

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Brooke L. Boulware for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Anthropology, Design and Human Environment, and Anthropology presented on February 13, 2008.

Title: The Deathscape of St. Paul: Historic Cemeteries as Cultural Landscapes

Abstract approved:

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A cultural landscape analysis of two historic cemeteries in St. Paul, Oregon demonstrates that the residents of this early community were unknowingly using grave markers to express their worldview and the identities that they felt were most important. Because of the historical and cultural development of this community as the heart of Catholicism in the Northwest, an environment was created where one's diverse ethnic identity was second to a shared Catholic identity. Even though the mortuary landscape of St. Paul reflects the population's unique historical trajectory, the people here were still participating in cultural trends that affected much of European American society in the nineteenth century. Among these were ostentatious mortuary displays, as well as a heavy emphasis on family, as seen in both marker inscriptions and the spatial patterning of the graveyard. The importance of family was also reflected in cemetery selection during the years that both the Pioneer and St. Paul's cemeteries were active.

A close look at the erosion of St. Paul's deathscape reveals that certain factors were influencing who was represented in the cultural landscape. Though some have claimed that sex was a dominant indicator, this does not prove to be true in St. Paul's cemetery. Age, however, is an important indicator as is ethnicity. Though this proves to be an important variable, it is not because of a link to perceived status. Evidence from other cemeteries points to Irish Catholics putting higher priority on mortuary display than French Catholics, a pattern that is also upheld in St. Paul's Cemetery.

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The Deathscape of St. Paul: Historic Cemeteries  
as Cultural Landscapes

by

Brooke L. Boulware

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

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Brooke L. Boulware, Author

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# The Deathscape of St. Paul: Historic Cemeteries as Cultural Landscapes

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

In the late 1820s, a small portion of Oregon's Willamette Valley, today called French Prairie, began to be settled by retired French Canadian fur trappers and their métis families. This settlement was the impetus for the establishment of a Catholic mission and the community of St. Paul. Under the leadership of a small group of clergy, including Father Francois Norbert Blanchet, the brick church constructed on the prairie became the heart of both the community of St. Paul and Catholicism in the Northwest. In the first forty years of operation, the St. Paul Catholic Mission founded two cemeteries. The first, established in 1839, has been designated the Pioneer Cemetery by the modern local population. This title seems somewhat ironic due to the fact that most of the individuals buried there were not pioneers in the traditional sense because few came to Oregon in wagon trains. The second graveyard, St. Paul's Cemetery, was established in 1874.

The work presented here is the product of several divergent interests, French Prairie history, historical archaeology, and mortuary studies, coalescing into a single endeavor. My interest in French Prairie history stems from its relative anonymity. The first European Americans to play an integral role in the settlement of the Northwest were illiterate and could not write about themselves. And because of their ethnicity, religion, politics, and lifestyle, they were often deemed 'other' by the literate

population that came later and as a result they were not written about (Brauner, 1989). Because of this, it is an unfortunate fact that few Oregon history books include any discussion of St. Paul, the French Prairie, or the unique people who inhabited the area prior to American settlement.

Even the American settlers who later came to St. Paul are often ignored because most history books tend to focus on a few big names and big events. This can be quickly demonstrated with a cursory examination of volumes in any library or bookstore; a more thorough, systematic search conducted years ago by Dr. David Brauner of Oregon State University revealed only three references in the university library that had more than two sentences about French Prairie or St. Paul (D. Brauner, personal communication, 5 June 2006). Most of the resources added since that time are the products of graduate work similar to my own (Speulda, 1988; Brauner, 1989; Chapman, 1993; Cromwell, Stone, & Brauner, 2000; McAleer, 2003; Kinoshita, 2004; Gandy, 2004; Manion, 2006; Hérbert, 2007). Many of these volumes are not directly concerned with St. Paul but focus on the larger community of Champoege or with French Prairie as a whole.

Because of this lack of traditional documentary resources, I felt that I must look elsewhere to learn about the history and culture of this significant, but woefully ignored, population and the community they established. I propose that a study of their cemeteries as cultural landscapes is one promising avenue of research. Lewis (1982) asserts that every human landscape is imbued with cultural meaning, even the ordinary ones, and cemeteries are by no means ordinary. They are unique cultural

landscapes because of their special role within a community. Francavglia (1971) writes, “Cemeteries serve both functional and emotional purposes. They provide for disposal of corpses and, far more important, provide a place where the living can communicate with the dead,” (p. 501).

It is this latter function that makes cemetery analysis so informative.

Numerous scholars have argued that cemeteries, and mortuary practices in general, reveal more about the living than the dead (Saxe, 1970; Pearson, 1999; Rakita & Buikstra, 2005). Given that this assumption is true, a number of specific research questions can be formulated to further our understanding of the French Canadians and their families, the establishment of the Catholic Mission and St. Paul, and the American pioneers that settled the area:

- 1) What does a material culture analysis of the extant gravestones in St. Paul’s Cemetery tell us about the community in which they were erected? Does the occurrence or frequency of certain marker forms, motifs, and inscriptions throughout the study period correspond to trends observed in other nineteenth century cemeteries, or has this community’s unique historical development effected the mortuary material culture?
- 2) Are there any cultural patterns that emerge when St. Paul’s Cemetery is analyzed as a cultural landscape? If so, what elements can be identified as influencing agents?
- 3) What factors were motivating cemetery selection during the years in which both the Pioneer and St. Paul’s cemeteries were active? How has the differential treatment of the cemeteries by the community affected the overall cultural landscape?
- 4) What variables affected the ‘erosion’ of St. Paul’s mortuary landscape? Which individuals are more likely to be represented in the cultural landscape and why? Why are some individuals or groups no longer present?

In an attempt to answer these questions, both archival and field methods were employed to gather the necessary data for both cemeteries. The scope of this project prevented a comprehensive grave marker analysis of the entire St. Paul's Cemetery, but since my focus is the historical and cultural development of early St. Paul, gravestones post-dating 1905. The 1905 terminal date coincides with the end of Francaviglia's (1971) Victorian period, discussed in greater detail below.

Before analyzing the information collected, it is important to lay a theoretical foundation. Chapter 2 is a discussion of the basic tenets and premises involved in cultural landscape and material culture analyses and how cemetery studies fit within these frameworks. A summary of the published literature associated with this topic is also included. The description of the methods employed during my work follows in Chapter 3.

A detailed historic background for St. Paul can be found in Chapter 4. This description provides the contextual backdrop for the interpretations concerning the cemeteries given below. Chapter 5 is a more specific account of the individual cemeteries, with information provided about establishment, development and population makeup. The results of the grave marker survey are also presented.

The succeeding three chapters deal with the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered. Chapter 6 is focused on the gravestones and how the residents of St. Paul used them to express certain shared identities. A discussion of the evolution of the landscape through time is also included. Chapter 7 is concerned with the spatial arrangement of St. Paul's Cemetery and how the factors influencing the patterns

within the cemetery may have also been affecting cemetery selection during the overlap period. The erosion of the cultural landscape is the main topic of Chapter 8. Four possible variables influencing unmarked graves: sex, age, ethnicity, and status, are considered. Chapter 9 includes a summary of the work presented and recommendations for future work.

## Chapter 2

### Cemeteries as Cultural Landscapes

#### Theoretical Background

In his influential article on historic Oregon cemeteries, Francaviglia (1971) defines *cultural landscape* as “a place having definable visual characteristics based on individual forms...and on the placement of those forms in a particular arrangement,” (p. 502). Historical archaeologist Deetz (1990) adds to this description, stating that the term cultural landscape should be used “to denote that part of the terrain which is modified according to a set of cultural plans,” (p. 20). Landscape and material cultural expert Lewis (1993) frames his definition a little differently, writing that cultural landscape “is everything that humans do to the natural earth for whatever purpose but most commonly for material profit, aesthetic pleasure, spiritual fulfillment, personal comfort, or communal safety,” (p. 116).

While these definitions are accurate, they do not capture the complexity embodied in the concept of cultural landscape. Anshuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick (2001) provide a more detailed explanation:

Landscapes are dynamic constructions, with each community and each generation imposing its own cognitive map on an anthropogenic world of interconnected morphology, arrangement, and coherent meaning. Because landscapes embody fundamental organizing principles for the form and structure of peoples’ activities, they serve both as a material construct that communicates information and as a kind of historical text... *Processes of behavioral change across space and over time necessarily result in an ever-changing landscape...Thus landscape is a cultural process [emphasis added].* (p.161).

The definitions provided here for cultural landscapes may be worded differently and exhibit various levels of complexity, but most have certain elements in common, the first being that the cultural landscape is a product of human culture, and therefore is subject to the same cultural rules that dictate other forms of human behavior or material expression. There are a number of theoretical schools that attempt to explain the source of these cultural rules, but most scholars dealing with cultural landscapes subscribe to variations of Durkheim's (1895) theory of social consciousness.

Change within the same culture through time is another important element in cultural landscape definitions. Since the processual revolution in anthropological archaeology in the late 1960s, scholars interested in the material remains of past cultures have focused on interpreting culture change, not just describing it. Binford (1962) contends that the field of anthropological archaeology, and I would argue any related field, should be "striving to *explicate* and *explain* the total range of physical and cultural similarities and differences characteristic of the entire spatial-temporal span of man's existence [*emphasis in original*]," (p. 217). Temporal shifts within a cultural landscape can be observed by processually minded scholars and hypotheses posed as to the reasons for change. This is reflected in Lewis' (1982) "axiom of landscape as clue to culture." Within this he includes the "corollary of cultural change," in which he states:

Our human landscape – our houses, roads, cities, farms, and so on – represent an enormous investment of money, time, and emotions. People will not change the landscape unless they are under very heavy pressure to do so. But there is evidence of change all around us, and we conclude the pressures are (and have been ) very strong (Lewis, 1982, p. 177).

These pressures can be linked back to the conventions and rules of society discussed by Durkheim (1895).

The final element necessary in any definition of cultural landscapes is the concern for spatial arrangements and patterns. The way in which humans organize their environment is culturally prescribed. The spatial context so vital to cultural landscape studies stems from the general tenets of human geography. The individuals most often credited for developing the school of geography that most influences cultural landscape analyzes are Sauer (1929; 1963), Kniffen (1963), and Jackson (1971; 1984). The latter author writes:

One useful way of defining cultural geography is to say that it is the study of the *organization of space*, the study of the random patterns we impose on the earth's surface as we live and move about [*emphasis added*] (Jackson, 1971, p. 188)

By analyzing this organization, it is possible to 'read' the landscape in a way that facilitates comprehension of the underlying cultural principles (Lewis, 1982; Deetz, 1990). There are a number of different directions in which this type of analyses can follow; Pauls (2006) does an excellent job of explaining those that are most relevant to historical archaeology.

Because an important part of the cultural landscape is the artifacts which humans have left behind, material culture studies are often closely associated with cultural landscape investigations. Like the term *cultural landscape*, there are multiple

diverse definitions of *material culture*. One useful to landscape research is provided by Glassie (1968):

The objects that man has learned to make are traditionally termed material culture. Culture is intellectual, rational, and abstract; it cannot be material, but material can be cultural and “material culture” *embraces those segments of human learning which provide a person with plans, methods, and reasons for producing things which can be seen and touched [emphasis added]* (p. 2).

The most important part of this description is that material culture, like cultural landscapes, are constructed using culturally prescribed rules or plans. Brown (1993) explicitly states that certain assumptions must be made to validate material culture research, “The manufacture or modification of objects reflects something about the beliefs of the individuals who made or used them. It is hoped that such belief patterns, when examined in aggregate form, are a reflection of the belief patterns of the larger society, (p. 143). Given that this assumption is accepted, those interested in reconstructing past societies can work back from the material record to the culture that created it. Even more important, material culture that is studied as part of a cultural landscape can often reveal more to the researcher because the necessary original context of the artifact is preserved (Brown, 1993).

This is one of the many reasons why mortuary landscapes (cemeteries) and mortuary material culture (grave markers) are useful in understanding past societies. The basic theoretical foundation that supports the analysis of historic cemeteries is the processual middle-range theory. Simply put, middle-range theory is utilized when any scholar interprets past dynamic behavior from the static present. Johnson (1999) states, “we are interested in the past: our task is to ask questions of this material in the

present, questions about the past. Specifically we are interested in the *dynamics* of past societies, that is the way past cultural systems function, developed, were transformed,” (p. 49).

For a time, archaeologists used middle-range theory to link mortuary material culture to the status of the dead. This perspective, often called the “Saxe-Binford approach” after the individuals who contributed to its development, provides a framework in which the social status of the deceased is directly related to the energy expended in burial and the quantity of associated high status grave goods (Saxe, 1970; Binford, 1971; Rakita and Buikstra, 2005). Binford (1971) argues that this framework is useful because mortuary behavior incorporates both technological and ritual cultural components. The function of the technological aspect is simply the disposal of a corpse, while the ritual element consists of assigning symbolic meaning to the dead and their treatment. Because symbolic behavior within a cultural group is arbitrarily generated by that group, studying mortuary customs reveals much about the culture (Binford, 1971).

Pearson (1999), however, argues that interpretations of past mortuary behavior has moved beyond the processual Saxe-Binford approach. Mortuary researchers now utilize a combined processual and post-processual approach, asserting that mortuary material culture is as much or more of a reflection of the living population that created it:

The deceased as he/she was in life may be thoroughly misrepresented in death – the living have more to do than just express their grief and go home. Thus the material culture retrieved by archaeologists as the remains of funerary rites is not the passive ‘statics’ resulting from active behavioural ‘dynamics’ but is itself part of the active manipulation of people’s perceptions, beliefs and allegiances,” (Pearson, 1999, p. 32).

Given that this dual processual and post-processual theoretical framework is valid, investigations of historic cemetery landscapes will reveal much about the actions and worldview of the living community (Carr, 1995). In fact, a number of scholars assert that the special nature of cemetery landscapes makes them one of the most valuable resources concerning the past. Warner (1959) contends, “gravestones and the cemetery are two of the very most dramatic and powerful symbols referring to the ideal parts of our past and reaffirming our respect for our traditions,” (p. 2). The extraordinary features that are most often included in discussion are the unusual spatial and temporal control found in cemeteries, as well as the ritualistic and sacred nature of mortuary behavior (Young, 1960; Hannon Jr., 1973; Meyer, 1989; Cannon, 2001).

### Literature Review

Francaviglia’s (1971) article on evolving cemetery landscapes in the Willamette Valley, Oregon (discussed in further detail below) has influenced a number scholars and is one of the most cited sources in this area of research. There are a number of other authors, however, that have published valuable investigations into changing mortuary landscapes. Young (1960) provides an early summary of the different types of data that can be extracted from graveyards. Included in his discussion are issues of stratification and measurement of familialism. While much of

the cemetery landscape literature focuses on explanations for the excessive mortuary displays of the Victorian period, Gillespie (1969) uses five nineteenth and twentieth century cemeteries in Delaware to try and explain the cultural forces behind the shift towards mortuary restraint in the twentieth century.

Hannon Jr. (1973) uses Francaviglia (1971) as a framework to analyze the changing cemetery landscape of Central-West Pennsylvania. This author reports that only minor differences were noticed, confirming Francaviglia's (1971) assertion that the patterns he observed in Oregon were reflections of a larger worldview (Hannon Jr., 1973, p. 23). Moore, Blaker, and Smith (1991) analyze the evolving landscape of a Kansas cemetery, their research period expanding further into the twentieth century than most (1860-1980). A number of hypotheses are presented by Moore, Blaker, and Smith (1991), most linking changes in mortuary expression to differential status displays and altered concepts of death. Rainville's (1999) ambitious work deals with differences in mortuary landscapes from a 150 year period (1770-1920) in Hanover, New Hampshire. In an attempt to provide a complete historical and cultural context for her data, she offers an in-depth history of the township and cemeteries, as well as an overview of American attitudes towards death and mortality during the period in question. She argues that this is important because "beliefs about death (rather than individual social status or ethnic identity) often dictated the style, material, and form of the gravestone," (Rainville, 1999, p. 541).

One investigator concentrates on the intrasite spatial arrangement of a cemetery. While demonstrating the interpretative potential of mortuary material

culture and landscapes, Brown (1993) uses a single multi-generation family group in an early New England cemetery. By mapping the spatial and temporal distribution of burial plots and certain grave markers, he is able to put forth multiple theories about status and nineteenth century familial dynamics. Other researchers decide to take an intersite approach, comparing cemeteries over a larger geographical region. An early example of this type of work is Price (1966). Analyzing over 200 different cemeteries in the midwest, this cultural geographer classified four different types of cemeteries that were typically associated with settlements at predictable stages of development.

Crowell and Mackie (1984) analyze multiple cemeteries in the east, defining the characteristics of two different material culture patterns, the Middle Atlantic Pattern and the Chesapeake-Tidewater Pattern, and discussing the cultural differences. The work published by Mallios and Caterino (2007) is the result of extensive cemetery surveys in San Diego County. Their data has not only shown that the mortuary landscapes of this region mirror those in other areas of America during simultaneous historical periods, but that there are observable and regular rates of style diffusion from urban to rural settlements.

One of the most influential works on gravestones and cemetery landscapes is Deetz and Dethlefsen's (1966) "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow Trees." This article was meant to be a discussion of the archaeological analytical tool seration, but it was the first to concretely demonstrate the interpretive potential of gravestone data. Using the cultural and historical context of colonial New England, they were able to explain the evolution of grave marker motif in the region in profound detail.

An author influenced by this work is Watkins (2002). She initiated a survey of nineteenth century Protestant and Catholic cemeteries in Montreal that resulted in an analysis of not only gravestone evolution, but the factors affecting the erosion of the cemetery landscape, e.g. who is not represented and why.

Many examinations of cemetery landscapes revolve around the interpretation of a single cultural aspect. A reoccurring topic in the literature is status displays in the graveyard. Clark (1987) approaches issues of status and ethnicity from a consumer choice point of view, while Cannon et al. (1989), using a comparative approach, explore the 'cyclical' nature of status display and the tendency of lower status groups to emulate those in higher social classes (p. 437). Their conclusions prove to be important because they illustrate that it can be inappropriate to make assumptions about status solely from marker form. A Pennsylvania cemetery is analyzed in Small's (2002) publication; he focuses on the formation of status symbols and intracommunity competition.

Another subject of interest is the expression of identity in historic cemetery landscapes. Ames (1981) describes the common identities communicated on Victorian gravestones. Meyer (1990) is not concerned with ideology, but the different material ways in which American emigrants expressed their unique pioneer identity on their grave markers.

A final type of examination conducted on historic grave markers is illustrated in two publications by Foster and Hummel (1995, 1998). The first uses Dethlefsen's (1969) *Colonial Gravestones and Demography* as a foundation for conducting a

demographic analysis of a single early Illinois cemetery. A profile of the community is generated by gathering data from gravestones and producing statistics on seasonal birth rates, life expectancy, and mortality. Hypotheses are then put forward about differences in age, sex, and ethnicity. Using this work as a springboard, Foster and Hummel (1998) expand their research by analyzing ten cemeteries in the same area, enabling them to make broader conclusions about not only the demography of the region but the society as a whole.

## Chapter 3

### Methods

#### Data Collection

Two burial lists for the Pioneer and St. Paul's cemeteries were compiled. The complete account of the Pioneer Cemetery burials given in Munnick and Warner (1979) was used for that graveyard (pp. A97-A107). For the newer cemetery, I first created an inventory of internments by reviewing all the St. Paul Church records for the study period after the establishment of the new graveyard (Munnick & Warner, 1979). While comparing the Church records with the gravestone survey (discussed below), it became clear that there are a number of unmarked graves in this cemetery. Geigle (1994) published a list of burials in St. Paul's Cemetery with a roughly sketched map, but there appeared to be multiple errors in the publication and it was unclear as to which graves may or may not have been unmarked. An online version of this list may be found at the Cemetery Transcription Library (2001).

Fortunately, I was able to gain access to the St. Paul Cemetery Association burial records which allowed me to find the locations of a number of the unmarked burials, as well as the identity of the individual who purchased which plots in each lot, the date of purchase, price of the plots and the general location of gravestones within the lot. However, even with this information there are still a number of unanswered questions concerning the actual number of burials.

After identifying the locations for a number of the unmarked graves from 1874 and 1905, there are still sixty-six burials unaccounted for in the Church records. There

are a number of possible explanations for this, the most likely being that the Cemetery Association records are not complete. Evidence for this can be found in the record for Block 3, Lot 7. Plots 4 and 5 of this lot have a notation that indicates when attempting to bury the remains of Margaret Sprogis in 1986, two unrecorded graves were discovered. The identities of the bodies in these graves are still a mystery. Another possible explanation is that during the period in which both cemeteries were active, the priest who recorded the burial mistakenly marked the wrong cemetery. Because there are no remaining grave markers from the Pioneer Cemetery, there is no way to verify the records. Only a few years after the establishment of the newer cemetery, burials in the Pioneer Cemetery became uncommon. I have decided that I will include these sixty-six individuals as part of the St. Paul's Cemetery population, though it is important to note that a small number of these people may in fact have been buried in the Pioneer Cemetery.

The final issue that complicates the burial sample is a number of notations in the St. Paul Cemetery Association records stating that a person was buried in a plot, though there was no record of burial in the Parish internment records. If a date of burial prior to 1905 was included in this notation, the individual was added to the sample. However, there are number of instances when no date was included. A good example of this is Block 12, Lot 4. Adolph Jette purchased this lot on November 24, 1879. He and a number of his family members were buried there between the years 1879 and 1931. It had been recorded that four infants were buried in Plots 3 and 4 with no record of the burials in the Parish internment records. Unfortunately, no dates

are included. In cases such as these, the individuals have been left out of the sample since there is no way to confirm that they were buried during the years included in this research.

There is one case, however, in which I have decided to include two individuals that have uncertain internment records. Edward Coffey purchased Lot 12 of Block 5 in 1883. His wife, Maria Coffey had been buried in the old cemetery in 1871. The association records note that there is no record of her transfer from the Pioneer Cemetery and no concrete proof that Edward was buried there as well, though there appears to be some evidence that they were laid to rest somewhere in this lot.

Support for this assertion can be found in an intriguing photograph of a collection of tombstones in St. Paul (Figure 1). The photograph was taken sometime after 1988 in a building owned by the St. Paul Mission Historical Society. No one currently involved with the society can recall what happened to these markers after the photograph was taken.

The complete marker for Maria Coffey is clearly displayed to the left. If it had still been in place in the Pioneer Cemetery in 1939, it would have been destroyed. This leads me to believe that it was moved *prior* to the unfortunate bulldozing incident. Edward Coffey was buried on April 10, 1897, years after the last recorded burial in the Pioneer Cemetery. Edward and Maria's son John Coffey, who died in 1902, rests in an unmarked grave in Plot 4 of the lot purchased by his father.



Figure 1 - Pioneer Cemetery grave markers

### Cemetery Databases

Two discrete databases were created to organize and manipulate the cemetery data. Each database includes basic fields for first, middle, last and maiden names, sex, year of death, and ethnicity. An individual's ethnicity was determined in one of four ways: explicit mention in Church records (e.g. name given as "Marie Indian"), reference in the biographical information included in the Annotations of Munnick and Warner (1979, pp. A1-A96), a place of origin provided in McKay (1980), or the establishment of a direct familial relationship to an individual whose ethnicity had already been determined. If none of these avenues provided conclusive evidence for a specific ethnic group, they were designated "unknown." The ethnic groups included in this study are given in Table 1. The general term 'American' was used for those

individuals who could only be traced back to an origin within the United States. In those cases where an individual had parents from different ethnic groups, the ethnicity of the father was recorded. I believe that because these families were mainly patriarchal, the ethnicity of the father would have had a greater impact on the development of the social status of the child.

Table 1 - Ethnic groups included in study

American	French	Native American
American/métis	French Canadian/métis	Scottish/métis
English/Anglo-American	German/German American	Spanish
English/métis	Irish/Irish American	unknown
Dutch/Dutch American	Iroquois/métis	

Additional fields were added to the St. Paul's Cemetery database for the gravestone data. These fields correspond with the attributes provided in the data recording form used during the gravestone survey (see Appendix A). This particular form was selected because it provided sections for all pertinent information and had sketched examples of different form types which facilitated quick and consistent data collection. An example of the database form created from this data sheet is provided in Figure 2.

Several days were spent in the field surveying the extant grave markers. As mentioned above, only stones dating to 1905 and earlier were included in the inspection. A single form was completed for each marker and a digital photograph was taken. These images were later tagged to the database record for easy recall. The burials that were identified as unmarked were also included in the database. For these individuals, a record was created with fields completed for name, year of death,

ethnicity and, if known, the Block/Lot/Plot burial location. In total, 130 gravestones and family plot markers, representing 138 individuals, were surveyed. One hundred and eight unmarked graves were also identified.

LastName	FirstName	MiddleName	MaidenName	Birth	Death	Age
Costello	Mary			1842	17 November 1852	10
Basic Marker Type	Specific Marker Type	Extra Marker Description				
vertical slab	05	Broken in half and repaired				
Lettering	Orientation	Marker Height	Marker Motif	Extra Motif Description		
incised	east	41"	cross; floral			
Place Of Birth	Inscription					
	In Memory of; Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade / Death came with friendly care / The opening bud to Heaven conveyed / And ad					
Shared	Ethnicity	Moved?				
	Irish/Irish American	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
MapID: 19	Block: X2	Lot: 33	Plot: 04	Costello markers at NC from OC.JPG		

Figure 2 - Example of database form

## Mapping

Two different maps were created to assist in the interpretation of spatial patterning. A digital transit was used in the field to map the locations and approximate size of each marker. The map created from this data illustrates the current mortuary landscape and assisted in locating the graves of those individuals with monuments (Figure 16, p. 48, Chapter 4).

The second map generated further assisted in spatial analysis. A digital Block/Lot/Plot map was produced using the St. Paul Cemetery Associations plot chart (Figure 3). The shaded areas on this diagram represent the plots that have been *purchased*, not necessarily the plots that are occupied. A number of lots were purchased after the establishment of the cemetery in 1874, but many of them appear to

have been left unoccupied. Each lot is sixteen and a half feet square and contains eight plots measuring forty-nine and half inches wide by ninety-nine inches long.

Because any cultural landscape analysis must take into consideration the spatial patterning of the area in question, the map created from this chart has been used to diagram the years of purchase (Figure 26, p. 65, Chapter 5), ethnicity (Figure 31, p. 75, Chapter 6), and kinship patterns (Figure 32, p. 79, Chapter 6). In addition, this map has been especially important because it has allowed me to locate a number of the currently unmarked graves. There are forty-two unmarked burials that I have been able to find Block/Lot/Plot locations for. A complete list of all burials and their locations on both the grave marker map and plot map can be found in Appendices B and C. Copies of both maps are in Appendix D.

