

W.P. KERR

HISTORY  
ETCHED  
IN STONE:



GRAVESTONE ART AND  
THE GARRISON GRAVEYARD  
AT ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

HISTORY  
ETCHED  
IN STONE



# **History Etched in Stone:** Gravestone Art and the Garrison Graveyard at Annapolis Royal

W.P. Kerr



CANADIAN DEFENCE ACADEMY PRESS

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Canadian Defence Academy Press  
PO Box 17000 Stn Forces  
Kingston, Ontario K7K 7B4

Produced for the Canadian Defence Academy Press  
by 17 Wing Winnipeg Publishing Office.  
WPO30673

Back cover image courtesy of Parks Canada.

### **Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication**

Kerr, W. P., 1954-  
History etched in stone : gravestone art and the garrison graveyard at Annapolis Royal / W.P. Kerr.

Produced for the Canadian Defence Academy Press by 17 Wing Winnipeg Publishing Office.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Available also on the Internet.

Issued by: Canadian Defence Academy.

ISBN 978-1-100-18332-9

Cat. no.: D2-274/2011E

1. Sepulchral monuments--Nova Scotia--Annapolis Royal--History. 2. Stone carving--Nova Scotia--Annapolis Royal--History. 3. Cemeteries--Nova Scotia--Annapolis Royal--History. 4. Annapolis Royal (N.S.)--History. 5. Fort Anne National Historic Site (Annapolis Royal, N.S.)--History. I. Canadian Defence Academy II. Canada. Canadian Armed Forces. Wing, 17 III. Title. IV. Title: Grave-stone art and the garrison graveyard at Annapolis Royal.

NB1880 C3 K47 2011

736'.50971633

C2011-980135-3

Printed in Canada.

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Alan Melanson and A.J.B. (John) Johnston for reviewing an initial draft of the text. Their constructive comments and encouragement greatly helped to move the work forward. Special thanks go to my dear friend Brenda Dunn, who also provided advice on the initial draft and who has graciously and openly shared her research findings and knowledge with me over the years. I want to acknowledge Deborah Trask, a former assistant curator of the Nova Scotia Museum, whose own work and enthusiasm for the subject inspired my interest in gravestone art, which in turn has taken me on many memorable rambles through ancient graveyards and modern-day cemeteries, near and far. Finally, but not least, my sincere thanks to the institutions and individuals who have generously provided many of the photos presented in this work.



## P R E F A C E

The Canadian Defence Academy (CDA) Press is proud to introduce the latest title, *History Etched in Stone: Gravestone Art and the Garrison Graveyard at Annapolis Royal*, to its growing collection of works. In fact, it is the 62<sup>nd</sup> book we have published under the CDA Press banner. Importantly, the aim of CDA Press remains to (a) create a distinct and unique body of Canadian leadership literature and knowledge that will assist leaders at all levels of the Canadian Forces to prepare themselves for operations in a complex security environment, and (b) inform the public with respect to the contribution of Canadian Forces service personnel to Canadian society and international affairs.

Although this book diverges slightly from our traditional themes, which normally relate to leadership, the profession of arms and the contemporary security environment, it takes on a more historical and eclectic approach. *History Etched in Stone*, by Parks Canada senior interpretation specialist Wayne Kerr, examines the military graveyard at Fort Anne National Historic Site, in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. As one of the country's earliest military outposts, established in the 1600s, it provides an incredible study of our military heritage. Kerr's volume speaks not only to the French and English garrisons that occupied and fought for possession of Port-Royal, or Annapolis Royal, depending on the period in question, but also delves into customs, traditions and an understanding of those who have come before.

In closing, I wish to reiterate the importance of this latest addition to the CDA Press collection as it provides a greater understanding



## P R E F A C E

of our military history and culture. I believe you will find this book both interesting and enlightening. As always, we welcome your comments.

Colonel Bernd Horn  
Chairman, CDA Press

## FOREWORD

If one is fortunate enough to stroll along St. George Street in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, a casual glance at the picturesque graveyard on the treed and grassy grounds of Fort Anne National Historic Site indicates instantly that *there* is a burial area that has been around for a while. It is this very graveyard that is the subject of this book. Just how long the location has been a burial area, who lies there, and what its stones and internments have to tell us in the 21<sup>st</sup> century about our French and British colonial past and the change of empire that occurred in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century are just a few of the topics Wayne Kerr illuminates in this fascinating and thoughtful book about the old “garrison graveyard” of Annapolis Royal.

Annapolis Royal, by the way, has been the town’s name for *only* three centuries. Before 1710, when a British colonial expedition captured the place, the community was known as Port-Royal to its French and Acadian inhabitants and defenders. Vestiges of fortifications from that early period are still at Fort Anne, and the garrison graveyard that is the focus of this book dates back well into the French period of the mid-to-late 1600s.

While Annapolis Royal (formerly Port-Royal) is one of Canada’s most storied places – attacked and defended more often than any other single place in our nation’s military past – there remain many unexplored aspects of the town’s history, during both its French and later British and Canadian periods. Wayne Kerr sets out in this book to shed additional light on the complex and layered history of the town by writing about a sometimes overlooked source: the gravestones and burial plots in the old garrison graveyard. For the author, gravestones are a valuable repository

## F O R E W O R D

of historical information. To be sure, he uses documents, maps, plans, and other books and articles to inform his narrative, yet it is in interpreting the stones of the graveyard that he offers his keenest insights. Through a close analysis of the art and images on the tombstones, and in telling the stories of some of the people buried beneath them, one learns a great deal about the town's history through the centuries. Moreover, taken collectively, as Wayne Kerr demonstrates convincingly, the stones of the garrison graveyard on the grounds of Fort Anne have the potential to speak to us about different eras, and the attitudes and philosophies of changing times.

Others have written about Annapolis Royal/Port-Royal before Wayne Kerr. The classic work of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was by W.A. Calnek, edited by A.W Savary, entitled *History of the County of Annapolis*. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, former Parks Canada historian Brenda Dunn provided a much needed overview of two centuries when she published *A History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal: 1605-1800*. Acadia University historian Barry Moody is currently working on a study of the town that will pick up where Dunn left off and take it through to more recent times. As for the garrison graveyard, Deborah Trask included some of its stones in her 1978 Nova Scotia Museum publication, *Life How Short, Eternity How Long: Gravestone Carving and Carvers in Nova Scotia*. Each of those works, and others as noted in the bibliography, sets the stage for what Wayne Kerr does with this book. He goes beyond the broad terms of routine narrative history and uses the gravestones to recount the stories of some of the military personnel and civilians, including French, Acadian, British, and even a few Mi'kmaq. Along the way, Kerr references the outside events that influenced the lives of these people: especially the American Revolution and the arrival of thousands of United

## F O R E W O R D

Empire Loyalists who became the cornerstone of nineteenth-century British society in Annapolis Royal.

