THE RURAL CEMETERY MOVEMENT IN HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

by

Kim McGuire

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
Honors in Anthropology,
Saint Mary's University
March 1990

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The support I have received for this thesis has been widespread and consistent. The following acknowledgements reveal the extensive interest in the history of Halifax's cemeteries.

Dr. Stephen Davis acted as my primary advisor and it was through his suggestions that I arrived at such an interesting thesis topic.

Both Professor Susan Walter and Dr. Marty Zelenietz were committee advisors. I thank them both for answering my many questions about writing style and format.

Deborah Trask of the Nova Scotia Museum Complex acted as an outside advisor and was always willing to share her vast resources and knowledge.

The City of Halifax, Engineering and Works Department have very graciously donated their time to explain to me many aspects of the cemeteries I would otherwise not have understood. The Department also provided me with a copy of the Summary of Gravestone Markers.

I would also like to thank The Old Burying Ground Foundation for lending me a copy of the Summary of Gravestone

Markers.

The library staff at the Royal Ontario Museum were extremely helpful and were able to access pertinent information that I otherwise would not have been able to use.

I would like to thank the Atlantic Branch of Xerox Canada Inc. for their generosity in allowing me the use of their office equipment.

My final thanks go to my parents for their continuous support and encouragement. They have helped me record data, assisted with photography, run many errands, typed ..... in general they have been my willing "men Friday"! They have been my own personal calendar, reminding me just how fast the end of March really was approaching.

ABSTRACT

In September, 1989, I began research on Halifax's "rural cemetery". This research was to form the basis of my Honors Thesis which was submitted in April 1990. This research centered in both Camp Hill and St. Paul's Cemeteries and included field recording and related archival research.

The purpose of this thesis was to determine if the rural cemetery movement occurred in Halifax, and if so what conditions influenced its development. Rural cemeteries in Canada have not been well documented and with the exception of Deborah Trask's work on gravestone carvers, Life How Short Eternity How Long, and Daniel Shimabuku's research paper, St. Paul's Cemetery, the cemeteries in Halifax have been virtually ignored.

Because of this lack of Canadian information I have used the American rural cemeteries as a model and based my conclusions on this model.

In Halifax, St. Paul's Cemetery is the prime example of what graveyards were like before the rural cemetery was developed. Overcrowding and multiple burials produced health risks in many areas and although these hazards were recognized, nothing was done to solve the problem until 1831 when Dr. John Bigelow opened Mount Auburn, the first rural cemetery (Trask 1978:36).

These rural cemeteries were located outside the city in areas renown for their intrinsic beauty. They solved all of the problems associated with the older graveyards. They were designed to beautify the environment, and act as an instrument for moral purification (French 1974:70).

What I am interested in is whether or not the cemeteries in Halifax changed in the same manner as those in the United States. Were these developments influenced by the same cultural values and did they reflect the same changes? In order to answer these questions comparisons must be made between the old graveyard, St. Paul's, and the more recent cemetery, Camp Hill. When the differences in motif and epitaph styles have been established, then they must be compared to what we know of the developments in the United States.

Because of the limited time frame I was forced to study only portions of both cemeteries. In each cemetery a ten year period of study was established, 1770 - 1780 in St. Paul's and 1860 - 1870 in Camp Hill. All of the stones in this time frame were recorded and analyzed and conclusions were then drawn as to the nature of Halifax's rural cemetery movement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE RURAL CEMETERY MOVEMENT, ST. PAUL'S AND CAMP HILL CEMETERIES

In this thesis I examine both Saint Paul's and Camp Hill Cemeteries to determine if we can find evidence of the American Rural Cemetery Movement in Halifax.

The Victorian era in the United States produced significant changes in the nature of cemeteries and their associated artwork. The new cemeteries were designed to be scenic with elaborate, ornate monuments, places of reflection and solitude (American Life Foundation 1970:106). These changes, known as the rural cemetery movement, gave the cemetery a purpose other than a place of interment.

> The combination of nature and art in the rural cemetery and the acquisitions of time would create legacies of imperishable moral wealth which would provide a strong improving influence on all members of society. The thoughts automatically inculcated by the decent cemetery would assuage the suffering of the mourner; it would make the young and careless pensive, the wise wiser; the vain would become aware of and correct their vanities, the avaricious would be rendered less grasping, ambition would

> be purified, the lessons of history would be remembered and patriotism enhanced, theological truths would be more easily perceived and morality would be strengthened (French 1974:84).

The Victorians tended to be very proud of their rural cemeteries. "They were a popular place to congregate, perambulate and even picnic" (American Life Foundation 1970:106).

The rural cemetery served as a community showplace and was designed as an area for moral learning,

> What better opportunity for moral learning than the contemplation of the dead, not in horror, but in a natural situation where the beauties of nature combined with art (Trask 1978:36).

This shift in the cemetery's social function was influenced by the condition of the old graveyards. By the early 1800's people had realized that the spread of communicable diseases could be linked to unsanitary living conditions. The graveyard was one of the most unsanitary aspects of Victorian life. Traditional British and North American graveyards were small and closely associated with the church. They were found in the middle of towns, associated with churches or simply located in a vacant lot. Regardless of where they were, these cemeteries were poorly

tended.

> By the beginning of the 19th century there were pressing social reasons for changes in burial customs. Because of the rapidly increasing population the old graveyards became so crowded that they were frequently little more than stinking quagmires - chronically offensive and occasionally serious public health hazards (French 1974:74).

Harold Mytum, in the October 1989 issue of World Archaeology, provides perhaps the best description of the Church graveyard:

> Burial grounds were used and reused, burials cutting through others in various stages of decomposition. In earlier periods the size of the cemetery was sufficient to allow a pattern of rotation which ensured full decay of at least all but the bones before any subsequent burial. But with the rapidly increasing rate of deposition, the need for overburial came round too quickly for this. Bodies had to be interred over others, and in some graveyards this led to burial ever nearer the surface with consequent health risks ... Indeed, once the density of bodies within the graveyard soil reached a certain point, further decomposition was impossible because the bacteria necessary for this process could

> not survive. The graveyard then became an embalming matrix, a foul smelling, slimy mass of putrefaction; the burial ground was itself dead (1989:286).

One can imagine that the unpleasant nature of these graveyards was one of the major contributing factors in the move toward rural cemeteries.

A combination of medical factors and the unpleasant nature of these graveyards led Dr. John Bigelow to begin Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831. With the opening of Mount Auburn in Boston the rural cemetery movement blossomed. It was not long before other cities, such as Philadelphia and Brooklyn, had their own rural cemeteries.

The rural cemetery differed greatly from the earlier graveyard. Gone were the unsanitary conditions and unpleasantness. The rural cemetery was designed as a place of reflection and peace, it functioned as much as a tourist attraction as it did a cemetery (French 1974:70). French describes the rural cemetery as, "a new type of burial place designed not only to be a place of interment, but to serve as a cultural institution as well". These cemeteries were located outside of the city in areas renown for their intrinsic beauty. In Mount Auburn, Bigelow combined his desire for a beautiful cemetery with the aims of the Boston Horticultural Society and succeeded in establishing Mount

Auburn as the prototype for all future rural cemeteries (French 1974:70).

The development of rural cemeteries led not only to changes in location of cemeteries: significant changes in sepchural monuments also occurred. The more elaborate tombstones went handin-hand with the desire for the beautification of the cemetery. In many rural cemeteries the only acceptable material for monuments was white stone. This is a low grade form of marble which could be quarried locally. Previously, much darker materials such as sandstone and slate were used. There was a symbolic significance associated with the use of white stone. Whether or not this was consciously recognized by Victorians is unknown. In Revelations 2:17, white stone is mentioned as a form of reward for those who reach heaven,

> He who has an ear, let him hear what the spirit says to the churches. To him who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, with a new name written on the stone which no one knows except him who receives it (Holy Bible, New International Version).

This white stone was given as a reward for faithful service to God and people of the Victorian era could possibly have been anticipating that reward by using white stone to mark their graves.