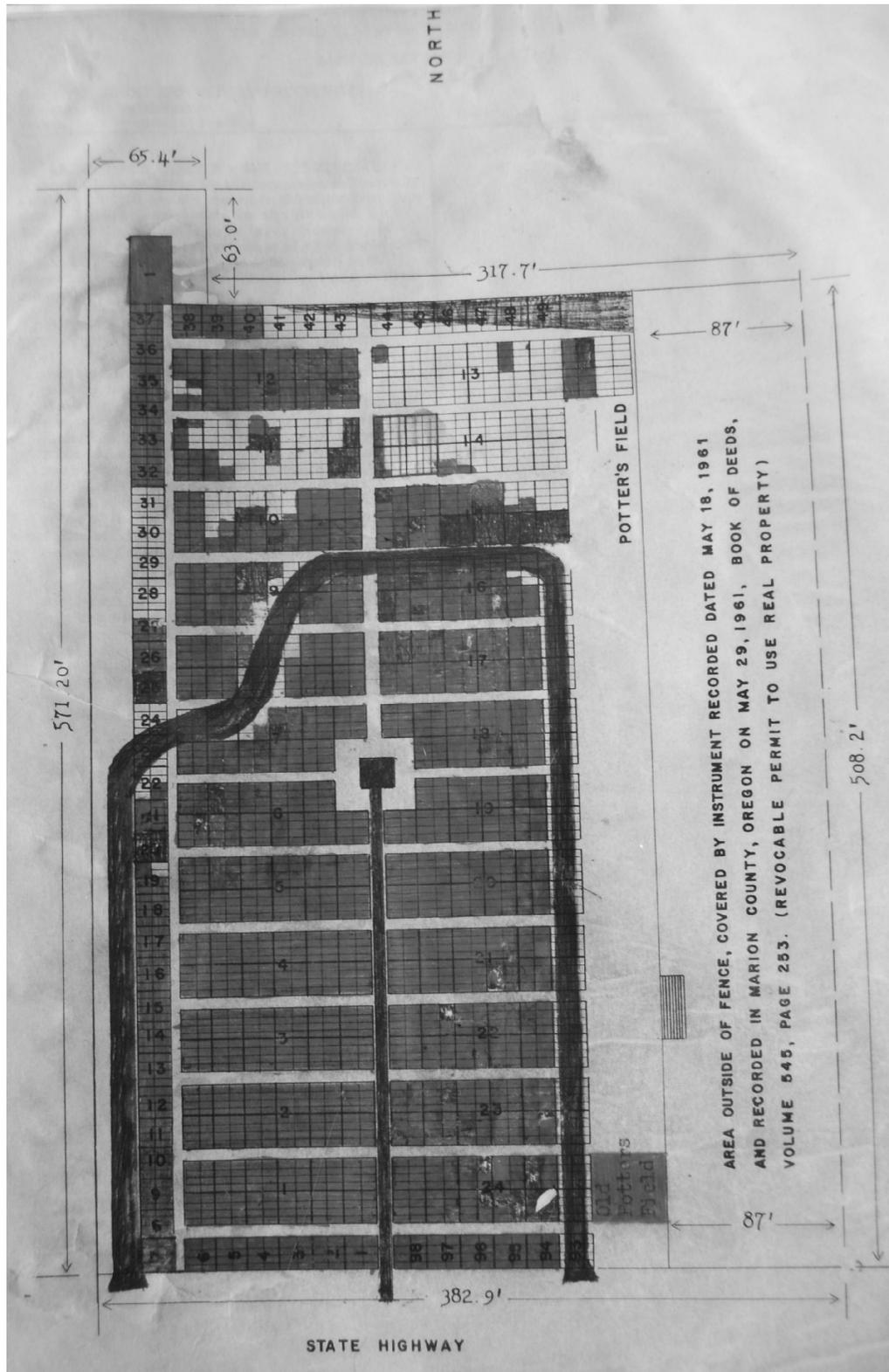


Figure 3 - St. Paul Cemetery Association chart (Darkened plots indicate those that have been purchased)

## Chapter 4

### Historical Background of St. Paul, Oregon

#### Early Fur Trappers and Agricultural Settlement

St. Paul is located in the northern section of the Willamette Valley in an area commonly referred to as French Prairie (Figure 4). Originally, French Prairie had been defined by several different water sources: the Willamette River to the north and west, the Little Pudding and the Pudding River to the east, and Lake Labish, which has been drained in modern times, to the south (Brauner, 1989). The entire Valley had been the ancestral territory of the Kalapuya Indians and their active manipulation of the environment through seasonal burning greatly affected the natural landscape. The oak savanna they created in the upper Valley was attractive to the French Canadian and American settlers that would come to populate and cultivate the area in the nineteenth century (Brauner, 1989).

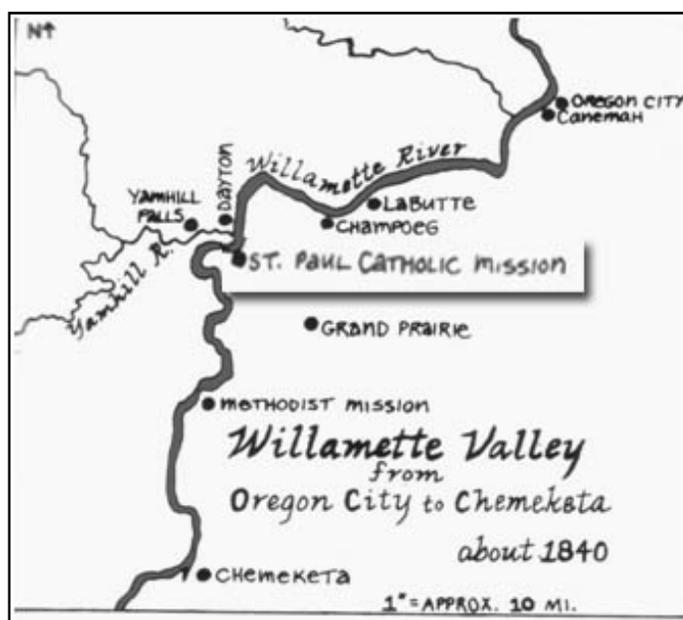


Figure 4 – Map of French Prairie, c. 1840 (adapted from McKay, 1980, p. xi)

One of the earliest European American ventures in the Valley was John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company, which set up a trading post near present-day Salem in 1812. The Northwest Company, a Canadian venture, followed suit in 1813, establishing the Willamette Post approximately four miles northeast of what would become St. Paul. Though it was an American-owned operation, the Pacific Fur Company, like the Northwest Company, employed mostly French Canadians as fur trappers or *engagés* (Gibson, 1985). The presence of the Pacific Fur Company in the Valley lasted only one year and the Northwest Company dominated the economy of the area until they merged with the more powerful Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1821. Many of the *engagés* that had worked for the previous companies simply switched allegiance to HBC and continued their trapping and trading as before.

Prior to 1829, HBC policy prohibited agricultural settlement in their territories because it was considered detrimental to business. By this time, however, many of the French Canadian men who had been trapping for years wanted to retire to a more sedentary way of life. Traditionally, they would have returned to Canada. Several trappers, despite their semi-nomadic occupation, had developed close ties to the Oregon territory. Many had taken native women as 'country wives' and had begun to raise families of *métis*, or mixed-blood, children. Knowing that they would not be accepted in eastern Canadian society, some of the men chose to take advantage of the untapped agricultural potential of the Willamette Valley (Gibson, 1985). With the help of HBC Chief Factor John McLoughlin, some of the retired *engagés* began establishing farms in 1829. Etienne Lucier and Pierre Belleque are often cited as the

first, but within months they were followed by a number of their fellow trappers and their families (Gibson, 1980; McKay, 1980).

#### Establishment of the St. Paul Catholic Mission

In 1834, the Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission was established by Jason Lee. This post, which was meant to facilitate the conversion of the native population, quickly turned into a farming venture, largely due to the fact that the Kalapuya population had already been severely depleted by European diseases by the mid-1830s (Sanders, Weber, & Brauner, 1983; Brauner, 1989). Lee and his missionaries did give shelter to many of the orphaned children as well as provide spiritual guidance to the large number of French Canadian families that were living in the area. These Catholic families, however, were not satisfied with the Methodist mission. On July 3, 1834, a letter was sent by the Canadians to the Bishop of Red River in hopes that a priest would be sent to take care of their religious needs. All of the French Canadians were illiterate; it is likely that one of the few American settlers in the community scribed the letter for them. When no reply came, another query was sent on February 23, 1835 (Munnick & Warner, 1979). This second petition received a response, informing the Catholics that there was not a priest that could be sent to them at that time and encouraged them to maintain their faith for one would come soon. A letter of thanks was sent back to the Bishop, accompanied by a list of settlers and the number of their children (Table 2) (Munnick & Warner, 1979).

Table 2 – Men who petitioned for a priest in 1835  
(adapted from Munnick and Warner, 1979, pp. xvii-xviii)

Name	Children	Name	Children
Joseph Jarvey [Gervais]	7	Pear Depo [Pierre Depot]	1
Havier Laderout [Francois Xavier]	1	Andrey Pecor [Andre Picard]	4
Eken Luceay [Etienne Lucier]	6	Joseph Delar [Delard]	5
Luey Fiourey [Louis Forcier]	3	Joseph Desport [Despard]	3
Lamab Erquet [Amable Arquet]	3	Andrey Longten [Andre Longtain]	4
Jion Bt Perroult [Jean Baptiste]	2	John Bt Desportes [John Baptiste]	8
Peare Belleck [Pierre Belleque]	3	William Johnson	2
Charles Rondo [Rondeau]	3	Charlo Chata [?]	
Charles Plant [Plante]	4	William MCarty [McCarty]	

In anticipation of the priest's arrival, the Catholic faithful constructed a log church in 1836. Once the church was finished, Chief Factor McLoughlin came to visit and, finding its location unsuitable, ordered that it be moved. His request was promptly met and the small church was relocated to a piece of prairie that would become St. Paul. It was to stand without a priest, however, until early 1839 when Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers arrived from Canada via HBC's Columbia post, Fort Vancouver. Father Blanchet went to work among the French Canadians, performing the traditional Catholic rites, including legitimizing the 'country marriages' and baptizing the Indian women and métis children. In addition to these responsibilities, Father Blanchet claimed a piece of land for the Church and blessed a small section of ground for a parish cemetery. Until the lifting of a HBC restriction preventing him from residing below the Columbia River, Father Blanchet tended his new flock from Fort Vancouver. When the prohibition was removed in October of 1839, he moved into the church built for him by the French Canadians (Munnick & Warner, 1979).

### American Immigration and the Evolution of St. Paul

Since the beginning of European American settlement on French Prairie, there had been only a few isolated Americans in the area. These were mostly single men who blended into a population that was almost solely French Canadian, Native American, and métis. Gibson (1985) reports that there were up to eighty French Canadian families in the Willamette Valley by the autumn of 1841 (p. 136). The first small wagon train of Americans from the east arrived from Missouri in 1840, but there was not a significant population of pioneers coming into the Valley until 1843 when almost 1000 immigrants crossed the plains to the Oregon territory (Gibson, 1985). Not all of these individuals stayed in the area; many turned south and went to southern Oregon or California. Nevertheless, the dynamic of the French Prairie population began to change drastically.

Until 1843, there had been no formal government in the Northwest. Hudson's Bay Company still held economic control of the region, but because the area was part of a joint occupancy agreement between England and the United States, there was no organized authority. This changed, however, on May 2, 1843 when a meeting of French Prairie settlers was held at the fledgling community of Champoeg, four and a half miles from the St. Paul Catholic Mission. It was decided by a fifty-two to fifty vote to institute a provisional government to act as a mediating and protective entity for the growing community in the Valley. All the Americans present voted in favor of the government, while only a few French Canadians supported its formation. From its inception, the provisional government was controlled by the Americans, largely

because the majority of the population was quickly becoming predominately immigrant (McKay, 1980).

As these demographic and political changes were taking place, the Catholic mission at St. Paul continued to grow and evolve. In 1843, Fathers Langlois and Bolduc of Canada opened a boys school near the log church. The school, which was funded by a Joseph Lacroque from Paris, was named St. Joseph's College. A year later, Jesuit priest Father DeSmet came to the mission with six nuns from Belgium who were meant to operate a convent and a school for girls. In addition to bringing the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, he established St. Francis Xavier Mission a mile west of St. Paul; this was to be the headquarters for the entire Northwest Jesuit missionary movement (McKay, 1980).

In 1844, Father Blanchet left for Europe to be consecrated bishop. In his absence, Father Demers supervised the construction of a substantial brick church not far from the small log chapel. The cornerstone was placed on May 24, 1846 and construction was completed by November 1 of the same year. The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur were extremely active in the erection of this sizeable building (Figure 5). On August 19, 1847, Father Blanchet returned to St. Paul as an archbishop. Later that year, the first two men to become priests in the Northwest were ordained in the new church. Not long after, Father Demers became the first bishop.



Figure 5 – The St. Paul Catholic Church as it stood in the late 1890s.

### Shifting Populations and the Decline of St. Paul's Prominence

The years following the major migration of 1843 brought more and more American settlers to the Willamette Valley. In November of 1841, it is thought that the French Canadians and their families accounted for 350 individuals, compared to the approximately 150 Americans (Gibson, 1985). By the middle of 1844, however, Americans outnumbered Canadians two to one. By the end of 1845, as many as 6000 people were living in the Valley, with French Canadians making up only twenty percent of that number (Gibson, 1985).

There were a number of reasons for the influx of American immigrants, among them their desire to overwhelm the British presence and ensure that this valuable land would fall under American jurisdiction after the secession of the joint occupancy agreement between the United States and England. Their wishes were granted in 1846 when the Oregon Country formally came under American control; two years later it would become an official United States territory. Though relations between the pioneers and the French Canadians were peaceful, the latter were often looked down upon by their new neighbors. Brauner (1989) writes:

The French Canadians with their Indian/Métis wives and children coupled with their association with the fur trade led American society to view them as Indians, and they were frequently dealt with accordingly. French Canadians rarely spoke English and few were literate, furthering the misunderstandings held by Americans. Having recently rested [sic] the Oregon country from the British, the French Canadians were viewed by Americans as the last unwanted symbol of the all powerful Hudson's Bay Company (p. 17).

The decline of the French Canadian majority did not affect the prominence of St. Paul immediately. A number of the families that began settling in close proximity to the mission in 1847 were Irish Catholics. They spent their first year in Oregon building homes and barns, improving their land for agriculture, and setting up businesses such as flour mills (McKay, 1980). In January of 1848, gold was discovered in California and as the news filtered into the Willamette Valley, the population of St. Paul and the surrounding area was seriously depleted. Many of the men from St. Paul left their farms and families under the care of the few individuals who were not fleeing to the gold fields. A number of the French Canadian men who left with this group contracted cholera while traveling; most of those that did not immediately succumb to the disease returned home, only to spread the illness to their

very susceptible Indian or part-Indian families (McKay, 1980). Between the departures of so many men and the loss of community members to disease, a number of the institutions at the St. Paul mission were greatly affected. St. Joseph's College closed completely, but the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur kept their school open, though with limited services being offered to parishioners (McKay, 1980). A further blow was delivered to the mission in 1848 when Archbishop Blanchet moved his headquarters to Oregon City. St. Francis Xavier Mission also shut down because the Jesuit priests felt their presence in California was greatly needed (McKay, 1980, p. 30).

Though St. Paul lost prominence as the center of Catholicism in the Northwest, its community members continued to thrive economically. The Irish American immigrants who went to California fared much better than their French Canadian neighbors. Some made considerable profits mining, and a few operated other lucrative business ventures, such as running supply stores for miners. Many returned to St. Paul less than a year later much wealthier than when they left (McKay, 1980). In 1850 there were almost no new immigrants in the Willamette Valley. However, wheat and other resources were sorely needed in California where there was a continual flood of people looking to strike it rich. The agriculturists of the Willamette Valley worked hard to keep up with the demand and the local economy experienced a substantial boom.

Steamboats began to operate on the Willamette River in 1851, making distribution of Prairie produce much easier. This, coupled with the continually rising

prices of foodstuffs, made the agriculturally fertile land in the St. Paul area very desirable. While discussing the constantly shifting ratio of Americans to French Canadians, McKay (1980) states:

...the American immigrants in general had more money – much of this from success in the gold fields – and, [with the exception of] a few French Canadian-Indian families, they were more interested in obtaining land, which the French Canadian-Indian families were willing to sell for the relatively high prices the American immigrants were offering (p. 40).

St. Paul itself continued to evolve to accommodate the growing demands of its community's agricultural operations; this included the construction of a number of barns, warehouses, mills, and supply stores. Another gold rush in 1860, this one in Idaho and eastern Oregon, only served to create an even higher demand for Willamette Valley crops.

A new religious presence arrived in St. Paul in 1861. A contingent of the Sisters of the Holy Names was given the charge of returning the community to its former spiritual prominence (McKay, 1980). They opened an elementary school for girls, the St. Paul Academy, and settled into the community. Economic growth continued on the French Prairie until the area met with disaster at the end of 1861. The flood that occurred in November of this year was devastating, taking many lives and destroying thousands of dollars of agricultural stores. Fortunately for most in St. Paul, a less damaging flood the previous year had spurred the movement of many homes away from the river. However, the town of Champoeg, which had been the economic hub of the area to this point, was completely ruined. With the complete

destruction of this community, St. Paul became the largest settlement in that area of the Valley (McKay, 1980).

The 1860s in St. Paul may have begun with the damage caused by natural disasters and the blistering cold winter that followed, but the rest of the decade saw continued prosperity. The demand for produce slowed somewhat, but there were a number of other diversified ventures being undertaken by St. Paul residents. Logging, cattle ranching, commercial harvesting, fence construction, brick and nail manufacture, and milling were all being carried out by members of this rural community (McKay, 1980). The completion of the Oregon-California Railroad near St. Paul also contributed to the ongoing success of St. Paul. New families, many of them Irish immigrants, continued to come to St. Paul from the Midwest. They found a prosperous rural community with as many social opportunities as economic. Dances, baseball games, and horse races were only of the few activities that took place on the weekends before church (McKay, 1980). By 1874, St. Paul could boast “the Catholic church, a Post Office, two stores, St. Paul Academy, a public grade school, an orphanage, a shoe shop, a doctor’s office, a blacksmith shop and a saloon,” (McKay, 1980, p. 66).

By 1879, thirty-nine large landowners were identified as living in the St. Paul area (McKay, 1980, p. 71). At this time, the agricultural economy was undergoing a major transition. Hops became the dominant crop produced in St. Paul, and the cultivation of this product greatly affected the landscape, as well as the social environment in the community, which revolved around the harvest. The farmers

included in McKay's (1980) list, of which only eleven are French Canadian/métis (Table 3), would have played an active role in this transformation (p. 71). By the 1880s, the population that had originally settled French Prairie and prompted the founding of St. Paul was no longer a major factor on the evolving landscape.

Table 3 – Large Landowners, St. Paul 1879. Italics indicate French Canadian or French Canadian descent (Adapted from McKay, 1980, p. 71)

St. Paul Mission	<i>August Raymond Heirs</i>	<i>S. Peletier</i>
James Coleman	W.F. Davidson & John Coleman	Edward Coffee
James McKay	<i>C.L. Bergevin</i>	<i>J. Belleque</i>
<i>Dieu Donne Manegre</i>	<i>Amadee Choquette</i>	James Coyle
E.J. Harding	<i>Henry Picard</i>	John Kennedy Jr.
Hugh Cosgrove	John Cooke	Thomas Coleman
Peter Clary	Andrew Murphy	Peter Kirk
<i>J.B.P. Piette</i>	T. Wiggins	John Gearin
Frank Smith	<i>L. Prevost</i>	Henry Oahslager
Simon Connor	John D. Kennedy	<i>J.B., L., and A.J. Bergevin</i>
Dr. John Brentano	J.W. Smyth	<i>E.N. Doupierre</i>
Matthew Murphy	George Aplin	Barney Kennedy Estate
Charles F. Ray	William Trevor	John Johnson

## Chapter 5

## Historic Cemeteries of St. Paul

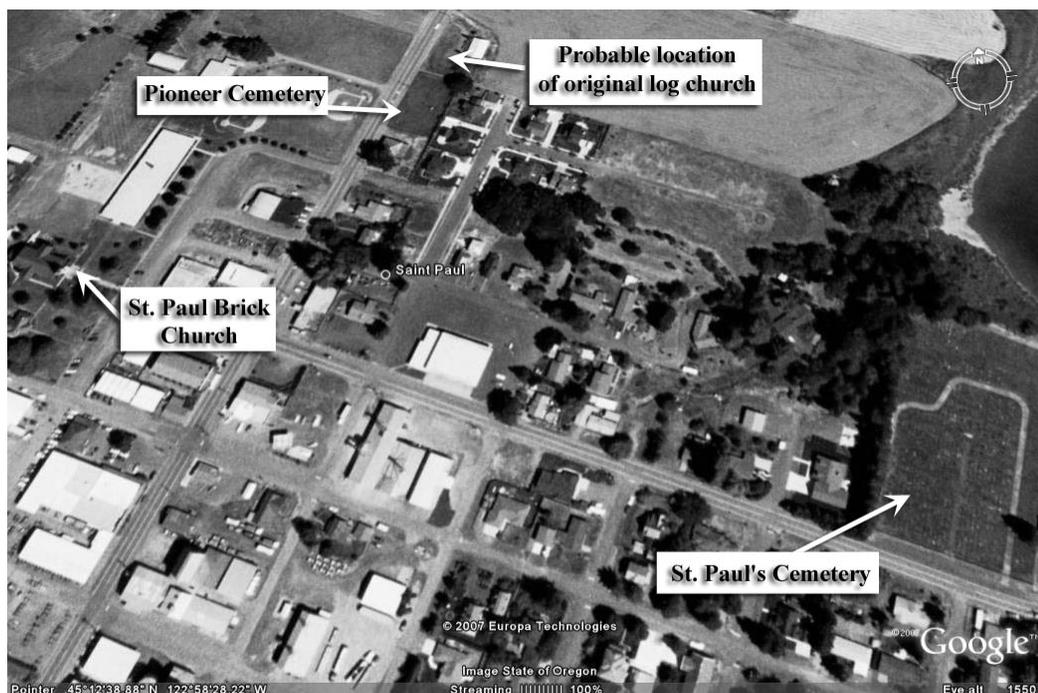


Figure 6 – Cemeteries of St. Paul, Oregon

Pioneer Cemetery

The first piece of ground set aside for a cemetery in St. Paul was consecrated by Father Blanchet in 1839 (Figure 6). Located near the original log church, its dedication was noted in the Catholic Church records of Fort Vancouver (Munnick & Warner, 1972):

*This 10 June, 1839, we priest Vicar General of the Columbia have blessed, following the custom, a plot of ground 33 paces on the front and of 25 of depth, surrounded by an enclosure of upright stakes, having in the center a large consecrated cross, to serve, the said ground, for burials and to be the cemetery of the Catholic Mission of Saint Paul of the Wallamette. This benediction has been made in presence of Joseph Gervais, of Etienne Lucier and of a great number of others who have not known how to sign, and of Sieur Nicolas Montour who has signed with us (pp. 43-44).*

The first burial had occurred months before the official benediction. A twenty-year-old woman, recorded as “Marie Indian, slave at the house of Joseph Delard,” was interned on January 16, 1839 (Munnick & Warner, 1979, p. A97). Anyone baptized in the Catholic Church was allowed to be laid to rest in the mission’s cemetery. This included the French Canadians and their Indian and métis families, as well as any other Native Americans that had converted to the Christian faith. Because of the devastation caused by the introduction of European diseases, many of those in St. Paul’s original cemetery were Native Americans. In fact, over twenty-seven percent (n=151) of the cemetery population has been identified as Native American. At fifty-two percent (n=285), the majority of individuals are French Canadian métis. Figure 7 is a summary of the ethnic makeup of the Pioneer Cemetery. A complete list of individuals recorded for this cemetery can be found in Appendix B.

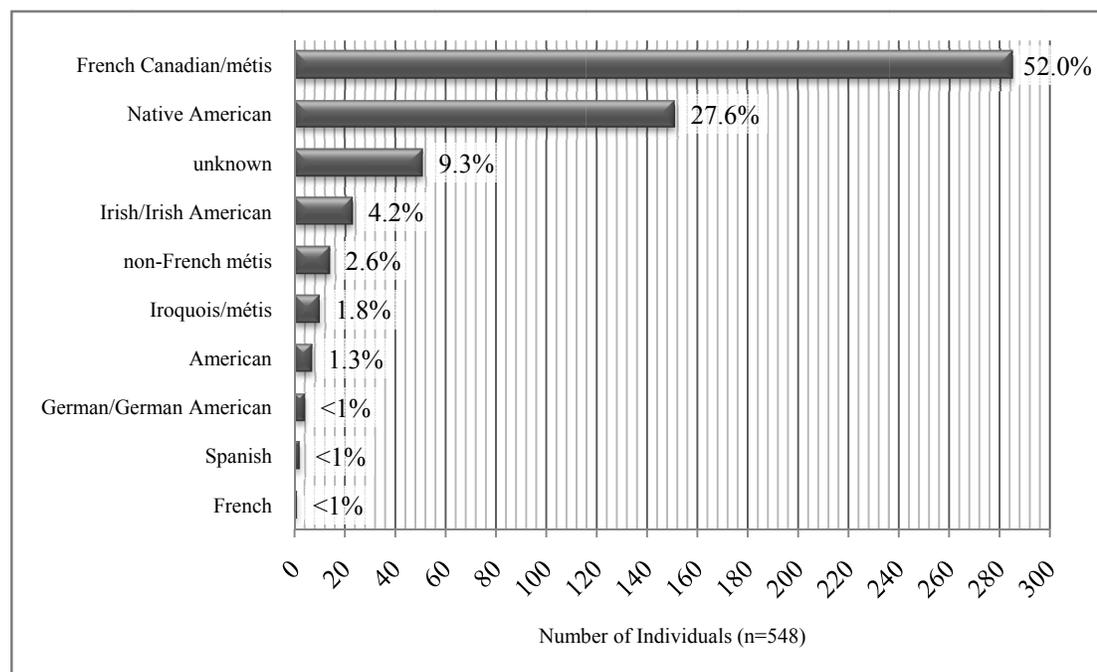


Figure 7 - Pioneer Cemetery ethnicity chart

Despite the influx of immigrants beginning in the early 1840s, the first American burial at St. Paul was not recorded until 1847. Interestingly, this first pioneer individual, Patrick Rowland Horagan (d. 1847), was not actually buried within the limits of the cemetery. The following entry is given under his name in Munnick and Warner's (1979) annotation:

An American settler of Irish descent, Rowland came from Montgomery County, North Carolina; to settle finally on a claim of in 1845... His death in 1847 brought the item in the **Oregon Spectator** [emphasis in original]: 'The first death from that cause (intoxication) in Oregon, and... (let it be)... a warning to others. His burial record is equally stark: 'February, 1847, has been buried, outside the cemetery and without the presence of a priest, at the age[sic] of the woods opposite the Church of St. Paul. (p. A41).

The first proper burial of an American settler appears to be that of a Cosgrove boy in 1848. The Cosgrove family had originally settled in St. Paul in late 1847 (McKay, 1980). This child's death occurred when a period of unrest in the Northwest hindered proper transcription of Church records. As a result, his first name and age are unknown (Munnick & Warner, 1979). The years between 1844 and 1852 saw the highest number of burials per year (Figure 8).

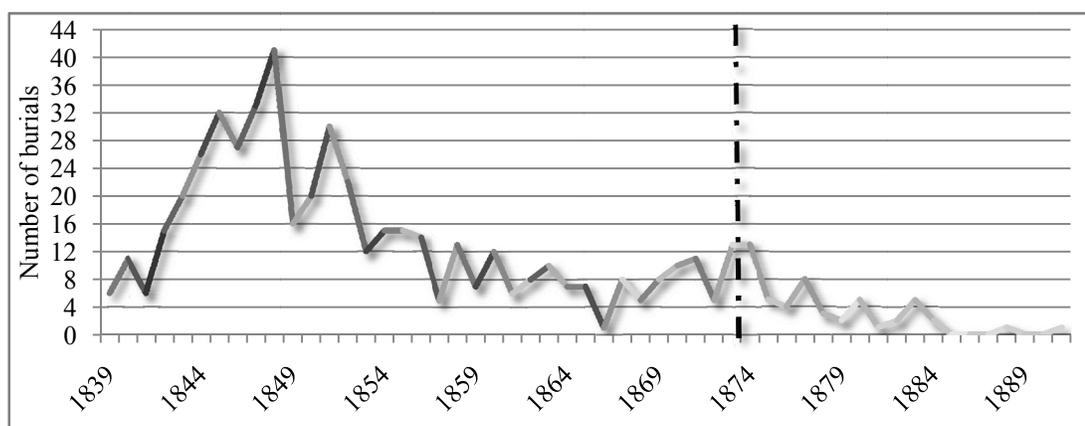


Figure 8 - Number of deaths per year at Pioneer Cemetery (Dotted line marks the establishment of the new cemetery)

Beginning in the late 1870s, both the old Pioneer and the newer St. Paul's cemeteries were in use. Though many families chose to bury their relatives in the new graveyard, there was a period of time where a number of people were continuing to use the older cemetery. However, there were also a number of people who chose to exhume relatives and transfer their remains to family plots in St. Paul's Cemetery. Both of these practices and the cultural phenomenon they reflect will be discussed in further detail below. The last recorded burial in the Pioneer Cemetery was that of Julien C. Prevost who died only a day after his birth in 1891 (Munnick and Warner 1979). During the years 1839 and 1891, there were a total of 548 burials in the Pioneer Cemetery.