The history presented in this book is greatly enhanced by the photographs the author selected for presentation. Most were taken back in the 1980s, which is a very good thing. As Wayne Kerr notes, the weathering processes and acid rain of the past thirty years have meant that many of the tombstones are no longer nearly as legible as they were back then. The history the stones of the garrison graveyard carry and represent is steadily being lost. Fortunate are we that this book exists. It makes it possible to take an armchair journey of understanding into one of Nova Scotia's oldest graveyards, on the multiple centuries-old grounds of old Fort Anne.

A.J.B. Johnston

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A.J.B. (John) Johnston is the author of many books and articles on the history of Atlantic Canada. His most recent book, *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade* (University of Nebraska Press and Cape Breton University Press), received a Clio award from the Canadian Historical Association.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prologue .....	1
Introduction .....	3
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
<i>Passersby Beware!</i> .....	11
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	
<i>Historical Synopsis</i> .....	15
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	
<i>Early Gravestone Art</i> .....	37
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	
<i>Local Carving Takes Root</i> .....	59
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	
<i>Crowded Churchyards to Formal Settings</i> .....	85
<b>EPILOGUE</b>	
<i>Surviving into the Future</i> .....	139
Carvers' Business Cards .....	147
Epitaphs .....	149
Endnotes .....	155
Bibliography .....	173
About the Author .....	181
Index .....	183



## PROLOGUE

Many communities have ancient graveyards whose thought-provoking gravestones continue to attract the curiosity of passersby; collectively they embody some of the most tangible links to past events and the people who made our history. Yet, this unheralded part of our national heritage has often gone unnoticed by the public.

The garrison graveyard at Fort Anne National Historic Site of Canada (NHSC) in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, is one of the most historic graveyards in Canada. Its design evolved over three centuries, as it changed from a fenced-in graveyard, to a community burial site, to a landscaped Victorian cemetery, to its present-day well-maintained tranquil park-like space and compact, yet uneven, alignment of gravestones, which illustrate a long period of gravestone history.

Although a picturesque community today, Annapolis Royal, which the French called Port-Royal, played a pivotal and turbulent role in the decades-long Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in North America.

Port-Royal was the cradle of Acadie, where Acadians began to develop their distinct identity. After Port-Royal fell to the British for the final time, it was renamed Annapolis Royal. The town served as the capital of Nova Scotia from 1713 until the founding of Halifax in 1749. Today, a large part of Annapolis Royal is designated a historic district of national historic and architectural significance.

Members of the French-Acadian Roman Catholic parish of Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Port-Royal were the first to use the area



## PROLOGUE

as a burial place. The British subsequently began using it as the burying ground for members of the Church of England parish of St. Luke's; Acadians, however, continued to inter people in their part of the graveyard. The adjacent St. Luke's Church served as the garrison chapel until the last British troops withdrew from Fort Anne in 1854.

French, Acadians and British civilians, government officials, and members of the military and their families are buried in the garrison graveyard, as are several Mi'kmaq. Yet, the only remaining grave markers date from the early British period through to the recent past.

I am pleased to present in the following pages a representative sampling of the eye-catching mosaic of gravestone art and inscriptions (and several that no longer exist), which range from the quaintly primitive to the astoundingly skilful and heart-rending. I explore their evolution, suggest potential interpretations of their symbolism, and interweave historical and biographical details about the centuries-old town, its people, and its eclectic history.

The gravestones are precious historical records. I hope, therefore, that this work will also make a modest contribution to the public's appreciation and understanding, while preserving some of the vital information before it is no longer legible on the ever-deteriorating markers.

# INTRODUCTION

Silently they wait, weathered and tilted, scowling images – small phantoms watching the living – to remind passersby that the one universal certainty of life will come, so dear reader:

Behold and see as you pass by  
As you are now so once was I  
As I am now so you will be  
So prepare for death and follow me

There is an admonishing tone to this epitaph, as if it is saying, “do not think you are better than I.” Yet, how societies deal with this ultimate experience tells us much about them. Through time, gravestones have essentially served the same main purpose: to mark the burial site as a reminder of those who have passed.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA



**FIGURE 1.** PARTIAL VIEW OF THE PRESENT-DAY FORT ANNE GARRISON GRAVEYARD

## INTRODUCTION

Graven images and epitaphs also tell us a great deal about past events, beliefs, and experiences. They speak of the predictability of death, the triviality and vanity of this world, and warn us to mend our ways before it is too late; yet, they also speak of joy for a life well lived, redemption, faith, and hope. Scattered among the everyday and standard verses and epitaphs, one also finds real riches that convey both profound philosophy and poignant expressions of love and sorrow. In order to understand these so-called messages, however, it helps if we put the motifs and words into their historical settings and perhaps not think of them as bizarre or even odd, as often seems the case.<sup>1</sup>

During a wander in an ancient graveyard or a modern cemetery, one can learn firsthand about the experiences of the frequently called prominent shapers of history, as well as the people that are regularly considered too insignificant to be included in history books; yet the latter's stories are real enough to bring a lump to the throat or a smile to the face even centuries later.<sup>2</sup> Just such an experience is provided on the very popular candlelight tour of the garrison graveyard, sponsored by the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal (HAAR).<sup>3</sup>

Gravestones are important records for study in a number of disciplines, including history, art, religion, sociology and archaeology. Indeed, burial sites offer an opportunity to study an often-undisturbed continuation of change in an area, similar to the layers of soil in an archaeological excavation that archaeologists study to determine changes over time. In some respects, gravestones are unique as primary information sources, since, for the most part, they are artifacts that are dated and survive in their original locations.<sup>4</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Centuries ago, churchyards became places to stroll between services, during which people would read and look at the visual warnings to the living on the gravestones, along with the tributes to the deceased. Merciful symbols of heavenly promise were juxtaposed with terrible reminders of people's vulnerability, for:

The grave has Eloquence, it Lectures Teach  
in Silence, Louder than divines can preach.  
Hear, what it says—ye sons of Folly, hear  
it speaks to you—lend an attentive Ear.<sup>5</sup>

The word “cemetery” was seemingly little used to describe colonial burial grounds. Most were called “graveyards” or “burying grounds” where stones were randomly arranged and little or no attention was paid to the landscaping – seemingly intentional in their unfriendliness. Beginning in the 1830s, however, cemeteries became park-like settings where visitors strolled in pastoral surroundings. Present-day cemeteries are attractive places with carefully manicured grounds, decorative plantings and flowers placed at the graves. Some have become so-called perpetual-care lawn cemeteries or “memory gardens,” with only small grave markers.