Not only the material changed; motifs changed as well. In the churchyard cemetery the two most common motif types were the death's heads and the cherubs. Both of these motifs representated human mortality. They did not glorify death, rather they represented its finality (Duval and Rigby 1978:132). In the rural cemetery these motifs are not found. Instead, one often finds huge monuments representing some accomplishment the individual had achieved in their life. There are examples of fireman's helmets, open Bibles for priests and many different secular monuments. This period produced obelisks, large statues and intricately carved memorials. Works of secular art abound, replacing the strong religious connotations of the older gravestones (Gillon 1972:4).

The development of rural cemeteries in the United States has been very well documented. Cemeteries such as Mount Auburn in Boston, Greenwood in Brooklyn and Laurel Hill in Philadelphia symbolize the rural cemetery movement in the United States. Unfortunately, Canadian cemeteries have not been studied as closely. In the Metro region St. Paul's Cemetery, or the Old Burying Ground, is a perfect example of the older style cemetery whereas Camp Hill Cemetery was based on the typical rural cemetery. What I am interested in looking at is the impact of the rural cemetery movement in Halifax. I intend to establish the reasons why it

occurred, the extent to which it occurred and the type of cultural changes that accompanied it. Did monument styles change with the cemetery's change in location and if so what factors influenced these changes? Were Haligonians influenced by the same cultural trends as Americans?

To understand the trends in Halifax it is important to have some idea of the history of each cemetery. St. Paul's Cemetery has had a long and interesting history, being one of the oldest landmarks in the city dating back to the first British settlers. Almost as soon as the first settlers arrived in Halifax they set aside land to be used as a burying ground. Located just outside the cities defenses, this 2.5 acre site was opened in 1749 and used as a common burying ground (Shimabuku 1981:9). In 1793 control of the graveyard passed to St. Paul's Church. At this time only the more influential members of St. Paul's and St. Matthew's Churches were buried here (Ibid).

As the population of Halifax increased, the cemetery's population also grew. As I have already mentioned, this type of cemetery was historically used on a rotational basis. The plots were sold and resold years later so that by the time the second body was to be buried the first had decomposed enough so that only the bones were left (Mytum 1989:286). From references in newspaper articles (e.g. Acadian Recorder 1860:3) I have reason to believe that the same thing happened

in St. Paul's. With the rapidly increasing population and such a small burial ground multiple burials would have been a necessity.

In 1844, when St. Paul's Cemetery closed, the Halifax Evening Press indicated that respectable citizens would cross the street and avert their eyes from the site (1845:2). Nearly twenty years later the cemetery was in the news. On April 14, 1860 the Acadian Recorder reported on a City Council meeting to upgrade the Old Burying Ground. It was proposed that a new wall be built around the cemetery and the interior be maintained. From the reporter's comments it seems that the cemetery had long been neglected,

> ... it will be better to leave the old wall as it is, or merely add another foot to its height, the more effectually to screen the cemetery from view. An old burying ground, every foot of which has been filled, and some portions of it several times, with human bodies, will always be an offensive object.

The common consensus seemed to be that the Old Burying Grounds were a neglected eyesore (Morning Journal 1860:2).

Funds for the proposed restoration project were to be collected from the concerned citizens of Halifax. The following recommendations were made,

> It is contemplated to enclose the east and

> south sides of the burial ground with a stone wall and iron fence at a cost of about nine hundred pounds. The Government House stables, etc., afford ample enclosure on the south side, while a wooden fence on the west requires repairs and painting only to make it look decent. The trees are to be pruned, the grass trimmed, and such trees additional as may be found necessary are to be planted.

The monuments were not to be touched but funds would be provided for anyone interested in restoring them (Morning Journal 1860:2). There are numerous articles referring to these proposed developments, but there is no indication if they were ever carried out.

The next important event in the history of St. Paul's Cemetery is the building of the Welsford - Parker Monument in 1860. This monument serves as a memorial to those who served in the Crimean War (1853 - 1856).

St. Paul's seems to have fallen from the public eye until 1924, when the Vestry of St. Paul's proposed to sell a portion of the cemetery to the Masonic Order for the building of a new temple. This proposal met with strong opposition and the land was never sold (Shimabuku 1981:4).

The widening of Spring Garden Road and Barrington

Street also affected the Old Burying Ground. Because of these renovations the wall surrounding the cemetery had to be rebuilt. The present stone wall and iron fence were built at this time. There are very detailed archival records of the blueprints for the wall and the fence which were built. This new wall was funded by the city and the province. The city donated ten thousand dollars and the province five thousand dollars (Shimabuku 1981:5).

The widening of Spring Garden Road yielded some other very interesting information. The gravestones in the northernmost section of the graveyard were not sunk as securely in the ground as those in other parts of the graveyard. No remains were found when these graves were excavated for relocation. Naturally, there was considerable controversy over what had happened to these graves. The officials of St. Paul's Church indicated that these monuments had been moved from another graveyard formerly on the corner of Spring Garden and Grafton Street. When it closed the gravestones had been moved to St. Paul's Cemetery. This theory is interesting but there are no archival records to indicate that this other cemetery ever existed (Shimabuku 1981:5).

Parking in the downtown core has always been a problem and in 1958 the Downtown Merchants Association proposed a solution - convert St. Paul's Cemetery into a parking lot.

They would of course mark the spot with a suitable monument. As can be well imagined, this proposal met widespread opposition. The morning following the proposal, April 3, the Halifax Mail Star considered an appeal from the Rector of St. Paul's Church front page news. Rev. Hilchey's appeal was accompanied by another from the Chancellor of the Anglican Synod of the Province, Rev. V. Harris. A letter to the Editor on April 8, 1958 sums up the feelings of many citizens toward the Old Burying Grounds,

> Have the Halifax Downtown Merchants reached the limit of despair that they want the sleeping in St. Paul's Church yard to help them get a living? They have the most valuable property in Halifax. Let them get together and work out a usable plan to restore it to its original property.
>
> Leave the sleeping to rest in peace. Make the churchyard a resting place for the living as well as those who sleep there. Provide seats for the public. Cut the grass and with the Public Gardens provide a beauty spot in downtown. As they sit under the shade of the trees, with Soloman remember 'All is Vanity'.

Needless to say, the Merchants Association did not get their parking lot.

Although vandalism and the effects of erosion have taken their toll on the cemetery, St. Paul's has a character all its own. The tilted tombstones and the shaded slopes of St. Paul's provide an interesting diversion from the highrises and concrete sidewalks of Downtown Halifax (Plate: 1). The cemetery attracts not only tourists but also Metro residents seeking a retreat from the bustling, everyday world of business. It is interesting to note that an area that was once considered an eyesore has become a valuable historical landmark one hundred and fifty years later.

Plate: 1

Present day St. Paul's Cemetery

Following the closure of St. Paul's in 1844 came the opening of Camp Hill Cemetery. Although the cemetery was not opened until 1844, the enabling legislation had been passed in 1833. At this time the Government of Nova Scotia set aside a portion of the Public Commons for use as a burying ground (Statutes of Nova Scotia 1833). Originally this plan met with resistance from the military who felt that if the city were attacked the entire Commons would be necessary to properly defend the city. Despite these protests the Legislature set aside this twenty acre site and proceeded to develop it. From the time the legislation was passed until the first burial, the area had to be developed: trees were planted, drains and fences built and a lot of general landscaping was done to improve the area.

A report in the Acadian Recorder dated September 8, 1888 gives a good description of what the cemetery was like before any effort was put into beautifying it,

> ... There was a good deal of objection to the spot when it first opened forty - four years ago. The place was bleak and exposed, very rough and a considerable part of it quite swampy.

A notice of tender published on May 19th, 1835 in the Nova Scotian confirms this. The office of J. & M. Tobin required tenders for the building of a drain from the north to the south end of the cemetery and a second from the east to the

west side, indicating that the cemetery was indeed quite wet.