After the last burial in 1891, for all intents and purposes, the Pioneer Cemetery was abandoned by the community. No effort was made to maintain it and after decades of neglect, the landscape had become completely overgrown; what grave markers still stood were weathered and tilted, barely visible over the brush. In anticipation of the significant centennial celebration for the St. Paul Catholic Church in 1939, some members of the community decided to clean up the cemetery that had become such an eyesore. This process is described by Munnick (1978):

At some time during the 1930's a drastic clean-up took place, giving much distress to many of the old families. 'You're desecrating sacred ground!' one grandfather shouted, but to no avail, for the bulldozers swept brush, stones and all remaining markers over the creek bank, leaving a level expanse to be planted to lawn. A boulder with a plaque and a large cross now identify the place (p. 13).

The cross and plaque were contributed by the Knights of Columbus to honor the founder of St. Paul, Archbishop Blanchet. The local chapter of the Daughters of the

American Revolution placed the boulder to pay tribute to the influential French Canadian men who helped establish the early French Prairie community.

No other improvements were made to the decimated cemetery until a new tombstone was erected in the 1980s to honor William Cannon, the only known Revolutionary War veteran buried in Oregon. The St. Paul Mission Historical Society was responsible for this memorial and had no choice but to pick an arbitrary spot for the marker because the location of his burial was lost in the destruction (Figure 9). A spot near the main highway between St. Paul and Newberg was selected. The stone, which is oriented facing west instead of the traditional east, is easily visible as one drives into town.

Recently an attempt has been made by a number of organizations and St. Paul community members to rectify the damage done in the 1930s. A brick wall was erected at the back edge of the burial ground to separate it from a large subdivision built in the late 1980s. The wall now holds simple black plaques listing the individuals buried in the small piece of ground (Figure 10). On Memorial Day, 2005, the St. Paul Cemetery Association, in conjunction with the St. Paul Mission Historical Society, the Archdiocese of Portland, and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, organized a rededication ceremony at the cemetery. Both Catholic and traditional Native American rites were performed, as well as a National Guard jet flyover.

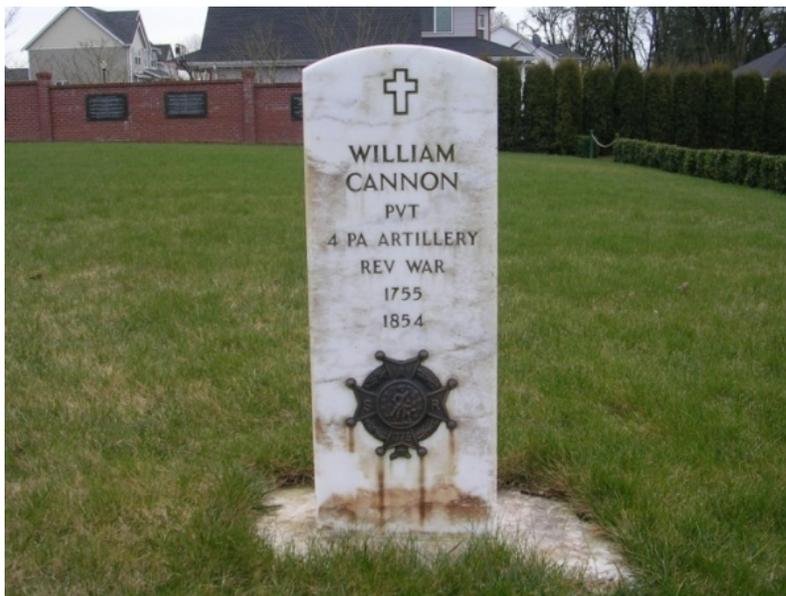


Figure 9 – Memorial for Revolutionary War Veteran William Cannon in Pioneer Cemetery



Figure 10 – Pioneer Cemetery at St. Paul, as it stands today

### St. Paul's Cemetery

St. Paul's Cemetery is located approximately a quarter mile southeast of the Pioneer Cemetery and the Catholic Church (Figure 6). Like the older graveyard, the first interment on September 29, 1874 took place before an official blessing by the Church (Munnick and Warner, 1979). This burial was Helen Lyons, an Irish immigrant who came to St. Paul with her daughter Margaret Lyons Kirk in 1870 (McKay, 1980). She was laid to rest in a family plot that is situated along the modern cemetery fenceline (see marker 61g in Appendix D). Directly following this entry, Father Bartholomew Delorme noted that any future burial documented in the Church records would be accompanied by a "N.C." for "New Cemetery" or "O.C." for the "Old Cemetery" (Munnick and Warner, 1979, vol. III p. 77). The number of burials in the older cemetery were so few by the late-1880s that this practice was discontinued and a special note was included for those few who were buried in the Pioneer Cemetery.

The majority of those buried in the newer cemetery were still French Canadian/métis (n=101). The biggest difference in ethnic makeup can be found in the Irish/Irish American and Native American groups. The former, which made up only four percent (n=22) of the Pioneer Cemetery population accounted for thirty-one percent (n=76) of St. Paul's Cemetery. Conversely, Native Americans only made up one percent (n=3) of the newer cemetery's population, but accounted for twenty-eight percent (n=151) of the old. A complete summary of the ethnic makeup St. Paul's Cemetery from 1874 to 1905 is provided in Figure 11 and a complete list of the

individuals buried can be found in Appendix C. The remains moved from the old cemetery are included in these figures, as are the individuals whose graves are unmarked. The new cemetery was finally blessed three years after the first burial on June 24, 1877 when Archbishop Blanchet consecrated the graveyard in a ceremony attended by a large congregation of St. Paul parishioners (Munnick and Warner, 1979).

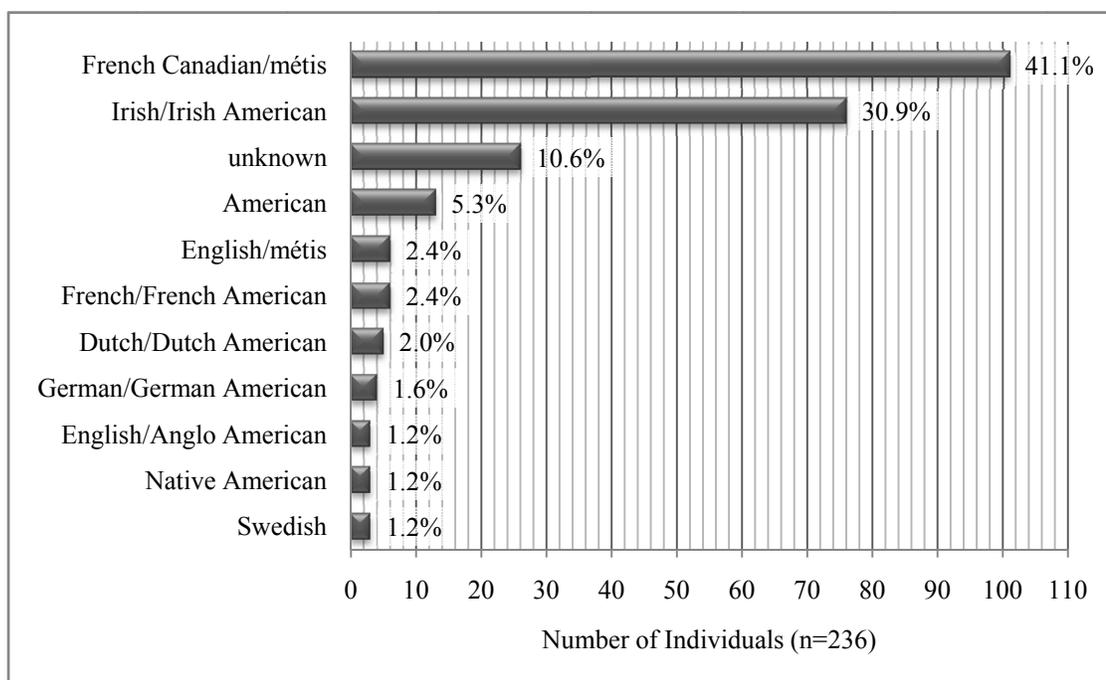


Figure 11 - St. Paul's Cemetery ethnicity, 1874 - 1905

Not included in these calculations are the burials for the Sisters of the Holy Names. A separate area of the graveyard had been set aside for the nuns and a chapel and crypt was built to act as a repository for their dead. On September 18, 1875, when the chapel was blessed, nine nuns who had been buried in the convent garden were transferred to the crypt (Munnick and Warner, 1979). In total, forty-two nuns and one priest were buried in what is now called Nun's Corner. A complete list of

burials in this part of the cemetery can be found in Appendix C. The last burial in this area of the cemetery occurred in 1912. After decades of minimal use, the chapel fell into disrepair. In the 1980s, instead of attempting a restoration project, members of the St. Paul parish filled the crypt with sand and demolished the building. Within its footprint, a large marker inscribed with the names of the nuns was erected (Figure 12).



Figure 12 – Nun’s Corner of St. Paul’s Cemetery. (Left) The chapel as it looked in 1911. (Right) The marker erected in its place in the 1980s.

These Sisters of the Holy Name are not the only clergy buried in the cemetery. Although he moved his residence to Oregon City in 1848, Archbishop Blanchet maintained close ties to the Catholic Church and community he founded in 1839. When he passed away in June of 1883, he was laid to rest in St. Paul’s Cemetery. A temporary location was selected for his remains until a “proper tomb” could be constructed (Munnick and Warner, 1979, vol. III p. 152). A year later, Archbishop Blanchet’s body was moved to a crypt under a large memorial cross erected by the St. Paul community:

*On June 23, 1884, the body of Francis Norbert Blanchet, first Archbishop of Oregon, was transferred from a cell in the cemetery of St. Paul to a crypt near the central cross, where it has been built in the same cemetery. Witnesses*

were Rev. Sister Mary Margaret, Andrew Hughes, John McGrath, and others (Munnick and Warner, 1979, vol. III p. 159).

Archbishop Blanchet's grave is still the central focus of the cemetery despite the fact the original memorial was destroyed during the Columbus Day storm of 1962. A new, sturdier memorial replaced it in 1967 (Munnick 1989: 80). There were 246 individuals buried in St. Paul's Cemetery between 1874 and 1905 (Figure 13). Of these, ninety-seven constitute unmarked graves. The implications of these unmarked graves on the cultural landscape can be found below.

The still active St. Paul's cemetery has received better treatment than the original Pioneer Cemetery. A wrought iron fence encloses the entrance on the southern side of the graveyard and the landscape is maintained by the St. Paul Cemetery Association. This association, founded in 1948, took over the record keeping responsibilities of the church, insuring that the original grid plan is preserved. Shortly after the establishment of the association, there was an attempt to raise funds to make 'improvements' to the cemetery. Often individuals who had family members buried in the graveyard or had purchased lots for themselves would make donations, all of which were noted on the sheets for the appropriate lot (St. Paul Cemetery Association). The results of this clean up effort can be seen in Figure 14. Obviously this well-intentioned movement has drastically changed the landscape of the cemetery over the past sixty years.

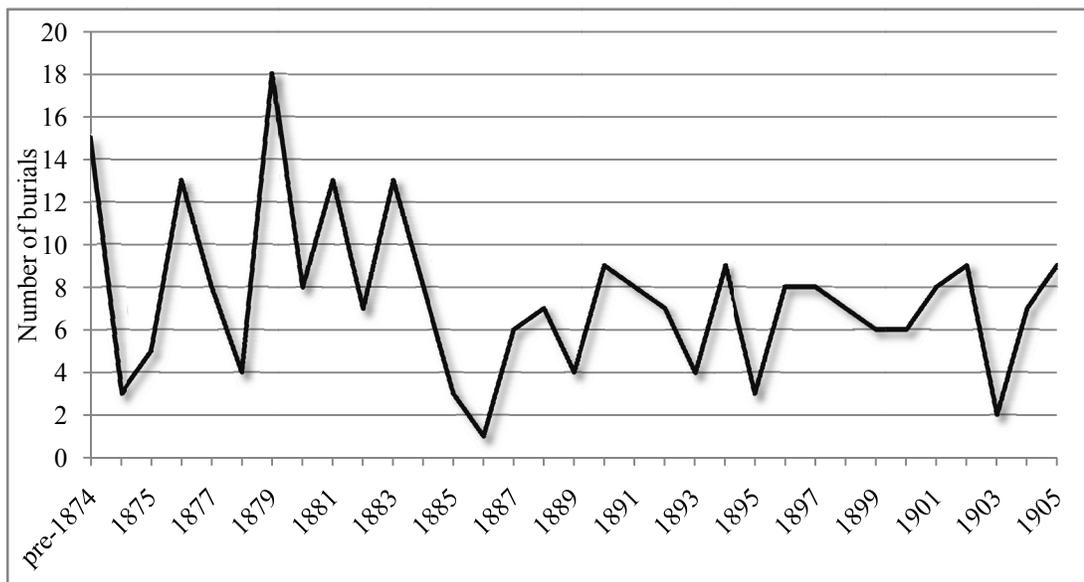


Figure 13 – Number of deaths per year at St. Paul's Cemetery



Figure 14 – Differences in landscape in St. Paul's Cemetery between early 1911 (right) and today (left)

### *Grave Marker Survey*

In total, 130 markers at St. Paul's Cemetery were surveyed (Table 4 and Figure 16). Of these, nine represent family plot stones that are meant to communicate to the viewer the location and prominence of the family. While describing the glorification of family and kinship in the Victorian Period, Ames (1981) states, "New markers, larger and more imposing, contributing much of the verticality to the cemetery were inscribed with the family name and were gradually surrounded by smaller stones of family members interred with the familial precinct," (p. 653). The Flynn family mark is an excellent example of this trend (Figure 15).

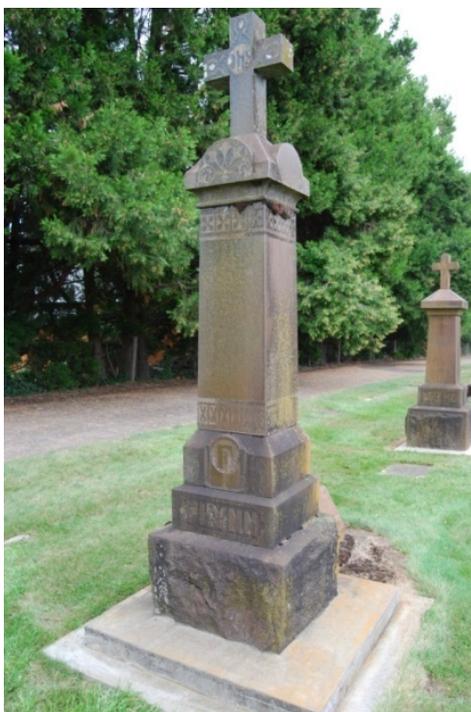


Figure 15 - Flynn family marker, St. Paul's Cemetery

Table 4 - Grave Marker Survey

Total number of markers	Family lot markers	Gravestones	People represented on stones	Unmarked burials
130	9	121	138	108

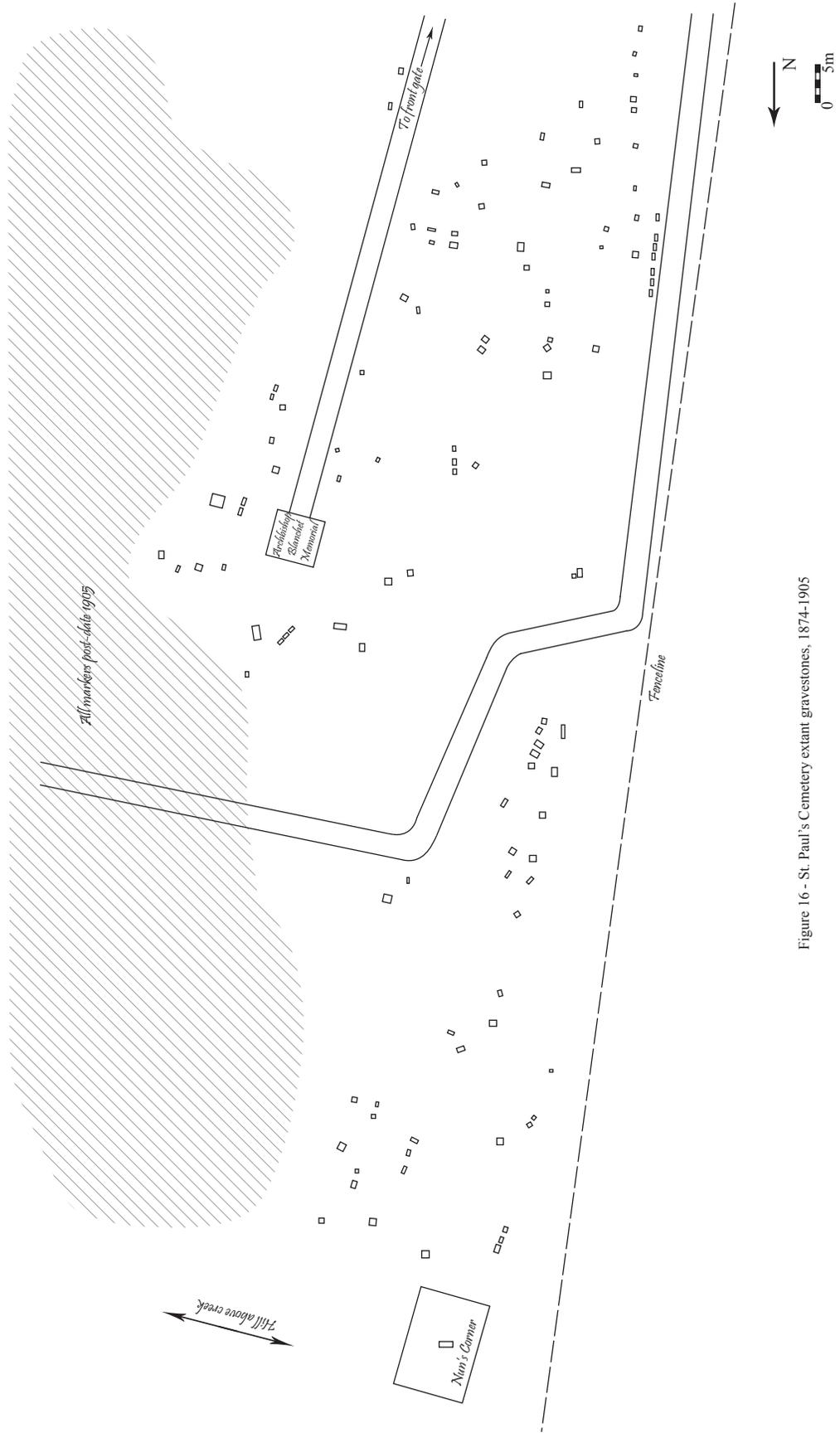


Figure 16 - St. Paul's Cemetery extant gravestones, 1874-1905

The remaining 121 stones in the survey are burial markers. Forty-seven of these commemorate two or more graves. The practice of using one monument to memorialize multiple family members, especially married couples, is another product of the importance of kinship ties in the cemetery landscape (Ames, 1981). There are also a small number of people who have their names inscribed on both large vertical markers and smaller near ground stones. When these factors are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that these 121 markers represent a total of 138 individuals. In addition to these, 108 unmarked graves were identified from the burial records.

#### Marker Form and Height

There are five main types of gravestones found in St. Paul's Cemetery (Figure 17). Near ground forms make up fifty-three percent (n=64), while vertical slabs account for twenty-seven percent (n=33). Obelisks represent nine percent (n=11), while obelisks with cross ornamentation make up eight percent (n=10) and crosses three percent (n=3). There are a number of variations found within each category, with the obelisk shapes allowing for the most individualistic expression and variability.

At St. Paul's Cemetery, the obelisk forms observed are simple, cross-vaulted, and ornamented. Because of the relatively high frequency of obelisks with cross ornamentation, this particular type was separated into its own category. Ranging from three and a half feet to ten and a half feet, the various obelisk forms account for most of the vertical height found in the cemetery (Figure 18). The near ground category can

include pulpit, rounded pulpit, scroll, and lawn types. At eighty-four percent (n=54) simple lawn markers, which can be described as stones flush with the ground, are the most common form of near ground category.



Figure 17 - Gravestone forms

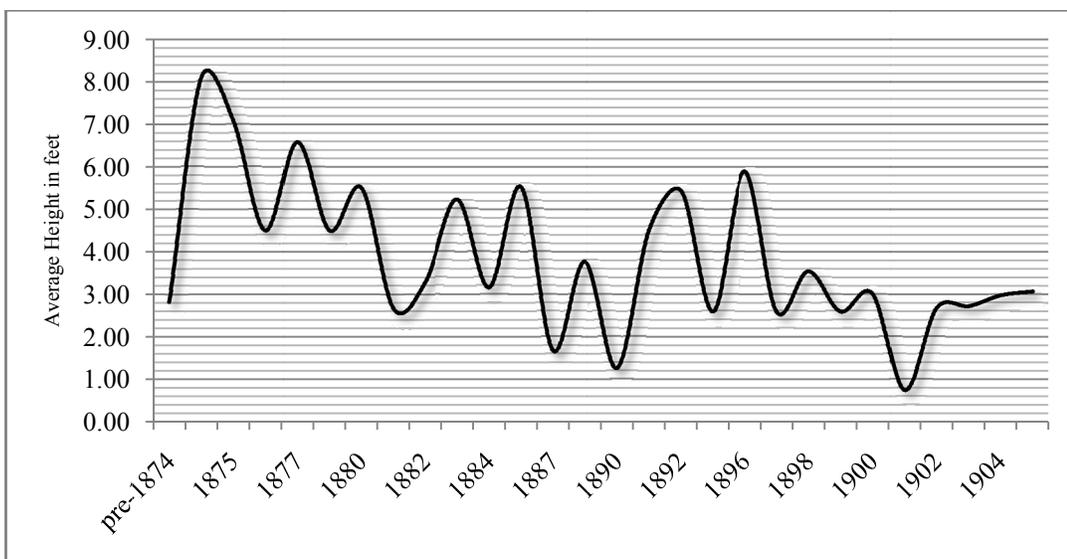


Figure 18 - Average height of markers per year (flat lawn markers NOT included)

Figure 19 illustrates marker usage throughout 1874 and 1905. While there does not appear to be a consistent trend, some forms do appear to be more popular at different times. For example, during the years 1879 and 1883, the number of vertical slabs erected is the same as the total number of the other four forms. Another noticeable trend can be seen in the frequency of near ground forms. While these types are used throughout the entire research period with different levels of popularity, there is a sharp increase in usage between 1904 and 1905. The use of this more simple form seems to be at the expense of the more vertical types. This shift coincides with the decline of the Victorian Period and the beginning of the Conservative Period, which is characterized by less ornate and ostentatious mortuary displays (Francaviglia, 1971).

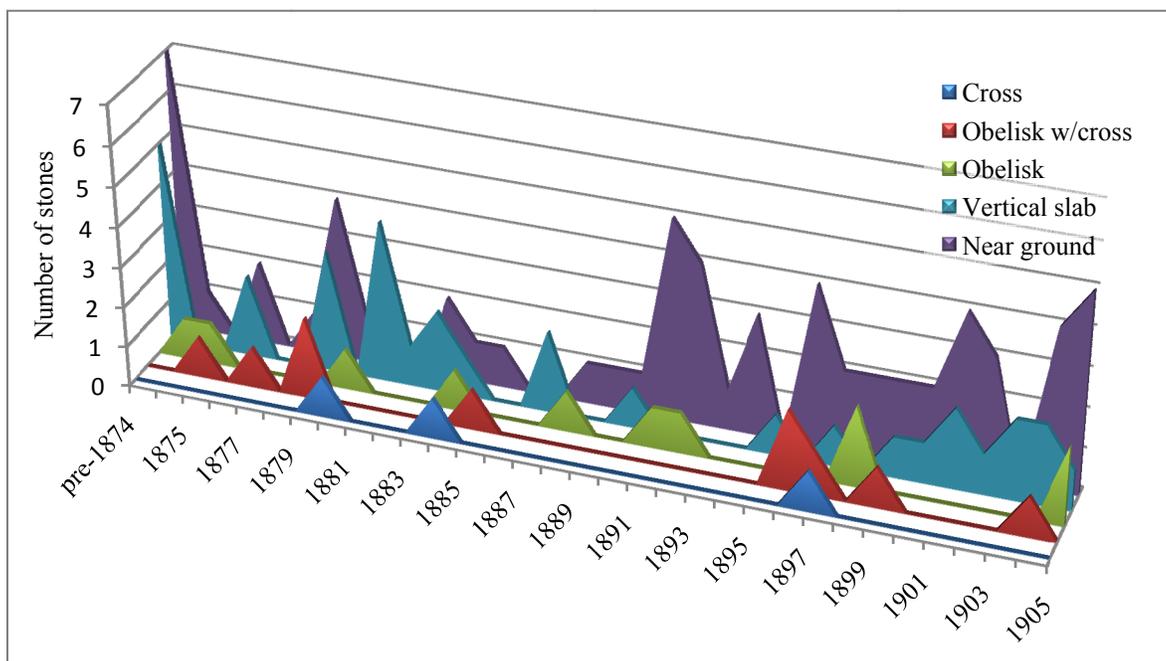


Figure 19 - Marker type by year, St. Paul's Cemetery

I must qualify the totals provided here. While most of the extant markers were likely placed on the grave shortly after burial, it is obvious that some stones are not contemporaneous with the original interment. It is not uncommon for family members to place new stones on the graves of loved ones years after their deaths. There could be any number of explanations for this including the desire to improve upon the original stone. In her discussion of the deathscape of a historic New Hampshire cemetery, Rainville (1999) states, “Gravestones also served as a visual memorial to a family’s heritage and preserved the memory of venerable ancestors. There are several instances of later descendants replacing the eroded or plain stones of their ancestors with more elaborate ones,” (p. 569).

Another reason for the desire to add a marker to a grave that was previously unmarked was replacing an individual stone with one that commemorates multiple members of the family (Young, 1960). This latter practice was common in St. Paul cemetery, where thirty-nine percent (n=47) of the extant markers contain two or more names. In most cases I was able to estimate when the stone was placed by determining if all of the inscriptions were done at one time or over the course of multiple years. If it appeared that the stone was inscribed with the all the memorial information at one time, the most recent death date was used. However, if it looked as if individuals’ names were added at a later date, the earliest year was recorded.

### Marker Motif

For the purposes of this study, marker motif has been defined as any inscribed or sculpted non-textual symbol. Fifty-two percent (n=63) of the extant grave markers

in St. Paul's Cemetery contain visual symbols. While many have multiple images, eighty-six percent (n=54) have at least a cross and a crucifix. In addition to this, many of the other images present have religious connotations. Besides religious underpinnings, some motifs are most often reserved for one gender and some are more likely to be expressed on the graves of children. An example of this is roses mainly being utilized on markers for females or lambs for the graves of children. Table 5 contains examples of each of the major motif types identified in St. Paul's cemetery, as well as the frequency and a brief summary of its symbolic meaning as explained by Keister (2004).

With the exception of geometric patterns, which were usually secondary decoration, all motif types in St. Paul's Cemetery carry strong Christian symbolic power. The significance of this pattern will be discussed further below, but it is important to note that the interpretive value of grave marker studies lies in the relatively limited space to represent a person or families' worldview. Even a casual observation of the motifs presented here demonstrates that the community of St. Paul places great value in their Catholic identity.

