/10/1847	JOHN ENNIS GRAVE
57	F	Jacob	Margaret	Queen's County Ireland	1791	21/03/1844	MARGARET JACOB GRAVE
58	F	Joyce	Mary	County Tipperary, Ireland	ABT 1808	10/02/1836	MARY JOYCE GRAVE
59	F	Kehoe/Keogh	Mary	St-Colomban, Québec	21/01/1843	04/04/1846	MARY KEHOE GRAVE
60	F	Kehoe/Keogh	Ellen	St-Colomban, Québec	24/06/1846	10/11/1846	ELLEN KEHOE GRAVE
61	M	Kehoe/Keogh	Patrick	Ireland	1821	01/04/1847	PATRICK KEHOE GRAVE
62	F	Kehoe/Keogh	Mary	St-Colomban, Québec	16/07/1839	13/04/1840	MARY KEHOE GRAVE
63	M	Kelly	Patrick	St-Jérôme, Québec	31/10/1838	15/08/1839	PATRICK KELLY GRAVE
64	F	Kelly	Judith	St-Colomban, Québec	03/04/1837	12/08/1840	JUDITH KELLY GRAVE
65	M	Kelly	James	Ireland	1795	14/11/1843	JAMES KELLY GRAVE
66	F	Kelly	Mary	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1823	20/02/1844	MARY KELLY GRAVE
67	F	Kelly	Ellen	St-Colomban, Québec	09/1845	27/10/1845	ELLEN KELLY GRAVE

68	F	Kenna	Mary	St-Colomban, Québec	19/11/1842	15/12/1842	MARY KENNA GRAVE
69	M	Kenna	Michael	Ireland	1787	23/12/1843	MICHAEL KENNA GRAVE
70	F	Kenna	Mary	Ireland	1826	08/09/1844	MARY KENNA GRAVE
71	M	Kenna	Michael	St-Colomban, Québec	27/08/1847	12/11/1847	MICHAEL KENNA GRAVE
72	F	Kennedy	Rose	St-Colomban, Québec	22/02/1837	10/09/1837	ROSE KENNEDY GRAVE
73	F	Kinsella	Martha	St-Colomban, Québec	07/02/1840	22/06/1840	MARTHA KINSELLA GRAVE
74	M	Lachappelle	Honore	St-Augustin, Québec	11/07/1846	30/01/1847	HONORE LACHAPPELLE GRAVE
75	M	Lafferty	Hugh	St-Colomban, Québec	21/03/1842	15/06/1843	HUGH LAFFERTY GRAVE
76	M	Lafferty	Thomas	St-Colomban, Québec	12/02/1844	01/03/1844	THOMAS LAFFERTY GRAVE
77	F	Lafferty	Marian	St-Colomban, Québec	12/01/1847	19/01/1847	MARIAN LAFFERTY GRAVE
78	F	Lawlor	Margaret	County Meath, Ireland	ABT 1791	05/11/1836	MARGARET LAWLOR GRAVE
79	F	Locas/Lacasse	Olive	Ste-Thérèse, Québec	01/04/1822	25/12/1836	OLIVE LACASSE GRAVE
80	F	Madden	Helen	St-Colomban, Québec	30/07/1836	03/12/1837	HELEN MADDEN GRAVE
81	F	Madden	Ann	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	21/09/1833	09/09/1839	ANN MADDEN GRAVE
82	M	Madden	Patrick	County Mayo, Ireland	1765	15/05/1840	PATRICK MADDEN GRAVE
83	M	Madden	Patrick	St-Colomban, Québec	07/03/1841	14/03/1841	PATRICK MADDEN GRAVE
84	M	Madden	John	St-Colomban, Québec	09/ 07/1837	04/05/1841	JOHN MADDEN GRAVE
85	M	Madden	James	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	31/03/1831	01/06/1841	JAMES MADDEN GRAVE
86	M	Madden	William	St-Colomban, Québec	23/03/1837	08/06/1842	WILLIAM MADDEN GRAVE
87	M	Madden	John	Québec	1829	05/06/1842	JOHN MADDEN GRAVE
88	M	Madden	Ambroise	St-Colomban, Québec	11/02/1841	09/06/1842	AMBROSE MADDEN GRAVE
89	M	Mangan/Manning	Eugene	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1776	25/04/1846	EUGENE MANGAN GRAVE
90	M	Marshall	Thomas	Ireland	1776	07/10/1846	THOMAS MARSHALL GRAVE
91	M	McArdle	John	St-Jérôme, Québec	29/01/1837	12/02/1837	JOHN MCARDLE GRAVE
92	M	McArdle	Francis	St-Jérôme, Québec	27/07/1838	08/08/1838	FRANCIS MCARDLE GRAVE
93	F	McArdle	Ann	St-Colomban, Québec	03/08/1839	15/08/1839	ANN MCARDLE GRAVE
94	M	McArdle	Michael	St-Colomban, Québec	26/09/1840	04/10/1840	MICHAEL MCARDLE GRAVE
95	M	McArdle	Patrick	St-Colomban, Québec	14/11/1841	13/12/1841	PATRICK MCARDLE GRAVE
96	M	McCarthy	John	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	14/11/1831	30/06/1836	JOHN MCCARTHY GRAVE
97	F	McCarthy	Bridget	County Wexford, Ireland	1821	15/10/1842	BRIDGET MCCARTHY GRAVE
98	M	McCarthy	Patrick	Ireland	1803	19/05/1846	PATRICK MCCARTHY GRAVE
99	M	McCarthy	John	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	17/06/1826	13/11/1847	JOHN MCCARTHY GRAVE
100	F	McGarr	Bridget	Québec	Dec. 1834	09/06/1839	BRIDGET MCGARR GRAVE
101	F	Molloy	Ellen	Ireland	1814	13/08/1847	ELLEN MOLLOY GRAVE
102	M	Mooney	David	St-Colomban, Québec	27/02/1836	03/03/1836	DAVID MOONEY GRAVE
103	M	Murphy	Michael	County Kilkenny, Ireland?	ABT 1792	30/07/1836	MICHAEL MURPHY GRAVE
104	M	Murphy	James	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	29/08/1831	14/10/1836	JAMES MURPHY GRAVE
105	M	Murphy	Matthew	St-Colomban, Québec	13/02/1839	01/03/1839	MATHEW MURPHY GRAVE
106	F	Murphy	Jane	St-Colomban, Québec	08/01/1840	15/01/1840	JANE MURPHY GRAVE
107	M	Murphy	Peter	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	08/08/1838	27/12/1841	PETER MURPHY GRAVE
108	F	Murphy	Margaret	St-Colomban, Québec	15/09/1840	28/12/1841	MARGARET MURPHY GRAVE
109	?	Murphy	Baby	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	02/06/1842	08/06/1842	BABY MURPHY GRAVE
110	M	Murphy	John	Ireland	1799	12/06/1842	JOHN MURPHY GRAVE
111	F	Murphy	Anastasia	Ireland	1758	25/06/1842	ANASTASIA MURPHY GRAVE
112	M	Murphy	Patrick	County Leitrim, Ireland	1803	22/08/1846	PATRICK MURPHY GRAVE
113	F	Murphy	Elizabeth	Ireland	1821	17/10/1846	ELIZABETH MURPHY GRAVE
114	F	Nugent	Margaret	Ireland	1797	31/01/1847	MARGARET NUGENT GRAVE
115	F	O'Callaghan	Catherine	County Tyrone, Irland	1764	17/03/1839	CATHERINE O'CALLAGHAN GRAVE
116	F	O'Leary	Johanna	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	18/12/1834	05/08/1840	JOHANNA O'LEARY GRAVE
117	F	O'Leary	Helen/Ellen	St-Colomban, Québec	09/03/1836	10/10/1842	ELLEN O'LEARY GRAVE
118	?	O'Neil	None given	St-Colomban, Québec	07/04/1836	07/04/1836	BABY O'NEIL GRAVE
119	M	O'Shaughnessy	James	St-Jérôme, Québec	06/04/1838	13/04/1838	JAMES O'SHAUGHNESSY GRAVE
120	M	O'Shaughnessy	John	St-Colomban, Québec	19/04/1841	26/04/1841	JOHN O'SHAUGHNESSY GRAVE
121	M	O'Shaughnessy	John	St-Colomban, Québec	18/05/1842	27/05/1842	JOHN O'SHAUGHNESSY GRAVE
122	F	Phelan	Anne	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1787	05/05/1845	ANN PHELAN GRAVE
123	M	Phelan	John	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1844	05/09/1847	JOHN PHELAN GRAVE
124	F	Phelan	Mary	County Kilkenny, Ireland	1846	16/09/1847	MARY PHELAN GRAVE
125	F	Phelan	Anne	St-Colomban, Québec	09/10/1846	30/10/1847	ANN PHELAN GRAVE
126	F	Poitou StJean	Marie	Terrebone, Québec	15/08/1779	27/06/1847	MARIE POITEAU GRAVE
127	F	Poitou StJean Belair	Archange	Ste-Anne-des-Plaines, Québec	1792	02/05/1846	ARCHANGE POITEAU GRAVE
128	M	Power	Philip	St-Colomban, Québec	13/08/1841	22/08/1841	PHILIP POWER GRAVE
129	F	Power	Anastasia	County Waterford, Ireland	03/10/1777	19/03/1846	ANASTASIA POWER GRAVE
130	M	Purcell	Patrick	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	05/03/1835	31/08/1839	PATRICK PURCELL GRAVE
131	M	Riopelle	Pierre	Québec	ABT 1754	05/11/1836	PIERRE RIOPELLE GRAVE
132	M	Ryan	Edward	St-Colomban, Québec	18/03/1838	12/04/1838	EDWARD RYAN GRAVE
133	M	Ryan	Edward	County Tipperary, Ireland	ABT. 1773	02/06/1840	EDWARD RYAN GRAVE
134	M	Ryan	Patrick	St-Colomban, Québec	26/02/1836	10/09/1840	PATRICK RYAN GRAVE
135	F	Ryan	Judith	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	06/06/1826	15/08/1842	JUDITH RYAN GRAVE
136	F	Ryan	Héloïse Elizabeth	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	28/01/1827	21/09/1843	HELOISE E. RYAN GRAVE

Appendix II (Continued)