The 1833 Legislation included a section on the upkeep of the cemetery which included the building of a fence. In 1835 the March 24th issue of the Times indicated that a "substantial picket fence" was to be erected. Currently, I cannot ascertain precisely when they built the wrought iron fence that presently surrounds the cemetery, but the City Cemetery Commissioner feels it was erected sometime in 1937 - 38. In 1845, the Public Gardens fence was to be rebuilt as a picket fence in the same manner as that surrounding Camp Hill (Morning Chronicle 1845:3), indicating at that time they were still using wood.

One interesting aspect of Camp Hill is its internal divisions (See map Appendix 3). Initially the cemetery was divided into separate portions for the use of specific churches or congregations. These portions were to be tended by the cemetery commissioner but if the church or congregation so desired they could be fenced off from the rest of the cemetery. Two other divisions, division one and division two, were used for pauper burials. Within division one was another special section reserved for coloured people (indicated as CS on the Camp Hill Cemetery Plan). Up until at least 1888 they were still being used for these purposes; however they were converted into regular burial plots quite

soon after this (Acadian Recorder 1888:1). The cemetery had to provide burial plots for paupers after 1888, but they were not confined to one area; a pauper would be given any available plot (Personal Communication: City Cemetery Commissioner).

In 1888, 44 years after the cemetery was opened, the Acadian Recorder published an article dealing with the rate at which the cemetery was filling up. There was significant concern that the cemetery would soon suffer the same fate as St. Paul's. The author recommended that the city look for a 40 - 50 acre plot of land that could be used as a cemetery, and made reference to Mt. Auburn and Greenwood Cemeteries in the United States. These cemeteries were considered the model for modern cemeteries and the author indicated that Haligonians desired a new cemetery along these lines (Acadian Recorder 1888:2).

Camp Hill Cemetery entered the news on a number of occasions throughout its history, most commonly for vandalism. In 1954, the Mail Star reported that vandals had again attacked the cemetery, causing damage in excess of one thousand dollars. This was the second episode in two weeks. Sixteen tombstones were damaged, and five broken into more than two pieces. This type of vandalism did not stop in the 1950's: it is still a prominent part of Camp Hill's story. It is not uncommon to walk through the cemetery and see pieces

of tombstones piled together.

Camp Hill is and always has been a place of relaxation for many people. An article entitled "The Grave Yard Goths" was printed in 1870 and outlined a typical Sunday in the cemetery,

> We are assured that there are in this community scores of young men and women who Sabbath after Sabbath desecrate the Camp Hill cemetery, by making it a resort in which to sport and flirt, and make use of bad language and smoke and gambol (sic) about the paths to the great annoyance of solemnly disposed people who go thither to meditate on the transitory nature of human life or to spend an hour near the grave of a loved and lost one. Beneath the trees are found reclining the idle and irreverant of one sex while peals of silly laughter and nonsense proceed from the lips of the other as they promenade on gravelled walks, or dispose themselves on shady benches to make remarks on passers-by (Acadian Recorder 1870:2)

This is not such a problem now, but the cemetery is still fairly busy. People jog through it, relax in the shade, or use it as a throughfare as they travel from Robie St. to Summer St.

At present Camp Hill cemetery is still open for burials. The last plots were sold in 1956 but there are many family plots which have yet to be filled (Personal Communication: City Cemetery Commissioner). This is quite amazing when one considers that in 1888 there was concern over how fast the cemetery was filling up.

Camp Hill still has its benches and flower pots as well as huge, stately trees and flowering shrubs, but I feel that because of the crowded tombstones it has lost some of its beauty. Still, Camp Hill has a character all its own (Plate: 2). The number of different monuments, the effects of erosion and even the vandalism have all combined to create an interesting and ever changing landscape that is a valuable historical asset to the city of Halifax.

Plate: 2

Present day Camp Hill Cemetery

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Due to the size of St. Paul's and Camp Hill cemeteries I was not able to examine all of the gravestones. Instead I confined my data to a ten year period in both cemeteries. The cemetery layout also influenced the collection of data. Because each of these cemeteries have been organized in a different manner I used two different systems for collecting the information.

Because a cemetery reflects cultural values, it is bound to change as the values which influence it change. Throughout the history of both cemeteries there is evidence of change. The motifs did not remain constant over hundreds of years, they changed from a portrayal of human mortality to eventually reflect the glory in death and the continuation of self in the afterlife. This change not only occurred with the opening of the rural cemetery but can be seen as a gradual transition throughout the history of both St. Paul's and Camp Hill Cemeteries.

The continuous evolution of motif types influenced my selection of study periods. It is important not to portray the cemeteries as static with constant motifs, and I wanted to illustrate these changes. For this reason I selected two periods that were far enough apart to best portray these

changes. If I had chosen a period near the closure of St. Paul's and one near the opening of Camp Hill then the differences would be far fewer. By establishing two study periods, ninety years apart, the variety of motif types and the changes in epitaphs can be better seen.

St. Paul's was originally used by many denominations and unlike Camp Hill the cemetery was not divided into denominational plots. As St. Paul's has been used since the first British settlers arrived in Halifax, I wanted to study a period that would best represent the entire time the cemetery had been open. For this reason I chose a time slot near the middle of the cemetery's history. The period 1770 - 1780 is a good representation of a number of different tombstone motifs and epitaph styles and portrays the cemetery in its true light as a dynamic cultural institution. The stones are scattered throughout the cemetery and not isolated in any one area.

Initially my research at Camp Hill led me to believe that when the City of Halifax gained control of the cemetery near the turn of the century the practice of allocating separate denominational plots was abolished. From that time onward any individual or family could purchase a plot anywhere in the cemetery regardless of denomination. Unfortunately, no one is certain when this actually happened and I have found no archival evidence to support this claim. Regardless

of who ended this policy the fact remains that sometime during the history of the cemetery the demoninational plots ceased. I was interested in a time span before the abolishment of the individual church burying lots. Originally I had decided on a period that postdated the St. Paul's period by one hundred years, 1870 - 1880. However, after a brief examination of these stones I found very few that were still legible. Erosion and vandalism had damaged so many of the stones that my population size would have been approximately fifteen. I did not feel that this would provide an accurate reconstruction of what the stones originally portrayed. Because of this I moved back ten years to 1860 - 1870.

In Camp Hill the original organization of plots enabled me to choose a specific study area within the cemetery. In this case I recorded the section which was initially used by St. Paul's Church. Although there are far fewer stones in this section, compared to ohter sections in the cemetery, there were still too many to be studied by one person in a limited time frame.

Not only the differences between cemeteries mattered, but also those within the cemeteries. From the time that St. Paul's opened until it closed the monuments underwent a certain amount of change. The motif types evolved from the initial death's head, through the various forms of cherub and finally ended with the motif being replaced with the

elaborately scrolled word SACRED or ERECTED followed by the epitaph. This change occurred gradually and with each new development the older form was not entirely replaced. I felt it was also important to examine this aspect of the cemetery and for this reason I chose a time period that best reflected these changes. By consulting Shimabuku's study I determined that the period from 1770 to 1780 best represented these changes. Shimabuku's study indicated that during these ten years at least three distinct motif types could be found (1981:79). Unfortunately the same type of study has not been done for Camp Hill and I had to assume that 1860 - 1870 would reflect the same type of changes.

I recorded information concerning the stones in both cemeteries on a data sheet, a copy of which I have included (Appendix: 1 and 2). The information included the cemetery name, measurements of the stone, construction material, date, design motif and the epitaph (Figure: 1) . Each stone was also sketched and the majority were photographed. Because the stones in St. Paul's have been mapped and numbered I used this number as a reference. In Camp Hill the only reference used was the row number.

In terms of locating stones, St. Paul's was by far the easiest because it has been recorded and mapped. To determine the quantity of stones and their numbers I used the Summary of Gravestone Markers, a City of Halifax

Figure: 1

DATA SHEET

CEMETERY -

NUMBER OR POSITION -

MEASUREMENTS - height

width -

depth -

SHAPE OF TOMBSTONE -

CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL -

DATE -

DESCRIPTION OF DESIGN MOTIF -

EPITAPH -

Development and Planning Department publication. This publication lists all pertinent information regarding each tombstone in St. Paul's Cemetery. After identifying the stones in this publication, I referred to a map of the Cemetery and used it to physically locate the relevant stones. The only problem with this system came from the mistakes in the Summary of Gravestone Markers. A number of stones had been improperly recorded, and some had not been recorded at all. The population size in St. Paul's is thirty nine.