Yet, one can't help but wonder if something has been lost, for many people have forgotten the tradition, for example, of burying the dead with the feet toward the east so that on Resurrection Morn the immortal rises facing the sun.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, while the typology on modern markers is precise and tidy, the inscriptions on the centuries-old markers seem much more appealing with their charming, often hard-to-read lettering, unfathomable abbreviations, unexpected capitals, words running together, and the obvious corrections and frequent outright errors.

## INTRODUCTION

Gravestone art is now a popular artistic medium, whereby actual makers or image rubbings are exhibited in art galleries and museums. In fact, the hobby of gravestone rubbing has become very popular, with both professional art critics and the general public taking an interest in these easily accessible “art objects.” Some stores and artisans even specialize in items such as T-shirts, posters and jewellery using gravestone images as their “logos.” Still others have used “discarded” gravestones as steps for stairs or garden walkways. No matter where they are located, however, old graveyards and modern cemeteries invariably attract many curious and interested visitors. The garrison graveyard is just such a place. It is now commonly called the “Garrison Cemetery”.

The garrison graveyard has what is believed to be the oldest English-inscribed gravestone in Canada, dated 1720. The over 230 gravestones – with their agonizing winged skulls, winged soul effigies, cinerary urns, weeping willows, and poignant children’s memorials – embody aspects of the centuries-old social, political, military, religious, and economic life of Annapolis Royal.

The development and multiple meanings of gravestone art remain complex and much-debated subjects among interdisciplinary researchers. Some scholars question whether it is even possible to determine the motifs’ meanings and significance: What is the meaning of a frown or a smile on a skull or an effigy? Does a particular flower or a pinwheel have a symbolic significance or are they simply decorations? Take, for example, the challenge of deciphering the symbols that appear on early New England Puritan gravestones:

The problem of whether or not the themes the Puritans cut upon their gravestones functioned as symbols or decorations depends upon how the Puritans read them,

## INTRODUCTION

not upon how we might choose to read them. By looking at Puritan imagery through the eyes of the modern world we are not measuring Puritan symbolic art, we are simply seeing the images as our fancy dictates. Thus the Puritan soul dove, an ancient soul symbol, becomes to us a modest decoration because we fail to read the meaning behind the image.<sup>7</sup>

In our attempts to draw meaning and understanding from the graven images, several variables should be taken into consideration, starting with their “context.”

A skull and bones, for example, on a black-flagged pirate ship or a container of toxic substances serve as warnings to those who fear putting their lives at risk. But unless something indicates otherwise, these same symbols on a gravestone undoubtedly convey, in part at least, death. Ironically, however, all three actually suggest either the possibility or the reality of death – it’s a matter of their respective “context.”

We also cannot assume that within a community or region there existed, or exists today, a universal understanding of the significance of an image or group of images. This is certainly the case when analysing gravestones that were imported from New England to Nova Scotia before local carvers began producing them following the American Revolution in the late 1700s. After the United Empire Loyalist influx (1780s), the importation of gravestones virtually ceased (although it is worth noting that not all gravestones produced before the Revolution came from New England).<sup>8</sup>

Critically as well, we superimpose, consciously or not, our “bias” when examining gravestone motifs. Like most forms of art, the

## INTRODUCTION

meaning is, indeed, often in the eyes of the beholders, whose interpretations are customarily informed by their experiences, beliefs, and knowledge. Graveyards and cemeteries exist in societies, thus when we stroll in them we are walking among members of that community. So what it all means depends as much on us as on what the carvers or clients wanted, or want, to communicate. That being said, equally valid is the belief that what is important is that the ancient and modern motifs and epitaphs “speak” to and provoke present-day passersby, irrespective of their historical antecedent.

Since there is no readily available manual that describes and explains the meanings of the symbols in some detail, the interpretations offered in the following pages are necessarily general and inferential, and ultimately are open for debate and revision. I hope, however, that the suggested interpretations will encourage you to perhaps explore ancient graveyards and modern cemeteries and develop your own interpretations.

Irrespective of the ongoing debates, the beauty of gravestone art is that you can interpret and take away whatever meanings or messages the motifs and epitaphs express to you. So, by all means, explore the art on the markers, for gravestone art is art, in the truest sense of the word. Some ancient images are as beautiful as those found in the best art galleries and museums, while modern gravestone designs can also be quite multifaceted and engaging.

In the present-day expressions of the general public, the terms “gravestone,” “stone,” “marker,” “grave marker,” “headstone,” and “memorial” are used interchangeably; as are the terms “graveyard,” “burial ground,” and “burying ground.” As well, “cemetery” is commonly used to mean both ancient graveyards and modern-day cemeteries. However, I use the term “garrison graveyard” when

## INTRODUCTION

referencing the Fort Anne NHSC graveyard, and more generally the terms “graveyard” or “burial ground” to set the discussion in its historical context.

The production of some gravestones was not necessarily contemporaneous with the dates on the markers. Hence, it is not unusual to find a gravestone that was carved and set in place long after the person had passed. In other cases, a marker may be a replacement for one that was damaged or destroyed; or if it is the original, it may have been produced years later for some unknown reason. So unless otherwise stated, the year indicated in the photo captions is the deceased’s year of passing as recorded on the gravestone or obtained from other sources.

The names of the deceased are spelled as they appear on their gravestone, or as recorded when they were still legible. As well, most epitaphs have been reproduced as inscribed on the markers, with their original letterings, spellings and punctuations. In some instances, however, the epitaphs are reproduced in modern typography for ease of reading or as other researchers recorded them at the time.





# CHAPTER 1

## PASSERSBY BEWARE!

### BRIEF SKETCH OF ANCIENT BURIAL RITUALS

Death! This is not a subject that many people are comfortable discussing. Indeed, the most common refrain is “I don’t want to talk about it.” Yet, death is part of the circle of life, so deciding what to do with the remains of the deceased has challenged societies since time immemorial. Human burial practices universally express the desire to show respect for the physical remains of the deceased and for their loved ones. Marking graves may in fact be as old as the act of burying the deceased.