137	M	Ryan	James(missing Parish Record)	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	23/07/1831	30/10/1843	JAMES RYAN GRAVE
138	M	Scheffer	Thomas	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	11/01/1844	27/03/1845	THOMAS SCHEFFER
139	F	Scheffer	Mary Madeleine	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	15/01/1842	21/06/1845	MARY MADELEINE SCHEFFER GRAVE
140	F	Scheffer	Mary Elisabeth	Ste-Scholastique, Québec	28/10/1844	09/10/1845	MARY ELIZABETH SCHEFFER GRAVE
141	M	Shea	Patrick	County Kilkenny, Ireland	ABT 1793	13/11/1841	PATRICK SHEA GRAVE
142	M	Stapleton	Michael	St-Colomban, Québec	10/10/1838	9/11/1838	MICHAEL STAPLETON GRAVE
143	M	Stapleton	Lawrence	County Meath, Ireland	1793	13/02/1843	LAWRENCE STAPLETON GRAVE
144	M	Tracey	Daniel	County Tipperary, Ireland	ABT. 1789	28/03/1838	DANIEL TRACY GRAVE
145	M	Tracey	Daniel	County Tipperary, Ireland	ABT. 1797	24/02/1837	DANIEL TRACY GRAVE
146	M	Tracey	David	St-Colomban, Québec	27/07/1844	23/08/1844	DAVID TRACE GRAVE
147	M	Walsh	George	County Meath, Ireland	ABT 1776	08/06/1836	GEORGE WALSH GRAVE
148	?	Walsh/Welsh	Baby	St-Colomban, Québec	04/07/1839	04/07/1839	BABY WALSH GRAVE
149	F	Walsh/Welsh	Bridget	County Meath, Ireland	1820	07/11/1845	BRIDGET WALSH GRAVE
150	M	Walsh/Welsh	Charles	St-Colomban, Québec	01/03/1846	08/06/1846	CHARLES WALSH GRAVE
151	F	Walsh/Welsh	Mary	Ireland	1807	25/02/1847	MARY WALSH GRAVE
152	M	Welsh/Walsh	Robert	Possibly Co. Meath, Ire.	ABT 1814	25/03/1838	ROBERT WALSH GRAVE
153	M	Whelan/Phelan	Michael	Ireland	1804	10/05/1841	MICHAEL WHELAN GRAVE
154	F	Whelan/Phelan	Mary	Québec or United States	1839	05/11/1842	MARY WHELAN GRAVE
155	M	Williams	George	Glanmire, County Cork	ABT 1800	13/06/1842	GEORGE WILLIAMS GRAVE
156	M	Williams	George	St-Colomban, Québec	25/02/1847	16/07/1847	GEORGE WILLIAMS GRAVE

LEGEND:

COLOURS

J.P. LEGER NECROLOGY NUMBERS
FABRIQUE SAINT COLOMBAN NUMBERS
MONUMENTS RELOCATED TO WALL
COLUMNS AND ROWS OF BURIAL LOCATIONS
1836-1847 BURIALS
PROPOSED LOCATION OF BURIALS
MISSING PARISH RECORD
THE GLOBAL IRISH FAMINE WAY
EXISTING MONUMENTS FROM 1836-1847
FROM CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS OTHER THAN IRISH
MISSING FROM LEGER'S BOOK

Appendix III – Family Group Sheets

Family group sheets developed in in the process of finding potential links to descendants of the original 10 people with headstones in the Saint-Colomban cemetery. Photos in these group sheets were provided by family descendants. All sources available upon request

BURKE-MEAGHER FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Michael Burke

Husband:		Michael Burke	
	Birth:	1762 in Tipperary, Ireland	
	Death:	08 Feb 1830 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Father:	Patrick Burke	
	Mother:	Eleonora Helen Quigley	

Wife:		Catherine MahonMaher Meagher	
	Birth:	1761 in Ireland	
	Death:	29 Oct 1849 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Father:		
	Mother:		

Children:

1 M	Name:	Thomas Burke	
	Birth:	27 Sep 1800 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Death:	Unknown in Dubuque County, Iowa, USA	

2 F	Name:	Judith Burke	
	Birth:	15 Feb 1802 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Marriage:	12 Jun 1829 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	14 Feb 1884 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Edward Dwyer	

3 F	Name:	Catherine Burke	
	Birth:	11 Oct 1804 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Death:	Aft. 1868 in Iowa, USA	
	Spouse:	Patrick William McArdle	

4 F	Name:	Sarah Sally Burke	
	Birth:	Abt. 1805 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Marriage:	21 Nov 1825 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	07 Jul 1829 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Richard Burke	

5 M	Name:	Patrick Burke	
	Birth:	27 Feb 1809 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Marriage:	16 Feb 1835 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	Unknown	
	Spouse:	Catherine Murphy	

6 M	Name:	Michael Burke	
	Birth:	Abt. 1813 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Marriage:	14 Feb 1831 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	Unknown	
	Spouse:	Bridget Murphy	

7 F	Name:	Margaret Burke	
	Birth:	05 Feb 1813 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Death:	Unknown	
	Burial:	Albany, Green County, Wisconsin, United States of America	

Appendix III (Continued)

FLINT- MURPHY FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Helen Flint or Flynn

Husband:		James or John Molloy
	Birth:	1769 in Ireland
	Death:	Bef. 1828
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Wife:		Helen Flint or Flynn
	Birth:	1769 in Ireland
	Burial:	1843 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	07 Mar 1843 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Children:

1 M	Name:	Michael Molloy
	Birth:	1800 in Ireland
	Death:	14 Apr 1882 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Mary Murphy

2 M	Name:	Patrick Molloy
	Birth:	1813 in Ireland
	Marriage:	12 Feb 1833 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Notre-Dame
	Death:	18 Nov 1857 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Mary Manning

3 F	Name:	Ellen Molloy
	Birth:	Abt. 1814 in Ireland
	Marriage:	18 Feb 1828 in Sainte-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	13 Aug 1847 in Saint-Colomban, Loire-Atlantique, France
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Patrick Murphy

Notes:

HALL, JAMES FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for James Hall

Husband:		James Hall
	Birth:	1790 in County Tyrone, Ireland
	Marriage:	1825 in Eire Armagh, Ireland
	Death:	20 Jul 1877 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	21 Juil 1877 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Wife:		Alice O'Donnell
	Birth:	1794 in County Tyrone, Ireland
	Death:	27 Sep 1871 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Children:

1 F	Name:	Jane Hall
	Birth:	24 Nov 1831 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	03 Nov 1871 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	07 Nov 1871 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada

2 F	Name:	Mary Hall
	Birth:	Nov 1832
	Death:	28 Sep 1836 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	29 Sep 1836 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada

3 F	Name:	Ann Hall
	Birth:	1834 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	27 May 1851 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	Abt. 1890 in Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Eugene Owen Mangan Manning

4 M	Name:	John Hall
	Birth:	17 Jul 1836 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	19 Mar 1890 in St-Canut, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	1906 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	1906 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Spouse:	Bridget Tucker

5 M	Name:	James Hall
	Birth:	14 Jun 1839 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	1841 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	22 May 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

HOWARD-O'KEEFE FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Jeremiah Howard

Husband:		Jeremiah Howard
	Birth:	1788 in Cork, Cork, Ireland
	Marriage:	Abt. 1825 in St. Scholastique, Deux Montagnes, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	26 Mar 1865 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	29 Mar 1865 in Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	John Howard
	Mother:	Johanna Cremers

Wife:		Margaret O'Keefe
	Birth:	21 Sep 1805 in County Cork Ireland
	Death:	27 Mar 1887 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	Michael O'Keefe
	Mother:	Mary Foley

Children:

1 M	Name:	John Howard
	Birth:	13 Feb 1827 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	07 Nov 1865 in Montreal, Québec, Canada; Saint Patrick's Parish
	Death:	29 Mar 1895 in Grenville, Argenteuil, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Grenville, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Mary Hughes
	Other Spouses:	Helen (Ellen) Kelly

2 M	Name:	James Howard
	Birth:	16 Dec 1828 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	20 Oct 1856 in Ontario, Canada
	Death:	08 Jun 1906 in Eganville, Renfrew, Ontario, Canada
	Burial:	Eganville, Renfrew County, Ontario, Canada
	Spouse:	Johanna Howard

3 M	Name:	Michael Howard
	Birth:	24 Aug 1830 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown in Unknown

4 F	Name:	Mary Howard
	Birth:	28 Aug 1832 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	20 Aug 1861 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Saint Patrick Parish
	Death:	20 Nov 1923 in Detroit, Michigan, USA
	Burial:	Saginaw, Saginaw County, Michigan, United States of America
	Spouse:	James Byrne

5 F	Name:	Ann Bridget Howard
	Birth:	19 May 1834 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	09 Mar 1902 in St-Canut, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada

6 M	Name:	Patrick Howard
	Birth:	05 Apr 1836 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	17 Jan 1866 in Renfrew, Ontario, Canada
	Burial:	Bet. 1915–1923 in Pembroke, Ontario, Canada
	Death:	23 Aug 1917 in Pembroke, Ontario, Canada
	Spouse:	Mary McDonald

7 M	Name:	Denis Howard
	Birth:	04 Feb 1838 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	1843 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	01 May 1843 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

8 F	Name:	Catherine Howard
	Birth:	03 Feb 1840 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	05 Feb 1866 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Burial:	1927 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	30 May 1927 in Laval, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Joseph Carroll

9 M	Name:	Jeremiah K Howard
	Birth:	19 Feb 1843 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Abt. 1910 in Chicago, Cook, Illinois, USA

10 M	Name:	Denis Keefe Howard
	Birth:	08 Dec 1844 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	22 Jan 1916 in Seattle, King, Washington; "Washington Deaths and Burials, 1810-1960", database, FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:HV7C-N3ZM : Tue Oct 03 10:00:47 UTC 2023), Entry for Dennis K. Howard and Jeremiah Howard, 27 Jan 1916.
	Burial:	Seattle, King County, Washington, United States of America; Find a Grave Memorial ID: 257206908 Cavalry Cemetery Seattle, Washington
	Spouse:	Nellie M Lyons

Notes:

KELLY-SKEHAN FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Timothy Kelly

Husband:		Timothy Kelly
	Birth:	1818 in Tipperary, Ireland
	Marriage:	04 Jul 1843 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Burial:	1889 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	08 Mar 1889 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	Timothy Kelly
	Mother:	Margaret Cody

Wife:		Mary Skehan
	Birth:	1820 in Ireland
	Death:	Aft. 1900 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	Michael Skehan
	Mother:	Ellen Cahill

Children:

1 F	Name:	Mary Kelly
	Birth:	02 Jun 1844 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown

2 F	Name:	Ellen Kelly
	Birth:	Sep 1845 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	21 Oct 1845 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	27 Oct 1845 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

3 M	Name:	Michael Kelly
	Birth:	02 Oct 1846 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown

4 F	Name:	Eleonore Kelly
	Birth:	05 Oct 1848 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown

5 M	Name:	Timothy Kelly
	Birth:	01 May 1850 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	08 Nov 1887 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	12 Nov 1887 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada

6 F	Name:	Ann Kelly
	Birth:	11 Jun 1852 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown

7 F	Name:	Catherine Kelly
	Birth:	27 Dec 1853 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	1890 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada; Died in Montreal and buried in Saint-Colomban. She died of inflammation of the brain.
	Death:	14 Feb 1890 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada

KELLY-SKEHAN FAMILY (CONTINUED)