Camp Hill proved to be a little more difficult when it came to locating the stones. Because the cemetery has not been recorded and mapped in the same way that St. Paul's has, I had to locate the stones erected during the period under study on my own. In many cases this meant literally stumbling over the stone. There are no distinct boundaries in Camp Hill to indicate where one section stops and another begins. However, with division 5, I was fortunate enough to have a row of mature trees growing down each side of the section. These trees provided the boundaries for the section I was studying.

Erosion and vandalism also contributed to the problems of recording. Many of the stones in Camp Hill are partially or almost entirely eroded, including those in division 5, and because of this my population size was limited. I only

recorded stones where I could read more than three quarters of the epitaph and decipher the motif. Many of the stones have been badly damaged due to vandalism. It was not uncommon to find stones broken into three or four pieces and just stacked together. The stones in this state are quite fragile and still very heavy. To avoid further damage, the cemetery custodian, Doug Dauphinee, forbade me to touch them. This further limited the population size.

In order to locate the stones I was interested in I did a row by row search beginning on the eastern end of the division (facing Summer St.) and working toward the center of the cemetery. As I moved through the rows, each row was numbered and if I found a stone in that particular row I recorded it and assigned the row number to it. Because of the relatively short rows, if more than one stone was in each row I did not add any other numbers. To avoid confusion I began each row on the southern end and moved northward. Due to the sometimes erratic placement of stones this limited the amount of confusion on each successive trip.

As I have already mentioned I used the same data sheets in Camp Hill as in St. Paul's therefore the same information was recorded.

In many cases the name and date on the tombstones were engraved deeper than the rest of the epitaph making

them easier to read. In many cases only the name and date was legible while the rest of the stone had been eroded. For this reason my population size was limited to twenty nine tombstones, the majority of which had complete epitaphs and motifs.

The historical research for each cemetery was centered mainly in the Nova Scotia Public Archives. I consulted newspaper articles and government legislation to establish a complete picture of the cemeteries histories. Much of the information from Camp Hill came from personal interviews with both the Cemetery Custodian and the City Cemetery Commissioner.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF MOTIF AND EPITAPH STYLES

To fully understand the cultural changes that have occurred in the cemeteries it is necessary to examine both the motif and the epitaph on each stone. This should lead to a better understanding of the types of changes that occurred.

In an attempt to simplify the data I have grouped the stones into clusters that have the same motif and epitaph style. This will make it easier for purposes of explanation and will simplify the large data base. Rather than examine each stone, I have analysed them in terms of motif and epitaph styles.

The motifs are usually associated with more than one symbol. For example there are many winged cherubs supplemented with branches or flowers used. For this reason I have divided the motifs into subcategories.

In St. Paul's there are many different motifs. They range from a number of various cherubs, through deaths heads, urns, flowers, crests, Catholic symbols and blank stones. From a population size of thirty nine the following is a break down of the motif types, the quantity in each category is the first number followed by the assigned map and reference

number.

BREAKDOWN OF MOTIF DATA

MOTIF	QUANTITY	REFERENCE NUMBER
CATHOLIC SYMBOL	3	0780, 09901, 0715
PLAIN/NO MOTIF	7	0643, 0215, 0454, 0295 1029, 0879, 0778
FLOWERS	1	0167
URNS		
- Willow	1	0568
- Cherub	1	0297
CRESTS	1	0300
DEATH'S HEAD'S		
- Wings	2	0502, 0890
- No wings	1	0711
- Wings/Crossbones	1	0806
CHERUBS		
- Flowers	2	0452, 0488
- Tri sectioned Wings	2	0910, 0456
- Skull/Crossbones	1	0045
- Wings/Swirls	1	0296

MOTIF	QUANTITY	REFERENCE NUMBER
- Wings/Branches	1	0195
- Wings/Hearts	1	0276
- Wings	2	0017, 1013
- Wings/Lots of Hair	4	0510, 0807, 0453, 0481
- Flower Border	4	0059, 0466, 0878, 0855
- Small Wings	1	0293
- Scowling/Wings	1	0165

I have based these divisions on the central motif. For example, in the case of the cherubs with flowers, the flowers form a secondary motif that frames the central cherub.

The stones could also be divided into categories that reflected the different types of epitaphs. In this case I used four different categories, those with religious overtones, means of death, personal achievements and very simple epitaphs that included only personal statistics (when they died, how old they were, etc.). The following is a breakdown of the number of stones in each of these categories.

BREAKDOWN OF EPITAPH STYLES

STYLE	QUANTITY	REFERENCE NUMBER
RELIGIOUS OVERTONES	7	0452, 0502, 0890, 0297, 0879, 0466, 0296
MEANS OF DEATH	1	0878

STYLE	QUANTITY	REFERENCE NUMBER
PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENTS	3	0295, 0454, 0017
PERSONAL STATISTICS	28	0059, 0558, 0276, 1029, 0711, 0030, 0456, 0643, 0654, 0167, 0195, 0215, 0780, 0910, 0488, 0510, 0453, 0045, 0807, 0806, 0165, 0778, 0901, 0481, 0715, 0293, 1013, 0855

I will first examine these textual categories.

EPITAPH STYLES

Religious Overtones

The first group of stones are those with religious overtones. These stones are actually quite similar to the personal statistics category, except that on these stones, after the personal statistics have been listed, there is usually a break of a few lines and then a passage with religious connotations. This extra paragraph can be both morbid (in that it brings out the finality of death) or it can also be very spiritual and glorify life in the afterworld. In St. Paul's there are examples of both types.

Stone number 0890 is a child's stone and a good example

of how the epitaph is used to glorify life in heaven. This stone belongs to Mary Wiston who was three years and five weeks old when she died. The epitaph reads as follows,

Here lies the Body of
Mary Wiston Dau^{r} of
ROBERT & SUSANAH WISTON
who Departed this Life
May the 1st 1778
Aged 3 Years & 5 weeks.

Her time was short the longer her Rest
God called her hence becaufe he saw it Best
Alas shes gone and like a spotlefs Dove
To increase the Number of the Blefsd Above
Secure of Peace her Souls gone to Rest
In the eternal Manfions of the Blest.

Stone number 0297, belonging to Elizebeth Hoffman also has religious overtones but conveys a different sentiment when compared to Mary Wiston's stone.

Here Lyeth the Body of
Elizebeth Hoffman wife of
Elias Hoffman who Departed
this Life jenuary y 26 1774
Aged 22 years
O mortal woman behold thy fate
How short the time how swift thy date

But when shall I return from this

To rectify whats done

Amiss.

The first, Mary Wiston's, portrays death as something that should be glorified and cherished because it lets the person's soul return to heaven. Elizebeth Hoffman's epitaph, however, puts forward an entirely different idea. This epitaph reminds us how short our time on earth can be and reinforces the fact that we are all mortal. To compare the language used in each is also interesting. Elizebeth Hoffman's is characterised by "O MORTAL WOMAN" whereas Mary Wiston's uses imagery such as "LIKE A SPOTLEFS DOVE". They both have religious overtones but convey very different feelings.

Means of Death

Stone number 0878 belongs to a young man of eighteen. The interesting aspect of this stone is that it describes perfectly how the man died, thus making it unique within my population. I can not say whether or not there are more of this epitaph style in the graveyard, but from this sample it does not seem that it was a very popular form.

Martin Gay was killed accidentally by "THE BURSTING OF A MUSKET IN THE HANDS OF AN INTIMATE FRIEND". This epitaph gives us a view into the personal lives of these people in a way different from any other.

Personal Statistics

This type of epitaph is similar to the religious overtone stones but lists only the personal statistics of the deceased whereas the others have a religious passage as well as personal statistics. Of the four epitaph styles this is the simplest. There are twenty eight stones in this category all of which follow the same pattern.