Table 5 – St. Paul’s Cemetery grave marker motifs and their symbolic meanings

Symbol	n	Example	Symbol	n	Example
The <b>cross</b> is the most recognizable religious symbol and can be expressed in a number of forms (p. 174).	52		There are a number of meanings to a human <b>hand</b> sculpted or inscribed onto a grave marker. The most common in St. Paul’s Cemetery, a hand pointing up, usually represents the ascent of the soul of the deceased to Heaven (p. 108).	3	
The <b>crucifix</b> is one of the more elaborate cross forms, especially common in Catholic cemeteries (p. 174).	2		An <b>open book</b> can represent many things, one symbol being the heart open to God (p. 113)	2	
<b>IHS</b> is the first three letters of Jesus’ name in the Greek alphabet, and <b>INRI</b> is the first letters of the Latin phrase <i>Jesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum</i> (Jesus of Nazareth The King of the Jews) (p. 147).	9		The image of a <b>dove</b> represents many things in the Christian Church, the Holy Ghost being the most common (p. 79).	2	
Every <b>floral</b> motif potentially has its own symbolism. The rose, for example, can represent martyrdom or purity in the Christian faith; it is commonly found on the markers of women in the Victorian era (p. 54).	6		The dual symbol a <b>crown</b> with a <b>cross</b> signifies the victory of Christ, his Church, and his followers (p.113).	1	
<b>Ivy</b> is a symbol of immortality and, because of its three-pointed leaves, is often associated with the Holy Trinity (p. 57).	6		The <b>weeping willow tree</b> is often associated with the gospel of Christ and the immortality of the soul (p.67).	1	
<b>Classical</b> elements were part of the material expression of Victorian worldview. Broken columns in particular had significant meaning when seen on grave markers from this time period; they represented the end of life or “life cut short” (p. 129).	5		A <b>curtain</b> or <b>veil</b> on a grave marker “is a symbol of the passage from one type of existence to another.” It is also often tied to the protective veil from the story of the Ark of the Covenant (p. 115).	1	
Most <b>geometric</b> symbols do not have latent meaning, but can be considered part of the ornate Victorian aesthetic.	5		A <b>single star</b> in a Christian cemetery represents the Star of the East from the New Testament Matthew 2:2 (p.124).	1	
A <b>lamb</b> , which is a Christian symbol for innocence and Christ Himself, is most often associated the graves of children (p.74).	3		<b>Oak leaves</b> have many symbolic meanings, such as strength and virtue; Christians view it as a symbol of strength in the face of adversity (p. 62).	1	

(Keister 2004)

### Marker Inscriptions

The inscriptions included in this survey are the textual messages carved or sculpted onto the grave markers. Of the 138 individuals that still had markers present, forty-nine percent (n=68) have only their name, date of birth, and/or date of death included. Of these, sixty-two percent (n=42) are memorialized on small near ground lawn markers. Vertical makers like slabs or obelisks are more likely to have longer, more complex inscriptions.

For the purposes of this study, a number of themes were identified from the literature to classify each inscription: familial relationships, death as sleep or rest (Ames, 1981), remembrance, RIP (Mytum, 2004), God/Heaven (Hannon Jr., 1973), domesticity, duty (Warner, 1959), place of origin (Meyer, 1990), flowery prose (Francaviglia, 1971), and miscellaneous religious references. Some of the more complex inscriptions were classified under multiple thematic categories. Table 6 shows the number of occurrences for each theme, as well as a typical example.

As can be seen in Table 6, references to familial relationships are the most common inscription in St. Paul's Cemetery. The significance of family in the Victorian cemetery landscape will be dealt with in more detail below, but it is important to note here the frequency of certain familial terms (Figure 20). Gendered terms like *daughter* (n=5) and *son* (n=5) are mentioned equally, as are *sister* (n=1) and *brother* (n=1). Differences arise however with *mother* (n=1) and *father* (n=5), with the latter included more often. The biggest disparity, however, can be found in the

drastic differences between *wife/widow* (n=14) and *husband* (n=0). The implications of these inequalities will also be addressed below.

Table 6 – Inscription themes found in St. Paul’s Cemetery

Inscription theme	n	Example
Familial relationships	35	<i>‘Wife of Felix Delisle’</i> (Mary Pichette Delisle, d. 1879)
Place of origin	23	<i>‘Born at Vire, France’</i> (Leon Achille Delouey, d. 1879)
Remembrance	19	<i>‘In memory of our dear parents’</i> (Andrew and Elizabeth Murphy, d. 1896 and d. 1899, respectively)
God or Heaven	10	<i>‘Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord’</i> (Thomas Combest, d. 1897)
Sleep or rest	4	<i>‘His sister Mary sleeps beside him’</i> (Peter Kirk, d. 1897)
Duty	3	<i>‘A good father and a true citizen’</i> (Louis Bergevin, d. 1876)
Flowery prose	3	<i>‘Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade / Death came with friendly care / The opening bud to Heaven conveyed / And ade it blossom there’</i> (Mary Costello, d. 1852)
Misc. religious	2	<i>‘The consecrated cross he did bear / Till death did set him free, / And then went home his crown to wear / with everlasting glee’</i> (Thomas Herbert, d. 1874)
Domesticity	1	<i>‘A precious one from us had gone / A voice we loved is stilled / A place is vacant in our home / Which never can be filled’</i> (Frances Murray Coleman, d. 1896)

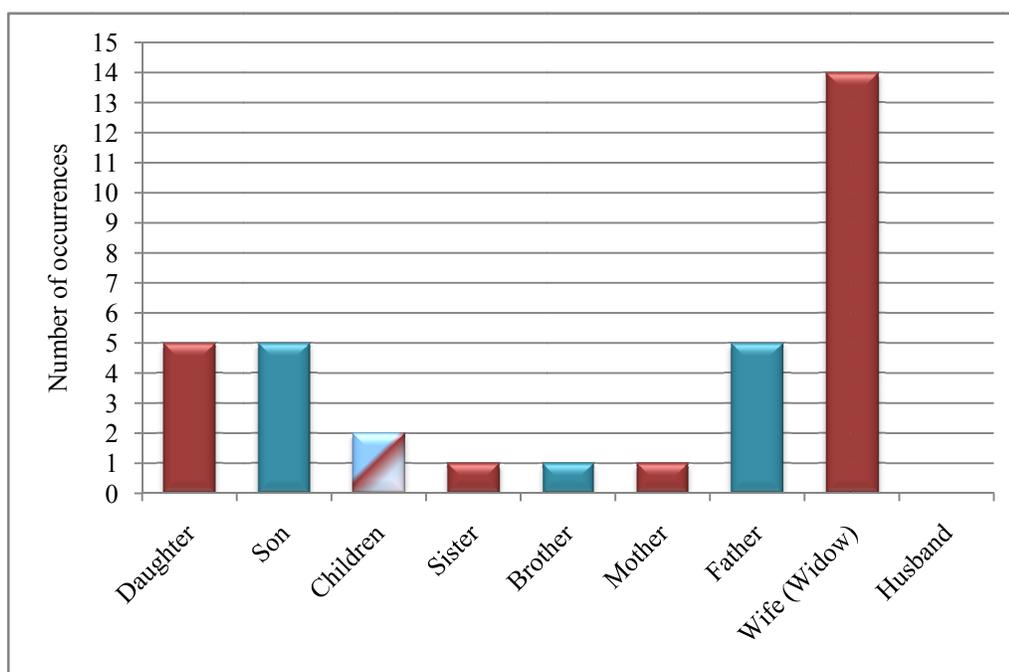


Figure 20 – Number of occurrences of familial terms on St. Paul’s Cemetery grave markers

## Chapter 6

### Grave Marker Analysis

Early gravestone studies were often more descriptive than interpretive, having what Bell (1994) calls “an antiquarian or genealogical bent,” (p. 27). But grave markers, when viewed as artifacts particular to a cultural landscape, can reveal much about the people who created them and the cultural context that influenced their material environment (Brown, 1993). While discussing cemeteries as “museums,” Meyer (1989) writes, “Though certainly not created for that purpose, cemeteries – which might, by one set of criteria, be defined as outdoor, spatially delineated repositories of cultural artifacts – do in fact over time come to assume this as one of their many functions,” (p. 2).

The types of analysis that can be done in these ‘outdoor museums’ is aptly illustrated by Meyer’s (1990) “Image and Identity in Oregon’s Pioneer Cemeteries” and Francaviglia’s (1971) “Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape” (see also Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1966; Cannon, et al., 1989; Moore, Blaker, & Smith, 1991; Foster & Hummel, 1995; Rainville, 1999; Watkins, 2002). Both articles, using early Oregon cemeteries as case studies, link stylistic trends in historic grave markers to larger cultural phenomenon at either the regional or national level. An analysis of the tombstones from the years 1874 to 1905 from St. Paul shows that their conclusions hold true in this cemetery, but with some noticeable differences. Though the general themes discussed in both Meyer (1990) and Francaviglia (1971) are evident, this community’s historical and cultural development as the heart of Catholicism in the

Northwest has greatly affected the text and symbolism incorporated into their mortuary monuments.

### Identity in St. Paul's Cemetery

Grave marker studies present a unique opportunity for anthropologists to uncover how an individual, or the family of the individual, perceived the deceased's identity (Reimers, 1999). A mortuary monument provides only so much space to represent the individual's life, and what is included can reveal which identities were considered most important. Mytum (2004) states, "Some identities are very conscious and are deliberately selected, to set the individual apart as a member of some group. Others are normative and subconscious within that group but to the anthropologist today...can be seen as identifying the deceased with a group," (p. 137).

Any examination of the gravestones at St. Paul must begin with a discussion of Catholic iconography. Since its establishment, this small community has revolved around its church and its Catholic faith. As previously discussed, the earliest French Canadian settlers were extremely concerned with the spiritual upbringing of their families and the majority of later European American pioneers were Irish Catholics. It is no surprise then that regardless of the trends that were affecting grave marker form and motif during the latter half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the community's Catholic identity is expressed through dominantly Christian symbolism and iconography.

Warner (1959) states that the importance of these symbols to the Catholic faithful originated centuries before when Protestantism threatened the potency of the

Catholic Church. In an attempt to bolster the Church in the eyes of the congregation, it became important to use both textual and visual symbols to reinforce the power of God and the clergy (p. 308). Other researchers support this notion, asserting that religious symbols on grave markers in the mid to late nineteenth century were meant to educate the public, much like the sculptures in medieval cathedrals (Agosta, 1985; Rainville, 1999). As with most aspects of landscapes and material culture, it is unlikely that the residents of St. Paul were aware of the reasons behind incorporating these religious elements into their grave markers. This mortuary practice had simply become part of their worldview.

Mytum (2004) identifies a number of visual symbols and textual themes that are common in Catholic cemeteries. For instance, given “the belief that prayer for the souls of the dead can reduce their time spent in purgatory, there are often phrases asking for such help on memorials,” (p. 139). These phrases include ‘rest in peace,’ the Latin ‘*requiescat in pace*,’ or a shortened R.I.P. (Figure 21). Of the fifty-eight markers in this study that included text inscriptions, thirty-four percent (n=20) included some variation of this request for prayers on behalf of the dead. An additional ten percent had explicit references to God or Heaven. An example can be found on the Jerome B. Jackson family marker (Figure 21).

The artistic symbols of St. Paul’s Catholic faith are far more obvious and widespread. Of the 133 markers analyzed, forty-nine had no incised motif and contain only minimal inscriptions. But of those that did exhibit artistic design, as discussed above, almost all incorporated some form of Catholic iconography. Among the

symbols mentioned by Mytum (2004), crosses, crucifixes, Bibles, lambs, hands in prayer, and the letters ‘IHS’ are all present (p. 139). In addition to incised motifs, the people of St. Paul expressed their religious identity through the shape of their markers. The most casual observer could not miss the high frequency of large cross monuments located in this graveyard. As seen in Figure 22, the tall white monument erected in honor of Archbishop Blanchet is the obvious focal point of the cemetery, with many other cruciform stones surrounding it.



Figure 21 – (Left) Request for prayers Mary Louisa Prevost (d. 1881), “May she rest in peace”; (Right) Jerome B. Jackson family marker epitaph



Figure 22 – St. Paul's Cemetery, early 1900s (St. Paul Mission Historical Society)

This is in striking contrast to the Champoeg Cemetery found only five miles to the northwest of St. Paul's Cemetery. This moderately size graveyard, founded in 1853, shares much of St. Paul's historical regional development but has a significantly different landscape (Gormsen, 1978). This is due to a number of factors, the most important being that the ethnic makeup of the township was slightly different and that this cemetery was never associated with a particular church. Unfortunately, the scope of this project prohibited an extensive comparative survey of Champoeg Cemetery, but I spent an afternoon conducting a thorough walkabout. There are no obelisks with cross ornamentation or cross markers; in fact, only one (modern) marker displayed a cross motif (Figure 23). This lack of obvious religious devotion in marker form is consistent with most other cemeteries in this region of Oregon (Francaviglia, 1971). The most frequently observed visual image in Champoeg Cemetery was that of two clasping hands, an emblem which Keister (2004) interprets as a secular symbol of matrimony or earthly farewell (p. 108) (Figure 23).



Figure 23 – (Left) Overview of Champoeg Cemetery; (Right) Clasp hands motif, Champoeg Cemetery

There are also aspects of the spatial patterning of St. Paul's Cemetery that can be seen as evidence for the community's strong religious devotion. Hannon Jr. (1973) asserts:

In church related cemeteries, those who were held in high regard during life either because of position in the church, profession, or amount of money contributed to the church, are buried closest to the church structure, or on the highest point in the cemetery. These graves are invariably marked by monuments of above average height, bulk, and/or intricacy of detail representing the most costly monuments for the time period in which they were erected (p. 34).

The cemetery is not directly adjacent to the church and does not have any exceptionally high points, but there were other ways for outstanding individuals to associate themselves with the clergy.

Prior to 1883, many prominent families purchased lots near the chapel in the northwest corner of the graveyard (Figure 26). An excellent example of this is the purchase of Lot 38, Block X2 (see block map in appendix D) by Dr. William Bailey on January 1, 1876. This particular lot, which was the first bought in the new cemetery, was the closest available lot next to the chapel grounds. Dr. Bailey passed away a month after his purchase and was laid to rest by his widow Julia Nagle in the only brick lined subterranean vault in the cemetery. Julia had her first husband, Dr. James Sheil (d. 1853), exhumed from the older graveyard and placed in the vault as well. When she died in 1880, she was also interred in the vault (St. Paul Cemetery Association). One of the tallest and more elaborately carved grave markers in the cemetery is set directly in the middle of this lot (Figure 24).

After Archbishop Blanchet was buried in St. Paul's Cemetery in 1883, there appears to be a shift in lot preference. Within twenty years of his burial, almost all of the lots adjacent to his crypt were purchased (Figure 26). The most striking example of this pattern can be seen in the case of James McKay, patriarch of one of St. Paul's most influential Irish families (McKay, 1980) (Figure 25). On February 2, 1876 McKay purchased all eight plots in Lot 7, Block 12 near the chapel for the standard charge of \$20.00. However, when he passed away in August of 1898, his children did not bury him in this lot, but purchased a second lot (Block 19, Lot 8) adjoining Archbishop Blanchet's crypt. His wife Cecelia McKay (d. 1870) was removed from the Pioneer Cemetery and buried in an adjacent plot. A very large and opposing family plot marker was erected in the center of this lot (Figure 25). The original lot near the once standing chapel remains empty (St. Paul Cemetery Association).



Figure 24 – Bailey/Sheil/Nagle grave maker near the original location of the chapel, St. Paul's Cemetery

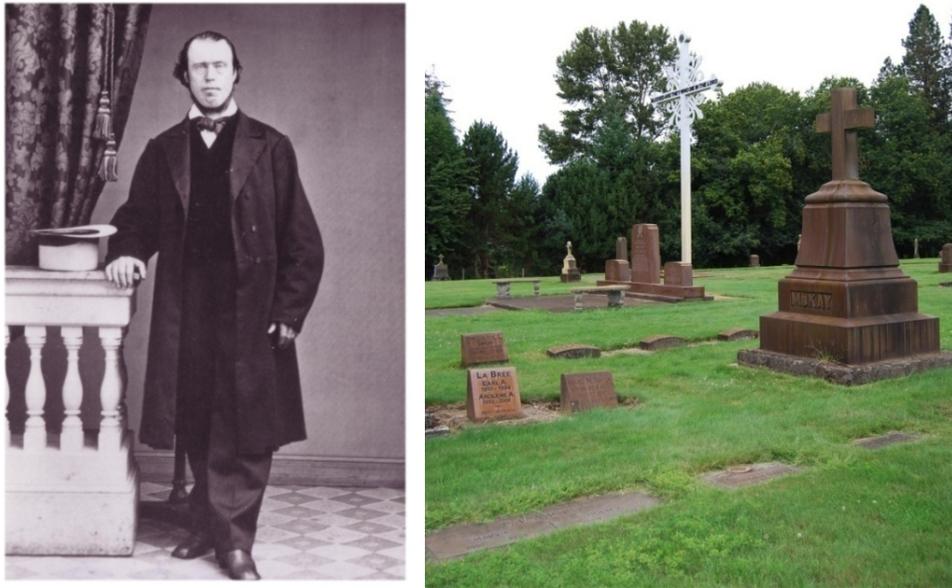


Figure 25 – (Left) James McKay (St. Paul Mission Historical Society); (Right) Large McKay family marker near Archbishop Blanchet memorial, St. Paul’s Cemetery

A secondary but significant identity that is also expressed in St. Paul’s Cemetery is that of the ‘pioneer’. Meyer (1990) asserts that even today, almost 150 years after Oregon became a state, its residents still identify themselves as pioneers and this association is expressed in a variety of ways (p. 89). This identification, however, was even stronger during the early years of the territory and it can be clearly seen in Oregon’s pioneer cemeteries:

But what of an earlier time, one in which the actual pioneer experience lived with the memories of those who participated in it? Did these early Oregonians also find avenues of material expression to proclaim the significance of their accomplishments, and are these artifacts still present and visible today? Fortunately, the answer in both cases is yes. Cemeteries, as more than one commentator has noted, are remarkable indicators of the dominant cultural values at work in the societies which produced them (Meyer, 1990, p. 89).

With its history of multiple waves of early pioneer migration and settlement, St. Paul’s Cemetery exhibits many of the material expressions discussed in Meyer’s (1990) study.



Meyer (1990) focuses on the artistic designs found on pioneer tombstones, but the images he describes, like that of the popular covered wagon, are absent in St. Paul. This is most likely because of the predominance of religious iconography previously discussed. St. Paul's expressions of pioneer identity can all be found in monument inscriptions. One of the ways in which Meyer (1990) believes pioneers expressed their roles in the Northwest settlement is through the incorporation of immigration dates on their grave markers. The markers for both the Galloway (Figure 27) and McDonald (Figure 28) families illustrate this type of inscription.



Figure 27 – The Galloway family marker, including the inscription ‘Pioneers of 1852’

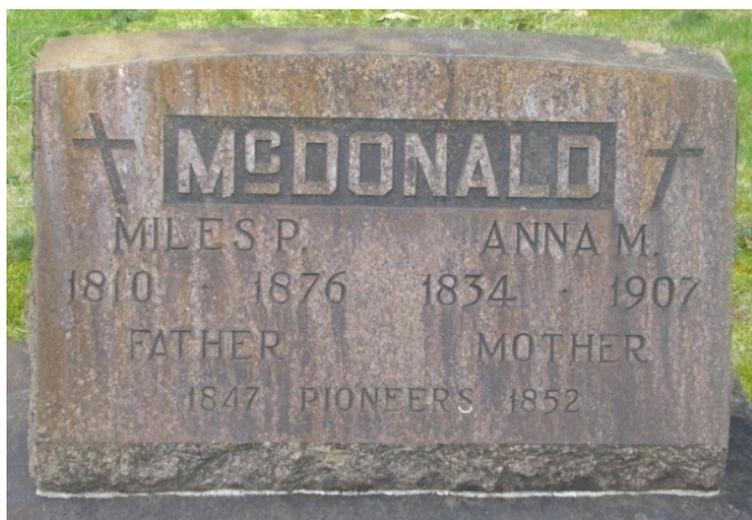


Figure 28 – Miles and Anna McDonald grave marker, including the inscription ‘1847 Pioneers 1852’

The most frequent display of pioneer identity in St. Paul's Cemetery is the addition of an individual's place of birth on their tombstone. Meyer (1990) states, "An astounding number of these markers take great pains to highlight – often in letters enlarged for purposes of emphasis – the emigrant's state, or in some cases, country of origin in the inscriptional data found upon the stone," (p.99). Many of St. Paul's pioneers, especially the Irish Americans, were born in Europe and traveled to Oregon after brief stops in the Midwest (McKay, 1980). In most of these cases, not only was the country designated, but also the specific county in Ireland. These faraway homelands were included on eighteen percent (n=22) of the markers in St. Paul (Table 7).

Table 7 - Pioneers whose place of origin is inscribed on their gravestone

Name	Grave Marker Inscription	Ethnicity	Deceased
Thomas Combest	<i>Polaske Co., KY</i>	American	1897
Jerome B. Jackson	<i>Booneville, NY</i>	American	1885
William Bailey	<i>London, England</i>	English/Anglo American	1876
Louis Bergevin	<i>Ste Martine, Canada</i>	French Canadian/métis	1876
Isaac Boutin	<i>Montreal, Canada</i>	French Canadian/métis	1901
Charles Prevost	<i>Quebec, Canada</i>	French Canadian/métis	1895
Leon Delouey	<i>Vire, France</i>	French/French American	1879
Julia Nagle	<i>Cork, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1880
Margaret Kirk	<i>Kilkarney Co. Kerry, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1873
Thomas Coakley	<i>Killucan Co. Westmeath, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1887
Margaret Kirk	<i>Togher Co. Louth, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1893
Thomas Kirk	<i>Clogherhead Co. Louth, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1879
Bernard Flynn	<i>Latrem, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1904
Mary Cosgrove	<i>Co. Wexford, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1873
Mary Jackson	<i>Dalhousie, Ontario, Canada</i>	Irish/Irish American	1899
James Sheil	<i>Londonberry, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1853
Peter Kirk	<i>Clogherhead Co. Louth, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1897
Ellen Gearin	<i>County Westmeath, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1879
John Gearin	<i>Dingle Co. Kerry, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1893
Michael O'Loughlin	<i>Knockbrack Co. Tipperary, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1877
Matthew Connor	<i>Killigan Co. Westmeath, Ireland</i>	Irish/Irish American	1875

### St. Paul's Cemetery as an "Evolving Cultural Landscape"

In Francaviglia's (1971) analysis of Oregon cemeteries, the four chronological periods defined represent transformations not only in graveyards, but other cultural landscapes as well. These changes in the material environment are the result of larger cultural changes affecting all aspects of society. He writes, "Drawing heavily from other social scientists, and by analyzing several cemeteries, I have reached the conclusion that the cemetery in the United States is a microcosm of the real world, and binds a particular generation of men [and women] to the architectural and perhaps even spatial preferences and prejudices that accompanied them throughout life," (p. 501). When the descriptions provided by Francaviglia (1971) are compared to the mortuary monuments in St. Paul's Cemetery, it becomes clear that this rural Catholic community, whether it was aware of it or not, was part of a much larger cultural entity that exhibited similar changes through time.

Francaviglia's (1971) Pioneer Period, which covers the years 1850 to 1879, is characterized by its overall simplicity. Marker forms are usually of the gothic, tablet or block form, and both decorative motifs and epitaphs are either minimal or absent all together (Francaviglia, 1971). Because St. Paul's Cemetery was established only a few years prior to the terminal date, there are few original markers from this period to analyze. In addition, many of the burials from the late 1870s are marked by large family monuments that appear to have been erected some years after the first members were buried in the plot.

There are a few good examples, however, which illustrate the simplicity that defines this era. Fortunately when some of the individuals were moved from the old cemetery, their grave markers were transplanted as well. The tombstones for the two members of the Cosgrove family that were reburied, Mary Rositer and James, exhibit this minimalist approach to mortuary monument (Figure 29). Both are simple vertical slab variants, and neither is taller than three and a half feet. Crosses are the only decorative motif and inscriptions are limited to basic information and requests for prayers.



Figure 29 – Grave markers of James Cosgrove (left) and Mary Rositer Cosgrove (right)

While there are limited Pioneer Period examples, the cemetery in St. Paul contains a number of excellent specimens of Victorian Period (1880-1905) grave markers. Where the previous period was classified by its simplicity, this period was defined by extravagance. Francaviglia (1971) writes, “Both architecture and cemetery monuments changed radically after 1880, when ornate architectural styles and patterns of life reached Oregon from the eastern United States,” (p. 507). The revival of an interest in classical forms and motifs like obelisks, as well as an obsession with height and shape variation, resulted from this dramatic change (Ames, 1981). Inscriptions also underwent significant modifications, with flowery poems etched in the stone. These poems were often a reflection of the Victorian worldview which attempted to camouflage the permanence of death with florid speech and metaphors that equated dying with peacefully going to sleep (Ames, 1981).

With over thirty-six examples present, obelisks, usually topped by a cross, are the most common form from this period in St. Paul. Many are extremely tall and imposing, with a maximum height of ten feet, eight inches recorded for the Jerome B. Jackson family monument. The classically inspired obelisk was not limited to marker form however. In a number of cases, it was incorporated into the religious motifs on the monuments. In addition to the obelisks, there are a several examples of very unique forms that exemplify the Victorian Period’s fascination with variation. The Agatha Kirk marker, for instance, is completely unlike any other stone in the cemetery (Figure 30). The Catholic iconography is obviously the most prominent feature of this stone, but classical elements, in the form of Greek columns, are also present. The

general shape of the marker is a modified vertical slab form, but the expertly carved drapery on one side gives the overall outline a typically Victorian asymmetrical appearance.

The best example of an inscription that uses sleep as a metaphor for death actually falls outside the 1880 to 1905 period. John Kerr passed away in 1916, but his marker epitomizes many Victorian traits. On the top of a pulpit shaped stone with low relief classical designs, it reads:

*Farewell my wife and children, dear  
I am not dead but sleeping here  
After me no sorrow take  
but love each other for my sake*

The fact that this Victorian reaction to death is being expressed in 1916, over ten years after Francaviglia's (1971) Victorian Period ends, illustrates that the changes in a community's cultural landscape occur gradually over time and can not always be neatly placed in chronological categories. Despite this, temporal categories like the ones defined by Francaviglia (1971) remain vital to graveyard analysis because of the importance of cultural and historical context.

It is clear from St. Paul's Cemetery's evolving cultural landscape that the residents of this small rural community were unknowingly participating in a larger shift in the American worldview. The goal of any diachronic material culture or landscape analysis should focus on explaining reasons for change. Deetz (1988) states:

The causes of the transformation of specific sectors of the physical world – be they gravestones, dishes, clothing, or houses – seem relatively easy to identify but may be difficult to explain. To say that tastes, values, or simple preference changed and produced a new form merely points to a cause and effect, but does not explain what activated the causes (e.g., why did tastes change?) (p. 221).

An in-depth discussion of the origins of the Victorian worldview is beyond the scope of this project. However, it would be pertinent to briefly mention some of the accepted reasons for the shift in the Victorian view of death and how it was manifested in the cemetery.

Schlereth (1991) states, “Death did not change in the nineteenth century...American middle-class attitudes toward it did,” (p. 291). These attitudes were part of what many authors call the ‘Victorian cult of death’ or the ‘Victorian celebration of death’ (Schlereth, 1991; Curl, 2000). This way of thinking about death is rooted in the Romantic literary tradition of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a movement that wallowed in a Gothic obsession with classic cultures and their decay (Morely, 1971; Curl, 2000). This Romanticism, combined with a nineteenth century fascination with naturalism, had profound impacts on Christianity and how its practitioners viewed death and the afterlife:

They drew on transcendental idealism and pietist immediatism to create an optimistic interpretation of religious experience. They tried to define the place of evolution in God’s plan, and the place of death in evolution. In the process, they revised earlier religious interpretations of the afterlife by showing that both death and evolution led naturally to an exalted immortality (Farrell, 1980, p. 74).

As a result of these shifts in worldview, death and the afterlife did not evoke the same fear and dread that it did in earlier periods of American culture. So instead of the death’s head motifs and epitaphs condemning mortal man that were prevalent in 18<sup>th</sup>

century graveyards, Victorian cemeteries, including St. Paul's, had a proliferation of peaceful religious icons and inscriptions that celebrated the soul's immortality and place in Heaven (Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1966).



Figure 30 – Agatha Kirk Marker, 1904

## Chapter 7

### Patterns in the Cultural Landscape

#### Ethnicity and Kinship

One of the most important aspects of cultural landscape analyses is the arrangement of the material environment. The spatial patterning of a cultural landscape reveals much about the people who created it. In St. Paul's cemetery, there appears to be a number of factors, some more important than others, influencing the pattern of graves and grave markers. There has already been some discussion about the influence of lot selection based on the proximity to religious figures in the cemetery. While this was obviously an influence, two other factors had a larger impact on the spatial arrangement in St. Paul's Cemetery: ethnicity and family relationships.