8 M	Name: Birth: Marriage: Death: Burial: Spouse: Other Spouses:	John Kelly 20 Sep 1855 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 25 Nov 1902 in Montreal, Québec, Canada 04 May 1917 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada 07 May 1917 in Montreal, Québec, Canada Angelina Cardinal Mary Clowe (06 Aug 1891 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; St-Jacques-le-Majeur Cathedral)	
9 F	Name: Birth: Marriage: Death: Spouse:	Margaret Kelly 23 Jul 1857 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 19 Nov 1901 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Saint. Patrick's Unknown William Novell	
10 F	Name: Birth: Marriage: Death: Spouse:	Bridget Kelly 23 Oct 1858 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 22 Aug 1893 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Saint Patrick Unknown Patrick Kelly	
11 F	Name: Birth: Marriage: Death: Burial: Spouse:	Julia Kelly Twin 14 Mar 1861 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 09 May 1905 in Montreal, Québec, Canada; St. Ann's de Montreal 10 Oct 1941 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada 11 Oct 1941 in Montreal, Québec, Canada Michael Fitzgerald	
12 F	Name: Birth: Death: Burial:	Elizabeth Kelly twin 14 Mar 1861 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 21 Mar 1863 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 22 Mar 1863 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada	

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

KENNY-JACOB FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for John Kenny

Husband:		John Kenny	
	Birth:	Abt. 1790 in Laois, Ireland	
	Death:	17 Dec 1874 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	18 Dec 1874 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada	
	Father:		
	Mother:		

Wife:		Margaret Jacob	
	Birth:	Abt. 1791 in Laois, Ireland	
	Death:	21 Mar 1844 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Father:		
	Mother:		

Children:

1 F	Name:	Catherine Kenny	
	Birth:	1823 in Laois, Ireland	
	Marriage:	11 Jan 1849 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	19 Jan 1874 in Rawdon, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	2 Févr 1874 in Rawdon, Québec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Francis (Felix) Quinn	

2 M	Name:	William Kenny	
	Birth:	01 Aug 1824 in St-Benoît, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Marriage:	14 Feb 1871 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	20 May 1899 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	23 May 1899 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Ellen Kennedy	

3 F	Name:	Ann Kenny	
	Birth:	Abt. Aug 1838 in Quebec	
	Marriage:	30 Sep 1861 in Montreal, Québec, Canada; Saint-Patrick	
	Death:	06 Nov 1904 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Felix Casey	

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

MADDEN-KEYS FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for James Madden

Husband:		James Madden

	Birth:	1807 in County Mayo, Ireland
	Marriage:	01 Jun 1835 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	24 Jul 1894 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America

	Father:	Patrick Madden
	Mother:	Helen Lawless

Wife:		Mary Keyes

	Birth:	Aug 1818 in County Kilkenny, Ireland
	Death:	16 Aug 1880 in Zwingle, Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America

	Father:	Patrick Keyes
	Mother:	Honora Phelan

Children:

1 F	Name:	Ellen Madden
	Birth:	30 Jul 1836 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	23 Dec 1837 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

2 F	Name:	Honora Madden
	Birth:	12 Aug 1838 in St-Jerome, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	1919
	Spouse:	William James Mcdonald

3 M	Name:	Patrick Madden
	Birth:	07 Mar 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	14 Mar 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

4 F	Name:	Mary Ann Madden
	Birth:	16 Feb 1843 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	1874
	Death:	17 Jan 1915 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA; Cause: Pneumonia Mt. Calvary Cemetery
	Burial:	Dubuque, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America
	Spouse:	James G Herzog

5 F	Name:	Elisabeth Madden
	Birth:	08 Aug 1845 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	1869
	Death:	12 Feb 1923 in Pincher Creek, Claresholm Census Division, Alberta, Canada
	Burial:	Pincher Creek, Claresholm Census Division, Alberta, Canada
	Spouse:	Denis Braniff

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MADDEN-KEYS (CONTINUED)

6 F	Name:	Judith Madden
	Birth:	06 Feb 1848 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	1874
	Death:	06 Nov 1931 in Bernard, Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America
	Spouse:	Joseph Herzog

7 F	Name:	Bridget Madden
	Birth:	01 Jun 1852 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Death:	21 Feb 1931 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA; Cause: Pneumonia Burial: St. Joseph
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America

8 F	Name:	Catharine Madden
	Birth:	Abt. 1859 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Death:	10 Aug 1911 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America

9 F	Name:	Ellen R Madden
	Birth:	04 Oct 1860 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Marriage:	04 Jun 1890 in Dubuque, Iowa, USA
	Death:	30 Apr 1941 in Epworth, Dubuque, Iowa, USA; Cause: Hypertension, Pulmonary congestion, and Myocardial Degen. Burial: St. Joseph
	Burial:	Zwingle, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America
	Spouse:	Raymond J Fessler

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

MADDEN-O'MEARA FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Hugh Madden

Husband:		Hugh Madden	
	Birth:	1797 in County Mayo, Ireland	
	Marriage:	02 Mar 1829 in Montreal, Québec, Canada	
	Death:	02 Sep 1894 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada	
	Father:	Patrick Madden	
	Mother:	Helen Lawless	

Wife:		Bridget O'Meara	
	Birth:	1803 in County Tipperary, Ireland	
	Death:	01 Apr 1877 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	04 Apr 1877 in Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada	
	Father:	John O'Meara	
	Mother:	Mary Hacket	

Children:

1 ?	Name:	Baby Madden	
	Birth:	31 Jan 1830 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	31 Jan 1830 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	

2 M	Name:	James Madden	
	Birth:	31 Mar 1831 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	01 Jun 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	

3 F	Name:	Mary Madden	
	Birth:	16 Dec 1832 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Marriage:	05 Jun 1855 in Montreal, Québec, Canada	
	Death:	13 Apr 1872 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	15 Apr 1872 in Montreal, Québec, Canada	
	Spouse:	James Polan	

4 M	Name:	Patrick Hugh Madden	
	Birth:	14 Oct 1834 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada	
	Marriage:	25 Feb 1862 in St. Colomban, Mirabel, Deux-Montagnes, Québec, Canada	
	Death:	17 Oct 1908 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Burial:	19 Oct 1908 in La Rivière-du-Nord, Québec, Canada	
	Spouse:	Mary Elliot	

5 M	Name:	John Madden	
	Birth:	09 Jul 1837 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	05 Apr 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada AddMyTreeTags™	

6 M	Name:	William Madden	
	Birth:	21 May 1839 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	
	Death:	Unknown	

MADDEN-O'MEARA (CONTINUED)

7 F	Name:	Catharine Madden
	Birth:	05 Apr 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	06 Oct 1863 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	25 Apr 1922 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	William Hart
8 F	Name:	Ellen Madden
	Birth:	18 Feb 1843 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada Add MyTreeTags™
	Death:	Unknown in Beauport, Quebec (Urban Agglomeration), Quebec, Canada

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

MCARDLE-BURKE FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Patrick William McArdle

Husband:		Patrick William McArdle
	Birth:	1810 in County Tyrone, Ireland
	Death:	11 Feb 1864 in Prairie Creek, Dubuque, Iowa, USA; Burial: Holy Family Catholic Cemetery Peosta, Iowa
	Burial:	14 Feb 1864 in Peosta, Dubuque, Iowa, USA; Buried in old section - 7 No stone. Burial recorded in 1862-1864 Holy Family Register of Internments
	Father:	John McArdle
	Mother:	Bridget Hughes

Wife:		Catherine Burke
	Birth:	11 Oct 1804 in Tipperary, Ireland
	Death:	Aft. 1868 in Iowa, USA
	Father:	Michael Burke
	Mother:	Catherine Mahon Maher Meagher

Children:

1 M	Name:	James McArdle
	Birth:	31 Aug 1834 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Aft. 1879

2 F	Name:	Mary McArdle
	Birth:	04 Jan 1836 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	20 Apr 1857 in Dubuque County, Iowa; "Iowa, County Marriages, 1838-1934", , FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XJKN-DQ5 : Wed Dec 06 22:19:21 UTC 2023), Entry for Patrick Morgan and Mary Mccardell, 20 Apr 1857.
	Death:	21 Sep 1874 in Dubuque County, Iowa, United States of America
	Burial:	Ackley, Franklin, Iowa, USA
	Spouse:	Patrick Morgan

3 M	Name:	John McArdle
	Birth:	29 Jan 1837 in St-Jerome, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	14 Feb 1837 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

4 M	Name:	Francis McArdle
	Birth:	30 Jul 1838 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	15 Aug 1838 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

5 F	Name:	Ann McArdle
	Birth:	03 Aug 1839 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	15 Aug 1839 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	15 Aug 1839 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada

MCARDLE-BURKE (CONTINUED)

6 M	Name:	Michael McArdle
	Birth:	26 Sep 1840 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	04 Oct 1840 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
7 F	Name:	Bridget McArdle twin
	Birth:	14 Nov 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	Unknown
8 M	Name:	Patrick McArdle twin
	Burial:	1841 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Birth:	14 Nov 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	13 Dec 1841 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
9 M	Name:	William Patrick McArdle
	Birth:	1842 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	04 Sep 1884 in Omaha, Douglas, Nebraska; "Find a Grave Index," , FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVV2-2ZSJ : 27 July 2019), William McArdle, 1884; Burial, Omaha, Douglas, Nebraska, United States of America, Prospect Hill Cemetery; citing record ID 19882013, Find a Grave, htt
	Burial:	Omaha, Douglas County, Nebraska, United States of America
10 M	Name:	John McArdle
	Birth:	28 Jul 1845 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	01 Dec 1921 in Nebraska, USA
	Burial:	Omaha, Douglas County, Nebraska, United States of America
	Spouse:	Maria (Mary) Theresia (Jenny) Müller Miller
	Other Spouses:	Emma M. Johnson (21 Jan 1875 in Omaha, Nebraska, USA)

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

MURPHY, PATRICK FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for James Murphy

Husband:		James Murphy
	Birth:	1770 in Ireland
	Death:	Bef. 1834
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Wife:		Ann Connolly
	Birth:	1770 in Ireland
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Children:

1 F	Name:	Mary Murphy
	Birth:	Abt. 1796 in Ireland
	Death:	21 Dec 1859 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	23 Dec 1859 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Spouse:	John J. Kennedy

2 M	Name:	Felix Murphy
	Birth:	1798 in Ireland
	Marriage:	28 Jul 1834 in Ste-Scholastique, Québec, Canada
	Burial:	1852 in Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	18 Aug 1852 in Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Catherine Stapleton

3 M	Name:	Patrick Murphy
	Birth:	1803 in Ireland
	Death:	24 Aug 1846 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

PHELAN-MURPHY FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for John Phelan

Husband:		John Phelan
	Birth:	1798 in Abbeyleix, Laois, Ireland
	Death:	26 Mar 1882 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	29 Mar 1882 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Father:	Patrick Phelan
	Mother:	
	Other Spouses:	Catherine Murphy

Wife:		Elizabeth Judith McEvoy
	Birth:	1800 in Abbeyleix, Laois, Ireland
	Death:	1838 in Abbeyleix, Laois, Ireland
	Father:	
	Mother:	