With the exception of four stones each epitaph begins with "HERE LIES THE BODY" or "HERE LYETH THE BODY", followed by the name of the deceased, who they were married to if female, the date they died and their age at death. The four exceptions are 0643, 0030, 0711, and 0806. These stones differ in the way the epitaph begins, rather than "HERE LYETH" or "LIES THE BODY OF", they each have a different beginning.

The only difference with stone number 0806 is that it begins with "HERE LIES BURIED THE BODY". The rest of the epitaph follows the same pattern as the others.

Stone 0711 is interesting because the entire epitaph is composed of three words, "JANE MACKAREYTH 1770". Because of the stone's angle I can not tell if the epitaph continues or if this was the entire thing. The size of the stone

indicates that it could very possibly have been a child's stone.

The epitaph for Sarah George foreshadows the type of epitaph found in Camp Hill ninety years later. This stone, number 0643, begins with "TO THE MEMORY OF SARAH GEORGE WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE". This type of epitaph became quite common in Camp Hill during 1860-70. The feeling this stone provokes is less final. Rather than speaking about the body, it speaks about the memory. If the date on this stone were changed, it would fit into the pattern found in Camp Hill.

The final stone in this section, number 0030, differs from all other stones in my population. The epitaph refers to the sacred remains of Mrs. Abigail Belcher which have been deposited in "THIS SHRINE". None of the other stones refer to either shrines or sacred remains. The remainder of the epitaph resembles that of the other stones examined.

Personal Achievements

This final category has only three entries, 0295, 0017 and 0454. With the exception of the achievements mentioned, the epitaphs are the same as the personal statistics. What is particularly interesting about these stones is that one of them belongs to a woman, Ann Scot (0295).

This stone is unusual, in that most of the other women's stones mention the occupation of the husband or of the son but not their own personal achievements. In this case the epitaph states that Ann Scot was a midwife and her passing would be greatly regretted by the people of Halifax. The only mention made of her husband is his name, not his occupation or his status in the city.

The second stone (0017) belongs to Benjamin Green Esq. who was involved with government. This epitaph compliments the character of the deceased as well as listing his achievements.

The final stone is slightly different. This stone, belonging to Joseph Gerrish (0454), not only lists his personal achievements but also includes a short testiment from his wife and children. Unfortunately the entire inscription can not be read because the stone has been broken.

MOTIF STYLES

I have divided the motif styles into seven different categories and several different subcategories. As I have already mentioned, these subcategories reflect the various secondary motifs.

Catholic Symbol

There are three of these stones in my population: 0780, 0901 and 0715. This motif was only used by the Catholic sector until well into the 19th century. This symbol is formed by three letters and a cross. The IHS is engraved at the top of the stone and a cross is engraved over the H.

Plain/No Motif

This is the simplest of all the categories. These seven stones (0643, 0215, 0454, 0295, 1029, 0879, and 0778) lack any form of motif. There is no indication that any have had the motif either broken off or eroded away. The stones all vary in shape and size and there seems to be no correlation between shape and lack of motif.

Flowers

Although many of the motifs employ flowers as a secondary motif, it is the primary motif in this category. Stone 0167 is the only stone displaying this type of motif in my population. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the flower motif represented the brevity of earthly existence or sorrow (Duval and Rigby 1978:132).

Urns

This category has been divided into two subcategories, those with willows and those with cherubs. This symbol did not acheive the popularity in Nova Scotia that it did in New England. According to Trask, the urn became popular during the Neo-Classical Revival (c. 1780 - 1830). Because Nova Scotians were not in the practice of using urns as repositories for the dead, Trask feels that carvers used the design because of its simplicity (1978:32).

Willows - The secondary motif, the willow has several different connotations. In Psalm 137 the Jews "hanged their harps upon the willows" as a sign of mourning. The willow is also a symbol of the gospel of Christ. "In Christian symbolism the willow continues to flourish no matter how many of its leaves are cut" (Trask 1978:34). Duval and Rigby list the willow as the "symbolic tree of human sadness" and a representation of earthly sorrows (1978:132).

Cherubs - One stone (0297) is interesting because of the cherubs. All of the other cherubs in this population were used as primary motifs and yet here the carver has taken a common cherub pattern, reduced it and combined it with a central urn. The cherubs on this stone are the same style as numbers 0510, 0807, 0453 and 0481.

Crests

There is only one stone which used a family crest, number 0030. This type of motif was used during the 17th and 18th centuries to indicate lineage and status (Duval and Rigby1978: 132).

Death's Heads

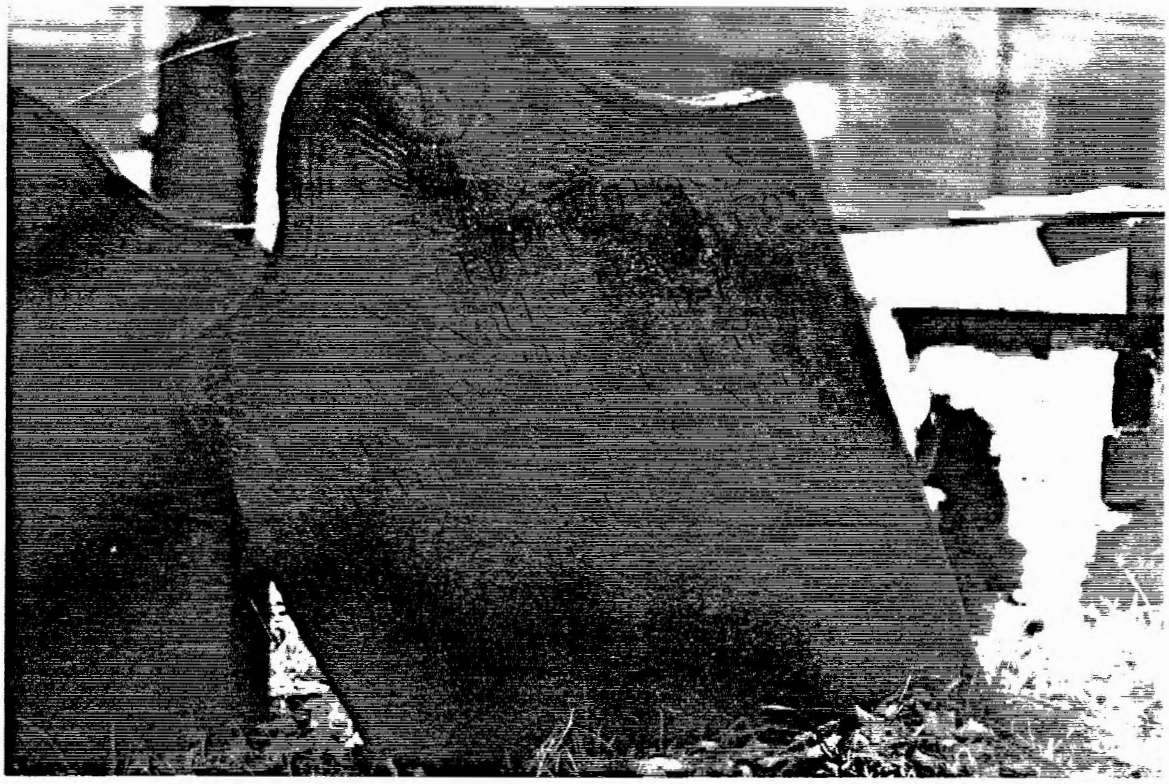
This is the second largest category, which I have divided into three subcategories. The interesting aspect of these subcategories is that although the motifs are different they all represent the same thing. Whether or not the death's head is plain, winged or winged with crossbones they each represent mortality (Duval and Rigby 1978: 132).

Cherubs (Plate:3)

This is the most complex category with eleven subcategories. Many of the subcategories contain only one stone but there are enough differences to necessitate separate categories. A number of different cherub forms can be seen on these stones but they all portray the same thing. The cherub motif was used during the 18th and 19th centuries as a representation of the heavenly hosts or guides (Duval and Rigby 1978:132). All of the variations found in the

cherub forms are attributed to different carvers and their personal styles, not to different meanings or interpretations of the motif.