The most common and favoured method of burial in North America is returning the body to the earth, “... til thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shall thou return” (Genesis 3:19, *King James Bible* – hereafter *KJB*).

Graves were usually identified with a wooden or stone memorial, stone being the most favoured. Most modern cultures mark the location of the body with a gravestone, which serves several purposes: it indicates where the deceased rests for anyone trying to locate the plot; it protects the grave from accidentally be exhumed; and the marker often contains information or tributes to the deceased.

Gravestones are a form of remembrance for the deceased. They may also be a form of immortality, for stone has long been perceived as an everlasting material; although we are now seeing evidence to the contrary. While the deceased may no longer

be present in the physical sense, the stone marker remains a symbol, supposedly for eternity, of one's passage on Earth. Moreover, the setting of gravestones remains a way of dealing with death by forming a "connection" between the living and the deceased. Relatives will, for example, spend time sitting beside a grave in "conversation" with the deceased.

Prior to the founding of Christian churches, human burial sites were typically located outside the fortified walls of cities and unconnected with churches. Eventually, however, the shrines of holy people often served as places of worship. When churches were established, they were frequently built over the shrines, thus making the church the most sacred place within the community.<sup>9</sup>

The prevailing belief held that the more religious services performed over the grave, the greater one's chances were for redemption. Consequently, people lobbied to be interred as close to the high altar as possible.<sup>10</sup> Originally restricted to ecclesiastics and royalty, this practice deteriorated to whoever could pay the most. This custom gradually fell out of favour, particularly in North America where "purer" religion frowned on the worship of relics. However, graveyards continued to have church connections, since burial customs were, and remain, religious ceremonies.<sup>11</sup> As well, non-religious events often revolved around the church, which occupied a central location within most communities.

Early grave markers often consisted of a headstone and footstone: the headstone was generally intended to represent the headboard of the grave, while the footstone formed the end of the "bed." Together, they were the resting place of the remains – the soul's cradle (see, for example, Figure 54). Even today, some graves still include both a headstone and footstone. The unfinished butts of early gravestones may attain surprising underground depth,

sometimes reaching three-quarters of their above ground height.<sup>12</sup> The lower portion served to stabilize the stones, although it did not prevent the markers from sinking.

Tradition holds that in earlier times the deceased were buried head to the west and feet to the east, so when the cock crowed on the Day of Judgment, the saved would rise facing the dawn;<sup>13</sup> several lines from *The Winter Hymn of Sunday's Lauds* includes the hymn from St. Ambrose:

Loud crows the dawn's shrill harbinger  
And awakens up the sunbeams bright

Early burial sites in present-day Nova Scotia were usually located next to fortifications and churches. Sites were typically selected because of their sandy drained soil conditions. Most of these can be called "graveyards," for they usually had no formal plan and were poorly maintained. As the population spread across the colony, however, family burial sites were established on private land, and something was left to mark the spot and commemorate the deceased.<sup>14</sup> Gradually, formal "cemeteries" developed, which were maintained by professional staff. Although it is considered a cemetery today, the garrison graveyard can rightly be termed a "graveyard."



## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

#### A STORIED HISTORY

Mi'kmaw oral tradition holds that Annapolis Royal was part of Kespukwitk (meaning "Lands End"), one of seven districts that formed Mi'kma'ki, the traditional homeland of the Mi'kmaq.

For at least 3000 years prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Mi'kmaq had lived a semi-nomadic existence, in extended family groups, moving within Kespukwitk according to the cycle of the seasons and the availability of food sources. The waterways, such as the Te'wapskik (Annapolis River), were their highways. During their travels, the Mi'kmaq used the site of present-day Fort Anne as a seasonal encampment area.<sup>15</sup>

In the early 1600s, French explorers and merchant traders arrived to attempt permanent settlement on the shores of the Annapolis River, in the area the French named Port-Royal, part of the region they called Acadie.

In 1605, the French established a fur-trading post, the Habitation at Port-Royal, located about eight kilometres down river from today's Annapolis Royal. The Mi'kmaq and the French became friends and trading partners. When the trading monopoly was revoked in 1607, the French temporarily withdrew from the fledgling colony, leaving it in the care of Mi'kmaw Saqamaw (Chief) Membertou and his followers. Upon their return three years later, the French discovered that the Mi'kmaq had indeed looked after the habitation.

The relationship grew closer when, in 1610, Membertou and members of his family embraced Roman Catholicism. However, this initial French settlement effort ended in 1613 when an English expedition from Jamestown, Virginia, plundered and then burned the habitation to the ground. Most of the Frenchmen returned to France, while the few who stayed continued their friendship and trading relations with the Mi'kmaq. By the late 1620s, Mi'kma'ki/Acadie witnessed the arrival of yet another group.

In 1629, a group of Scottish colonists, under the leadership of Sir William Alexander the younger, sailed past the former site of the French habitation and built Charles Fort on a point of land at the confluence of what are now the Annapolis and Allain Rivers. This fort was located in the same general area where the French settlers of 1605-13 had planted fields of wheat. The Scots, who continued to call the area Port-Royal, only stayed three years in the region. In 1632, under the terms of the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Port-Royal was handed back to France. Yet the legacy the Scots left remains today.

The Latin charter for the Scottish colony called the territory *Nov Scotia*, meaning New Scotland. The coat of arms granted Sir William Alexander the elder by Charles I in 1625 still serves as the province's coat of arms, and its shield was the inspiration for the present-day flag of Nova Scotia.<sup>16</sup>

French governor, Isaac de Razilly, took possession of the colony, whereupon he established a new settlement on Acadie's south shore at LaHave; a small number of de Razilly's men remained at Port-Royal.

In February 1636, de Razilly died, leaving his cousin, nobleman Charles de Menou, the *Sieur d'Aulnay de Charnisay* in charge.

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

D'Aulnay wasted no time in transferring the LaHave settlement to the site where the Scots had placed their fort at Port-Royal. It was also during the 1630s that the first French families began to settle in the colony; they would form the foundation for the development of the Acadian people.<sup>17</sup>

During the subsequent decades, a long and bitter rivalry unfolded between the French and British, and at times between French and French. Both conflicts engulfed the Amerindians who struggled to maintain their traditional territories. Notwithstanding the numerous treaties, both claimed Acadie, which the British called Nova Scotia. Acadie/Nova Scotia was commonly referred to as the “political football of the nations,” for it changed hands between the two imperial powers numerous times before a British-New England expedition captured the fort for the final time in 1710. Port-Royal, then the only fortified settlement in Nova Scotia, was renamed Annapolis Royal in honour of the reigning Queen Anne.