Children:

1 F	Name:	Elizabeth Phelan
	Birth:	Abt. 1837 in Laois, Ireland
	Marriage:	08 Apr 1880 in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
	Death:	11 Oct 1894 in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
	Burial:	13 Oct 1894 in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
	Spouse:	Guillaume Chalifoux
	Other Spouses:	Francois Emeri Maurice Lafantasie (16 Jan 1866 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada)

2 M	Name:	Martin Phelan
	Birth:	01 Nov 1840 in Abbeyleix, Laois, Ireland
	Marriage:	05 Feb 1866 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada
	Death:	03 Jul 1916 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	03 Jul 1916 in La Rivière-du-Nord, Québec, Canada
	Spouse:	Mary Casey
	Other Spouses:	Margaret Grace (29 Nov 1882 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada)

3 M	Name:	John Phelan
	Birth:	1844 in Abbeyleix, Laois, Ireland
	Death:	05 Sep 1847 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	06 Sep 1847 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada

4 F	Name:	Mary Phelan
	Birth:	1846 in Abbeyleix and Ballyroan, Laois, Ireland
	Death:	17 Sep 1847 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada; Age 18th months
	Burial:	18 Sep 1847 in Saint-Colomban, Québec, Canada

Notes:

Appendix III (Continued)

SKELLY-CAREY FAMILY

Family Group Sheet for Michael Skelly

Husband:		Michael Skelly
	Birth:	1792 in Mullingar, Westmeath, Ireland
	Marriage:	Abt. 1825
	Death:	11 Nov 1881 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	James Skelly Sr
	Mother:	Catherine McClain

Wife:		Elizabeth Carey
	Birth:	1807 in Mullingar, Westmeath, Ireland
	Death:	07 Feb 1843 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada
	Father:	Owen Carey
	Mother:	Bridget Farrely

Children:

1 F	Name:	Bridget Skelly
	Birth:	01 Jan 1827 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; She was baptized at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Montreal
	Death:	Michigan, USA
	Spouse:	McClosky

2 M	Name:	James Skelly
	Birth:	1829 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	05 Oct 1905 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

3 F	Name:	Mary Skelly
	Birth:	08 Jun 1832 in Ste-Scholastique, Deux-Montagnes, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	19 Jan 1864 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	10 Jun 1912 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada
	Spouse:	Michael Kinsella

4 M	Name:	Owen Skelly
	Birth:	22 Sep 1833 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	04 Nov 1873 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; St. Gabriel's Churbh
	Death:	14 Jul 1911 in Denmark, Tuscola, Michigan, USA
	Spouse:	Mary Bridget McDonnell

5 M	Name:	Patrick Skelly
	Birth:	14 Mar 1835 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	30 Aug 1875 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada
	Death:	06 Oct 1906 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada
	Burial:	Montréal, Québec
	Spouse:	Julia Quinlan

6 F	Name:	Catherine (Kate) Skelly
	Birth:	04 Mar 1837 in Ste-Scholastique, Mirabel, Quebec, Canada
	Marriage:	1864
	Death:	16 Aug 1913 in New York City, New York, USA
	Burial:	19 Aug 1913 in St Michael's Cemetery
	Spouse:	Henry H Reynolds

Appendix III (Continued)

SKELLY-CAREY FAMILY (CONTINUED)

7 F 👥	Name: Birth: Death: Burial: Spouse:	Ann Skelly 21 May 1839 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 11 Nov 1882 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada Saint-Colomban, Laurentides Region, Quebec, Canada John Murphy	
8 M 👥	Name: Birth: Marriage: Death: Burial: Spouse: Other Spouses:	Michael Skelly 04 Feb 1841 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada 08 Aug 1882 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada; Second Marriage 20 Feb 1919 in St-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada St-Colomban, Québec Ann Eveline Wells Judith "Julia" O'Brien (01 May 1860 in St Columban, Quebec, Canada)	
9 F 👥	Name: Burial: Birth: Death:	Elizabeth Skelly 1843 in Saint-Colomban, Deux-montagnes, Quebec, Canada; She is presumed to have died at birth, given there is no trace of her after her mother, Elizabeth died shortly after her delivery. 07 Feb 1843 in St-Colomban, Québec, Canada 07 Feb 1843 in Saint-Colomban, La Rivière-du-Nord, Quebec, Canada	

Notes:

Appendix IV - Consent Form Template

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title:
MAPPING THE HISTORIES OF SAINT-COLOMBAN CEMETERY
Researcher: Kelley O'Rourke
Researcher's Contact Information: orourke.kelley@yahoo.com
Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Sebastien Caquard
Faculty Supervisor's Contact Information:
sebastien.caquard@concordia.ca
Source of funding for the study: N/A

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to investigate the early Irish settlers who established the Saint-Colomban parish in the Laurentians of Quebec and to emphasize the importance of preserving the historical and cultural heritage of the Saint-Colomban Cemetery. The research project is focused on mapping the Saint-Colomban cemetery to preserve the memory of the Irish community that no longer exists and to recall the narratives of their storied past. The historic section of the cemetery is particularly significant, as it contains numerous monuments of old and many more that have disappeared over time. Many Irish individuals who arrived during the 1820s are buried in the cemetery, yet they lack visible markers.

My primary research question is: "What can mapping and tracing the histories of the Saint-Colomban Cemetery tell us about the early Irish settlers who were part of the Irish community who arrived in Lower Canada in the 1820's and founded the parish of Saint-Colomban in 1835?" To answer this question, I will use the Saint-Colomban Cemetery, which contains the remains of a great

number of the original settlers, as a primary source to trace these individuals' histories.

My secondary research question is "How can we retrieve and preserve the missing information about these 1820's Irish settlers who founded the parish of Saint-Colomban?" To answer this question, I will employ a mixed-methods approach that combines cemetery visits, archival research, and interviews.

B. PROCEDURES

If you participate, you will be asked to be interviewed – During this interview, you will be able to choose the degree of confidentiality you wish to maintain regarding the dissemination of the content of this interview. This interview will take place either virtually (e.g., via the Zoom platform) or in person. All in all, your participation will last approximately one hour.

You can choose to have this interview recorded or not:

[ ] I agree to this interview being audio and video recorded.
[ ] I accept that this interview will be audio recorded ONLY.
[ ] I accept that this interview be recorded, but I want the recording to be destroyed after it has been transcribed.
[ ] I do not wish this interview to be recorded (neither audio nor video).

In total, an anticipated 20 people will be participating in this study to answer about 10 questions, and you will be one of them. An interview time will be set at a mutually agreed upon time. Each individual interview will take a minimum of an hour. However, if you wish to engage in a shorter or longer conversation with me, I am flexible.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

The benefits for participating in the interview include the opportunity to contribute to the preservation and understanding of your ancestral heritage. By sharing your knowledge, stories, and family history, you as a participant can actively contribute to the research on the early Irish settlers in Saint-Colomban. Additionally, you can gain a deeper understanding of your own family connections to the community and the significance of the cemetery in preserving the memory of your ancestors. Your participation can also help

create a detailed narrative that honors the contributions and experiences of the Irish settlers, ensuring their stories are preserved for future generations.

The risks associated with participating in the interview are minimal. Participants are encouraged to share only what they feel comfortable with sharing and can withdraw from the research at any time without consequences. Confidentiality measures will also be in place should the participant wish to have their identities kept confidential.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

I will gather the following information as part of this research: Your thoughts from the interview, answers to the questionnaire and the video and photo if you consent. Your name will not be used if you choose to have your identity kept confidential.

I will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research. I will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form.

The information gathered will be identifiable. That means it will have your name directly on it if that is your choice and you consent to it.

I will protect the information respecting your choices.

I intend to publish the results of this research. Please indicate below whether you accept to be identified in the publications:

    [ ]   I accept that my name and the information I provide appear in publications of the results of the research.

    [ ]   Please do not publish my name as part of the results of the research.

The data collected for this research project will be handled with care. The storage, access, and disposal of data will adhere to the principles of ethics, confidentiality, privacy, and data protection to safeguard the rights and interests of the research participants to comply with applicable ethical guidelines and regulations.

Appendix IV (Continued)

1) Collection: The data will be collected through interviews and archival research. Interview recordings, transcripts and any other relevant documents will be obtained during the research process.

2) Storage: The data will be securely stored in a digital format, on my password protected personal computer. Any physical copies will be stored in my home filing cabinet.

3) Access to data: will be limited to myself and my supervisor. Any requests for access to the data from external parties will be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

4) Destination: At the end of the project, the data will be securely archived or disposed of in accordance with the guidelines. Archiving may also involve – in my case given it is a master's thesis project – transferring the data repository where it can be preserved and made available for future research.

Destruction of the data, if required, will be carried out using secure methods. This research project places a high value on maintaining strict confidentiality. I'll put physical and digital safeguards in place to protect data:

Password Protection: Electronic files will be stored on password-protected devices that only authorized individuals (myself and my supervisor) will have access to.

Data Encryption: Industry-standard encryption methods will protect digital data storage from unauthorized access.

Physical Security: Physical documents will be kept in a locked, secure location that only I will have access to.

All parties involved will sign a confidentiality agreement emphasizing data confidentiality.

Identifiable information (names, addresses, etc.) will be stored separately from research data to ensure privacy.

I intend to keep these safeguards in place throughout the study to protect participant confidentiality and data security.

Because the research will be conducted in my private residence, access will be restricted to myself and my supervisor.

Appendix IV (Continued)

F. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

You do not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If you do participate, you can stop at any time. You can also ask that the information you provided not be used, and your choice will be respected.

I you decide to do so, you must notify the researcher within 2 weeks after the date of the interview.

There is no compensation for participants taking part in this research project.

There are no negative consequences for not participating, stopping in the middle, or asking us not to use your information.

G. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME   (please   print)

_____

SIGNATURE

_____

DATE

_____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact the researcher. Their contact information is on page 1. You may also contact their faculty supervisor.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.

Appendix V – QR Codes, Video Links, and List of Interviews

**GRAVE MATTERS: MAPPING THE UNTOLD STORIES OF THE
SAINT-COLOMBAN CEMETERY**

Videos of interviews with Saint-Colomban descendants on Atlascine platform.
https://rs-atlascine.concordia.ca/saint-colomban/index.html?module=module.stories
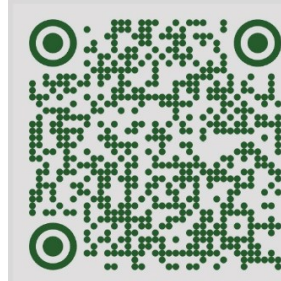
Video of monuments being returned to the cemetery.

https://youtu.be/KXX-Jn2yEW8?si=Hmp0X_NazZT6-vmk

Videos of how-to clean and repair monuments in the Saint-Colomban cemetery.
https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLx47rN2_SB4R6sK5vCAIp58XUFyHnkb7B&feature=shared

Below is the list of the 20 descendants of Saint-Colomban's earliest Irish settlers who were interviewed for this project.