Plate: 3



A Typical Cherub Motif (0456)

Flowers - This subcategory has two stones, 0452 and 0488. These stones are similar to those with flower borders. It is the placement of the flowers that separates them. Both of these stones have a central cherub with detached wings, at the end of the wings the carver has placed a flower. The stem runs back under the wings on each stone.

Stone number 0452 is very similar to the category

with flower borders. In this case, unlike 0488, the stone has a flower border as well as the flowers beside each wing tip.

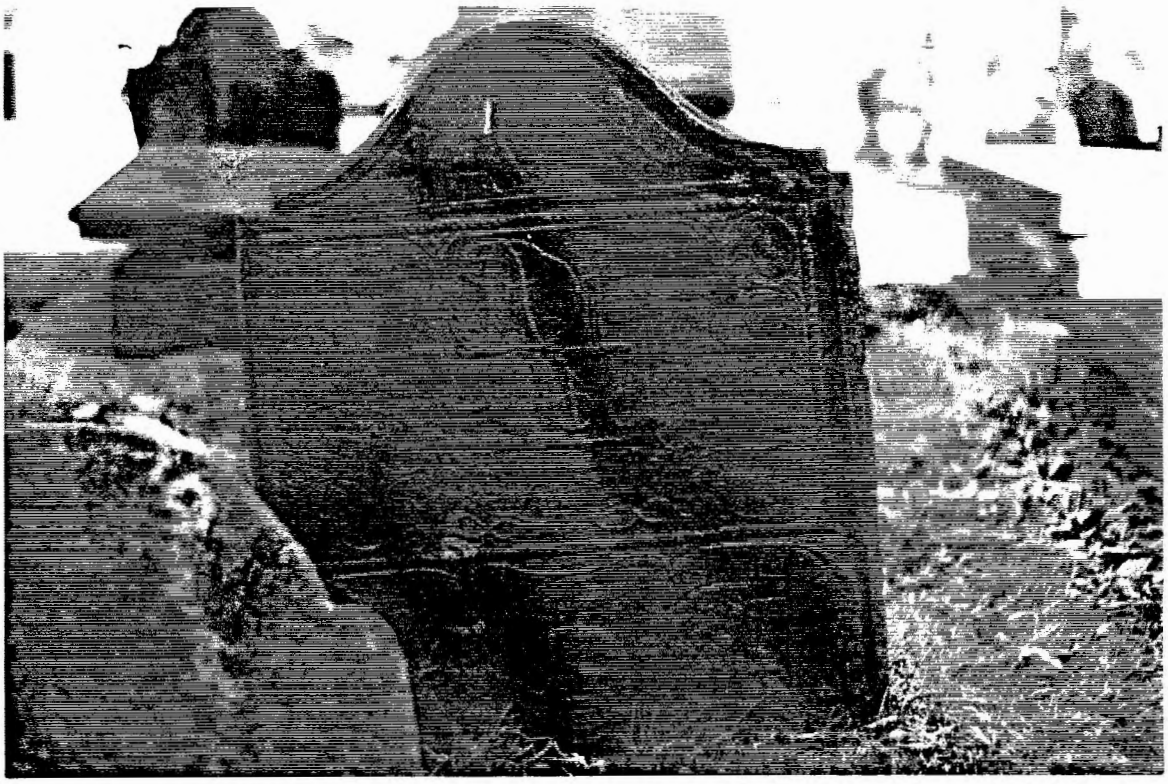
The use of the flower motif (symbolizing the brevity of human existence) with the cherub is interesting. In one case we see the guide or heavenly host with the other motif representing life's brevity. The use of the flower motif is a shift away from mortality and moves the symbolism toward that found in Camp Hill.

Flowered Borders - This category has four stones, 0059, 0466, 0878 and 0855. Each of these stones have different cherubs and none of the flower borders are the same. Even though they are all different I have grouped them together because they use the motifs in the same way. On each stone the cherub is centered at the top with the epitaph below. The flowers are used along both sides of the stone. Near the top the carver has placed a single flower, with the stem and leaves trailing down toward the bottom of the stone.

Of these four stones 0466, belonging to James Clark, is the most interesting. The front of the stone has been decorated with a standard cherub motif and the epitaph, but the back of the stone is also engraved. It is the engraving on the back that provides interesting insights (Plate:4). There are motif forms here that I have not seen used on any other headstones, whether in St. Paul's or Camp Hill. Much

of the work consists of decorative scrolls and intricately carved borders but there are also eight different motifs. The largest motif is the Mason's symbol placed at the top of the stone and dominating all other motifs.

Plate: 4



Stone Number 0466

The bottom section of the stone has four motifs: skull, crossbones, hourglass and an engraved banner reading "ME MENTO MORE". The hourglass was used during the 17th and 18th centuries to indicate the swift passage of time. The skull and crossbones were also 17th and 18th century motifs, both representing mortality. The final motif in this section, the engraved banner also provides interesting insights into

the nature of the stone. A translation of the Latin, ME MENTO MORE, means "remember death" (Wasserman 1972).

Of the four motifs in the central section, I have identified a meaning for only one, the flower. Two small flowers have been included at the bottom of the section, symbolic of the brevity of earthly existence.

The other three motifs may have been added simply for decoration or they may also reflect some aspect of the Masonic Order. The carver has included a lion emerging from what appears to be a type of platform, scales and what I presume to be an effigy. The effigy is the only thing that I have found a symbolic meaning for. According to Duval and Rigby the effigy was used during the 18th century as a representation of the soul (1978:132)

Hearts - Stone 0276 is the only one with a heart as part of the motif. The central motif is a frowning winged cherub with attached wings. The attached wings on other cherubs usually begin under the chin but in this case the wings have been attached along the cheeks. The heart motif was used during the 18th and 19th centuries and had a number of meanings. It represented the soul in bliss, the abode of the soul and the love of Christ (Duval and Rigby 1978:132).

Branches - Stone number 0195 is very similar to 0807. The style of wings and the cherub face is basically the same

with only a few minor differences. an extra decorative motif on 0195 separates the two stones into different categories. The carver has added a branch over each wing. I can not be sure what type of branch this is and for this reason can not comment on its significance. It is very possible that the branches are meant to represent a symbolic feature of death, or may have been added only for decoration.

Swirls - Stone 0296 is unique within my population. There are no other cherubs that even slightly resemble this one and the use of decorative swirls is also different. Above the wings of the cherub the carver has engraved a type of loose swirl. Because the stone has been badly damaged I can not be certain whether or not the swirl is attached to the wings. Personally, I feel that these have been added to decorate the stone and they do not have any special connotations.

Death's Head and Crossbones - With the exception of 0466, this is the only stone to combine both the cherub and death's head. Both of these motifs are on the front of the stone, the cherub at the top with the death's head and the crossbones at the bottom.

This cherub is unique because it is the only one with a neck. The death's head is also unusual. Compared to the other types of death's heads this seems to be more of a face

than a skull. Because of its combination with the crossbones I believe it was meant to represent a skull.

The two motifs combined form a curious combination of a heavenly host or guide (cherub) with the representation of mortality (death's head). The evolution of motif types is clearly seen on this stone.

CAMP HILL

I have analyzed the Camp Hill information on the same basis as data from St. Paul's, identifying both motif and epitaph styles and organizing the information for presentation in the same manner.

The motif styles in Camp Hill are not as complex as those in St. Paul's: there are no secondary motifs and the interpretations are very straightforward. The following is a breakdown of the motif type, the number of stones in each category and the individuals surname.

BREAKDOWN OF MOTIF DATA

MOTIF	QUANTITY	SURNAME
NONE	**16**	**Artz, Goade, Goudge, Justina, Langley, Lovett, Morris, Norman, Potter**

MOTIF	QUANTITY	SURNAME
		Richardson, Richardson, Sage, Shatford, Smith, Wallece, Withrow
UNKNOWN	1	Adams
FLOWERS	5	Drake, Glassie, Hackman, Stevens, Stewart
WREATHS	1	Skimmings
IHS SYMBOL	1	Weir
DOVES	1	Barrow
GRADUATION COLLAR AND SCROLL	1	Van Buskirk
MORE THAN ONE MOTIF	1	Greenaway

I have identified four different epitaph styles two of which are the same as in St. Paul's (i.e. relious overtones and personal statistics). The two new categories are place of death and loving remembrances. The following is a breakdown of the number of stones in each category and the surname of the individual.