Many larger urban cemeteries have explicitly delineated ethnic sections, likely because these groups tend to keep themselves isolated from one another in life. This trend is not seen in St. Paul's Cemetery, where a shared rural and religious experience seems to have blurred many ethnic differences. Foster and Hummel (1995) state:

Those buried in them [church cemeteries] shared similar lifestyles, common religions, and all that accompanies such mutual experiences. Many interred in the same church cemetery knew one another, knew the families of one another, interacted with many of the others buried there, called them by name (p. 94).

Despite these shared experiences, one pattern does appear to emerge when St. Paul's Cemetery's burials are mapped by ethnicity (Figure 31).

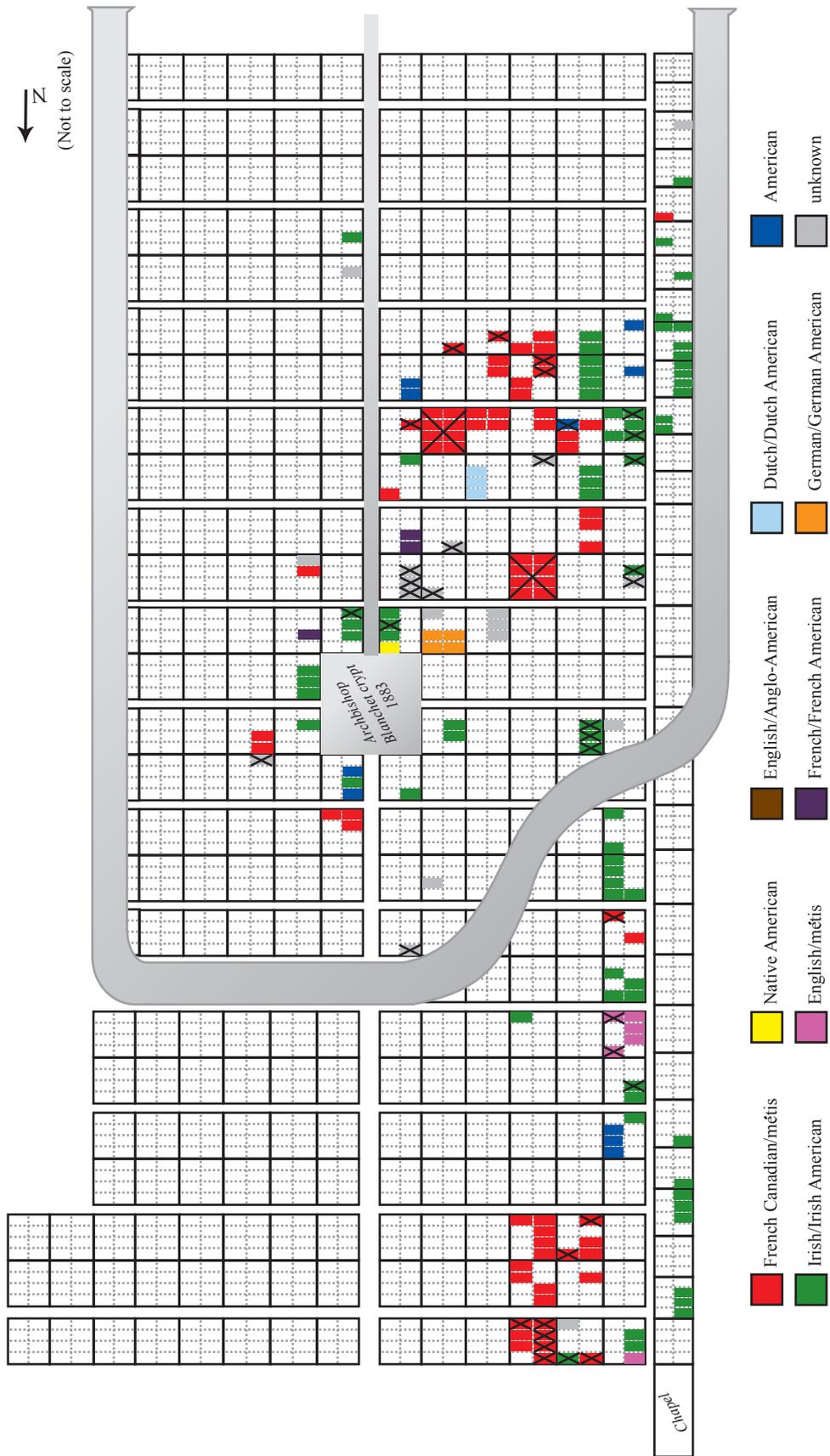


Figure 31 - Plots identified by ethnicity in St. Paul's Cemetery  
(X indicates an unmarked burial)

As can be seen in the map above, the pattern is not completely discernable, but one trend can be observed. Watkins (2002) points out that in the Catholic cemetery she studied the larger monuments and family plots, usually owned by Irish Catholics, were concentrated along the border. This seems consistent with St. Paul's, where sixty-seven percent (n=58) of the eighty-six burials in the six eastern rows of plots are Irish/Irish Americans. These fifty-eight Irish burials account for seventy-six percent (n=76) of all the burials for this ethnic group in the cemetery.

The most dominant factor influencing the cultural landscape pattern of St. Paul's Cemetery is familial relationships. Warner (1959) states, "The great importance of the elementary family organization as a fundamental and primary unit of our social structure is everywhere present in the collective representations of the cemetery," (p. 287). The special emphasis Victorian Americans put on family and kinship and its reflection in the cemetery is well established (Warner, 1959; Young, 1960; Hannon Jr., 1973; Ames, 1981; Brown, 1993; Watkins, 2002). Ames (1981) writes, "The ideology of domesticity and the emphasis on family are crucial to the layout of the cemetery, its monuments and their inscriptions," (p. 653).

During the Victorian Period, the prominence of family in the cemetery was often highlighted by the placement of stones or wrought iron fences around the family plots (Ames, 1981). It is unknown whether or not these were ever present at St. Paul and were removed during the cleanup efforts in the 1940s, but there are no extant examples of this practice. Despite this, family relationships and kinship ties are unmistakable when the burials are mapped by family (Figure 32).

When the first person in a family passed away, a relative, usually a spouse or parent, would not buy a single plot for that individual, but at least four adjacent plots or an entire lot. If only four plots were bought, it was most commonly a two by two section of a lot instead of a single row of four. It is clear from this consistent pattern that it was important that plots be available for future members of the family to be interred. There are a few instances, however, where it appears that this was the original intention but for whatever reason it never occurred. Take for example the case of Magdalena Wittman, a 109 year old woman who was buried March 8, 1876 in Plot 1 of Lot 9, Block 4. A John P. Wittman, probably her son, purchased all eight plots of Lot 9, Block 4 on March 23 of the same year. However there is no record of any other burial in this location and Mrs. Wittman's grave is currently unmarked (St. Paul Cemetery Association).

In addition to the lot records, surnames were used to link graves in close proximity to one another. Establishing relationships in this way was usually quite easy because of the many grave markers that emphasized family. An excellent example of this is the Kirk family. All of the members of this family can be found in Block X2, Lots 15 and 16, all but two in line along the most eastern row of the cemetery (Figure 32). The first burial for the Kirk family occurred on September 28, 1874 in Plot 1 of Lot 15. This was the internment of Helen Lyons and was the first burial in the entire cemetery. When lots became available for purchase in January of 1876, her son-in-law Peter Kirk purchase all of plots in Lots 15 and 16 for the hefty

sum of \$40.00. Each individual in this family has a lawn marker at the head of their plots and two tall Victorian obelisks can be found at the end of each lot.

Some familial associations were not as readily apparent. When two or more burials were near each other without any apparent connection, Munnick and Warner's (1979) publication of St. Paul's church records was used to try and establish extended matrimonial relationships. There were a number of cases where a parent would purchase a lot adjacent to their son-in-law's lot or a wife would acquire a lot near her parents. The result is a number of related burials in a concentrated area that exhibit different surnames.

There is one particular section of St. Paul's Cemetery in which the spatial patterning highlights the emphasis on family and demonstrates how complicated extended family relationships can be. Lot 5 of Block 4 was acquired by Diendonne Manegre in November of 1879, several months after the death of his infant son. In 1890 and 1898, there were two other infant burials with the surnames Crosby and Wallace, respectively. After checking the church records, it became clear that these infants were the children of two of Mr. Manegre's daughters, Rose Manegre Crosby and Laurina Manegre Wallace. With further research I was able to uncover a number of connections to individuals or families in the near vicinity (Figure 32). In total, eighteen burials representing eight different surnames were identified in this centrally located area of the cemetery (Figure 33).

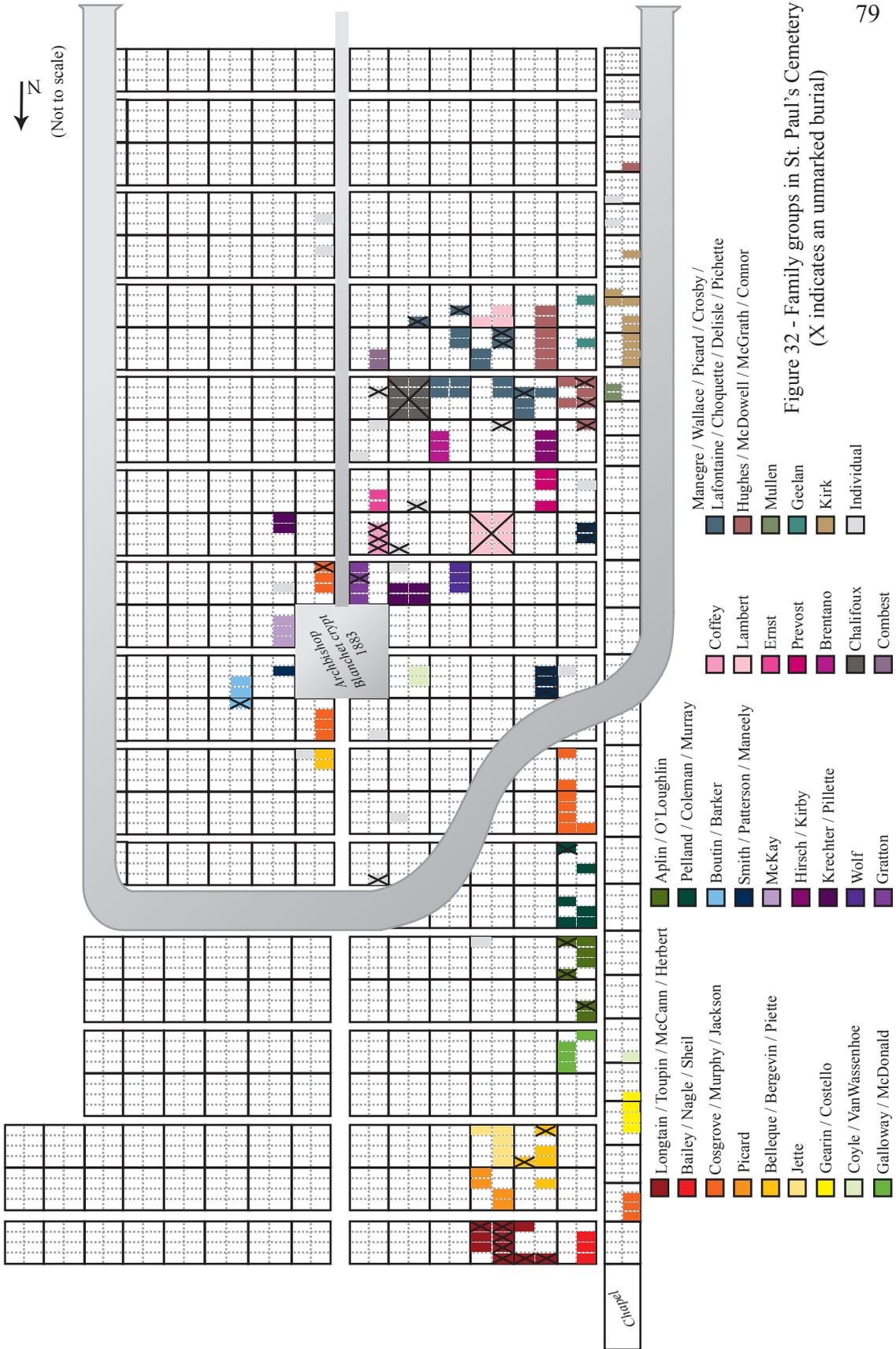


Figure 32 - Family groups in St. Paul's Cemetery  
(X indicates an unmarked burial)



There is one case that arose during research that defied the familial relationship pattern. Not all extended families were buried near each other, but an almost universal trend is husbands and wives being interred in the same lot, usually in adjoining plots. It seemed odd then when I noticed that Elizabeth Coyle (d. 1894) was buried Block X2, Lot 32. She purchased this entire lot herself shortly before her death in 1894 and her grave contains only a modest lawn marker with her name and date of death (St. Paul Cemetery Association). Her husband, James Coyle Sr. (d. 1897), and children, Mary (d. 1898) and James Jr. (d. 1907), were interred in Block 7, Lot 2. This lot was acquired by Mary's husband Frank VanWassenhove in 1898 (St. Paul Cemetery Association). James' grave is marked by a tall decorated cross with 'Father' included in the inscription.

This distance completely contradicts the overall pattern of the cultural landscape and the Victorian emphasis on family and domesticity. No explanation for this discrepancy could be produced until I came upon a notation for a Walter Joseph Coyle (d. 1950) in the St. Paul Cemetery Association records. Walter, who was Elizabeth's grandson, was buried in her lot, an action the family apparently disagreed with:

Charles Brentano claims it was an error to bury Walter Joseph Coyle in this lot. He claims Mrs. Elizabeth Coyle was the aunt of his mother, Kate Ahern Brentano, and that the Coyle family have no interest in this lot, as James Coyle and Elizabeth Coyle had been separated and living apart before she died (St. Paul Cemetery Association).

Whatever ill feelings the family may have had towards Elizabeth because of the separation must have dissipated; her son Charles Herman Coyle (d. 1970), instead of

purchasing two new plots for \$1200, eventually claimed ownership of the lot, where he and his wife Nora (d. 1980) are now buried (St. Paul Cemetery Association).

### Cemetery Selection

The importance of family relationships may have had another effect on the cultural landscape of St. Paul. As previously mentioned, both the Pioneer Cemetery and St. Paul's Cemetery were in use during the years 1874 and 1891. Although the trend throughout the overlap period is a definite shift towards more burials per year in the new cemetery, there were still a number of individuals choosing to bury their relatives in the older grave yard. In fact in 1877, three years after the establishment of St. Paul's Cemetery, there were as many burials in the Pioneer Cemetery as there were in the new (Figure 34).

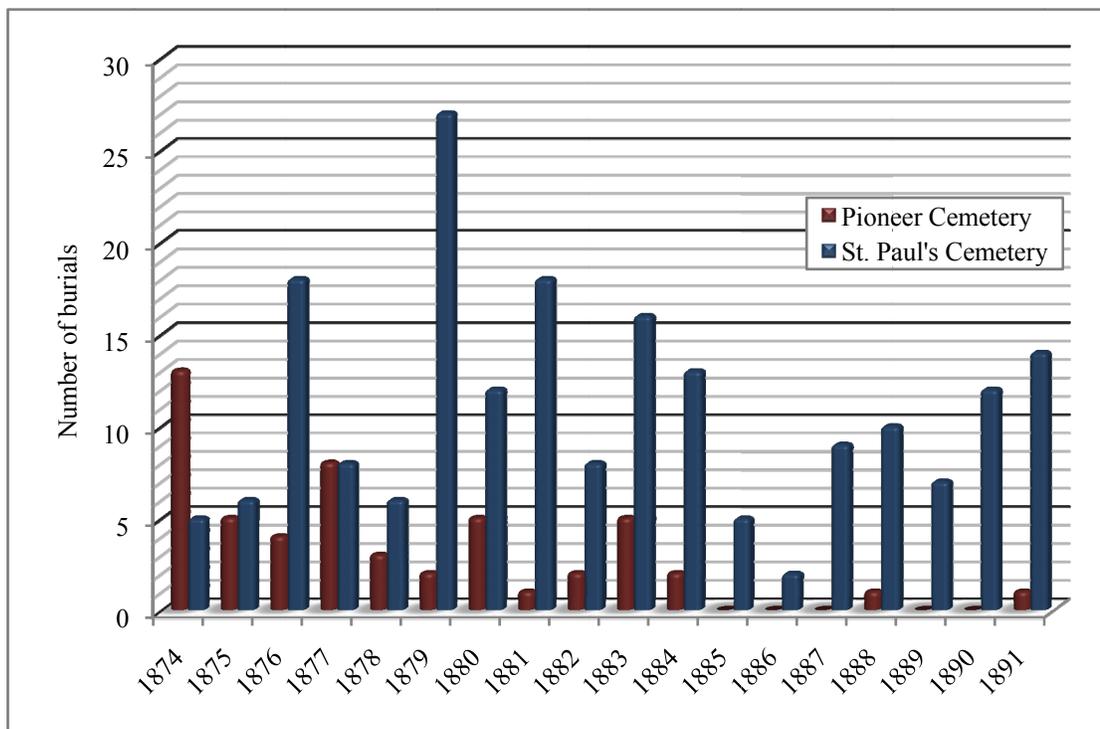


Figure 34 – Number of burials per year during the overlap period, Pioneer and St. Paul's cemeteries

In her article “Physical Aspects of the Mission du Willamette, St. Paul in 1847”, Munnick (1978) writes, “After the New Cemetery was established a few blocks to the southeast in 1875, the Old Cemetery fell into disuse except by families having members already interred there,” (p. 11). Foster and Hummel (1995), working off a theory first presented by Young (1960), demonstrate that the application of a number of individuals to a number of surnames ratio in a cemetery is a reflection of the degree of familialism. They state:

Young has employed person/name ratios (the number of people divided by the number of surnames), garnered from cemetery data, and *with appropriate cautions*, to reflect the relative importance of kinship in community. If the number is large, kinship importance is greater, making community more homogenous [*emphasis added*] (Foster & Hummel, 1995, p. 111).

It has already been established above that in St. Paul’s Cemetery surnames are not the only reflection of kinship in family groups; many extended families with different names choose to be buried near one another. Despite this, it may prove useful to calculate the person/name ratios for both cemeteries during the overlap period to see if it reveals a significant degree of familialism (Table 8). The ratios generated here are moderate compared to Foster and Hummel (1995), whose figures ranged from 2.3 (strong familialism) to 1.0 (weak familialism) (p. 111). It may be that there were other factors, which in conjunction with familial ties, were influencing cemetery selection during the overlap period.

Table 8 – Person/name ratios for Pioneer and St. Paul’s cemeteries

	Number of people	Number of surnames	Ratio
Pioneer Cemetery	50	30	1.67
St. Paul’s Cemetery	138	79	1.75

One of the most likely secondary causes affecting selection was ethnicity. When this is taken into account, there does appear to be a connection between cemetery selection and ethnic background (Figure 35). The overall temporal shift in ethnicity for all burials in St. Paul may be a reflection of the community's changing population dynamic during the mid-nineteenth century. The reason behind the differential ethnic makeup of the two cemeteries while both were still in use is not quite as obvious. An inspection of the differences illustrated in Figure 35 reveals a generalized pattern based mainly on ethnicity: many French Canadian/métis were choosing the old cemetery while all other groups, including the Irish/Irish Americans, were choosing the new. However, there were still forty-eight French Canadian/métis individuals who choose to bury their dead in the newer cemetery.

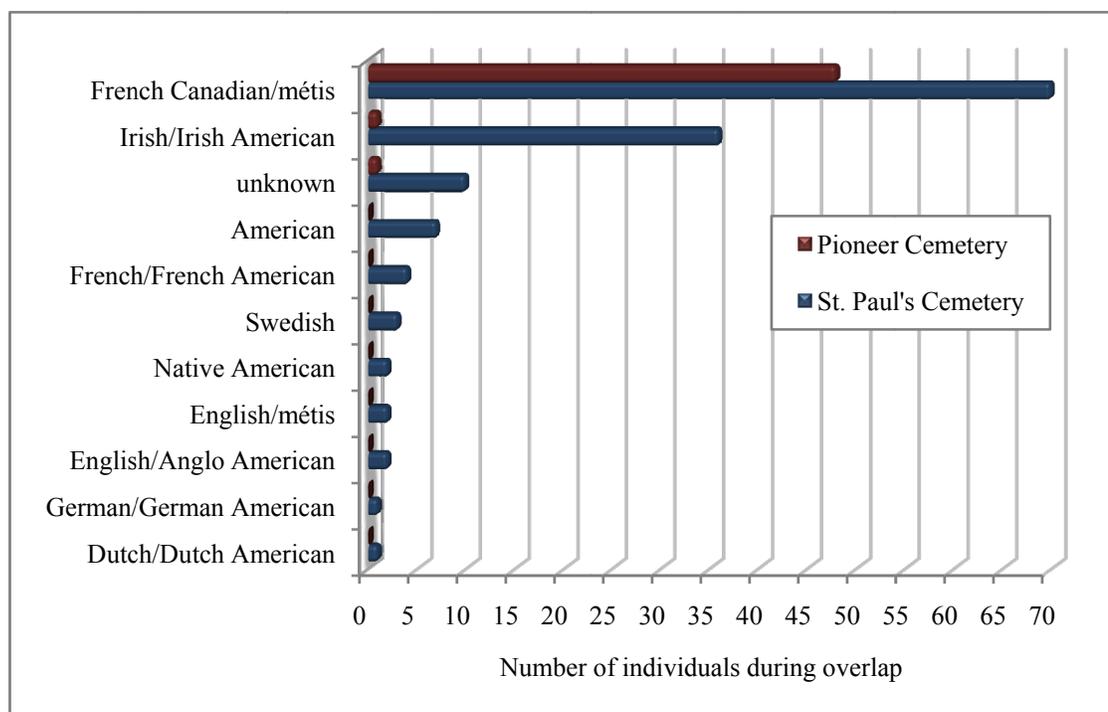


Figure 35 – Number of individuals by ethnicity for the overlap period, Pioneer and St. Paul's cemeteries

A number of specific examples demonstrate the irregular patterns of cemetery selection based on both kinship ties and ethnicity. For instance, the only known burial of an Irish/Irish American in the Pioneer Cemetery after 1874 is that of the infant son of Jerome Jackson and Mary Cosgrove Jackson. His entry in the Church Register reads:

*On April 6, 1880, we the undersigned, pastor of St. Paul, have buried a boy, son of Jerome Jackson and Mary Cosgrove his wife, deceased the day before, half an hour after being born and private Baptism having been administered to him. Present Jerome Jackson and Agnes Jackson (Munnick and Warner 1979: Vol. III, 130).*

Prior to 1880, there were no Jacksons or Cosgroves buried in the new cemetery, but the Jackson baby had a number of family members buried in the old, including his grandmother Mary Rositor Cosgrove (d. 1873) and infant brother Joseph Jerome (d. 1860).

Based on this pattern one would assume that first French Canadian/métis buried in St. Paul's Cemetery would not have family members buried in the old cemetery. This would support the hypothesis that familial relationships had a significant influence on selection. Once again, however, the data is not clear cut. In 1876, the first four French Canadian/métis were recorded for the new cemetery – Celeste Picard, Louis Pichette, Nancy Longtain, and Louis Bergevin – all of whom had relatives buried in the old graveyard. In fact, Bergevin's wife and two of his young children were interred in the Pioneer Cemetery. In this case, the burial location of family members does not seem to be the most influential factor.

Despite this inconsistency, it does appear that familial relationships in grave location were important to many of St. Paul's residents. The strongest support for this is the number of people that were exhumed from the older cemetery and reburied in family plots in St. Paul's Cemetery (Table 9). Almost all of these individuals were from prominent Irish/Irish American families and their graves are now marked by large Victorian monuments.

One particularly intriguing case illustrates this desire to reinforce familial relationships even after death. Genevieve Longtain (Figure 36), daughter of influential French Canadian fur trapper Andre Longtain and his wife Nancy Okanagan, married Irishman Thomas Herbert in 1858. He died in 1874 after a brawl in a Champoeg tavern and she remarried another Irishman, Daniel McCann, two years later (Munnick & Warner, 1979). While married to McCann, Genevieve purchased the lot adjacent to the Longtain one in January of 1877 and had her first husband transferred from the Pioneer Cemetery to Plot 5 of her new lot. Plot 6 was reserved for her second husband and her infant son Daniel McCann II was buried in Plot 8. Mr. McCann died unexpectedly in Ireland and was laid to rest overseas. Genevieve was buried between her son from her second marriage and her first husband in 1923 (St. Paul Cemetery Association). To complicate matters even more, her name from the second marriage, 'Genevieve McCann', is etched on the back of the relatively tall obelisk marker she shares with first husband Thomas Herbert (Figure 36).

Since neither ethnicity nor family ties appears to be a conclusive motivating factor in cemetery selection, one other influence should be considered. As previously

discussed, there is evidence that proximity to the religious figures interned in St. Paul's cemetery was an important part of a family's expression of their faith. It was this outward religious devotion expressed through marker form and motif that was used to explain why there were no significant material differences between the different ethnic groups. It may be that any combination of all these factors consciously or unconsciously affected cemetery selection during the overlap period.

Table 9 – Individuals moved from the Pioneer Cemetery to St. Paul's Cemetery

Deceased	Name	Ethnicity
1852	Mary Costello	Irish/Irish American
1853	James Sheil	Irish/Irish American
1862	Joseph Longtain	French Canadian/métis
1863	James Cosgrove	Irish/Irish American
1864	Catherine Murphy	Irish/Irish American
1866	Daniel Murphy	Irish/Irish American
1866	Michael Costello	Irish/Irish American
1869	Theodore Aplin	English/métis
1870	Cecelia McKay	Irish/Irish American
1871	Margaret Kirk	Irish/Irish American
1873	Mary Cosgrove	Irish/Irish American
1873	Margaret Kirk	Irish/Irish American
1874	Thomas Herbert	Irish/Irish American



Figure 36 – (Left) Genevieve Longtain Herbert McCann; (Right) Grave marker of Thomas Herbert and Genevieve McCann

## Chapter 8

### Erosion of the Cultural Landscape

The term ‘erosion of the cultural landscape’ is meant to describe the process by which some members of the community are no longer represented in the landscape. Watkins (2002) contends that cemetery landscapes can be used “as evidence of social trends, cultural patterns, and prevailing ideologies,” but are not perfect reflections of past communities because certain components of the population are no longer present on the landscape (p. 52). While my work in St. Paul has supported this, I would argue that an examination of the erosion of the landscape is as revealing as analyzing the elements that are still visible.

As previously stated, there are 108 unmarked graves identified from the records (see Chapter 3). Of these, forty-two have known Block/Lot/Plot locations. There are a number of possible reasons for a grave to be unmarked, including a burial having had a wooden marker that has deteriorated or a stone marker that was broken and never replaced (Watkins, 2002; Rainville, 1999). The practice of using wood or wrought iron markers will be discussed in further detail below and while the latter example is a definite possibility, the St. Paul Cemetery Association has attempted to preserve broken vertical markers by laying them flush to the ground in a concrete foundation (Figure 37). There was often a notation in the association records with the date that this was done and confirmation that a family member approved of the action (St. Paul Cemetery Association). This practice is a sharp contrast to Champoeg Cemetery, where many vertical markers remain broken and untended, or are replaced

by simple modern lawn markers (Figure 37). There is evidence, however, that some vertical stone markers have, for whatever reason, been removed. Figure 38 is a photograph taken of St. Paul's Cemetery in 1911. The vertical marker highlighted in the bottom left corner is no longer present in the cemetery.



Figure 37 – (Left) Vertical maker for Thomas Longtain (d. 1881) and his daughter Mary (d. 1881), St. Paul's Cemetery; (Top right) Broken marker and (bottom right) modern lawn marker replacement, Champoeg Cemetery



Figure 38 – Missing vertical stone marker, St. Paul's Cemetery

A number of researchers have identified the possible factors that would determine who in a cemetery landscape would be most affected by the erosion process. The most common variables cited are sex, age, ethnicity, and status (Warner, 1959; Crowell & Mackie III, 1984; Clark, 1987; Cannon, et al., 1989; Foster & Hummel, 1995; Rainville, 1999; Watkins, 2002). Each of these factors will be considered in the discussion of the erosion of St. Paul's Cemetery landscape.