Interviews

	DESCENDANT	IRISH FAMILY NAMES	INTERVIEW DATE	INTERVIEW TIME
1	Bourguignon, Claude	Historian & Ethnologist	2023 11 15	14:30
2	Cameron, Steve	Author & Amateur Historian	2024 06 14	10:00
3	Carmichael, Kate	Culleton/Dwyer	2023 11 14	15:30
4	Elliott, Darcy	Elliott	2024 06 20	15:00
5	Denieul, Léa	Scholar	2024 05 29	10:00
6	Gage, Charles Evan	Chambers/McArthy	2024 31 01	9:00
7	Gorman, Wayne & Isabel	Howard/O'Keefe	2023 12 23	15:00
8	Gossage, Peter	Carey/O'Rourke/Skelly - Scholar	2024 02 09	10:00
9	Hogan, Kim	O'Rourke	2024 02 01	17:00
10	Keyes, Fergus	Casey/Keyes	2023 12 07	15:00
11	Madden, Daniel	Burke/Madden	2024 06 13	19:00
12	Milliere, Frances	Jacob/Murphy/Phelan	2024 05 13	14:30
13	O'Rourke, Kelley	Burke/McArdle	2024 03 17	Background Information
14	Phelan, Charles	Phelan/Rafter	2024 03 17	11:00
15	Phelan-Blackwell, Linda	Brennan/Phelan	2023 11 23	15:00
16	Robinson, Angela	Dwyer/Lawton/O'Brien - NFL Scholar	2024 06 17	13:00
17	Rex-Kempton, Pam	Burke/McArdle	2024 03 17	15:00
18	Williams, Bess	Kelly/Williams	2023 11 16	14:00
19	Williams, Don	Kelly/Williams	2023 11 17	15:00
20	Williams, Ed	Kelly/Williams	2022 07 08	St-Columban Irish - Facebook Posting

Appendix VI – Entire Layout of the Cemetery
Including Historic and Newer Section
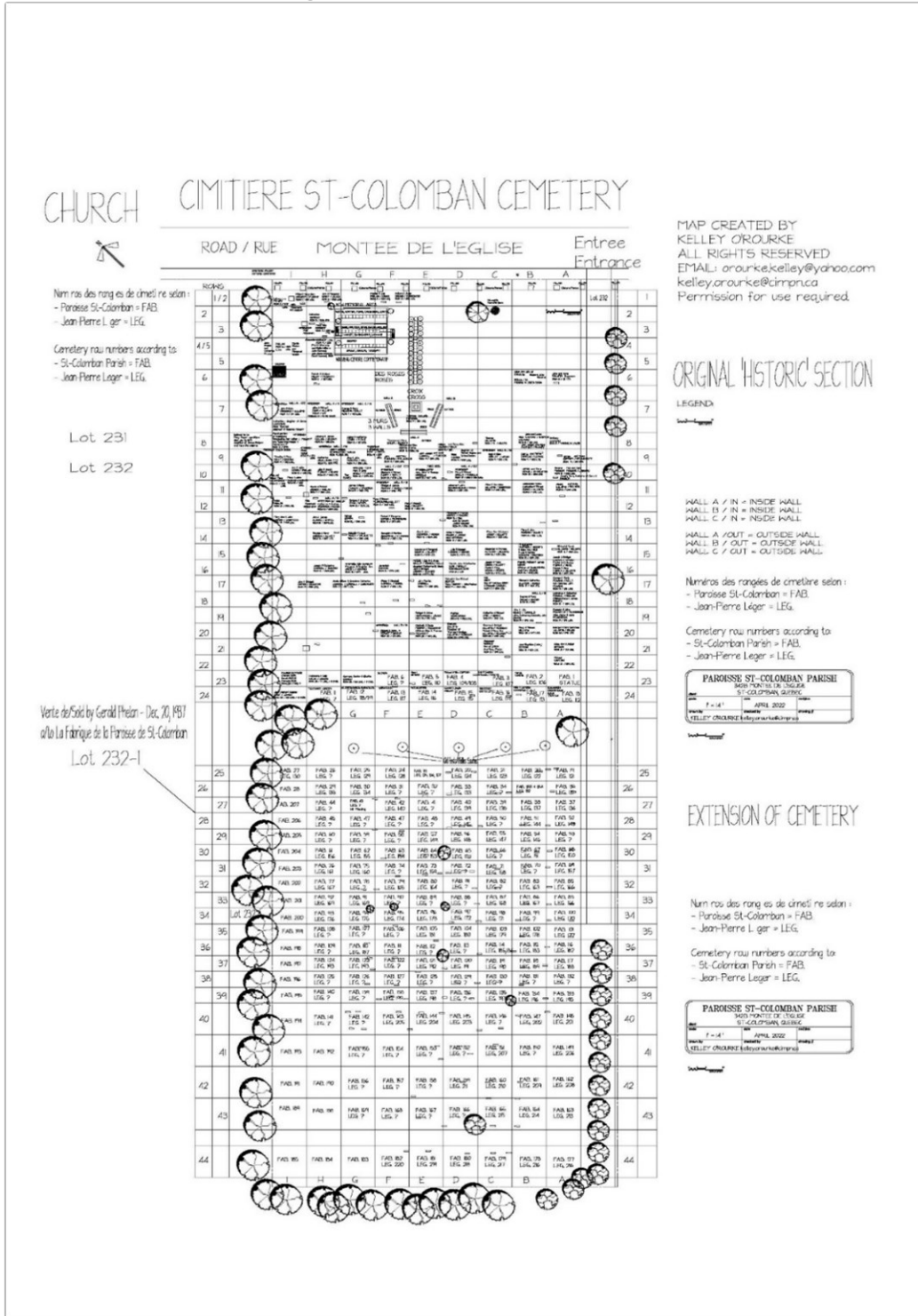
Entire Layout of the Cemetery Including Historic and Newer Section Cemetery: Map includes a grid featuring numbered rows and lettered columns.

Appendix VII - Historic or Upper Section of the Cemetery
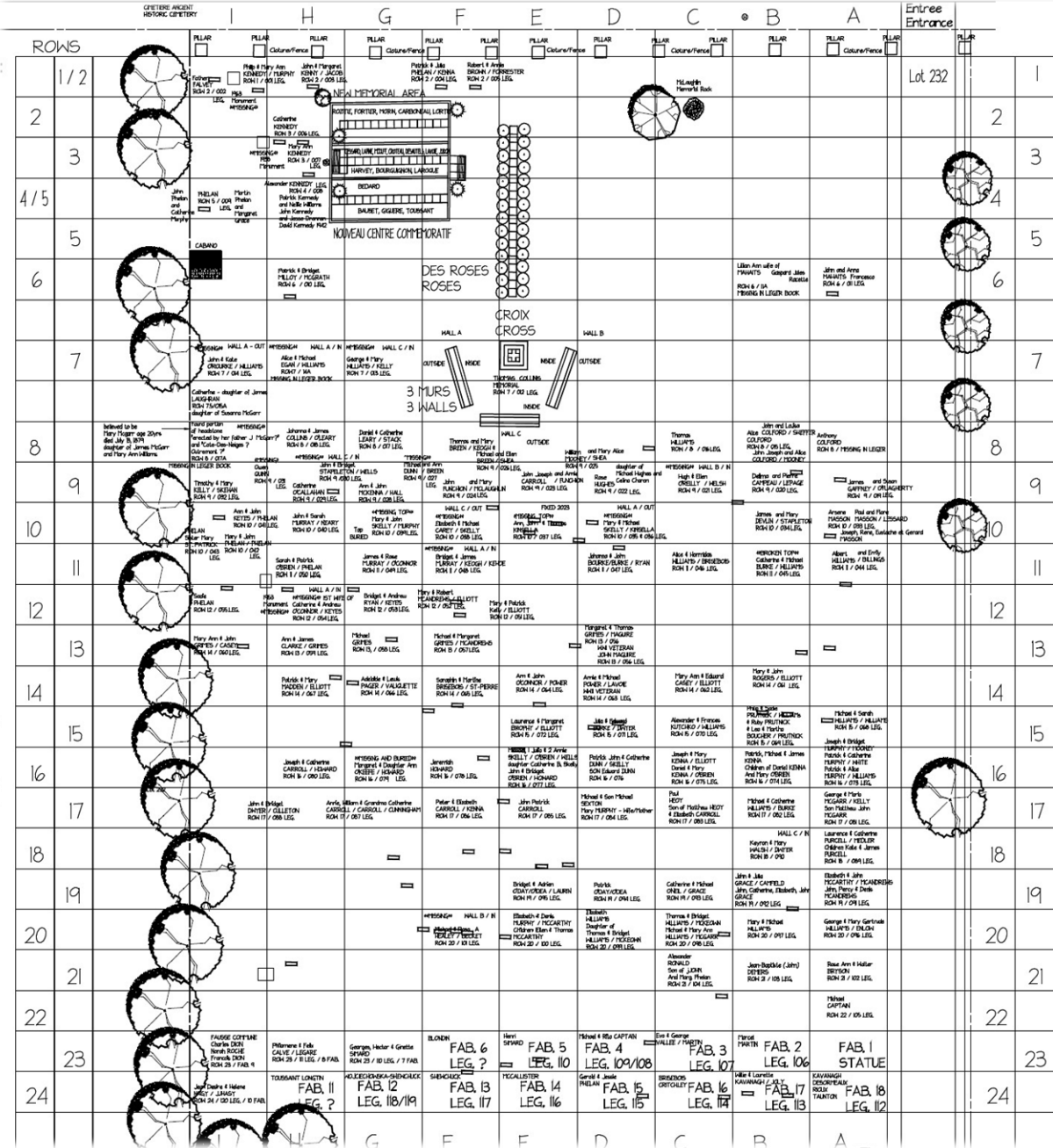
Historic or Upper Section of the Cemetery: Map includes a grid featuring numbered rows and lettered columns.

Appendix VIII – Notarial Documents – Mary Phelan Skehan

Notarial Documents: Mary Phelan Skehan donates Land for Parish - 1829

→ Pages 1 & 2 – 1829

→ The first letter of intent written on Sept. 7th, 1829 and was signed by Norman Benjamin Doucet, notary and Norman Fitzgerald Unaicke, a judge in Lower Canada.

→ The September 7th, 1829, document listed Mary Phelan and Patrick Skehan's minor-age children, Catherine, Patrick, Ellen and William.