The British quickly established a presence in the former French fort, renamed the “fort at Annapolis” (only in the 1820s did it become known as Fort Anne).<sup>18</sup>

Some 450 men from the British-New England force spent the winter of 1710-11 in Annapolis Royal. Only the men of the train of artillery would stay on permanently, while the postings for the other members of the garrison were temporary until an official garrison could be established.<sup>19</sup>

The fort's captors, however, were unimpressed with their prize. The ramparts were in deplorable condition, made worse by the damage caused during the siege. The palisades were rotten, and even the sentry boxes had fallen into the ditch. Thomas Caulfield, later Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, succinctly described it as “the most miserable place I ever saw.”<sup>20</sup>



Though the Anglo-French rivalry continued, the fort and town gradually took on a British character. One of the most recognizable expressions of this was in the place names, which were immediately changed from French to suitable loyal British ones. Thus, the Rivière du Dauphin (Annapolis River) became the British River, and the Petite Rivière (Allain River), Jenny's River. Even the fort's bastions, originally named for the French royal family, were renamed for British royalty.

Annapolis Royal served as the capital of Nova Scotia from 1713 until the founding of Halifax in 1749. However, the town remained a small British enclave in a province populated by Mi'kmaq and Acadians. Canso, in eastern Nova Scotia, was the only other British settlement.

Not surprisingly, strong links developed between Annapolis Royal and New England, particularly Boston, since most of the British residents in the town originated from there. Like the Bay of Fundy tides, the population of Annapolis Royal and the surrounding area ebbed and flowed over the ensuing decades: members of the garrison and officials came and went; the Acadians were deported in the 1750s; New England Planters arrived in the 1760s; and thousands of fleeing United Empire Loyalists from the newly founded United States flooded the town in the 1780s.

## **HUNDREDS OF BURIALS**

The garrison graveyard is composed of two overlapping burial sites, both of which are located within the boundaries of the present-day Fort Anne graveyard: the French-Acadian "cimetière de la paroisse de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Port-Royal-Annapolis Royal," and the still-visible British "burying ground." (The term "cimetière" was commonly used by the French and is interchangeable with the English terms "burying ground" or "graveyard").

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

We do not know where the Scots buried the approximately thirty people who died of scurvy during the first winter of their short-lived settlement at Port-Royal (1629-1632).<sup>21</sup> Based on historical settlement patterns, though, it is reasonable to assume that the Scots very likely had a burial ground near Charles Fort. It is also not known whether the few French who occupied the fort site between the departure of the Scots and the arrival of the settlers from LaHave used the graveyard site or an alternate area for burials.

The first people to have used the garrison graveyard site for internments seem to have been members of the LaHave group who relocated to Port-Royal in 1636. The date of the first burial is not known. However, on May 24, 1650, Governor Charles de Menou, the Sieur d'Aulnay, died suddenly from hypothermia when his canoe overturned in the icy waters of the Annapolis River. He was interred in the Port-Royal chapel, beside his child's grave.<sup>22</sup>

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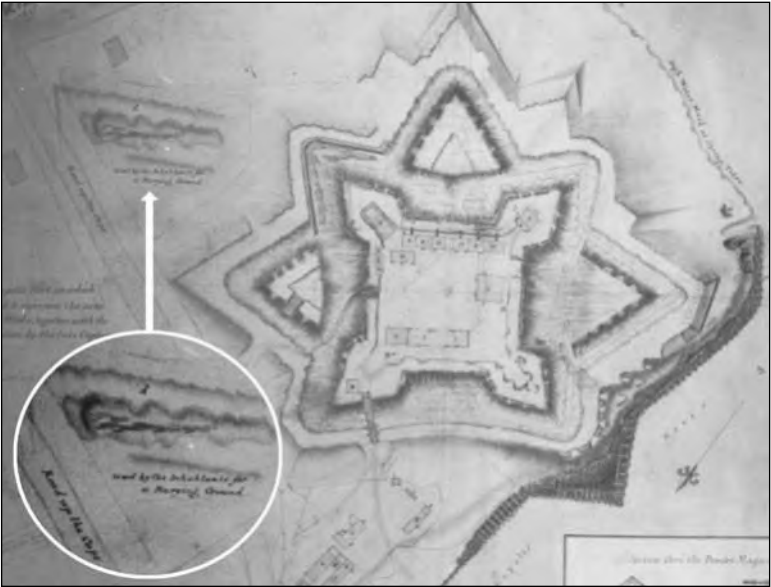
**FIGURE 2.** JACQUES DE MUELLES' 1686 PLAN OF PORT-ROYAL SHOWING THE FRENCH/ACADIAN GRAVEYARD

The first plan of the town of Port-Royal dated 1686 (Figure 2), shows a well-established, fenced-in graveyard; the wooden *piquet* (fence) defined the burial site and kept animals out. Within the enclosed space there are seven small wooden crosses and a large central cross. Nearby are the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Roman Catholic Church dating to the 1670s, a presbytery, and a large formal garden with a cross at the corner. In 1690, when Port-Royal was in the hands of the English, New England troops burned the large cemetery cross and plundered the church.<sup>23</sup> Yet in the early 1700s, wooden crosses still stood within the fenced-in graveyard.

A 1706 plan prepared by French engineer Pierre-Paul Delabat shows that the graveyard had evolved into a rectangular area, measuring 16.7 metres along the Cape road (upper St. George Street) by 55 metres. It was also still surrounded by a *piquet*; it was noted, however, that the *piquets* were to be removed since they were detrimental to the fortifications.<sup>24</sup>

Paradoxically, the graveyard became the only constant reference point for tracing the evolution of the various fortifications built by the French and the British. Still, the British plans consistently leave out the post-1710 graveyard until it appears on William Fenwick's 1790s plan of the fort (Figure 3). Even so, the area is identified as a "burying ground" used by the inhabitants and not by the military. On a plan dated 1827, Joseph Norman, barrack master at Annapolis, gives the area of the garrison graveyard as "1 Acre 2 Rods."<sup>25</sup>

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**FIGURE 3.** WILLIAM FENWICK'S 1790s PLAN OF THE FORT AT ANNAPOLIS SHOWING THE BRITISH BURIAL GROUND