### Sex

Research has shown that in many nineteenth century cemeteries, the burials of females are more likely to be unmarked. The reason usually given for this phenomenon is the generally lower status females held in both individual families and the community as a whole (Foster & Hummel, 1995; Watkins, 2002). However, gender appears to have been the one factor that did not significantly affect the pattern of unmarked graves in St. Paul's Cemetery; in fact, the percentage of males with unmarked graves is slightly higher than that of females (Figure 39).

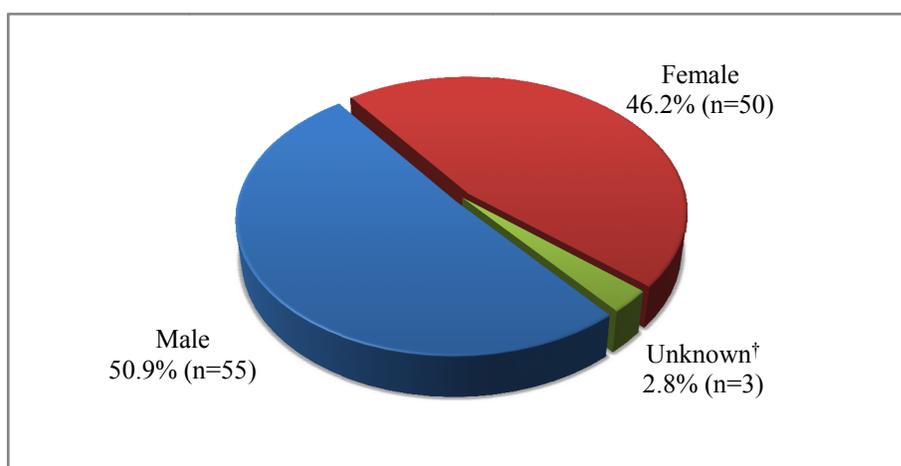


Figure 39 – Unmarked graves by gender, St. Paul's Cemetery

†The gender of three burials could not be determined because records only indicated the burial of a 'child' or 'infant'

One possible explanation for this figure can be found in Warner (1959). While discussing the differing representations of the sexes in cemeteries, he states:

The basic recognition of the superior and inferior status of males and females in our society is clearly reflected in the graveyard...But although the symbols of the graveyard – position, type of headstone, treatment at burial, etc. – formally give the adult male a superordinate recognition commensurate with his former status as head of the family and as father and breadwinner and the one whose patronym all members of the family carry, women are more fully recognized informally. The inscriptions on their tombstones are likely to be filled with deeper sentiments of attachment than those for males (Warner, 1959, pp. 293-294).

Though writing about attitudes towards men and women as expressed through extant grave markers, Warner's (1959) sentiment may be extended to the overall desire to place lasting memorials on the graves of female family members. Even though the women in St. Paul's community may not have enjoyed equal social status with men, there was still a "emotional desire to maintain personal memory" through mortuary commemoration (Cannon, 2001, p. 193).

The durable grave markers that were erected for women did tend to reflect this social inequality. Rainville (1999) states, "Kinship terms found on the Hanover gravestones illustrate that the status of women was contingent on their male relatives; they were either listed as the 'wife of' or 'daughter of' a man," (p. 570). This statement holds true in St. Paul's Cemetery, where all but six of the twenty-nine inscribed markers for females contained a reference to a male relative. Of the six that did not have these kinship terms stated, four were for children.

## Age

The age of the deceased appears to be one of the most dominant factors influencing the pattern of unmarked graves in St. Paul's Cemetery. Over fifty-eight percent (n=63) of the burials without markers are those of individuals seventeen years of age or younger. In fact, forty-five percent of the total unmarked graves are children younger than five years (n=49) (Figure 40). This trend is consistent with other cemeteries of the same period where it has been reported that children are the most underrepresented population in cemeteries (Dethlefsen, 1969; Foster & Hummel, 1995; Watkins, 2002). In his discussion of children in the mortuary landscape, Mytum (2004) writes:

Many children...were not commemorated by families on memorials, or frequently they were only remembered in a brief manner at the end of the text commemorating their parents. It may be that emphasis on memorials specifically for children skews the sample towards a tiny group highly emotionally affected and who wished to show this through monuments. Others may have showed their grief in other ways (p. 129).

Because of the relatively low status afforded children in nineteenth society, fewer expenditures were made to permanently mark their graves. Warner (1959) maintains, "The symbols of age in the graveyard unconsciously express the subordinate role of the child and subadult and the superordinate role of the adult; the social personality of young people and women is less developed and less important than the social personality of male adults," (p. 294). This could mean that no attempt was made to memorialize a child's grave or that the lower status of the child dictated less expenditure on a memorial.

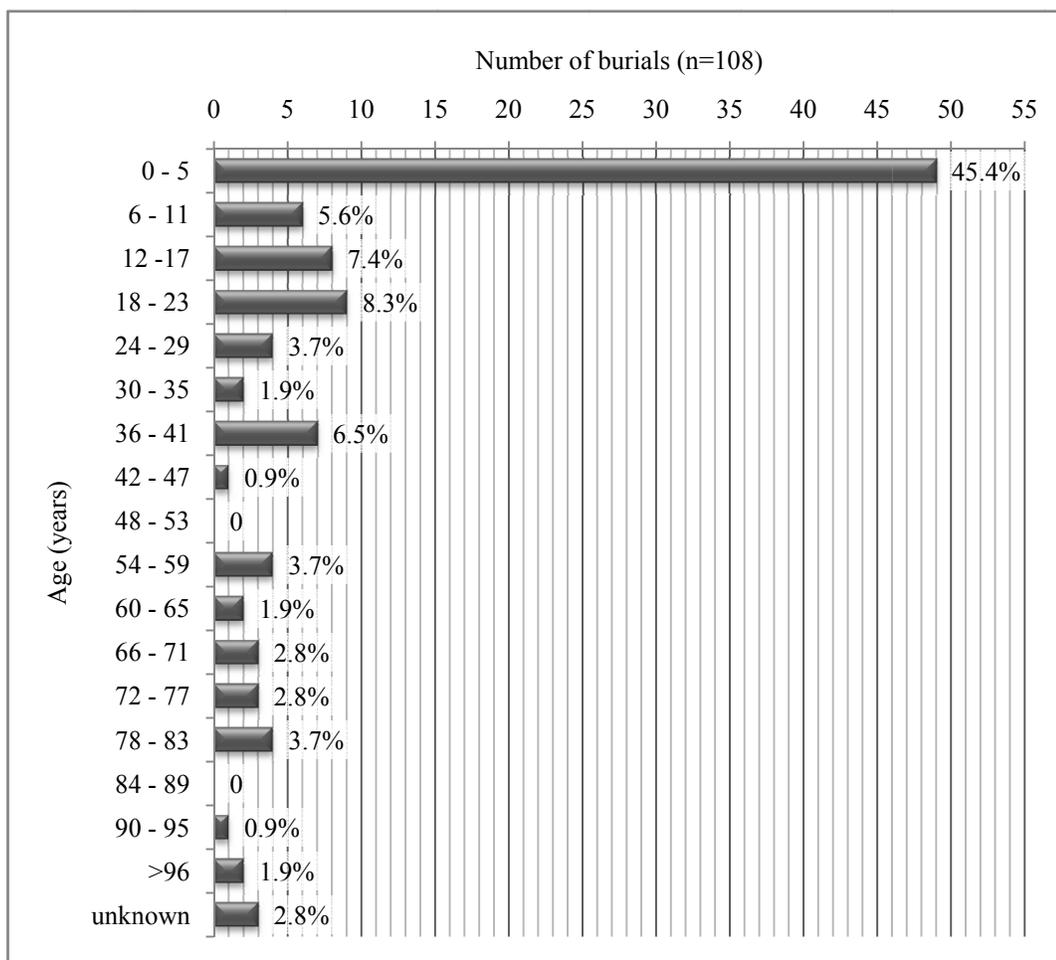


Figure 40 – Unmarked burials by age, St. Paul's Cemetery

If the latter example was the case, the grave marker was usually relatively small and made from softer, less expensive stone. This type of monument would not withstand the rigors of time, though a few in St. Paul's have survived (Figure 41). Of the twenty-eight children under five years of age that do have extant grave markers, fifty-three percent (n=15) are near ground types. The three vertical markers for children that are greater than one foot all commemorate more than one child.



Figure 41 – Typical child’s marker, St. Paul’s Cemtery Margaret Gratton (d. 1887, age five years)



Figure 42 – Unusually tall children’s markers, St. Paul’s Cemetery. (Left) children of F.H. & M. Ernst; (Center) children of A. & R. Hughes; (Right) children of A. & M. Lambert

As mentioned by Mytum (2004) above, the large number of currently unmarked children's graves is not an indication that these children were not memorialized after their death. In fact, some authors assert that the deaths of children were given more care and attention during the Victorian Period (Moore, Blaker, & Smith, 1991). This was partly due to new cultural attitudes about children that originated in the Victorian period. Snyder (1989) writes, "In a kind of literary cult of childhood that began around 1800 in England and developed throughout the nineteenth century in America, children's innocence and sincerity was juxtaposed against adult artifice," (p. 13).

This special attitude fed into the "cult of memory," remembrance rituals that often included the production of memorial tokens, locketts, cameos, and cards that were often hung on walls in the home (Moore, Blaker, & Smith, 1991; Morely, 1971). The two displayed in Figure 43 were tucked between the pages of a 1890s Kirk/Murphy family album donated to the St. Paul Mission Historical Society.

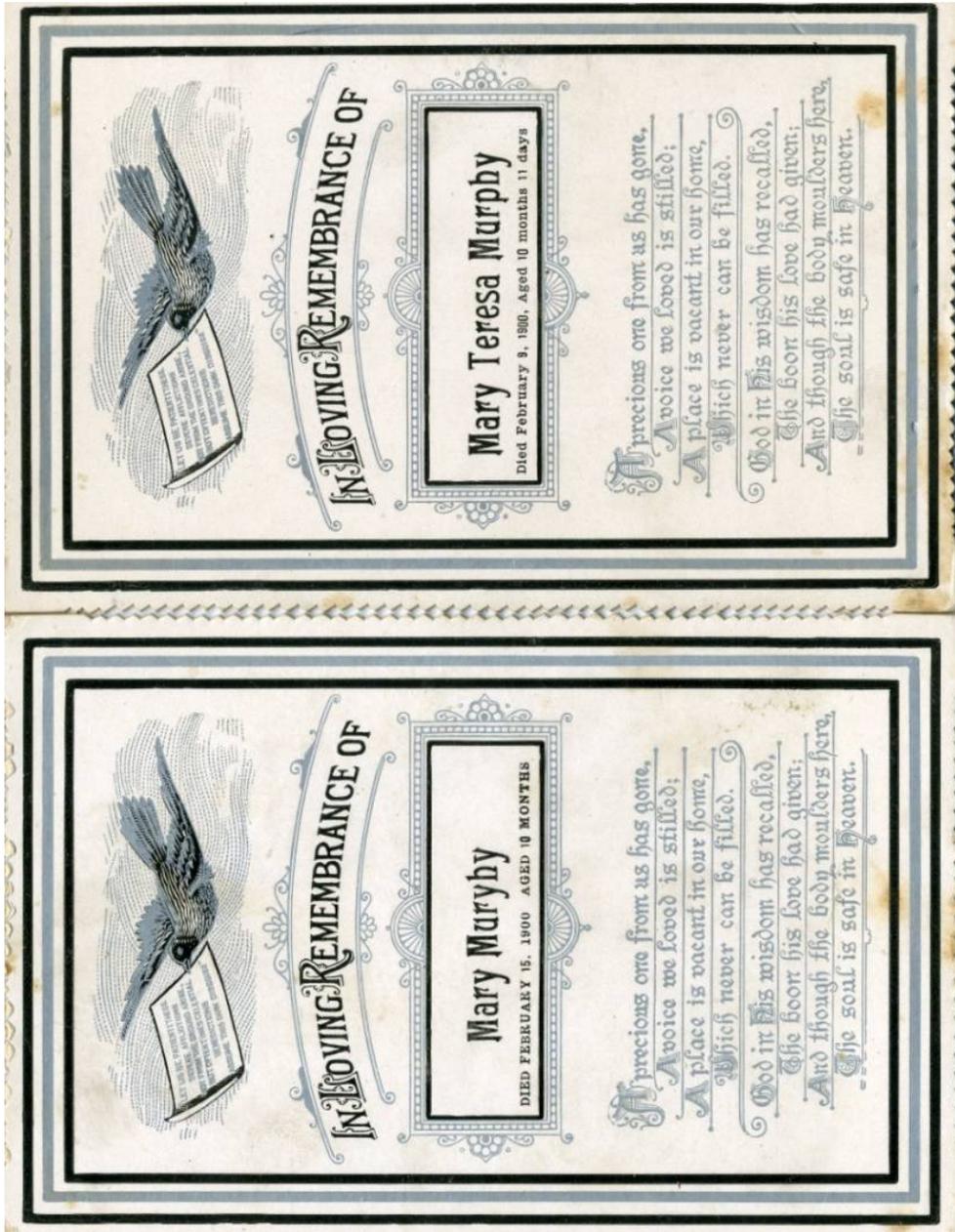


Figure 43 – Memorial cards for two Murphy infants, 1900  
 (St. Paul Mission Historical Society)

Though printed on heavy stock, the imagery and text are identical to what one would find on a gravestone. The top of the card contains the image of a dove, a common motif found on the grave markers of children (Mytum, 2004). The dove is carrying a paper with the following poem:

LET US BE PATIENT! THESE  
SEVERE AFFLICTIONS  
NOT FROM THE GROUND ARISE  
BUT OFTENTIMES CELESTIAL  
BENEDICTIONS  
ASSUME THIS DARK DISGUISE

In addition to this poem, a commonly found epitaph is printed on the bottom.

Memorials like this one demonstrate that although certain expenditures may not have been made to commemorate children in the cemetery, families in the Victorian Period did make attempts to maintain ties to deceased children.

### Ethnicity and Status

Besides age, ethnicity appears to be a significant factor in the pattern of unmarked graves. As can be seen in Figure 44, over half of the unmarked graves in this graveyard are French Canadian/métis (n=63). This is in stark contrast to St. Paul's other large ethnic group, Irish/Irish Americans, who make up only thirteen percent of the unmarked population (n=14). Table 10 also illustrates the significant difference between the French Canadian/métis and Irish/Irish Americans in the percent of unmarked graves within each ethnic group. Sixty-two percent (n=63) of the 101 French Canadian/métis burials are currently unmarked. Only eighteen percent (n=14) of the seventy-six of the Irish/Irish American graves are unmarked.

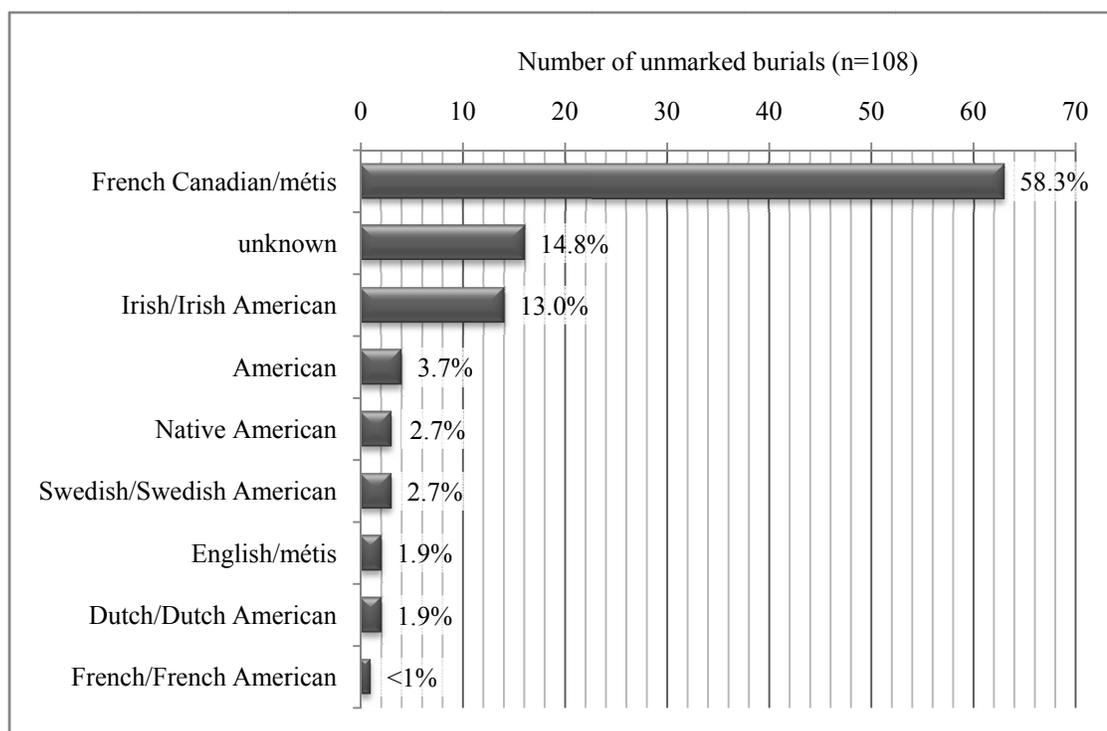


Figure 44 – Unmarked graves by ethnicity, St. Paul's Cemetery

Table 10 – Percent of unmarked burials per ethnic group

Ethnicity	Unmarked burials	Total burials	Percent unmarked
Swedish	3	3	100%
Native American	3	3	100%
French Canadian/métis	63	101	62.4%
Unknown	16	26	61.5%
Dutch/Dutch American	2	5	40%
English/métis	2	6	33.3%
American	4	13	30.8%
Irish/Irish American	14	76	18.4%
French/French American	1	6	16.7%
English/Anglo American	0	3	0%
German/German American	0	4	0%

Some researchers have asserted that ethnic differences within a cemetery are reflections of differences in class and status. Clark (1987) contends:

We see differences in the size, shape, material, and decoration of each gravestone, and we assume that the consumer was able to choose freely from all the available options. All possible choices, however, are not open to every consumer. The complex interaction of the individual's ethnicity and class standing acts as a constraint on the available options (p. 383).

While economic status may have been a factor in St. Paul's Cemetery, the work of other researchers and my own observations point to a different possible interpretation. Rather than being a product of status, the differences between ethnic groups, particularly the French Canadian/métis and Irish/Irish Americans, may in fact be the product of differential preferences in mortuary memorial expression.

In her work on a late nineteenth century cemetery in Montreal, Watkins (2002) noticed that social status was not the sole indicator in determining who was commemorated in the graveyard. The Irish Catholics in that community were more likely to erect elaborate Victorian markers no matter what status they held within the society. When comparing the Irish with the French Canadians, she states, "There are indications of equally strong kinship ties among the French, along with the apparent desire for a respectful burial, but the need for visible commemoration does not seem to be as prevalent as it was with the Irish population," (Watkins, 2002, p. 59).

This statement holds true in St. Paul, where thirty-six percent (n=13) of the obelisk markers are for Irish/Irish Americans and only five percent (n=2) are for French Canadian/métis. The average height for the Irish/Irish American obelisks is over seven feet, much taller than the approximately four foot average for the French

Canadian/métis markers of the same type. These figures reinforce Watkins' (2002) assertion that the Irish populations put more emphasis on mortuary display than the French Canadians.

This emphasis is not necessarily linked to status. Cannon et al. (1989) maintain that often times the Victorian desire for commemoration of the dead superseded a family's socioeconomic status. They write, "it could be said that the desire to secure respectful internment was the strongest and most widely diffused feeling among laboring people and would cause them to neglect their well-being and that of their families in order to ensure provision of sufficient funds for a 'proper' funeral," (Cannon, et al., 1989, p. 438). Just because a family, French Canadian/métis or otherwise, choose not to erect a large stone monument that would not weather and deteriorate does not mean they did not expend a significant amount of resources on grave commemoration. Morely (1971) states that the use of flowers on graves was a common element of Victorian mourning. As illustrated in one of the few photographs found of St. Paul's Cemetery (Figure 45), this use of flowers was practiced in St. Paul. The new grave of Christ Goeldl (d. 1900) can be seen heavily strewn with flowers and a floral wreath was placed at the top and bottom of the plot. Despite the likely considerable cost of the flowers, only a modest wooden marker was used to mark the grave. No other marker was ever erected and the grave of this individual is now unmarked (Figure 45).

Further support that status was not a significant influence on unmarked graves is the burial of Andre Longtain (Figure 46). Longtain was one of the original French

Canadian fur trappers to settle on French Prairie and is “among the most prominent early settlers of Champoeg, “ (Hussey, 1967, p. 79). His name appears on the 1834 letter requesting that a priest be sent to the Willamette Valley and half the Champoeg township was plotted on his 563 acre Donation Land Claim (Hussey, 1967; Munnick & Warner, 1979). He was also one of the fifty-two men who voted in favor of establishing a provisional government. Longtain’s name is included on the monument erected at Champoeg to commemorate this event. And yet his grave in St. Paul’s Cemetery is unmarked (Figure 46). Interestingly, the grave of his Irish son-in-law Thomas Herbert, who died in a bar fight, is buried in the plot directly to the east and is memorialized by a large obelisk marker (Figure 46).



Figure 45 – (Left) The grave of Christ Goeldl (d. 1900) (St. Paul Mission Historical Society; (Right) Christ Goeldl’s unmarked plot, St. Paul’s Cemetery



Figure 46 – (Left) Andre Longtain (date unknown) (St. Paul Mission Historical Society); (Center) Provisional Government monument at Champoeg (St. Paul Mission Historical Society); (Right) Andre Longtain’s unmarked plot

While analyzing status and the erosion of St. Paul’s mortuary landscape, it seems important to also include a discussion of two other influential individuals buried in this community. While researching the unmarked graves in St. Paul’s Cemetery, I came across a somewhat confusing passage in Dobbs’ (1932) book *Men of Champoeg*. She states, almost in passing, that the remains of both William Cannon and Etienne Lucier were moved from the Pioneer Cemetery to the newer St. Paul’s Cemetery and now rest in unmarked graves (pp. 11, 17). No dates are given and no reference for the account provided. Because of the prominence of these two individuals, their translation from the older cemetery to the new would have a profound impact on the cultural landscape of St. Paul. To add to the confusion, she writes that the “ashes” of Lucier “rest near those of his old companion, William Cannon, in an unmarked grave,” (Dobbs, 1932, p. 17). There is no record of either man being cremated, a

practice that was generally frowned upon by devout Catholics in the nineteenth century (Mytum, 2004, p. 164).

There is no mention in the Church records of the transfers and local lore still places both men in the Pioneer Cemetery. The question then becomes how to prove or disprove this assertion. Fortunately, the most prolific French Prairie historian, Harriet Munnick (1956), had the same concerns. In her unpublished biography of Lucier, she writes:

Dodds [*sic*], in “Men of Champoeg”, state that when the new cemetery on the hill was consecrated in 1875, Lucier’s remains were removed thither... I have been unable to find any confirmation of this statement, as apparently the D.A.R., who placed the plaque on the boulder, did not. Since no evidence can be found to the contrary, I prefer to think he lies with [his wife] Hosephite [*sic*] and his old companions in the little plot with the crucifix [Pioneer Cemetery].

‘Peace to his Ashes’ (p. 69).

This last sentiment may be the source of the confusion concerning the state of Lucier remains when he was interned. The phrase “Peace to his Ashes” was printed in Lucier’s obituary on April 2, 1853 (The Oregonian, 1853). This expression was commonly used in the mid-nineteenth century and falls under what Mytum (2004) calls a “salvation text” meant to inspire the reader to pray for the soul of the deceased (p. 172). It is likely that Dobbs misinterpreted the last part of the statement as literal.

Unfortunately it may never be known why Dobbs believed that Lucier and Cannon had been moved, but it is highly unlikely that these two high status French Prairie residents would have been transferred without some documentation or cultural memory in St. Paul. Without corroborating evidence, I feel that I must agree with

Munnick. Both Lucier and Cannon still rest where they were originally buried, in the Pioneer Cemetery.

### Pioneer Cemetery

Most discussion thus far has been concerned with the those in St. Paul's Cemetery not represented by material remains. This graveyard is only part of the mortuary landscape of the community. The demolition of the gravestones from the Pioneer Cemetery in 1939 had a tremendous impact on the cultural landscape. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the wealth of information that can be extracted from grave marker studies, an objective that highlights the vast amount of data lost during the cemetery destruction.

If the grave markers from Pioneer Cemetery were intact one of the more intriguing avenues of investigation would be comparing the mortuary material culture of the French Canadian/métis and Irish emigrants with that of the Native Americans buried in St. Paul. For the first sixteen years of its use, Native Americans accounted for twenty-seven percent (n= 151) of the population in the Pioneer cemetery (Figure 7, Chapter 4). However, after 1855, the number of Indian burials dropped significantly. After 1855, when most Indians were forcibly sent to the Grand Ronde Reservation, almost all of the Native Americans recorded as being buried in St. Paul's two cemeteries were the wives of the French Canadian men or the children and young women who resided in the homes of these families (Table 11).

Table 11 – Native Americans buried in St. Paul’s cemeteries after 1855

†Buried in unmarked graves in the new cemetery

\*Only Native American adult male buried in St. Paul after 1855

Name	Age	Husband	Deceased
Marie Okanogan	4	-	1856
Francois Indian	4	-	1856
Maxime Pend d'Oreille	4	-	1856
Rose Baptiste, house of Arcouet	11	-	1856
Madeliene Pend d'Oreille	2	-	1856
Marie Blackfoot Menard	30	Pierre Menard	1857
Josette Chinook Bourgeau	?	Sylvain Bourgeau	1857
Lucy Indian, house of Wagner	15	-	1858
Julie Jette	25	Adolphe Jette	1865
Marie Indian Bastien	20	Isaac Bastien	1865
Marie Stomis Chinook Wagner	60	Peter Wagner	1865
Marguerite Waponte Arcouet	72	Amable Arcout I	1870
Margaret Coboway Labonte	80	Louis Labonte I	1873
Josette Simemaule Nez Perce Servant Lacourse	76	Pierre Lacourse I	1873
Nancy Okanogan Longtai	80	Andre Longtain	1876
Michael Iroquois <sup>†*</sup>	70	-	1890
Marguerite Chinook Dubreuil <sup>†</sup>	90	Jean Baptiste Dubreuil	1893

There are a number of explanations for this a drastic shift in Native American burials at this time. The flood of American settlers in the early 1840s brought a new population of white women who replaced the Native American women as potential spouses. In addition, a new generation of métis girls had reached marriageable age providing a more desirable population of prospective wives than the Native American women (Gandy, 2004). This decline also coincides with the establishment of the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in 1856 and the relocation of Native Americans to the Coast Reservation (Adams et al., 1991). Add these factors to the high death rates due to disease in earlier decades, and the Native population in and around St. Paul was almost completely erased and their presence in the St. Paul cemeteries gone.

The community's rededication of the Pioneer Cemetery was an attempt to negate the erosion of the cultural landscape. In discussing the meaning of historic cemeteries, Warner (1959) states:

As long as the cemetery is being filled with a fresh stream of the recently dead it stays symbolically a live and vital emblem, telling the living of the meaning of life and death. But when the family, the kindred, and other members of the community gradually discontinue burying their loved ones there, the cemetery, in a manner of speaking, dies its own death as a meaningful symbol of life and death, for it ceases to exist as a living sacred emblem and, through time, becomes a historical monument (p. 319).

Both Warner (1959) and Hannon Jr. (1973) agree that even though a cemetery may lose much of its sacred value after the living population stops identifying with its inhabitants, few are willing to disturb it. The question then becomes why was the intentional erosion of Pioneer Cemetery's landscape tolerated?

Given the demography of the Pioneer Cemetery and the historical context of the period in which it operated, it does not seem inappropriate to speculate that one of the reasons it was demolished in 1939 is that so many of the burials were of Native Americans and métis. Point of fact, it is entirely possible that the individuals who decided to destroy it were themselves related to the people buried there. The 1930s were part of an era where Native American ancestry was not a source of pride and there was likely little protest to the destruction of a cemetery where so many were buried. Decades had passed since the last burial and the sacred value of the graveyard had dissipated.