(Bourguignon 1988, page 47)

Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca
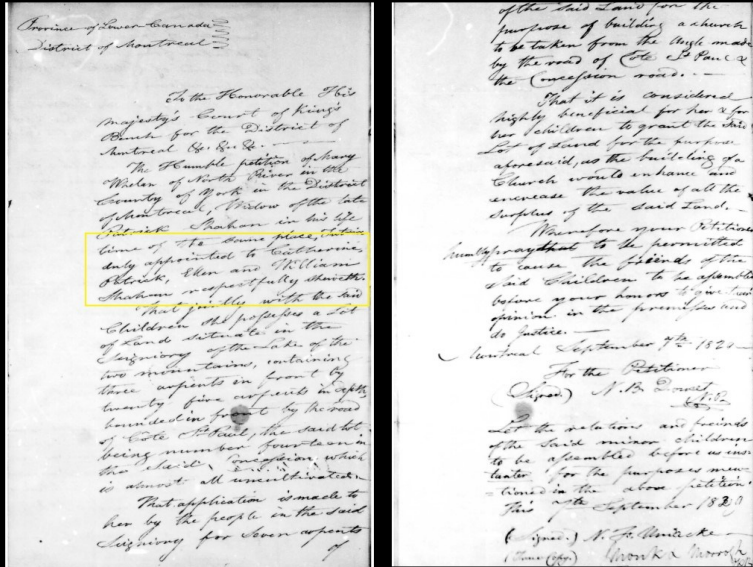
Notarial Documents: Mary Phelan Skehan donates Land for Parish - 1829

→ Pages 3 & 4 - 1829

→ Sheehan – a spelling variation of the last name, Skehan.

→ Whelan – a spelling variation of the last name, Phelan.

(Bourguignon 1988, page 47)

Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca
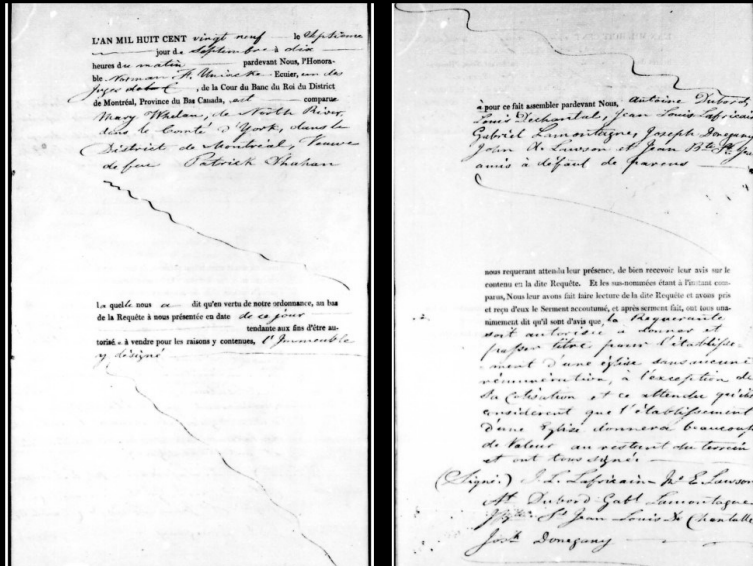
Appendix VIII (Continued)

Notarial Documents: Mary Phelan Skehan donates Land for Parish - 1829

→ Page 5 - 1829

→ Representation by the Court, MONK & MORROGH, District of Montreal IN THE KING'S BENCH.
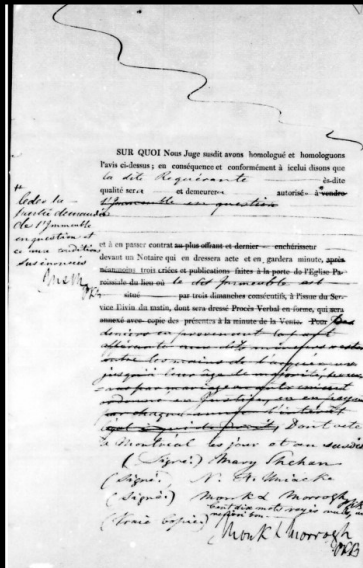
(Bourguignon 1988, page 47)

Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca

Notarial Documents: Mary Phelan Skehan donates Land for Parish - 1832

→ Pages 1 & 2 – 1832

→ Donation by Mary Phelan to Joseph Quiblier, September 15th, 1832 .

(Bourguignon 1988, page 47)

Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca

Notarial Documents: Mary Phelan Skehan donates Land for Parish - 1832

→ Pages 3 & 4 – 1832

→ The document was notarized and signed on September 15th, 1832, by J. Quiblier, Mary Sheehan, P. Lacombe, N.P and Norman Benjamin Doucet.
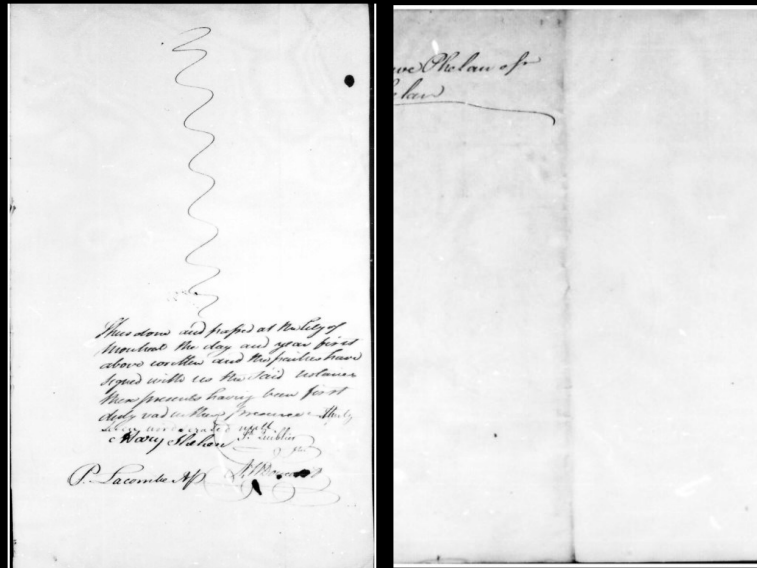
(Bourguignon 1988, page 47)

Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca

APPENDIX IX – Notarial Documents - Gerald Phelan

Notarial Documents:
Gerald Phelan
Donates Land for
Cemetery Extension

→ Notaire Narcisse Forest : Cession, L'oeuvre et fabrique de la paroisse de St-Colomban, 20 décembre 1937, nu 51766 ("**Narcisse Forest**," n.d.).

→ Pages 1 & 2.
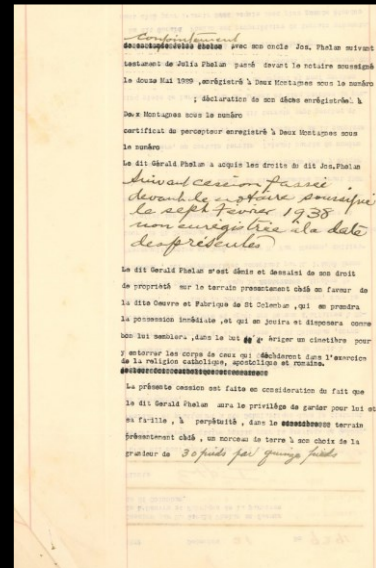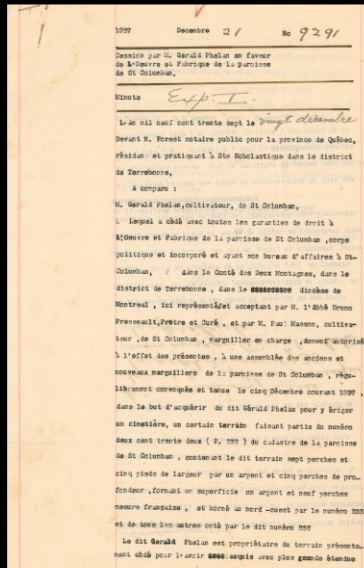
Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca www.banq.qc.ca

Notarial Documents:
Gerald Phelan
Donates Land for
Cemetery Extension

→ Notaire Narcisse Forest : Cession, L'oeuvre et fabrique de la paroisse de St-Colomban, 20 décembre 1937, nu 51766 ("**Narcisse Forest**," n.d.).

→ Pages 3 & 4.
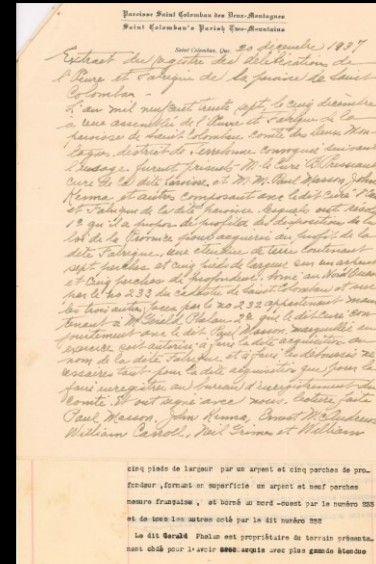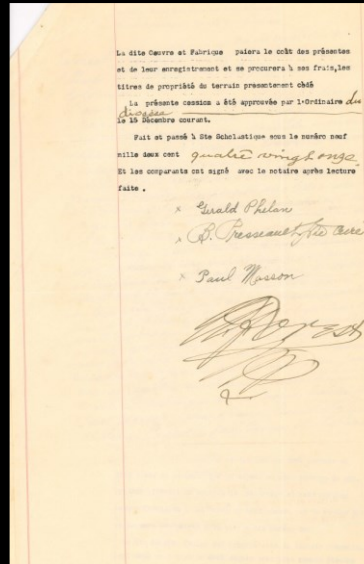
Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca

Appendix IX (Continued)

Notarial Documents:
Gerald Phelan
Donates Land for
Cemetery Extension

→ Notaire Narcisse Forest :
  Cession, L'oeuvre et
  fabrique de la paroisse de
  St-Colomban, 20 décembre
  1937, nu 51766 ("**Narcisse
  Forest,**" n.d.).

→ Pages 5 & 6.
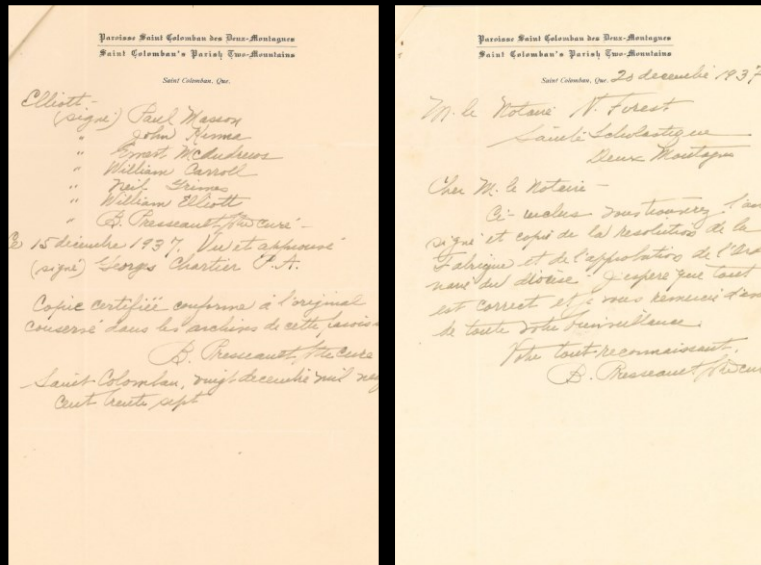
Notarial Documents: Archives nationales à Montréal: archives.montreal@banq.qc.ca

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Appendix X – Saint-Colomban Cemetery, Historic Layout
Enlarged View

Note: I am currently in the process of finding a way to enlarge this map so the names can be read more clearly in the document. However, I will have a larger version available in the printout.