Members of the *companies franches de la Marine*, civil servants, their wives and children, and Acadians were buried in the graveyard. It seems that the Acadians also continued to use the old French-Acadian graveyard site following the British takeover in 1710.<sup>26</sup> The Acadians of the area also buried their deceased in the churchyard next to the Chapelle Saint-Laurent at Beaulieu, about eight kilometres from Annapolis Royal just above present-day Belleisle (some had also been buried there before 1710). Still others were buried at the Cape, located a short distance from the town. Several Mi'kmaq may have also been interred.<sup>27</sup>

No above-ground traces or markers remain for those who were buried in the fort's French-Acadian graveyard; nor have any descriptions of the original grave markers been found. Based on the

early plans of the fort at Port-Royal, the fact that wooden crosses were used by the French at places such as Fortress Louisbourg, and the absence to date of any evidence of gravestones, “it is perhaps safe to conclude that wooden crosses were the customary grave markers for all Catholics in Acadie or Nova Scotia prior to the Deportation.”<sup>28</sup>

Historian John Bartlet Brebner characterized early Nova Scotia as “New England’s outpost,”<sup>29</sup> which was certainly true during the years immediately following the British takeover. Many goods were imported from New England on ships operated by several former members of the garrison who had participated in the 1710 siege. Doubtless among the cargos was the occasional gravestone, produced by Boston-area stone carvers.

The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht ceded Acadie, which included present-day mainland Nova Scotia, to the British. Annapolis Royal had a nucleus population of Protestants, primarily British; there were also Acadians still residing in the town and surrounding area, as well as a small number of Mi’kmaq.

The British appear to have immediately begun using the area next to the Acadian graveyard as a burying ground, which would eventually encircle and even overlap the former. During the uncertain years between 1710 and 1713, however, and on several other occasions, the British buried their dead elsewhere in unmarked graves.

As the numbers of the makeshift garrison diminished during the difficult first winter, bodies were buried secretly at night along the shoreline of the fort in order to hide their losses from the French-Amerindian guerrilla force operating in the area. In a letter to his parents, Hananiah Parker, a New England private, wrote that

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

two or three men were buried secretly on the beach each night in order to conceal the garrison's declining strength:

We berry them in night because ye French Should not know how many men we loos, and berry them out of ye burying place down by ye water side, below ye fort and spread ye ground leavel over them that they might not be seen.<sup>30</sup>

However, during an attack on Annapolis Royal in 1744, Captain François Du Pont Duvivier, leader of the French forces, had observed the British carrying their dead from the fort for internment in the burial ground opposite the east bastion. Duvivier also heard rumours that the British were burying their dead in the fort's ditch. Yet, even in the chaos of battle, proper military funerals were carried out, including gun salutes.<sup>31</sup>

In October 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker's expedition arrived to relieve what remained of the temporary garrison. The expedition was returning from its disastrous attempt to capture Quebec, where "Tragic ineptitude wrecked the ships ... on the reefs of the St. Lawrence," and caused numerous deaths before it reached its destination.<sup>32</sup> These men would form the core of the Annapolis Royal garrison for more than forty years. Apparently the first British soldiers' wives also arrived in Annapolis with the Walker expedition, some of whom were married to men left at Annapolis.<sup>33</sup>

A virtual cross-section of British society in Annapolis Royal is buried in the garrison graveyard – from Lieutenant-Governors of Annapolis Royal John Doucett (1717-1726) and Alexander Cosby (1726-1742), to ordinary members of the garrison and their wives and children, and civilians. Many military men from England,

Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the New England colonies served at the far-flung fort at Annapolis; some died, as did a number of their wives and children.

Four groups of people were associated with the fort: members of the garrison, their families, garrison staff, and artificers engaged by the Board of Ordnance to work on the fortifications and buildings. All groups are represented in the still-marked plots in the garrison graveyard. The earliest identified military grave belongs to Ensign George Audley, who died at the fort in May of 1806.

Apparently at one time, wooden crosses identified many of the British graves, in addition to those that were marked with gravestones:

We are used to hearing of crosses of Flanders fields, but an old aunt of the writer's used to say that when on her way to school she saw the crosses there stand as thick as the fingers on her hand. More than a century has gone since the old lady passed that way. These crosses, together with the wooden slabs, soon fell under the ravages of time and now no record remains of them.<sup>34</sup>

While the preceding suggests that there were many crosses, it is neither possible to determine the actual number nor the range of years they represented. Some crosses may also have been replacements for earlier ones or even gravestones. Another unknown is whether the crosses only marked the graves of people of British ancestry.

Numerous men stationed at the fort at Annapolis had families. Although wives and children typically stayed at home in Great Britain while their husbands served overseas for years, some were lucky enough to have their families with them. Even though the

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

women and children were allowed to live in the barracks, neither beds nor bedding were supplied. Children usually had to sleep in beds of soldiers who were on duty. The families that were left behind, however, were even worse off, since no provision was made for them.<sup>35</sup> Not surprisingly, some of the military men who arrived in Annapolis Royal as bachelors returned home as family men.

There are no graves identifying members of the British garrison who served at Annapolis in the 1700s, although many died there from wounds received in action, various illnesses, or accidents. Among them were members of the well-known Philipps Regiment (the 40<sup>th</sup> Foot), a regiment that was formed at Annapolis Royal in 1717 and served at the fort for 40 years.<sup>36</sup>

### MOURNING PRACTICES

In the 1700s, deaths were marked by the mourning rituals of the day – British families of Annapolis Royal wore black, while military funerals followed established protocols for all members of the garrison. Indeed, even in what was thought of an isolated colonial outpost of the Empire military funerals were conducted with a certain pomp and circumstance. Such was the case, for example, during a funeral in 1731 for a drummer. Following the funeral, Robert Hale of Massachusetts reported: “Yesterday [21 June 1731 OS] one of the Drummers at the Fort was buried at whose interment as is ye Custom, 12 men fir’d Volleys.”<sup>37</sup>

When Nova Scotia Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Cosby’s brother, William Cosby, the governor of New York, died in 1736, King Gould (agent to Philipps Regiment and to Annapolis Royal and Canso) sent appropriate mourning attire to the Cosby family in Annapolis Royal from London. Anne Cosby (born Winniett) received a “head dress” and black silk for a dress and a nightgown.