The rededication of the Pioneer Cemetery, which incorporated blessing rituals by the Catholic Church and Grand Ronde tribal members, is indicative of a shift in the

perception of this graveyard and the social memory it represents. Many individuals in St. Paul are beginning to not only recognize, but embrace their Indian and métis heritage. The social memory tied to the Pioneer Cemetery may be different than that connected to the active St. Paul's Cemetery, but the older cemetery has acquired a new significance. Warner (1959) asserts that after a cemetery loses its sacred status "its spirituality then resides in a different context, for it becomes an object of historical value in stable communities rather than a sacred collective representation effectively relating the dead to the living," (p. 319).

## Chapter 9

### Conclusion

It is clear from the work presented here that the residents of early St. Paul were unknowingly using grave markers to express their worldview and the identities that they felt were most important. The historical and cultural development of this community created an environment where one's diverse ethnic identity was second to a shared Catholic identity. Even though the mortuary landscape of St. Paul reflects the population's unique historical trajectory, the people here were still participating in cultural trends that affected much of European American society in the nineteenth century. Among these were ostentatious mortuary displays, as well as a heavy emphasis on family, as seen in both marker inscriptions and the spatial patterning of the graveyard. The importance of family was also reflected in cemetery selection during the years that both the Pioneer and St. Paul's cemeteries were active.

A close look at the erosion of St. Paul's deathscape revealed that certain factors were influencing who was represented in the cultural landscape. Though some have claimed that sex was a dominant indicator, this did not prove to be true in St. Paul's cemetery. Age however was an important factor, likely because less expenditure was made for children's memorials. Ethnicity also proved to be an important variable, but not because of a link to perceived status. Evidence from other cemeteries pointed to Irish Catholics putting higher priority on mortuary display than French Catholics, a pattern that is also upheld in St. Paul's Cemetery.

There are many different avenues in which this research can expand in the future. The first is a cultural landscape analysis of St. Paul's Cemetery from its inception to the present. Mortuary material culture changed significantly after the Victorian Period and a comparison to modern expressions in the cemetery would be informative (Francaviglia, 1971). Individuals and families have attempted to express their identities' through grave markers just as those in the nineteenth century did, but modern society has put new restrictions on them. Because of the prohibitive cost of maintenance, most cemeteries today, including St. Paul's, have instituted regulations against the use of vertical stones; only grave markers that are flush to the ground are permitted (St. Paul Cemetery Association). These rules are in place to make maintenance easier and more cost effective. Without the ability to imprint one's identity and worldview through marker form and height, contemporary community members have found new and innovative forms of mortuary expression (Figure 47).

Another important facet that could be added to this research is a more in-depth analysis of socioeconomic status. The status discussed in the present work is more associated with perceived status within the community, not economic class. It would be useful to do additional archival work to rank St. Paul's early population into socioeconomic brackets. This information, coupled with data on marker material, maker, and methods of procurement, could help elucidate any patterns within the cultural landscape based on economic prosperity or lack thereof. This type of research is aptly demonstrated by the work of Watkins (2002), Foster and Hummel (1995) and Clark (1987).



Figure 47 – Modern lawn marker for Donald M. Smith (d. 1980), St. Paul’s Cemetery

Foster and Hummel (1995) and Dethlefsen (1969) have also demonstrated the potential for using grave marker data to reconstruct the demographic profile of past populations. Given that forty-two percent (n=333) of all burials in St. Paul before 1905 were of children twelve years or younger, much can be said about life expectancy and mortality rates. Information like this can then be used to make general statements about the quality of life for the early residents of French Prairie.

A final suggestion calls for a wider view of the mortuary experience in St. Paul. The cemetery and its landscape is only one aspect of the overall mourning process. It would be important to include discussions of how the body is treated after death, the funeral, and any other culturally prescribed mourning rituals. There is a wealth of literature that evaluates the way families and communities deal with the loss of a member. Some examples include Francis, Kellaher, and Neophytou (2005), Cannon (2001), Chesson (2001), Reimers (1999), Brown (1971) and, Warner (1959). Because the Victorian Period is often characterized as a time obsessed with death and

remembrance, it would be particularly important to look further into their other mortuary practices (Morely, 1971; Farrell, 1980; Sloane, 1991; Curl, 2000).

My work presented here has demonstrated the importance of cemetery studies to our understanding of past communities. Thus I would caution against the growing number of cemetery associations who are replacing historical vertical markers with sterile lawn slabs. Though this is often necessary due to deterioration or vandalism, some are motivated by the difficult nature of maintaining closely compacted vertical stones (Figure 48). Despite this, it is important that preservation of historical gravestones is encouraged. They provide a unique window into the past, giving modern scholars the ability to learn much about culture and society. This is especially important for communities like St. Paul, where few traditional documents are available for scrutiny or interpretation and the remnants of significant people can only be found in the cultural landscape.



Figure 48 – Cemetery association employee mowing St. Paul's Cemetery

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APPENDICES



Appendix B Pioneer Cemetery Burial List

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Alipsa	child of Benon	?	1847	Spanish
Aplin	son of	0 days	1859	English/métis
Aplin †	Theodore	2 months	1869	English/métis
Arcouet	daughter of	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Arcouet	Amable	2	1860	French Canadian/métis
Arcouet	Marguerite (Waponte)	72	1870	Native American (Chinook)
Arcouet	Amable	81	1880	French Canadian/métis
Arquaitte	Leon	?	1843	French Canadian/métis
Attalon	Marie	25	1852	unknown
Aubichon	Marie (Tsalile)	?	1847	Native American
Aubichon	Alexis	80	1867	French Canadian/métis
Banget	Francois	58	1867	French
Baptiste	Rose, house of Arcouet	11	1856	Native American
Barnabe	Xavier	3 months	1843	French Canadian/métis
Bastien	Marie	20	1865	Native American
Beauchemin	Julie Godin	30	1852	Native American (Ute)
Beaudoin	Joseph	2	1847	French Canadian/métis
Bellanger	Mary Genevieve	8 months	1877	French Canadian/métis
Bellique	Joseph	5	1847	French Canadian/métis
Bellique	Adeline Josephine	10 months	1875	French Canadian/métis
Bergevin	Moise	3 months	1850	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Bergevin	Marie Magdeleine	1 month	1862	French Canadian/métis
Bergevin	Madeleine	40	1863	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Acadie	5	1852	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Pelagie	?	1856	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Simeon	2 months	1868	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Louis	2 months	1874	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Francois	70	1877	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Francois Augustin	2	1880	French Canadian/métis
Bernier	Sara Julia	3	1880	French Canadian/métis
Bertrand	Cyrille	3 months	1849	French Canadian/métis
Bertrand	Joseph F.	12 days	1865	French Canadian/métis
Boisverd	Elizabeth (Snowden)	?	1857	unknown
Boisvert	Louise	?	1850	French Canadian/métis
Boucher	Isabelle (Mainville)	25	1847	French Canadian/métis
Boucher	wife of Tshem	?	1847	unknown
Boucher	son of Francois Wakan	?	1847	French Canadian/métis
Boucher	David	33	1863	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	child of	?	1849	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	Marianne	1	1849	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	Josette (Chinook)	?	1857	Native American (Chinook)
Bourgeau	Sylvain	70	1871	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	Peter	2	1872	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	Mary Jane	7	1873	French Canadian/métis
Bourgeau	Josephine	14 days	1874	French Canadian/métis
Bourgignon	Pierre	3	1853	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Bourgignon	Marguerite	30	1853	Native American
Bourgignon	Rosalie, house of Aplin	12	1860	French Canadian/métis
Brouillard	Gideon	18 months	1862	French Canadian/métis
Brouillard	Olive (Forcier)	34	1863	French Canadian/métis
Brouillard	Celina	2	1873	French Canadian/métis
Brouillet	Elizabeth (Finlay)	?	1845	unknown
Brouillet	Charles	8	1847	French Canadian/métis
Calapoya	Betsy, house of Delard	15	1840	Native American (Kalapuya)
Calapoya	Jacques	18	1846	Native American
Cannon	William	97	1854	American
Ceneal	unknown	?	1846	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Rose	12	1846	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Luce	11	1849	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Andre	62	1851	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Josette (Petre)	23	1869	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Andrew	10 months	1874	French Canadian/métis
Chalifoux	Charles Hilaire	4 months	1880	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Virginia	1	1844	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Marie Rose	21 days	1845	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Calixte	15 days	1851	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	boy of	1 month	1871	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Jean Baptiste	6 months	1874	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Louise	50	1876	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	Narcisse	17	1878	French Canadian/métis
Chamberland	F. Adolphe	70	1888	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Champagne	Catherine (Sauve)	13	1852	French Canadian/métis
Chaudiere	Francois	?	1846	Native American
child	unknown	?	1846	unknown
Chinook	(2) unknown	?	1845	Native American
Choquette	Charles	18 months	1863	French Canadian/métis
Coffey	Mary Ronan	54	1871	American
Comartin	Catherine (Russi Chalifoux)	30	1860	French Canadian/métis
Cosgrove	son of	?	1848	Irish/Irish American
Cosgrove †	James	26	1863	Irish/Irish American
Cosgrove †	Mary (Rossiter)	65	1873	Irish/Irish American
Costello †	Marie	10	1852	Irish/Irish American
Couturier	Marie	3	1849	French Canadian/métis
Coyle	Michael	60	1867	Irish/Irish American
Crete	Virginia	5	1883	French Canadian/métis
Crete	August	4	1883	French Canadian/métis
Dalcour	Pierre	15 months	1842	French Canadian/métis
Dalcourt	Joseph	2	1845	French Canadian/métis
Daly	Robert	40	1870	American
Degre	Phillippe	108	1847	French Canadian/métis
Deguire	Thomas	2	1853	American/métis
Deguire	Joseph	2	1862	American/métis
Deguire	Marianne	30	1864	French Canadian/métis
Deguire	Eulalie	18	1873	American/métis
Delcour	Agathe	40	1853	Native American
Delcourt	Therese	18	1855	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Delcourt	Baptiste	55	1856	French Canadian/métis
Denoble	child of	?	1877	French Canadian/métis
Depati	Jean Baptiste	16 months	1840	French Canadian/métis
des Dalles	Joseph, house of Gervais	?	1845	Native American
des Dalles	Joseph, house of Vandale	20	1845	Native American
Despard	Marie (Chinook)	43	1851	Native American (Chinook)
Despard	Joseph Frederic	87	1875	French Canadian/métis
Dobin	Nancy of the Dalles	?	1850	Native American (Dalles)
Dompierre	Julien	7 months	1840	French Canadian/métis
Dompierre	David	?	1849	French Canadian/métis
Dompierre	Soulange	20	1876	French Canadian/métis
Dorion	Philomene	4 months	1845	French Canadian/métis
Dubois	Marguerite (Cris)	?	1844	Native American (Cree)
Dubois	boy of	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Dubreuil	Nazaire	10 months	1864	French Canadian/métis
Dubreuil	Clementine	12	1873	French Canadian/métis
Dubreuil	Francois	3	1874	French Canadian/métis
Ducheneau	Eloi	26	1854	French Canadian/métis
Dueuron	Charles Gaston	24	1876	French Canadian/métis
Dupre	Francois	90	1858	French Canadian/métis
Felix	Francois	9	1846	French Canadian/métis
Fenlay	Rose	?	1849	unknown
Fennely	Joachim	15	1852	unknown
Fitzgerald	Peter	?	1869	Irish/Irish American
Fitzgerald	Anne (Murray)	34	1869	Irish/Irish American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Fleishman	Margaret	71	1871	unknown
Fleishman	Peter	73	1872	unknown
Flynn	Mary	71	1871	Irish/Irish American
Flynn	Elizabeth	2	1872	Irish/Irish American
Flynn	Peter	87	1873	Irish/Irish American
Focolino	Joseph	6 months	1845	unknown
Forcier	daughter of	2	1848	French Canadian/métis
Forcier	Catherine (Chinook)	?	1848	Native American (Chinook)
Fraley	Margaret	2 days	1860	unknown
Franconi	Marie Blanche	6	1859	unknown
Gagnon	Romain	1 month	1843	French Canadian/métis
Gagnon	Jacques	5	1844	French Canadian/métis
Galloway	Charles	86	1884	American
Garant	Paul	12 days	1846	French Canadian/métis
Garant	Zoe	6 weeks	1850	French Canadian/métis
Gardipe	Luce	2	1856	American/métis
Gardipe	Caroline	2	1857	American/métis
Gardipe	Hilaire	1	1861	French Canadian/métis
Gauthier	Pierre	58	1867	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Marguerite (Clatsop)	28	1840	Native American (Clatsop)
Gervais	Adelaide	3	1841	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Adelaide	3	1841	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Francois	10	1842	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Julie	?	1845	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Marie (Flathead)	?	1851	Native American (Flathead)

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Gervais	child of	0 days	1853	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Felicite	16	1854	French Canadian/métis
Gervais	Joseph	84	1861	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Esther	7 months	1845	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Louise (Okenaken)	?	1845	Native American (Okanogan)
Gingras	Marguerite	2	1846	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Jean	2 months	1852	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Jean	?	1856	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Charles	18 months	1858	French Canadian/métis
Gingras	Julie	23	1868	French Canadian/métis
Gladman	William, house of Longtain	24	1856	unknown
Godin	Susanne	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Guilbeau	Catherine (Cayuse)	?	1847	Native American
Guilbeau	Hilaire	?	1849	French Canadian/métis
Guilbeau	Marie	9	1850	French Canadian/métis
Guilbeau	Francois	4	1851	French Canadian/métis
Herbert †	Thomas	?	1874	unknown
Hirsch	son of	3	1868	unknown
Horan	Catherine (Cason Long)	58	1868	unknown
Horan	Mary Ellen	?	1870	Irish/Irish American
Hord [Howard]	Charles	15 months	1844	Irish/métis
Horigan	Patrick	?	1847	Irish/Irish American
Howard	Catherine (Longtain)	30	1858	French Canadian/métis
Howard	Mary	12	1863	Irish/métis
Humphreville	Josette	10	1847	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Ignace	unnamed, at the house of Labonte	25	1841	Native American (Iroquois)
Ignace	Helene	?	1844	Native American
Ignace	Josephine	4 months	1844	Native American (Iroquois/Chinook)
Ignace	Marie	8 months	1851	Iroquois/métis
Indian	Marie, slave at the house of Joseph Delard	20	1839	Native American
Indian	Andree	3	1842	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1842	Native American
Indian	Catherine	7	1842	Native American
Indian	Jacob	?	1842	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1842	Native American
Indian	Marie	30	1842	Native American
Indian	Ignace, house of J.B. Aubichon	?	1843	Native American (Iroquois)
Indian	Amable	3 months	1843	Native American
Indian	Frederic, house of Perrault	60	1843	Native American
Indian	Marie, house of Despard	18	1843	Native American
Indian	Marie	20	1843	Native American
Indian	Alexis, house of Lucier	18	1843	Native American
Indian	Agathe, house of Plante	10	1843	Native American
Indian	Alexis	?	1843	Native American
Indian	unnamed child	3	1844	Native American
Indian	Emelie	?	1844	Native American
Indian	Marguerite (Smith)	?	1844	Native American
Indian	unnamed boy	?	1844	Native American
Indian	Michel	10	1844	Native American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Indian	child	3 months	1844	Native American
Indian	Joseph	5	1844	Native American
Indian	Benjamin, house of Despard	12	1844	Native American
Indian	Michel	?	1844	Native American
Indian	Louise	9	1844	Native American
Indian	unnamed boy	?	1844	Native American
Indian	Janotte	4	1844	Native American
Indian	Emelie	?	1845	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1845	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1845	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1845	Native American
Indian	Cecile	17 months	1846	Native American
Indian	Joseph	20	1846	Native American
Indian	Thomas	30	1847	Native American
Indian	Marie, house of Aubichon	12	1847	Native American
Indian	Jean, house of Bellique	30	1848	Native American
Indian	Marie, house of Plante	?	1848	Native American
Indian	woman	?	1848	Native American
Indian	Marie, house of Arcouet	?	1848	Native American
Indian	girl, house of Arcouet	?	1848	Native American
Indian	Marguerite, house of Larcourse	?	1848	Native American
Indian	boy, house of Thomas	?	1848	Native American
Indian	unknown, house of Aubichon	?	1848	Native American
Indian	boy, house of Plante	?	1848	Native American
Indian	man, house of Forcier	?	1848	Native American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Indian	Marie	?	1848	Native American
Indian	Louis, house of Bernier	?	1848	Native American
Indian	Pierre	2	1849	Native American
Indian	Marie, house of Maxwell	?	1850	Native American
Indian	Rosalie	6	1850	Native American
Indian	Marie	1	1850	Native American
Indian	Marie	?	1850	Native American
Indian	Jean Baptiste	10 days	1851	Native American
Indian	Magdeleine	11	1851	Native American
Indian	Marie	79	1852	Native American
Indian	Jean	15	1853	Native American
Indian	Charles	35	1853	Native American
Indian	Lisette, house of Laferte	60	1855	Native American
Indian	John, house of Lacourse	23	1855	Native American
Indian	Francois	4	1856	Native American
Indian	Lucy, house of Wagner	15	1858	Native American
Iroquois	Laurent	?	1851	Native American (Iroquois)
Isom	Clarissa	33	1855	American
Jackson	Joseph Jerome	4 days	1860	Irish/Irish American
Jackson	child of Jerome	0 days	1880	Irish/Irish American
Jacques	Joseph	26	1851	French Canadian/métis
Jacques	Joseph	2	1854	French Canadian/métis
Jeaudoin	Celeste	2 months	1848	French Canadian/métis
Jeaudoin	Charles	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Jeaudoin	Christine	3	1850	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Jeaudoin	Celeste	6 months	1850	French Canadian/métis
Jeaudoin	Euphreme	4 months	1855	French Canadian/métis
Jeaudoin	Elizabeth	?	1856	French Canadian/métis
Jette	Matilde	8	1863	French Canadian/métis
Jette	Julie	25	1865	Native American
Jobin	Marie	3 days	1846	French Canadian/métis
Kalapoya	Catherine	9	1839	Native American (Kalapuya)
Kalapoya	Paul dit Captain	20	1840	Native American (Kalapuya)
Kalapoya	unknown	?	1846	Native American (Kalapuya)
Kalapoya	Marie	?	1846	Native American
Kalapoya	Isabelle	3	1847	Native American
Kalapoya	Marguerite	2	1854	Native American (Kalapuya)
Kalispel	Rosalie	?	1849	Native American (Kalispel)
Kennedy	unknown	?	1858	unknown
Kerr	Margaret	?	1870	American
Kirk †	Margaret	6	1871	Irish/Irish American
Kirk †	Margaret (Lyons)	42	1873	Irish/Irish American
Kitson	Euphrosene	8	1870	French Canadian/métis
Kitson	Archange	10	1877	French Canadian/métis
Kitson	Edouard	5 weeks	1877	French Canadian/métis
Kitson	Rose Junstine	4	1877	French Canadian/métis
Kitson	Catherine	6	1877	French Canadian/métis
Kitson	Charles	13	1883	French Canadian/métis
Koose	Amable	20	1843	Native American
Kopper	boy	?	1848	unknown

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Labonte	Francois	0 days	1847	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Sara	2 months	1848	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Caroline	26	1851	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Louis	80	1860	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Margaret (Coboway)	80	1873	Native American (Clatsop)
Labonte	Josette	40	1879	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Francis	3	1882	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Jean Baptiste	20	1883	French Canadian/métis
Labonte	Anthony	17	1884	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Alexis	12	1847	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Archange	50	1854	Native American (Chinook)
Lacourse	Louis	1	1854	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Cuthbert	16	1854	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Sarah	6 months	1855	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Agnes	3	1860	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Louis	14	1860	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Pierre	33	1861	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Joseph	18	1861	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Pierre	70	1864	French Canadian/métis
Lacourse	Josette (Servant)	76	1873	Native American (Nez Perce)
Laderoute	son of	0 days	1858	French Canadian/métis
Laderoute	Xavier	50	1864	French Canadian/métis
Laderoute	Rosalie (Gervais)	23	1864	French Canadian/métis
Lafantaisie	unknown	7	1845	French Canadian/métis
Laferte	Madeleine	2	1842	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Laferte	Olivier	23	1852	French Canadian/métis
Laferte	Michel	18 months	1855	French Canadian/métis
Laferte	Michael	?	1858	French Canadian/métis
Laferte	Antoine	2	1859	French Canadian/métis
Laferte	Jeanne	5	1864	French Canadian/métis
LaFramboise	Abraham	6 days	1840	French Canadian/métis
Laframboise	Joseph	3	1850	French Canadian/métis
Laframboise	Joseph	13	1855	French Canadian/métis
Laframboise	Michel	75	1861	French Canadian/métis
Lajoie	Marie (Descbaudiere)	24	1844	French Canadian/métis
Lajoie	Jean Baptiste	46	1846	French Canadian/métis
Lambert	Adelaide	10	1869	French Canadian/métis
Lambert	Adelaide	6	1874	French Canadian/métis
Langlois	Henry Joseph	?	1874	French Canadian/métis
Laprade	Jean	7 months	1847	French Canadian/métis
Laroque	Pierre	9	1844	French Canadian/métis
Laroque	unknown	?	1847	Native American
Laroque	Helene	6	1862	French Canadian/métis
Laurent	Catherine	8	1851	French Canadian/métis
Lavigueur	Hyacinthe	?	1846	French Canadian/métis
Lavigueur	Jean Baptiste	15	1847	French Canadian/métis
Lavigueur	Noel	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Lavigueur	Marguerite (Colville)	?	1848	Native American (Colville)
Lavigueur	Francis Xavier	?	1850	French Canadian/métis
Lavigueur	Esther	21	1860	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Lavigueur	Frances Rose	3 months	1875	French Canadian/métis
LeBrun	Flavie	3 months	1851	French Canadian/métis
Lebrun	Philomene	10	1858	French Canadian/métis
Lebrun	Esther	2	1858	French Canadian/métis
Lebrun	Virginia	9 months	1858	French Canadian/métis
Lecuyer	Joseph	6 days	1851	French Canadian/métis
Lefebre	Esther	?	1846	unknown
Liard	Xavier	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Liard	boy of	1 day	1848	French Canadian/métis
Liard	Marie Ann (Nez Perce)	?	1848	Native American (Nez Perce)
Liard	Xavier	2 days	1849	French Canadian/métis
Liard	Stanislaus	35	1852	French Canadian/métis
Lilouais	Joseph	9	1846	Native American
Longtain	Joseph	21	1859	French Canadian/métis
Longtain	Angelique	3 months	1869	French Canadian/métis
Longtain <sup>†</sup>	Joseph	2	1862	French Canadian/métis
Lucier	Josephite (Nouette)	40	1840	Native American (Nouite)
Lucier	Celestine	20	1852	French Canadian/métis
Lucier	Etienne	60	1853	French Canadian/métis
Lucier	Alfred	7 weeks	1874	French Canadian/métis
Manson	Felicite (Lucier)	53	1867	French Canadian/métis
Manson	Adolphe	?	1867	unknown
Martineau	Barthelimi	12	1843	French Canadian/métis
Matthieu	Henri Clovis	15 months	1862	French Canadian/métis
Matthieu	Priscilla	20	1874	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
McCarty	Charlotte (Chehalis)	34	1842	Native American (Chehalis)
McGinnis	Mary (Smith)	27	1847	American
McKarty	Joseph	14	1839	unknown
McKay	Elizabeth	14	1848	unknown
McKay	James	2	1862	Irish/Irish American
McKay <sup>†</sup>	Cecelia	50	1870	Irish/Irish American
McLaughlin	Thomas Alex	4 months	1875	Irish/Irish American
McLoughlin	Joseph	28	1848	Scottish/métis
McPhael	Catherine	13	1849	Scottish/métis
Menard	Josette (Youte)	50	1851	Native American (Ute)
Menard	Xavier	4	1852	French Canadian/métis
Menard	Joseph	15	1852	French Canadian/métis
Menard	Marie (Blackfoot)	30	1857	Native American (Blackfoot)
Molelis	Indian	?	1845	Native American
Molelis	Toussaint	?	1845	Native American
Molelis	Susanne	?	1845	Native American (Molala)
Mongo	Elizabeth	2	1848	unknown
Mongrain	Catherine (Lafantaisie)	40	1865	French Canadian/métis
Monique	Catherine	9	1851	unknown
Montour	Maria	12	1841	French Canadian/métis
Montour	Maria	12	1841	French Canadian/métis
Montour	Nicolas	9 days	1845	French Canadian/métis
Montour	Susanne (Humphreville)	55	1846	French Canadian/métis
Montour	Clarisse	1	1856	French Canadian/métis
Murphy <sup>†</sup>	Catherine	50	1864	Irish/Irish American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Murphy †	Daniel	66	1866	Irish/Irish American
Neibler	John	1	1870	German/German American
Neibler	F.X.	5 months	1871	German/German American
Neibler	Margaret	81	1871	German/German American
Nez Perce	Louise	23	1847	Native American
Nipissing	Joseph	7	1850	French Canadian/métis
Niqissing	Louis	18 months	1847	Native American
Norress	son of	9 days	1869	unknown
Norwest	Antoine	7	1851	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Eusebe	6	1852	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Henriette	38	1852	Native American (Pend d'Oreille)
Norwest	Baptiste	60	1855	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Anders	3	1855	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Pierre Baptiste	2	1856	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Charles	?	1858	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	child of	4 days	1860	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Anne	5 weeks	1865	Iroquois/métis
Norwest	Charles	2 months	1867	Iroquois/métis
of Nashke	unknown	?	1846	Native American
Okanogan	Madeleine (Joseph)	?	1842	Native American (Okanogan)
Okanogan	Nicolas	?	1847	Native American
Okanogan	Marie	4	1856	Native American (Okanogan)
Osborn	Nettie Alice	10 days	1863	American/métis
Pariseau	Marguerite	?	1859	French Canadian/métis
Pariseau	Pascal	8	1875	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Pascal Biscornet	Francois	63	1854	French Canadian/métis
Patetis	Gregoire	15 days	1842	Native American
Payet	Anglelique	17	1847	French Canadian/métis
Peletier	unknown	?	1847	French Canadian/métis
Peletier	wife of Solomon	?	1847	French Canadian/métis
Pellan	Elizabeth (Wagner)	23	1863	French Canadian/métis
Pelletier	Isabelle	?	1851	unknown
Pend d'Oreille	Maxime	4	1856	Native American (Pend d'Oreille)
Pend d'Oreille	Madelienne	2	1856	Native American (Pend d'Oreille)
Pend d'Oriele	Joseph	1	1851	Native American (Pend d'Oriele)
Pepin	Eleanor	?	1870	French Canadian/métis
Pepin	Marcelline	4 months	1872	French Canadian/métis
Perrault	Rosalie	16	1853	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Amable	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Louise	1	1854	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Celeste	14	1858	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Catherine	11	1859	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Amable	70	1867	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Charles	39	1873	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Flavie	25	1878	French Canadian/métis
Petit	Susanne	?	1878	French Canadian/métis
Picard	Basile	11	1843	French Canadian/métis
Picard	Andre	65	1846	French Canadian/métis
Picard	Mary (Petit)	35	1873	French Canadian/métis
Picard	James	4 months	1874	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Pichet	Marie	?	1850	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	boy of	0 days	1854	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	Narcisse	3	1863	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	Mary Jane	9	1871	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	Charles Roch	1 month	1872	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	Mary Jane	2 months	1873	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	Joseph	?	1876	French Canadian/métis
Pichet	son of Roch	8 days	1877	French Canadian/métis
Pieriche	Susanne	1	1851	Native American (Kalapuya)
Pin	Marguerite (Shuswap)	48	1851	Native American
Plante	Agathe	22	1842	French Canadian/métis
Plante	Elizabeth	14	1843	French Canadian/métis
Plante	Susanne	20	1843	French Canadian/métis
Plante	Baptiste	16	1843	French Canadian/métis
Plante	Pelagie	60	1851	Native American (Chinook)
Plouff	Henriette	6	1847	French Canadian/métis
Plouff	Archange	8	1851	French Canadian/métis
Poirier	Jacques	2	1855	French Canadian/métis
Prevost	Marie Florence (Pelletier)	43	1852	French Canadian/métis
Prevost	Charles	?	1854	French Canadian/métis
Prevost	Julien C	1 day	1891	French Canadian/métis
Quesnel	Francois	65	1844	French Canadian/métis
Quesnel	Emelie	12	1850	French Canadian/métis
Quintal	Laurent	10 days	1842	French Canadian/métis
Racine	Toussaint	8	1844	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Raymond	Theodore	2	1868	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Philomene	1 month	1871	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Augustine	?	1873	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Louis Clement	7 months	1874	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Sara Magdelen	10 days	1881	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Alexandre Louis	1 month	1882	French Canadian/métis
Raymond	Nathan August	6 months	1883	French Canadian/métis
Richter	Cyrille	3 weeks	1862	French Canadian/métis
Richter	Veronica	?	1871	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Adele	2 months	1844	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Rose (Lacourse)	25	1845	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	unknown	?	1846	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Joseph	40	1852	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Francois	95	1852	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Therese	97	1852	Native American (Flathead)
Rivet	Antoine	5	1853	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Jerome	10 months	1853	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Edouard	2	1854	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Moise	4 months	1855	French Canadian/métis
Rivet	Francois	17	1856	French Canadian/métis
Robinson	James	41	1855	unknown
Rochbrune	Olivier	6	1849	French Canadian/métis
Rochbrune	Victoire (Charlebois)	30	1874	French Canadian/métis
Rossi	boy of	?	1848	unknown
Rowland	Adele	10	1860	Irish/Irish American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Rowling	Patrick	?	1848	unknown
Roy	unnamed, son of Roy	days	1840	French Canadian/métis
Russi	Marie	8 months	1852	French Canadian/métis
Russie	Augustin	30	1855	French Canadian/métis
Sanders	Susanne	21	1842	unknown
Saste	Michel	12 days	1847	French Canadian/métis
Saste	child of	9	1848	French Canadian/métis
Saste	Jean Baptiste	15	1850	Native American (Shasta)
Saste	Jean Baptiste	3	1850	Native American (Shasta)
Saste	Charles	2	1851	Native American (Shasta)
Saste	Rose	33	1851	Native American (Shasta)
Sauve	Josephite (Tsik)	?	1848	Native American
Sauve	John	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Sauve	Laurent	?	1858	French Canadian/métis
Schultheis	Theresia	8 months	1869	German/German American
Sede	Laurent	4	1851	unknown
Senecal	Marie	?	1845	French Canadian/métis
Senecal	son of Gedeon	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Sephio	Augustin	1 month	1850	Native American
Servant	Elizabeth	2	1845	French Canadian/métis
Servant	Margueriete	?	1848	French Canadian/métis
Servant	Angelique	11	1849	French Canadian/métis
Servant	Jacques	?	1854	French Canadian/métis
Servant	Josette	12	1857	French Canadian/métis
Servant	Moses	29	1879	French Canadian/métis