Appendix XI – Global Irish Famine Way and the Bronze Shoes

The Bronze Shoes

The Plinth

Global Irish Famine Way Proclamation. The anthem of the National Irish Famine Way sung by Declan O'Rourke can be heard at the following: https://youtu.be/OK8TVNAeYVI?si=Yxilqk70pUPl phaJ

The passport for the Bronze Shoes

Appendix XII -The 10 Headstones from 1836-1847 Period
Before and After Cleaning

Pictured below are all 10 of the names of the Irish persons' headstones and monuments remaining in the cemetery from the 1836-1847 years. They are divided into 3 columns: Column 1- how we found them, Column 2 - after they were repaired and Column 3 - after we cleaned them. The numbers with each picture correlate to their number on the map of the historic layout. *Image Credit: Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network.*

#12-Elizabeth Carey monument first sighted broken off the foundation and, in the cemetery, and later found broken in half and behind the church.

#12-Elizabeth Carey monument mounted on the wall and before cleaning. A scaffolding piece obstructs the top of the picture.

#12-Elizabeth Carey monument mounted on the wall and cleaned.

#57-Margaret Jacob headstone in the cemetery

#57-Margaret Jacob headstone in good shape.

#57-Margaret Jacob headstone cleaned.

#101-Ellen Molloy monument found broken and behind the church.

#101-Ellen Molloy monument mounted on the wall and before cleaning
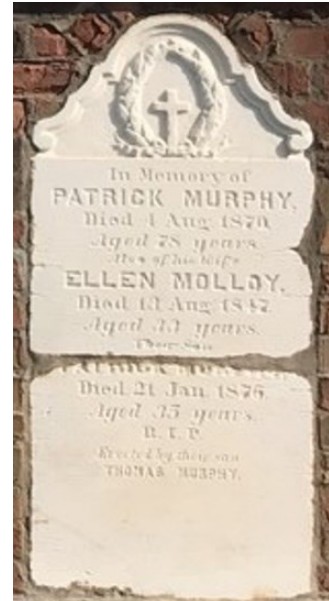
#101-Ellen Molloy monument mounted on the wall and cleaned.

#112-Patrick Murphy: monument found broken and behind the church.

#112-Patrick Murphy monument mounted on the wall and before cleaning.

#112-Patrick Murphy monument mounted on the wall and cleaned.

#115-Catherine O'Callaghan (as written in the Parish record) headstone is broken off its foundation and remains in the cemetery.

#115-Catherine O'Callaghan headstone will be placed on a new foundation in 2024.

#115-Catherine O'Callaghan headstone is the oldest still in the cemetery and in its original location - cleaned.

#123-124-Mary and John Phelan's headstone shows signs of wearing. It is in the cemetery
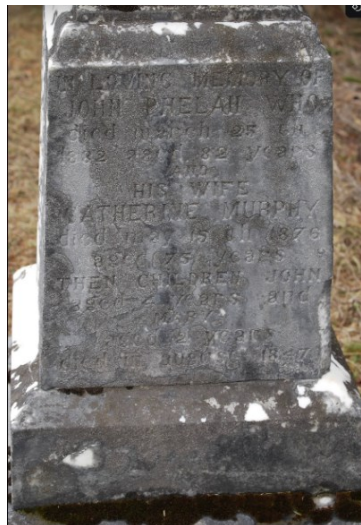
#123-124-Mary and John Phelan's headstone is porous so light cleaning required.

#123-124-Mary and John Phelan's headstone after light cleaning. It remains in its original location.

Appendix XII (Continued)

#136-137-James and Heloise Elizabeth Ryan headstone broken in the cemetery. Parents names on Front view.
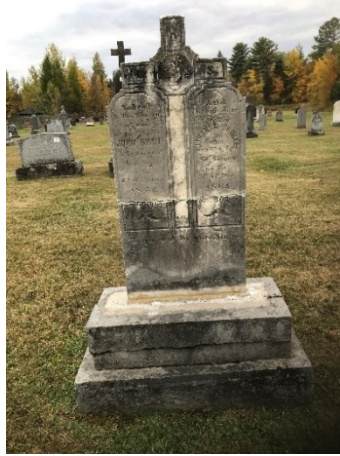
#136-137-James and Heloise Elizabeth Ryan headstone repaired & cleaned. Remains in the cemetery. Front view.
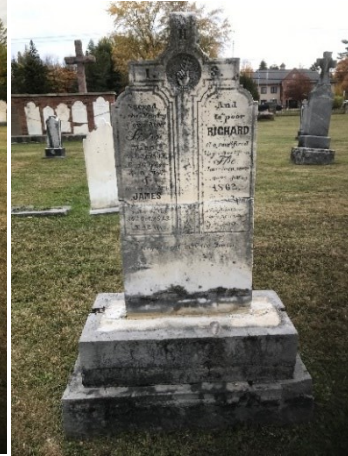
#136-137-James and Heloise Elizabeth Ryan headstone remains in its original location. Children's names on back view. Cleaned.

#155-George Williams monument found broken and behind the church.

#155-George Williams monument mounted on the wall and before cleaning.

#155-George Williams monument mounted on the wall after cleaning

Appendix XIII – Examples of Symbolic Meaning of Monument Carvings

Image Credit: Canadian Irish Migration Network
Sources: Billion Graves (Wallace 2023)
Stories In Stone (Keister 2004)
Understanding Cemetery Symbols (Snider 2017)

Elizabeth Carey: "The vine is one of the most powerful symbols of the relationship between God and man." (Keister 2004, 59) *The grapes represent the Eucharist wine (Blood of Christ) and the cross represents Christianity. The circles can mean a symbol of eternity.*
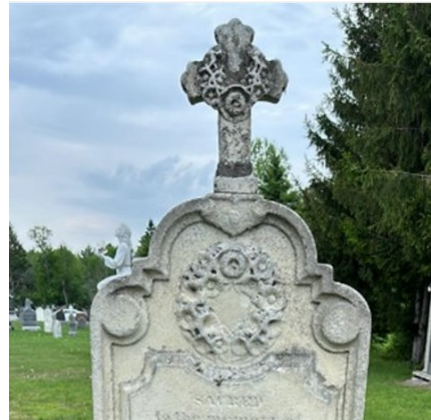
Margaret Jacob: The evening primrose was a symbol for things such as eternal love, hope and sadness. Mixed with the morning glory which is a symbol of the resurrection. The circles can mean eternity. The 3-pronged tips of the cross represent the trinity. The wreath can mean memory or remembrance.

Ellen Molloy: A laurel wreath can be interpreted as a victory over death or immortality. The cross represents Christianity

Catherine O'Callaghan: The weeping willow paired with a cross can be interpreted as a sign of immortality.

Patrick Murphy: Simple cross associated with christianity.

Heloise Elizabeth and James Ryan: Hand pointing up and holding a cross can be understood as the soul has gone to heaven and signify life after death/resurrection. The initials, IHS are the initials for the Greek name for Jesus.

George Williams:This is a simple Ionic cross which flares out at the ends and symbolizes Christianity.

Mary and John Phelan: There was no adornment on the Phelan monument, but the obelisk shape of the headstone would suggest eternal life in heaven.

Mary Kelly's Burial Record
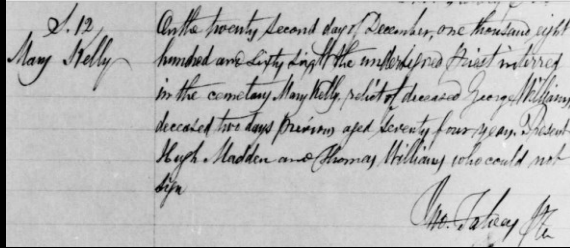
("Kelly, Mary Burial 1866," n.d.)

Abbreviation Note:
Ptre = Prêtre = Priest

S. 12
Mary Kelly
On the twenty second day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty six We the undersigned priest interred in the cemetery Mary Kelly relict of deceased George Williams, deceased two days previous aged seventy four years. Present Hugh Madden and Thomas Williams who could not sign.
John Falvey Ptre

George Williams & Mary Kelly's Monument

In memory of
GEORGE WILLIAMS
Died June 13, 1842
aged 40 years.
Also his wife
MARY KELLY
Died Dec. 20th, 1866
Aged 69 years
Requiescant in pace

Photo: Kelley O'Rourke

George Williams & Mary Kelly

Their headstone broke at some point in time and was removed from the cemetery. We constructed the 3 walls to return the discarded headstone into the cemetery and now George Williams and Mary Kelly's headstone is located on the inside of wall C as indicated by the gray arrow. Their monument is now located in Column E and Row 7.

	NAMES: LEFT TO RIGHT	BIRTH YEAR	DEATH YEAR	AGE AT DEATH	FAB. #
NO	BRIDGET O'MEARA WIFE OF HUGH MADDEN AND CHILDREN OF PATRICK HUGH AND MARY ELLIOTT	1803 1797	1877 1894	74 97	NO
	JAMES JOSEPH	1874	1874	N8	
	ROBERT JAMES	1875	1875	21DAYS	
	BRIDGET	1871	1880	9	
	EDWARD COLUMBAN	1868	1880	12	
	WILLIAM	1866	1889	23	
	HUGH PATRICK	1863	1907	44	
NO	BRIDGET DUFFY WIFE OF PATRICK O'CONNOR	1795 1795	1875 BEF 1875	80 ?	NO
013	GEORGE WILLIAMS HUSBAND OF MARY KELLY	1800 1792	1842 1866	40 74	NO
090	KEYRON WALSH HUSBAND OF MARY DWYER	1811 1818	1874 1881	63 63	NO
NO	JAMES HALL HUSBAND OF ALICE O'DONNELL AND DAUGHTER JANE HALL	1790 1794 1834	1877 1871 1871	87 77 37	NO
030	JOHN STAPLETON HUSBAND OF BRIDGET WELLS	1820 1837	1905 1906	85 68YRS8MOS	NO
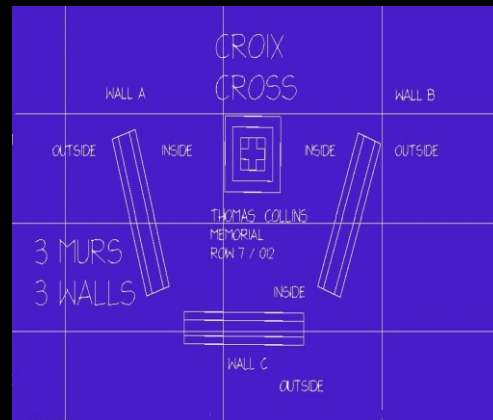
Appendix XIV (Continued)

George Williams Indicated As Deceased Before 1842

Both marriage records of their children, Catherine in 1837 and George (junior) in 1841, indicate George Williams was deceased in events occurring before 1842, the year the epitaph asserts he died.