BREAKDOWN OF EPITAPH STYLES

STYLE	QUANTITY	SURNAME
PERSONAL STATISTICS	14	Adams, Artz, Drake, Hughes, Langley, Norman, Richardson, Richardson, Sage, Skimmings, Smith, Stewart, Van Buskirk, Wallece
RELIGIOUS OVERTONES	8	Glassie, Greenaway, Hackman, Lovett, Morris, Stevens, Withrow
LOVING REMEMBRANCES	4	Goade, Goudge, Justina, Shatford
PLACE OF DEATH	3	Barrow, Potter, Wier

Because these are the simplest division, I will examine them first.

EPITAPH STYLES

Personal Statistics

This is the largest category in my population of twenty eight stones. Fourteen stones in this section follow the

same pattern as those found in St. Paul's. The only information listed is the person's name, date of death, age at death and in most cases their husband or wife. The only significant difference is the change in language. In St. Paul's, the stones generally began with "HERE LIETH THE BODY" or "HERE LIES THE BODY", followed by the relevant statistics. In Camp Hill the emphasis has shifted from the body to the memory of the individual. Of the fourteen stones in this category all but two began with "IN MEMORY OF". Both of the exceptions belonged to children: James Skimmings was three years old and the "INFANT NORMAN" was only eight months. Both of these epitaphs began with the child's name followed by their personal statistics. I do not know if this holds any particular significance or not, however I find it an interesting coincidence that all of the other stones belonged to people who were over twenty.

Religious Overtones

This second category also mirrors one from St. Paul's. These six stones all have the same format as the St. Paul's stones, but have different connotations.

One may remember that in St. Paul's the religious epitaphs conjured up images of either death's finality or the joy of the afterlife on different stones. In Camp Hill there does not seem to be a separation of these two themes,

they have been combined and used in the same passage. These epitaphs reflect the finality of death, the belief that it is something to be dreaded, and yet they also look forward to life with Christ. Phrases such as "FOR YE ARE DEAD" and "THE BITTERNESS OF DEATH IS PAST" indicating mortality are combined with references to "SLUMBERING IN JESUS SLEEP" and "NOT DEAD BUT GONE BEFORE".

Personally I feel that this is a form of transition but I am not sure where it is leading or where it is coming from. Perhaps future research in this area will provide the answer.

Loving Remembrances

In this category, after the personal statistics have been listed, the surviving family members have added a personal remembrance. There are only four of these epitaphs and the remembrances range from three words to six lines. For example the epitaph for Thomas Goudge reads as follows,

> In life they were beloved
> and respected for their
> upright, amiable &
> benevolent dispositions
> their deaths were
> deeply regretted.

In comparison Eliza Justina's stone ends with "OUR SISTER DEAR".

This type of epitaph makes the stone more personal and familiar, not being the accepted or usual epitaph but a personalized indication of the family's deep love and regret for the loss of the deceased.

Place of Death

This final category is the only one where the person's place of death was listed. Of these three stones, two were for men and the epitaph also list the deceased's occupation. Capt H. Potter of the Walsguit died at sea near Halifax while Benjamin Weir died in Ottawa "WHILE IN THE DISCHARGE OF HIS DUTIES AS SENATOR OF THE DOMINION". The third stone, belonging to Fanny Ester Barrow, gives no indication of her personal life: all we know is she died on her way to England.

MOTIF STYLES

None

This is the largest motif category with sixteen entries. None of these stones show any evidence of ever having had a motif. There is some small decoration on some of these stones but they are not representative of any

symbolic motif. This decoration can be seen as curls added to the corner of a stone or small "leaves" on each side of the persons name. I do not feel that this was anything more than an attempt to decorate the stone.

Unknown

I have added this category because this one stone (Adams) did have a motif at one time but the effects of erosion have obliterated it. When direct sunlight is reflected on to the face of the stone the epitaph can be read but only a very faint outline of the motif can be seen. This outline is not strong enough to determine what the original form was.

Flowers

The flowers on these stones differ from those found in St. Paul's. The motifs in St. Paul's are not recognizable as any one species of flower, but those in Camp Hill are (with the exception of one stone) all portray roses, whether in bud form or a full rose. The only exception is an Easter lily.

According to Trask the flower was a very popular Victorian motif. There were also certain meanings in the type of flower chosen. The broken bud, seen on the Stevens

stone, is typical for a child's stone as the bud symbolized life being cut down before it had bloomed (Trask 1978:45). It is also common to find full broken flowers which symbolize a life that has been cut down in its prime or fullness. With the exception of the Stevens stone the other four in this category (Drake, Glassie, Hackman and Stewart) all use the full flower.

In one sense the flower is also a symbol of the resurrection. "Evidence of God's power is in the works of returning nature, flowers and fruits in their season. This is an example to us of how easily He can make those that are in the dust awake to life" (Trask 1978:45).

Wreaths

According to Duval and Rigby the wreath was used during the 18th and 19th centuries to represent victory in death. The stone belonging to Skimmings is a small obelisk with a wreath draped over the top of the stone.

IHS Symbol

This symbol differs from the earlier three in St. Paul's in that it does not include a cross as part of the motif. In St. Paul's the H was surmounted by a cross. This lack of a cross indicates the deceased was Protestant rather

than Catholic. The Protestant use of this symbol differs in other ways. Rather than simply carving a plain IHS into the stone as the Catholics did, the Protestants modified the symbol and entwined the letters together, sometimes making it difficult to recognize.

Columns

This stone belongs to Benjamin Weir, and is noticeably larger than the others. This stone, 302.0 cm high, also differs in motif. The upper portion of this stone is a column combined with drapery and a large winding wreath. This stone is unlike any other. The wreath symbolizes victory in death, but there does not seem to be a symbolic reference in either the column or the drapery. It is my opinion that this is a stone which was meant to glorify the deceased's station in life rather than the afterlife. Because Benjamin Weir was a Senator in the Dominion his survivors would have been able to purchase such a massive stone.

Doves

Again there is only one stone in this category, belonging to Fanny Ester Barrow. The dove was used during the 18th and 19th centuries to represent the soul's purity (Duval and Rigby 1978:132). In this case, the dove is descending and enclosed within a circle.

Graduation Scroll and Collar

The Van Buskirk stone is unusual in my population because it is a representation of the individual's life. The epitaph indicates that L. E. Van Buskirk was a medical doctor and the motif reflects this. Unfortunately the entire motif can not be clearly seen, but much of it is legible. What is easily identifiable is the graduation collar and what I presume to be the scroll or diploma. This all indicates the man was a university graduate, and this was considered important enough to include on his tombstone.

More Than One Motif

One stone is decorated on all four sides with epitaphs and motifs. The motifs differ on all sides. One of the reasons this stone has so many different motifs is the construction material, a pressed metal known as white bronze. These stones were mass produced and as a result they were able to have more motifs (Trask 1978:51). In this case there are sheaves of wheat, roses, crosses and wreaths.

The cross is draped with a wreath of roses. This wreath as with other forms, represents victory in death and the cross is an obvious representation of Christ. According to Duval and Rigby the sheaves of wheat were used in the

19th century to represent time and the divine harvest. There are two different types of roses, both a bouquet and a single broken bloom. The only other motif type is a woman holding an anchor. The usual representation of the anchor was that of the seafaring profession, consequently this does not fit a young woman's monument (Duval and Rigby 1978:132). The reference to the anchor could very possibly be biblicaly oriented. Hebrews 6:19 states that we have a steadfast and sure anchor in eternity (Holy Bible, New International Version). It is also possible that this is just a standard motif included on all of this type of white bronze monument, or it could also have a meaning that has been lost through time.

From this brief discussion of the different motif forms and epitaph styles in each cemetery one can begin to see the gradual changes from one time period into the next.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

From the examination of motif and epitaph styles it is possible to follow the changes during the ninety year span, but there were fewer changes than I had anticipated.