Cosby himself was provided fabric for an officer's mourning uniform: the scarlet coat of Philipps Regiment was to be faced in black and worn with a black waistcoat, black breeches, and black "weepers," seemingly a type of black fabric. Cosby would also have worn a mourning sword, black buckles, and black hose.<sup>38</sup>

Army protocol dictated the honours that were to be paid a particular soldier. If the deceased were an officer, then an officer of equal rank led the honour guard. If the deceased were a sergeant or of lesser rank, a sergeant led the honour guard; the composition of which was in direct proportion to the deceased's rank. Pallbearers were supposed to be of the same rank as the deceased. Drummers only participated at officers' funerals.<sup>39</sup> Officers and men attending the funeral wore black crepe on the left sleeve of their uniforms. As a sign of respect, officers and men also carried reverse arms – guns and swords were pointed towards the ground.<sup>40</sup>

In 1994, skeletal remains of an unknown soldier were discovered on the shoreline of Fort Anne. The remains were re-buried in August of 1995 on the fort grounds, adjacent to the garrison graveyard. Similar eighteenth-century army burial protocols were followed: re-enactors from the 84<sup>th</sup> Royal Highland Regiment performed the ceremony. Coincidentally, this was quite appropriate since it was later determined that the remains were those of a member of the 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment that took over from the 84<sup>th</sup> in 1783.<sup>41</sup>

The present-day St. Luke's Anglican Church was built in 1822 on the "Whitehouse Field," directly across from the garrison graveyard. Sometime before 1833, the graveyard fell under the authority of St. Luke's Parish of the Church of England. Although no sources confirm the exact date, parish records mention the

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

difficulty of maintaining a fence around the graveyard to keep cattle out.<sup>42</sup>

The church bell was usually rung at nine a.m. for soldiers' service; a custom that continued long after there were no more soldiers to hear the call.<sup>43</sup> As a condition of providing the land for St. Luke's Church, a "Gallery shall be ... set apart in said Church for the use and accommodation of such officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in our service as shall be from time to time stationed and quartered in our Fort or Garrison at Annapolis Royal there to attend Divine Worship."<sup>44</sup> It seems that at the outset, the government may have also contributed some funding to ensure reserved seating for the garrison. Here sat a number of famous regiments, including some of the "noble 600," immortalized in Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade."<sup>45</sup> The graveyard, and the church, served the British garrison and the families until the last troops withdrew in 1854, after which the citizens of Annapolis Royal and area continued using the graveyard until around 1940.

The military links, which influenced much of the history of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal, continued on a modest level. In times of tension in Anglo-American relations, the garrison reached its peak in 1808 at one thousand men, and two hundred to four hundred shortly after the War of 1812.<sup>46</sup> Regiments came and went from the fort, which from 1820 was known as Fort Anne. However, at the outbreak of the Crimean War (October 1853), the garrison was withdrawn permanently. The following September, the last eleven members of the 76<sup>th</sup> Regiment and two Royal Artillery men marched out of the fort. As for the garrison graveyard, St. Luke's parish struggled to properly maintain the site.

## NEGLECT TO PERPETUAL CARE

By the latter 1800s, the fort and garrison graveyard were in a state of desperate disrepair, seemingly forgotten relics of a bygone age: “While the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century was developing a lustrous commercial prosperity and the ‘handsomest street in the province’ (fashionable St. George St.) the abandoned earthworks at Fort Anne had deteriorated to a common community cow pasture.”<sup>47</sup> The idea of preserving vestiges of a young Canada’s history was just starting to take root.

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**FIGURE 4.** A BOARD FENCE SEPARATES THE GRAVEYARD FROM THE FORT GROUNDS, LATE 1800s

Many of the structures at Fort Anne were now gone, while the remainder were in varying states of neglect. Yet it was the demolition in 1881 of the old northeast bastion blockhouse from the American Revolutionary War period that infuriated many townspeople and inspired them into action to safeguard the irreplaceable remnants of Annapolis Royal’s historic past.

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

Although derelict, the blockhouse came to symbolize faded glory and thus rose to martyrdom, for suddenly the familiar century-old town landmark had disappeared (although some citizens tried to stop the demolition and even started a subscription fund to save what remained, but to no avail).<sup>48</sup> The cause became preservation, which inspired the creation of a local preservationist committee – the first formal heritage group in Annapolis Royal – whose mission would be to save what remained of Fort Anne’s past.<sup>49</sup>

The effort truly gained momentum after Great Britain transferred the fort property to the Government of Canada in 1882.<sup>50</sup> During the next two decades, the fort grounds would be transformed from a common cow pasture into a park-like setting evoking the Victorian-era romanticism and veneration of historic places and events of the past, while preserving the historic nature of the fort and its surroundings. It effectively became a common community space and a place where visitors came to explore the area’s dynamic history and to wander the fort’s romantic ruins.

In time, benches and bandstands were added, along with plantings of trees and shrubs. The fort had almost no trees or plantings of any kind, since they were not permitted on the fort grounds when it was an active military installation. This is also likely when trees were planted around the edges of the graveyard.<sup>51</sup> In fact, in the late 1890s it was said that Joseph Norman, former barrack master, planted the trees in front of the graveyard and old fort (on the water side of the still-existing sally port).<sup>52</sup> It is not known exactly when decorative trees within the graveyard began to be planted (although the practice was continued during the mid-1900s by Harold McCormick, a local nursery owner).<sup>53</sup> Not surprisingly, perhaps, concerns also arose over the fate of the garrison graveyard.

In the early 1880s, while visiting Annapolis Royal, a writer observed that “we passed the old garrison graveyard, where black and broken old tombstones were exchanging petrified nods with each other. Indeed, many had slammed their entire length on the ground.”<sup>54</sup>

By the beginning of 1900s, the garrison graveyard was apparently in a state of near-total neglect, except for a few graves that were cared for by descendants of the deceased. St. Luke’s parish, unable to maintain the graveyard, was trying to secure the necessary financial resources for the long-term maintenance of the graveyard:

In the historic cemetery ... [the] consumptive tooth of time has almost obliterated the engraving[s]. Old stones are vertically sunk to the very surface; others are half-sunken, broken, fallen down, and reclining at every angle. Wooden fences, around lots, are rotten; iron fences are displaced; and the growth of wild roses and undesirable trees [has] made of some sites a veritable wilderness. The whole area covers about an acre. The number of graves and lots ... is not very large. The central portion is quite clear, even as an open field, though repeatedly used for burial; otherwise the proposed work would for us be hopeless.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the existing cast iron fence bordering the St. George Street side of the graveyard, there was also a “strong wooden fence surrounding the remainder of the enclosure.” Apparently the cast-iron fence, which had replaced a part of the wooden fence, was to have extended along the side of the graveyard edging the Court House square, but there were not enough funds.<sup>56</sup>