Source : Genealogy Quebec, www.genealogiequebec.com/Membership/LAFRANCE/acte/13445631, Drouin Institute, 2024, LAFRANCE

Source : Genealogy Quebec, www.genealogiequebec.com/Membership/LAFRANCE/acte/13495715, Drouin Institute, 2024, LAFRANCE

George Williams Indicated As Alive Before 1837

The baptism of his son Thomas on July 27, 1833, indicates that George Williams was alive. These records collectively suggest that George Williams likely passed away between 1833 and 1837.

Source : Genealogy Quebec, www.genealogiequebec.com/Membership/LAFRANCE/acte/4556156, Drouin Institute, 2024, LAFRANCE

Appendix XV – The McArdle Story

The McArdle family left Saint-Colomban along with the James Madden family about 1848.

McArdle and Madden Land Purchase, Dubuque, Iowa, 1849

McArdle Land Purchase
Source: United States. Bureau of Land
Management, General Land Office Records.
iAutomated Records Project; Federal Land
Patents, State Volumes/i.
ihttp://www.glorecords.blm.gov/./i
Springfield, Virginia: Bureau of Land
Management, Eastern States, 2007.
Title: U.S., General Land Office Records,
1776-2015
Document Number: 9750,
Other land purchases Numbers. 9751, 9930
("Patent Details - BLM GLO Records," n.d.)

Madden Land Purchase
Source: United States. Bureau of Land
Management, General Land Office Records.
iAutomated Records Project; Federal Land
Patents, State Volumes/i.
ihttp://www.glorecords.blm.gov/./i
Springfield, Virginia: Bureau of Land
Management, Eastern States, 2007.
Title: U.S., General Land Office Records,
1776-2015
Document Number: 9646 ("Patent Details -
BLM GLO Records," n.d.)

Appendix XV (Continued)

McArdle Records

Five McArdle children were buried in the Saint-Colomban cemetery prior to the family migrating to the United States. The documents shown below document relate to three of those children.

At the burial of Patrick McArdle (1 month old), neither parent was present, and the witnesses could not sign. Was it possibly an error? Was the baby actually Patrick's twin sister, Bridget ("Genealogy Quebec's Tools and Collections," n.d.)? I believe it was.

John McArdle was born in 1845 and there was no other record of a McArdle child born or deceased in between 1841 and 1845. The family left Saint-Colomban about 1848 for Iowa ("Genealogy Quebec's Tools and Collections," n.d.).

Bridget and Patrick McArdle's baptisms ("Genealogy Quebec's Tools and Collections," n.d.)

United States Federal Census records show the McArdle family with a child named Patrick with estimated birth years of 1842 and 1841. This information added weight to the theory that the child buried in Saint-Colomban in 1841 was Patrick's twin sister, Bridget.

In the **1856 Iowa state census collection**, all the surviving children are with Patrick McArdle and Catherine Burke: Mary, James, Patrick and John. **Patrick's estimated year of birth is 1842**.

Source: State Historical Society of Iowa (Via Heritage Quest); *Microfilm of Iowa State Censuses, 1856, 1885, 1895, 1905, 1915, 1925 As Well Various Special Censuses From 1836-1897*

McArdle Records (Continued)

	Dwelling	Fami No.	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Real Estate	Persona Estate	Birthplace	Married 1	Attended	Cannot R	Condition	
8															8
9															9
10															10
11	237	219	Patrick McArdle	63	m		Farmer	2000	400	Ireland					11
12			Catharine	50	F					"			/		12
13			James	26	m					Low Canada					13
14			Patrick	19	m					"					14
15			John	15	m					"			/		15

In the **1860 United States Federal census**, Patrick McArdle and Catherine Burke's eldest child, Mary, is already married to Patrick Morgan and lives nearby in Ackley, but the rest of the children are with them: James, Patrick and John.
Patrick's estimated birth year is 1841.

Source: The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: *29*; Series Number: *M653*; Residence Date: *1860*; Home in 1860: *Prairie Creek, Dubuque, Iowa*; Roll: *M653_320*; Page: *31*; Family History Library Film: *803320* ("Record Group 29 - Records of the Bureau of the Census," n.d.)

Appendix XV (Continued)

The Patrick McArdle Murder Story

Patrick McArdle was murdered in 1864 in Prairie Creek, Dubuque County, Iowa. His wife, Catherine Burke (McArdle) was ultimately convicted of the murder and sent to prison. It is believed that Catherine pleaded guilty to protect her son Patrick McArdle from being convicted of murdering his father, Patrick McArdle (senior), and avoid the death penalty. Newspaper articles of the time followed this sensational story.

Muscatine Weekly Journal
Fri, Feb 26, 1864 ·Page 2

MORE ARRESTS.—Yesterday the three sons of the murdered man, McArdle, were arrested for complicity in their father's murder, and thrown into jail to await their trial. Sheriff Mahony—let us praise his ernergy while cursing his politics—ferreting out the matter with praiseworthy zeal.—*Dubuque Times,* 19*th.*

The Grand Jury returned a bill of indictment against Catharine McArdle for murder; also a similar bill against Patrick McArdle.

The Grand Jury were then discharged from further service at this term.

Wm. Kress was called and being in default, his recognizance was forfeited.

Mrs. McArdle and Patrick McArdle were arraigned and plead not guilty.

Source: Muscatine Weekly Journal Muscatine, Iowa • Fri, Feb 26, 1864 Page 2

Source: Dubuque Democratic Herald, Dubuque, Dubuque County, Iowa, United States, Date: May 25, 1864. Page 4

proper committee.

DISTRICT COURT.

HON. JAS. BURT, Judge.
W. H. Rupert, Deputy Clerk.

Tuesday, June 7, 1864.

Court met at 2 o'clock P. M.

In the case of Mrs. McArdle a change of venue was granted to Jackson county, so that her trial will not take place now

Patrick McArdle was brought into court and the afternoon was taken up with empanneling a jury. The State exhausted the regular panel without getting but eleven who would pass for cause. The Judge then ordered the Sheriff to procure twenty-four more jurymen, when the court adjourned until this morning at 9 o'clock.

It is probable that to-day will be consumed in getting a jury.

Source: Dubuque Democratic Herald, Dubuque Democratic Herald, Dubuque, Dubuque County, IA, USA Date: June 8, 1864, Page: 4

MRS. MCARDLE CONVICTED.—The trial of Mrs. Catherine McArdle for the murder of her husband in Whitewater township in this county, on the night of the 11th of February last, commenced at Andrew, Jackson county, last Monday, a change of venue having been taken. The trial ended on Wednesday afternoon. The jury were out about an hour, and returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree.— Her attorneys, Messrs. O'Neill and Mulkern, made a motion for a new trial, which was overruled and an appeal taken.

The evidence offered in this trial was substantially the same as that given in the trial of Patrick McArdle, for the same offense, in our Court, with the addition of her confessions to several persons that she herself murdered her husband, with no assistance from anybody else. This latter testimony convicted her. At 10 o'clock Wednesday night she was sentenced to be hung. We did not learn the time appointed for her execution. As she is aged and infirm, and has become, since her arrest, powerless for another deed of death, her sentence will doubtless be commuted to imprisonment by the Governor.—*Dubuque Times.*

Source: Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye, Burlington, Iowa • Sat, Oct 22, 1864, Page 8

Appendix XV (Continued)

The Patrick McArdle Murder Story (Continued)

Catherine Burke (McArdle) was pardoned in 1868. What happened to her after that is unknown. Patrick followed his younger brother John to Nebraska and changed his name to William. In 1884, he committed suicide. He is buried in Nebraska with his brother, John. His epitaph simply reads, "Brother."

A MOTHER'S SELF-SACRIFICE.

The Des Moines (Iowa) *State Register* records a touching incident of a mother's devotion:

Gov. Merrill, Monday, pardoned Mrs. Catherine McArdle, the old lady who has been in the State penitentiary for four years. This case is too well known to need mention. This old woman, full of maternal devotion, heroically sacrificed herself to save her son from the gallows. The son had killed his father, and the mother, to avert the doom from her offspring, claimed and confessed that it was she who committed the murder, and on her own confession was condemned to be hung. Gov. Stone commuted her sentence to imprisonment for life. The poor woman, after one or two attempts to commit suicide in the Jackson county jail, was finally sent to the penitentiary, and in the gloomy clasp of that prison she has been for four years, waiting and praying for death. When we visited the penitentiary last fall, she was shriveled in body and nearly so in mind. For four years she had received no word or tidings from her friends. Sixty-five years old, with her right arm palsied and helpless, abandoned by all of her blood, a victim to heroic motherly devotion, and with the light of earth, and seemingly that of heaven, shut from her—she was truly as sad an object as ever trod the wine press of woe.

Many persons have interested themselves in her behalf, and at last, through the kindness and considerateness of our noble Governor, the disgraceful chains are stricken from her aged limbs, and she is once more free, but, we fear, not happy.

UNDER A CLOUD.

The Troubled Life of Mr. Wm. McArdle Passes Away Through a Bullet Wound.

Omaha Republican.

Yesterday afternoon about a quarter past one o'clock, William McArdle, was seen to retire to an outbuilding in the rear of the house on the corner of Fifth and Division streets, in which he had lived with his brother. He had been ailing for some time and was suffering from a bruise which he had received in the U. P. shops. He was missed by his sister-in-law, and search for him made. He was found, as above referred to, lying in a pool of blood. Neighbors were attracted by the screams of the woman. The latter was borne away, while the remains were cared for and protected from vulgar curiosity. Beside him was found a new Smith & Wesson revolver.

The coroner was summoned and a jury impanneled as follows: W. C. Reynolds, B. F. Rager, James Mc-Quade, C. W. Baker, Chas. Hollow and Chas. Finley.

The inquest resulted in the following

VERDICT:

"Wm. McArdle committed suicide by shooting himself in the head at about 1:30, September 5, 1884, at his late residence, corner Fifth and Division streets. Cause unknown."

Source: Nashville union and American, Nashville, Davidson, Tennessee, July 16, 1868, Page 1.

Source: Lincoln Nebraska State Journal, Lincoln, Nebraska, Sun, Sep 07, 1884, Page 6.

Appendix XVI – The Irish Stories of the Saint-Colomban Cemetery

The Irish Stories of the Saint-Colomban cemetery explains the history and importance of the Saint-Colomban cemetery preservation project. The video, released in July 2024, was produced by the Canadian Irish Migration Preservation Network (CIMPN). It was directed by Mackenzie Sanche and Kelley O'Rourke. The research was provided by Kelley O'Rourke. The writing, translation and narration was done by Mackenzie Sanche.

The following links are to the version of the video that is spoken in English with French subtitles provided.

QR Code:

YouTube Link:

https://youtu.be/A8lRdGxL2lo?si=JS1vhe7ELlDVUHrO