The motifs in Camp Hill certainly portray different beliefs than St. Paul's. The death's heads and symbols that represented sorrow or emphasized mortality seem to have disappeared by the 1860's. They were replaced with motifs that emphasized different aspects of death. For example, flowers were still used in Camp Hill and they continued to represent brevity of earthly existence, but they also indicated God's powers of resurrection, a connotation that was lacking in the 1770's (Trask 1978:45).

The majority of motif forms in Camp Hill do not represent the finality of death. Both the dove and the wreath motifs are a part of death and deal with death, but they do not have the finality that is associated with the death's heads or cherubs.

The epitaphs do not reveal as much about this transition as I had expected. The most common epitaph style in both cemeteries listed only personal statistics and the

number of stones with religious overtones in Camp Hill increased only by one. The loving remembrances found in Camp Hill were certainly different than anything in St. Paul's and yet there were still only four stones in this category. It is the language used in Camp Hill which best portrays these shifts in attitude. As I mentioned earlier, the St. Paul's epitaphs concentrated on the mortal body. The emphasis in Camp Hill was directed toward remembrances, there were no epitaphs which began "HERE LYETH THE BODY", instead the majority began "IN MEMORY OF". This is significant because the emphasis has shifted from the mortal body to the spiritual. The epitaph style did not change, but the language became more euphemistic projecting death in a far different light.

This can also be seen in the motif styles. The portrayal of death is no longer final, it is merely a step toward eternal life.

I have not been able to see any correlation between the type of epitaph and motif used: spiritual epitaphs are combined with motifs which reflects mortality and vice versa. I do not know of any literature addressing this problem in the American Rural Cemeteries and can not say if this trend was universal or isolated in Halifax.

The stones in the study section of Camp Hill are not

quite what I would expect to find in the larger American rural cemeteries. Rural cemeteries such as Mount Auburn seem to be characterized by large secular or religious monuments. The stones in Camp Hill do not fit this mould. The majority of stones are plain, slab monuments with the exception of one (Weir). Those that are larger do not portray any personal achievement or possess large impressive motifs. Although the type of stones do not correspond with the American model the imagery in the epitaph and the types of motifs used do.

In many of the American cemeteries the only acceptable material was white stone. This was not the case in Camp Hill. Although the majority of monuments are white stone, there are a number of sandstone, slate and granite tombstones. Both the Canadian and American Victorians also used white bronze and cast iron tombstones.

American rural cemeteries were advertised as being areas where the individual could be reunited with God, nature and loved ones (Farrell 1980:105). The language and motif styles in Camp Hill certainly fit this type of assurance.

Rural cemeteries in the United States were designed to beautify the local surroundings and were tied in with a much larger movement which saw the beginnings of municipal parks (Trask 1978: 36). This movement also influenced the

development of Camp Hill.

This desire for beautification even spread to St. Paul's. In the 1860's, the city of Halifax began a restoration project aimed at beautifying St. Paul's Cemetery. Proposals were put forward to rebuild the surrounding wall and improve the interior of the cemetery (Morning Journal 1860:2).

This same desire is seen in the organization of Camp Hill. The 1833 legislation governing the organization of Camp Hill contained an entire section on the embellishment of the Cemetery. The commissioner was, ".....to prepare, design, layout and plant with trees, or otherwise to adorn and embellish the said Ground or Grounds" (Statutes of Nova Scotia). Throughout Camp Hill there are many different styles and sizes of flower pots, flowering shrubs and various species of coniferous and deciduous trees.

American rural cemeteries were located in places known for their intrinsic beauty: Camp Hill was not. Camp Hill Cemetery began as a flat, barren piece of land that was partially swamp and yet by 1888 was considered a place of beauty. Although the residents of Halifax seemed impressed with the changes in Camp Hill they still wanted something similar to Mount Auburn (Acadian Recorder 1888:3). It seems that at the time Camp Hill was not considered to be the same

type of rural cemetery as Mount Auburn.

I feel the evidence allows us to classify Camp Hill Cemetery as rural cemetery, but not an American rural cemetery. Many of the reasons that the rural cemetery movement began in the United States also gave rise to the movement in Halifax. Haligonians had a desire for the beautification of their environment just as the Americans did. They were also concerned with the health risks posed by St. Paul's, and the same type of religious changes are seen here as in the United States. Gradually the motif and epitaph styles moved away from the harsh realities of death and portrayed a gentler version of the afterlife. What makes the movement in Halifax different is the lack of large, intricately carved monuments.

The St. Paul's section of Camp Hill cemetery does not have a large number of oversized monuments. The majority are upright slabs that are on average between 100.0 - 120.0 cm high. The lack of motifs also differs from the American cemeteries. I do not know why so many of the stones in my population were lacking a motif. There must have been a reason, whether cultural or economic, something influenced this trend.

On a very broad scale these twenty eight stones represent the trends in Camp Hill Cemetery. From this limited

information it would be difficult to say if each section followed the same pattern as division 5, yet the overall impression of the cemetery indicates very few large monuments dominated mainly by slabs. In order to determine the trends in other parts of Camp Hill an enormous field project would have to be mounted. The data that I have collected certainly makes one wonder if the same trends would be seen in the rest of the Cemetery.

From this information I feel that Camp Hill can certainly be classed as its own form of rural cemetery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, K.L.
1981 Ideologies in Stone - Meanings in Victorian Grave Stones, in Journal of Popular Culture Number 15, Summer 1981.

Aires, P.
1974 The Reversal of Death: Changes in Attitudes Toward Death in Western societies, in Death in America. Edited by David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Baugher, S. and Winter, F.A.
1983 Early American Gravestones: Archaeological Perspectives on Three Cemeteries of Old New York, in Archaeology Number 36, Fall 1983.

Brownlee, Brenda Eme
1972 Nineteenth Century Burial Markers in Toronto. University of Toronto and Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Deetz, J.
1977 In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life. Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc., New York.

Duval, Francis Y. and Rigby, Ivan B.
1978 Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs. Dover Publications Inc., New York.

Farrell, J.J.
1980 Inventing the American Way of Death 1830 - 1920. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

French, S.
1974 The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the "Rural Cemetery" Movement. In Death in America. Edited by David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gillon, E.V.
1966 Early New England Gravestone Rubbings. Dover Publications, Inc., New York.

Gillon, E.V.
1972 Victorian Cemetery Art. Dover Publications, Inc., New York.

Goody, J.
1974 Death and the Interpretation of Culture: A Bibliographic Overview. In, Death in America. Edited by David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hanks, Carole
1974 Early Ontario Gravestones, McGraw, Hill, Ryerson Ltd., Toronto.

Lindahi, C.
1886 Transition Symbolism on Tombstones, in Western Folklore, Number 45 July 1986.

Morley, J.
1971 Death, Heaven and the Victorians. University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburg.

Mytum, Harold
1989 Public Health and Private Sentiment, in World Archaeology, Number 2, October 1989.

Nelson, M.A. and George, D.H.
1981 Grinning Skulls, Smiling Cherubs, Bitter Words, in Journal of Popular Culture, Number 15. Spring 1981 and Spring 1982.

Shimabuku, D.M. and Hall, G.F.
1981 St. Paul's Cemetery, Occasional Papers in Anthropology, Number 10 Saint Mary's University, Halifax.

Trask, D.
1978 Life How Short Eternity How Long, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

Wasserman, Emily
1972 Gravestone Designs, Rubbings and Photographs from Early New York and New Jersey, Dover Publications, New York.

Weitzman, David
1976 Underfoot, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

Statutes of Nova Scotia 20 April 1833 CAP XXXII

Acadian Recorder 14 March, 1835

Times 24 March, 1835

Nova Scotian 19 May, 1835

NovaScotian 28 October, 1850

Nova Scotian 24 November, 1856

Acadian Recorder 14 April, 1860

Morning Journal 16 April, 1860

Morning Journal 20 April, 1860

Acadian Recorder 20 August, 1870

Mail Star 23 December, 1954