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Sheil †	James	35	1853	Irish/Irish American
Smith	Marie	?	1845	unknown
Smith	Thomas	?	1861	unknown
son of Felix	unknown	1	1846	French Canadian/métis
Sotshohoanni	Joseph	?	1850	unknown
Souchouabe	Lisette	36	1841	Native American (Okanogan)
Souchouabe	Lisette	36	1841	Native American (Okanogan)
Spokane	daughter of Joseph	?	1847	Native American
Spokane	Thomas, house of Laframboise	20	1849	Native American (Spokane)
St. Martin	Francois	1	1870	French Canadian/métis
Sylvestre	Jean Baptiste	40	1851	French Canadian/métis
Sylvestre	Genevieve	1 month	1851	French Canadian/métis
Tchailis	Marie	30	1841	Native American (Chehalis)
Tchailis	Marie	30	1841	Native American (Chehalis)
Tchinouk	Pierre	50	1840	Native American (Chinook)
Tchinouk	Marie	?	1845	Native American (Chinook)
Tchinouk	unknown, house of Despard	?	1845	Native American (Chinook)
Tchinouk	Therese	8	1849	Native American (Chinook)
Tetreau	Philomene	5	1845	unknown
Thomas	child of	28	1848	unknown
Tlakes	Francois	15 days	1843	Native American
unknown	unknown	?	1839	unknown
unknown	unknown	?	1839	unknown
unknown	Jacot	?	1839	unknown
unknown	Jacques, at house of Gervais	33	1840	Native American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
unknown	unnamed Tchinouk man	50	1841	Native American (Chinook)
unknown	unnamed Tchinouk man	50	1841	Native American (Chinook)
unknown	unknown	?	1843	unknown
unknown	James	2	1843	unknown
unknown	Spanish	?	1844	Spanish
unknown	unnamed woman	?	1845	unknown
unknown	Charlotte, house of J. McLoughlin	18	1845	Native American
unknown	Marie	2 days	1845	unknown
unknown	Jeanne, house of J.B. Aubichon	12	1845	unknown
unknown	child	?	1845	unknown
unknown	unknown little girl	?	1846	unknown
unknown	Joseph	8	1846	unknown
unknown	Indian, house of Plante	?	1847	Native American
unknown	Gai-hord	?	1848	unknown
unknown	Thomas	28	1848	unknown
unknown	Susanne	4	1851	unknown
unknown	Catherine	32	1852	unknown
Vandale	unknown	?	1847	French Canadian/métis
Vivet	Louis	47	1844	French Canadian/métis
Vivet	Marie	11 months	1860	French Canadian/métis
Vivet	Narcisse	39	1870	French Canadian/métis
Wagner	Marguerite	8	1851	French Canadian/métis
Wagner	Pierre	75	1865	French Canadian/métis
Wagner	Marie	60	1865	Native American
Walla Walla	Charlotte	36	1846	Native American

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity (tribe)
Waticie	Thomas	?	1846	Iroquios/métis
Watiece	unknown, child of Thomas	?	1847	Iroquios/métis
Weston	John	14	1852	American/métis
Weston	Catherine	20 months	1854	American/métis
Yamhile	Alexis	15	1840	Native American (Yamhill)
Yogolta	Henriette	?	1846	Native American
Youte	Louis	?	1844	Native American (Ute)

Appendix C St. Paul's Cemetery Burial List

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Aplin	Wilfred	12	1888	English/métis	10	6	3	25
Aplin	George C	65	1889	English/Anglo-American	10	6	1	25
Aplin	Maria Amanda	10 months	1890	English/métis	10	6	5	unmarked
Aplin	Alphonse Remy	?	1894	English/métis	10	6	2	25
Aplin†	Theodore	1 month	1896	English/métis	10	6	8	unmarked
Bailey	William J	69	1876	English/Anglo American	X2	38	4	2
Bailey	Julia (Nagle Sheil)	?	1880	Irish/Irish American	X2	38	2	2
Barker	Pearl	6	1902	unknown	18	9	1	unmarked
Bellanger	Georgia Laura Anna	5	1889	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Bellanger	Jake	40	1890	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Bellarts	Peter Alexander	4 months	1891	unknown	6	2	5	88
Belleque	Mary	9	1881	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Belleque	Julia	46	1901	French Canadian/métis	12	5	3	7
Bergevin	Louis	64	1876	French Canadian/métis	12	5	4	8
Bergevin	Laura	10 months	1885	French Canadian/métis	12	5	1	unmarked
Bernier	Genevieve	41	1895	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Bougeau	John Baptiste	11 months	1877	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Bourgeau	Mary Louise	5	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	unmarked
Boutin	Zilda	14	1883	French Canadian/métis	18	4	4	83
Boutin	Isaac	83	1901	French Canadian/métis	18	4	3	83
Brentano	infant	days	1898	Dutch/Dutch American	4	10	8	unmarked
Brentano	Alphonse	6	1902	Dutch/Dutch American	4	10	8	unmarked

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Brentano	J.F.J.	82	1902	Dutch/Dutch American	4	10	7	78
Brentano	Elizabeth (Mueller)	87	1905	Dutch/Dutch American	4	10	6	77
Bunning	Antone	3	1905	unknown	X1	9	2	89
Burger	Anna	months	1902	unknown	8	11	7	90
Carling	Mary Louise	79	1903	unknown	20	8	1	86b
Chalifoux	Andre	39	1880	French Canadian/métis	4	2	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Chalifoux	Mary	3	1883	French Canadian/métis	4	2	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Choquette	Marie (Bernier)	47	1892	French Canadian/métis	3	10	1	71
Choquette	Eleanor (Picard)	24	1901	French Canadian/métis	3	3	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Choquette	Pierre F	17	1902	French Canadian/métis	3	10	1	71
Coakley	Thomas	70	1887	Irish/Irish American	4	12	1	80
Coffey	Edward	80	1897	unknown	5	12	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Coffey	John	56	1902	unknown	5	12	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Coleman	Frances	72	1896	Irish/Irish American	9	7	3	27
Coleman	John	57	1905	Irish/Irish American	9	7	4	26
Combest	Thomas R	52	1897	American	3	12	3	81
Combest	Grace Amy	11	1900	American	3	10	4	81
Connor	Matthew	52	1875	Irish/Irish American	4	6	2	60
Connor	Patrick	69	1875	Irish/Irish American	4	7	1	<i>unmarked</i>
Connor	Martha	20	1885	Irish/Irish American	4	6	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Connor	Catherine	45	1904	Irish/Irish American	4	6	5	96
Connor	Simon J	9	1905	Irish/Irish American	X1	10	4	91
Connor	Mary (Lynch)	80	1905	Irish/Irish American	4	6	1	<i>unmarked</i>
Cooke	JJ	53	1882	Irish/Irish American	10	4	5	38
Cosgrove	Hugh	99	1901	Irish/Irish American	X2	36	4	3

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Cosgrove <sup>†</sup>	James	23	1863	Irish/Irish American	X2	36	2	5
Cosgrove <sup>†</sup>	Mary Rositor	62	1873	Irish/Irish American	X2	36	3	4
Costello <sup>†</sup>	Mary	10	1852	Irish/Irish American	X2	33	1	19
Costello <sup>†</sup>	Michael	23	1866	Irish/Irish American	X2	34	1	18
Coyle	Elizabeth (Leonard)	62	1894	English/métis	X2	32	4	20
Coyle	James	80	1897	English/Anglo American	7	2	2	12
Crosby	infant	days	1890	French Canadian/métis	4	5	7	<i>unmarked</i>
Cunningham	John	?	1879	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
David	Daniel	19	1888	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Davidson	Edna A	12	1891	Irish/Irish American	7	12	4	45
Delisle	infant	1 day	1877	French Canadian/métis	4	3	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Delisle	Mary (Pichette)	25	1879	French Canadian/métis	4	3	5	75
Delisle	Felix Xavier	3 months	1896	French Canadian/métis	4	3	7	76
Delouey	Leon Achille	50	1879	French/French American	5	6	2	55
Dubreuil	Magdalen (Bourgeau)	30	1876	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dubreuil	Cecile	3	1877	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Duke	Mary	14	1881	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dupre	Charles	2	1877	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dupre	Nazaire	6 months	1882	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dupre	Archange	17	1882	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dupre	Mary	12	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Dupre	Catherine	10	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Eberhard	Stella	8 months	1881	unknown	9	1	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Ernst	Paul	9	1883	French/French American	5	1	3	50
Ernst	Alphonse	4	1883	French/French American	5	1	4	50

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Faber	Loretta	6	1905	German/German American	X1	11	8	66
Field	Esther	55	1884	unknown	4	12	8	79
Flynn	Bernard	84	1904	Irish/Irish American	X1	12	7	64
Fortain	Frederic	55	1896	French Canadian/métis	3	9	1	<i>unmarked</i>
Fortain	Marie (Servant Raymond)	74	1900	French Canadian/métis	3	9	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Fortier	Nona V	8 months	1894	French Canadian/métis	3	9	7	72
Fortier	Mabel Mathilda Rose	17	1901	French Canadian/métis	3	9	8	72
Galloway	Charles	85	1884	American	11	6	7	23
Galloway	Mary (Heeny)	70	1884	American	11	6	8	23
Galloway	Francis	46	1886	American	11	6	6	23
Galloway <sup>†</sup>	Verginia	2	1861	American	11	6	?	22
Garthier	Alexander	72	1897	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Gearin	Ellen	72	1879	Irish/Irish American	X2	34	3	6
Gearin	John	84	1893	Irish/Irish American	X2	34	2	6
Geelan	infant daughter	hours	1876	American	3	7	2	<i>unmarked</i>
Geelan	Marguertie	8	1900	American	3	6	2	67
Goeldl	Christina	?	1900	unknown	5	2	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Goule	Lucy (Perrault)	35	1875	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Gratton	infant	days	1884	French Canadian/métis	6	1	6	<i>unmarked</i>
Gratton	Margaret 'Maggie'	5	1887	Irish/Irish American	6	1	5	49
Gratton	Felix	50	1889	Irish/Irish American	6	1	7	48
Gratton	Sophie (Ouimette)	50	1894	French/French American	6	1	8	48
Hartman	Peter	54	1899	unknown	23	7	2	92
Herbert	Thomas	42	1874	unknown	X2	39	5	9
Hirsch	Marie (Kirby)	34	1891	Irish/Irish American	4	8	4	56

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Hughes	Mathew	3 months	1888	Irish/Irish American	3	8	1	69
Hughes	Joseph	1 day	1890	Irish/Irish American	3	8	1	69
Hughes	infant	1 day	1890	Irish/Irish American	3	8	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Hughes	Cecil V	6 months	1892	Irish/Irish American	3	8	2	69
Hughes	Elaine J	4 months	1893	Irish/Irish American	3	8	1	69
Hughes	Bertha M	17	1900	Irish/Irish American	3	8	2	69
Humpherville	Louis	40	1875	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Iroquois	Michael	70	1890	Native American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Jackson	Jerome B	?	1885	American	18	7	2	46
Jackson	Mary Ellen (Cosgrove)	65	1899	Irish/Irish American	18	7	3	46b
Jackson	Joseph A	?	1901	American	18	7	4	46c
Jette	Mary Clothida	20	1879	French Canadian/métis	12	4	1	10
Jette	Joseph A	0	1879	French Canadian/métis	12	4	5	12
Jette	Agnes Armine	18	1880	French Canadian/métis	12	4	2	11
Kennedy	John	64	1884	Irish/Irish American	23	6	3	87
Kerr	Mary Jane	1 month	1879	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Kerr	Joseph	1 month	1879	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Kerr	Samuel J	74	1905	unknown	7	6	6	41
Kerrigan	Patrick	36	1879	Irish/Irish American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Kirby	Jane	26	1880	Irish/Irish American	4	8	2	57
Kirby	W H	28	1887	Irish/Irish American	4	8	3	56
Kirk	Thomas	85	1879	Irish/Irish American	X1	15	4	61d
Kirk	James S	19	1891	Irish/Irish American	X1	16	1	63
Kirk	Margaret G	50	1893	Irish/Irish American	X1	16	2	63
Kirk	Lauretta	3	1894	Irish/Irish American	X1	15	5	61h

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Kirk	Mary	61	1896	Irish/Irish American	X1	16	3	61b
Kirk	Peter	67	1897	Irish/Irish American	X1	16	4	61a
Kirk	Agatha (McDonald)	43	1904	Irish/Irish American	X1	14	8	62
Kirk	Peter P	34	1904	Irish/Irish American	X1	13	3	61
Kirk <sup>†</sup>	Margaret	6	1871	Irish/Irish American	X1	15	3	61e
Kirk <sup>†</sup>	Margaret Lyons	41	1873	Irish/Irish American	X1	15	3	61f
Krechter	Cecelia	1	1890	German/German American	6	2	?	
Krechter	John August P	63	1896	German/German American	6	2	7	
Labonte	John Baptiste	20	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Labonte	Antony	17	1884	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Labonte	Andre	37	1897	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lacourse	Moses	20	1878	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lafontaine	Francis H	1 month	1890	French Canadian/métis	4	4	2	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Augustin II	39	1880	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Cuthbert	25	1880	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Augustin	70	1881	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Antoine	25	1882	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Francis	16	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Charles David	4	1894	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lambert	Fred A	1	1898	French Canadian/métis	3	4	1	70
Lambert	William A	1	1900	French Canadian/métis	3	4	2	70
Lambert	Dell A	3 months	1901	French Canadian/métis	3	4	3	70
Lambert	Tilda	29	1902	French Canadian/métis	3	4	8(4?)	70
Langtry	Agnes Martha	4	1892	unknown	5	11	8	<i>unmarked</i>
Larison	Ellen Reine (Perrault)	80	1888	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Lebeau	Helen	2	1894	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lefebvre	Francis	65	1876	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Nancy (Okanogan)	80	1876	Native American	X2	40	2	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Andre	97	1879	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	1	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Andre	97	1879	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Alice	13	1880	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	5	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Mary E	12	1880	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	7	17
Longtain	Thomas	36	1881	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	6	17
Longtain	Mathilda Flora	3 months	1881	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain	Angelique (Toupin)	55	1887	French Canadian/métis	X2	39	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Longtain <sup>†</sup>	Joseph	1	1862	French Canadian/métis	X2	40	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Lucier	Chloris	19 months	1875	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lucier	Felicite	3 months	1876	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Lucier	Marie Louise	11	1878	French Canadian/métis	4	1	2	<i>unmarked</i>
Lyons <sup>‡</sup>	Helen	75	1874	Irish/Irish American	X1	15	1	61g
Manegre	Federic Adam	6 months	1879	French Canadian/métis	4	5	8	59
Manegre	P. Dieudonne	?	1903	French Canadian/métis	4	5	3	58
McCann	Daniel II	9 months	1882	Irish/Irish American	X2	39	8	<i>unmarked</i>
McCollough	Amanda (Hogel)	18	1887	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
McDonald	Miles P	66	1876	Irish/Irish American	11	6	1	21
McDowell	Rose D	24	1905	Irish/Irish American	3	8	4	93
McGrath	Joseph Patrick	33	1897	Irish/Irish American	3	5	4	94
McGrath	John	83	1904	Irish/Irish American	3	5	3	94
McKay	Virginia	10	1888	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
McKay	Josephine	days	1891	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
McKay	James	80	1898	Irish/Irish American	19	8	3	84a
McKay <sup>†</sup>	Cecelia	48	1870	Irish/Irish American	19	8	2	84b
McPaulin	infant	1 day	1882	Irish/Irish American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Mongrain	David	75	1882	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Mullen	Mary	74	1878	Irish/Irish American	X1	17	7	
Mullen	Thomas	6	1891	Irish/Irish American	X1	17	8	
Murphy	Eugene	?	1879	Irish/Irish American	8	7	7	35
Murphy	Gertrude	5 months	1888	Irish/Irish American	8	7	8	36
Murphy	Albert	23	1889	Irish/Irish American	8	7	4	30
Murphy	Andrew	70	1896	Irish/Irish American	19	6	2	85
Murphy	Elizabeth A (Cosgrove)	62	1899	Irish/Irish American	19	6	3	85
Murphy <sup>†</sup>	Catherine (Dillion)	55	1864	Irish/Irish American	8	7	4	33
Murphy <sup>†</sup>	Daniel	66	1866	Irish/Irish American	8	6	8	32
Murphy <sup>†</sup>	Nellie	4	1866	Irish/Irish American	8	7	6	34
Murphy <sup>†</sup>	Agnes	5	1868	Irish/Irish American	8	7	6	34
Murray	Patrick	62	1883	Irish/Irish American	9	7	8	37
Murray	Cornelius	78	1892	Irish/Irish American	9	7	6	28
O'Loughlin	infant daughter	22 days	1876	Irish/Irish American	10	7	?	<i>unmarked</i>
O'Loughlin	John	21	1896	Irish/Irish American	10	7	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Ogle	Lily Mary	21	1888	unknown	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
O'Loughlin	Michael	54	1877	Irish/Irish American	10	7	4	24
Osborn	James Albert	9 months	1879	American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Osborn	Mary	7	1883	American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Patterson	Helen	20	1879	Irish/Irish American	7	5	3	<i>unmarked</i>
Patterson	Emma	26	1881	Irish/Irish American	7	5	2	<i>unmarked</i>

Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Pelland	infant	days	1879	French Canadian/métis	9	6	5	<i>unmarked</i>
Pelland	Charles O	63	1904	French Canadian/métis	9	6	3	29
Pelletier	Etienne	65	1891	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Picard	Celeste	65	1876	French Canadian/métis	12	9	3	15
Picard	Mary	4 months	1884	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Picard	Mary Elsie	6 months	1891	French Canadian/métis	12	9	5	14
Picard	Henri	65	1892	French Canadian/métis	12	9	4	16
Pichette	Louis	79	1876	French Canadian/métis	4	3	1	73
Pichette	Ester	17	1877	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Pichette	infant son	8 days	1877	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Pichette	Frederic Louis	2 months	1879	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Pichette	Marguerite (Bercier)	76	1890	French Canadian/métis	4	3	2	74
Piette	Frances	48	1881	French Canadian/métis	12	8	2	8
Pillett(e)	Antoinette B	29	1897	French Canadian/métis	20	8	2	86a
Pillette	Rachel	18 months	1894	French Canadian/métis	6	2	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Prevost	Louis Joseph	18	1881	French Canadian/métis	5	5	2	53
Prevost	Mary Louisa	11	1881	French Canadian/métis	5	5	1	54
Prevost	Charles	84	1895	French Canadian/métis	5	5	4	52
Raymond	Mary Agnes	13	1883	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Raymond	William	9 months	1902	French Canadian/métis	3	2	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Rochbrune	Rose	17 months	1874	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Rochbrune	John	22	1881	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Servant	Pierre	46	1887	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Sheil†	James	35	1853	Irish/Irish American	X2	38	3	2
Simon	Louis H	77	1904	French/French American	19	5	3	95

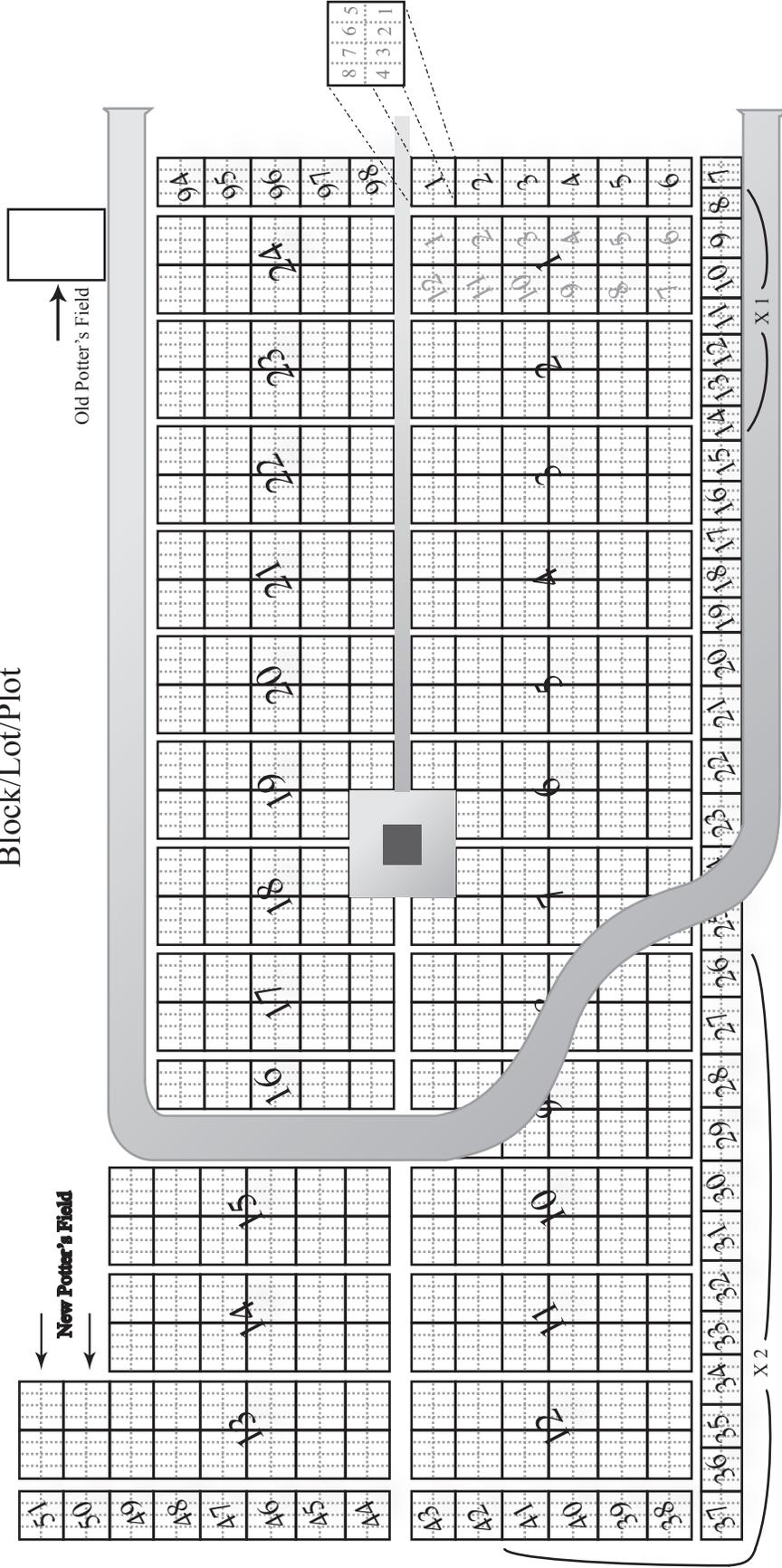
Last name	First name (maiden name)	Age	Death	Ethnicity	Block	Lot	Plot	Marker #
Smith	Charles	6 months	1880	Irish/Irish American	7	5	4	<i>unmarked</i>
Smith	John William	?	1898	Irish/Irish American	5	7	2	<i>unmarked</i>
Smith	Francis Simon	73	1899	Irish/Irish American	18	5	2	82
Van Wassenhoe	Mary E (Coyle)	52	1898	English/métis	7	2	3	43
Wallace	Grace Winnie	14 days	1898	American	4	5	6	<i>unmarked</i>
Wilson	Isaac	days	1878	English/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Wilson	Charles Ferdinand	9 months	1879	English/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Wilson	James Amior	14 months	1884	English/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Wittman	Magdelen (Cossman)	109	1876	unknown	4	9	1	<i>unmarked</i>
Wohlfart	George	73	1905	German/German American	17	6	5	47
Wolf	Agnes	2 days	1892	unknown	6	3	3	51c
Wolf	Lucy	?	1894	unknown	6	3	1	51a
Wolf	Tresa	1	1896	unknown	6	3	2	51b
Wood	William	5 months	1881	French Canadian/métis	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>
Youlgolta	Marguerite (Chinook Dubreuil)	90	1893	Native American	?	?	?	<i>unmarked</i>

### Nun's Corner Burials

Name	Year	Name	Year	Name	Year
Sister Mary of Notre Dame	1849	Rev. Father Louis LaJeunesse	1880	Sister Mary Misseracordia	1898
Sister Mary Frances d'Assisi	1870	Rev Sister Mary Columbia	1886	Sister Mary Isidore	1899
Sister Mary Olive	1870	Rev Sister Mary Encratis	1887	Sister Mary Hedwige	1901
Sister Mary Florentine	1871	Rev Sister Mary Hilaria	1888	Sister Anna Marie	1902
Sister Mary Norbert	1871	Rev Sister Mary Cassilda	1889	Sister Mary Mt. Carmel	1903
Sister Simone	1871	Sister Mary Octavia	1891	Sister Agnetta	1903
Sister Mary Praxede	1873	Sister Mary Achille	1891	Sister Mary Benildise	1903
Sister Mary of the Visitation	1873	Sister Mary Rosalind	1892	Sister Mary of the Assumption	1904
Sister Mary Lazere	1875	Sister Mary Juliana nee Rosa	1893	Sister Cyrille	1905
Rev. Sister Mary Emerentienne	1876	Sister Mary Bertilia	1895	Sister Mary Gerard Majellse	1905
Sister Mary Raphael	1877	Sister Mary Sebastian	1896	Sister Mary Joseph	1907
Sister Mary Cecelia	1877	Sister Mary Crescentia	1897	Sister Mary Victor	1910
Sister MarMary Bernadette	1880	Sister Mary Lucretia	1898	Sister Mary Matthew	1911
Rev. Sister Mary Francoise	1880	Sister Mary Genevieve	1898	Sister Mary James	1912

# Appendix D St. Paul's Cemetery Maps

## Block/Lot/Plot



Blocks are 1-24, X 1 & X 2

Each square within a block is a *lot*.

Each lot has 8 *plots*.

# Extant Grave Markers