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

St. Luke's parish officials formed a committee "to solicit subscriptions for the preservation of the memorials in, and the general improvement of the old military and parochial cemetery in this 'ancient capital.'"<sup>57</sup> In justifying why people should contribute, it described, firstly, the condition of the graveyard:

It is too apparent that, with the exception of a few graves and lots, where everything betokens affectionate regard for ancestry, there has been neglect by living representatives as well of the illustrious, as of the 'rude forefathers' of the hamlet.<sup>58</sup>

Among the other reasons the committee gave for why people should donate funds was that yearly a "small army" of tourists visited the graveyard who were interested in the "moving panorama of soul stirring events that transacted here, [as were] antiquarians and writers of biographical sketches. They have to wade through grass in pursuit of their objects. We should have well kept paths."<sup>59</sup> Members further argued that the graveyard had more than a mere local importance, for it had served "imperial purposes," apart from the forgotten graves of earlier heroes, "who made the quondam frontier line of this expanding empire are here."<sup>60</sup>

The public appeal ultimately failed, however, for the "want of interest" because "few representatives of former families are now living here, and able to render pecuniary aid."<sup>61</sup> Another contributing reason, according to the committee, was the fact that some twenty years earlier St. Luke's corporation had passed a resolution closing the garrison graveyard.<sup>62</sup>

The so-called "closure" would have occurred sometime after 1881, for in that year St. Luke's bought "a lot of land [2.5] miles distant, where interments are being made and where considerable amount

of money and gratuitous labour have been spent. This, St. Alban's "City of the Silent," looks really well.<sup>63</sup> Even though the garrison graveyard was supposedly closed, burials continued, as confirmed in the committee's own deliberations and the graveyard records.<sup>64</sup>

Perhaps more importantly, people by then also had a number of choices of where to inter the deceased, since members of St. Luke's congregation were also using several nearby cemeteries, and there were also several private burial grounds on old homesteads: "There is thus ample opportunity afforded this congregation, of showing its reverence for the inns of 'the faithful.'"<sup>65</sup> Simply put, the "new" cemeteries were welcoming by being properly maintained, while the garrison graveyard was clearly no longer an inviting final resting place.

It seems an impediment to accepting donations was the uncertainty over ownership of the garrison graveyard, even though St. Luke's parish had had legal jurisdiction for decades, or so it thought.

Dr. Murray Cowie of Ann Arbor, Michigan, for example, actively tried to establish a means that would ensure perpetual care of the graveyard, since some of his relatives were buried there. He had planned to give "a substantial donation," but it fell through since "[no one] seemed to be able to establish ownership of the plot [graveyard]."<sup>66</sup> Hence, there were few dollars left to maintain "God's Acre," as some commonly called the graveyard.<sup>67</sup>

Given the lack of support, committee members then appealed to the provincial government for financial assistance, pointedly observing that:

Twice of late, in the public press of Halifax, it was, by others, suggested that a provincial grant might well be

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

made to preserve during unborn centuries these ancient memorials, and to keep them in such a state that apologies be not incumbent. We shall only be too glad to warrant that any such appropriation shall be duly expended.<sup>68</sup>

The committee, however, grew impatient for a formal response and suggested that “without awaiting any such token of public concern, we now request you to give an immediate, favourable reply to our appeal for substantial assistance that the work already begun, may be duly consummated.”<sup>69</sup>

The committee also suggested, with a strong tinge of frustration, that if a grant were not forthcoming then perhaps the government could take over the upkeep of the graveyard: “Or, if near, we suggest that you kindly come and attend to the site where lie those whose blood courses in your veins, or whose professions you enjoy while the places of your father’s sepulchres lieth waste.”<sup>70</sup> In the end, the provincial government neither provided funding nor took over the care of the graveyard.

As early as 1929, the National Parks Branch (NPB) in Ottawa recognized the importance of the graveyard, which was not part of Fort Anne National Historic Park (NHP). In a letter to St. Luke’s parish, the NPB wrote that “this cemetery is an important adjunct to the Park, so far as the tourists are concerned,” and that it would be pleased if the local Church officials would, provided the work was not already being done, “arrange to have our park caretaker look after this area,”<sup>71</sup> which was in deplorable condition – unused with most lots unreachable (Figures 5 and 5a). Notably in its letter the NPB focused solely on the “tourism” aspect of the graveyard’s importance rather than it being seen firstly, if not equally, as historically and culturally significant to the history of Canada.



COURTESY OF WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE



FIGURE 5. GRAVEDIGGER HENRY FRANKLIN, BEFORE JUNE 1929

Writing in 1934, local author Charlotte Perkins observed that “only a few lots showed any affectionate regard for the reason that there are few representatives of the old families left.”<sup>72</sup> However, even though the garrison graveyard was not part of Fort Anne NHP or under federal government jurisdiction, “arrangements have been made to preserve its appearance and avoid the neglect that is unhappily noticeable in most old cemeteries.”<sup>73</sup>

## HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

There seems to have been an annual memorial service in the garrison graveyard. In its July 18, 1935 edition, the local newspaper, *The Spectator*, announced that there “will be [an] annual memorial service of the Old Cemetery, with guides in attendance to show visitors ‘points of interest.’” Then on August 1, *The Spectator* reported that “St. Luke’s was crowded last Sunday morning for the memorial service of the Old Cemetery. After the service, Miss. Charlotte Perkins showed strangers through the cemetery.”<sup>74</sup>

In 1939, and even earlier, St. Luke’s parish tried in vain to persuade the Government of Canada to take over ownership of the graveyard. Even the Right Rev. John Hackenley, Archbishop of the Church of England in Nova Scotia, became involved, but to no avail.<sup>75</sup>

COURTESY OF WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE



**FIGURE 5a.** OVERGROWN GARRISON GRAVEYARD, 1929

Following the Second World War, the number of seasonal staff at Fort Anne was increased to properly care for the grounds and to

“beautify” the national historic park, as well as to provide much-needed employment. With the Church authorities’ consent, park maintenance staff did add the graveyard area to its grounds-keeping duties, “so that its appearance would enhance, and not detract from, the appearance of [the park].” It was also explicitly noted that the park staff had also just obtained gas lawn mowers to assist them in their work.<sup>76</sup> Once again the historic value of the graveyard seems to have been essentially irrelevant.

Finally, in 1968 the Government of Canada acquired the graveyard from St. Luke’s parish on explicit condition that there would be no more burials. Thus, the garrison graveyard became part of present-day Fort Anne National Historic Site of Canada.<sup>77</sup>

As in past decades, hundreds of visitors continue to wander among the gravestones that wait to “speak” to passersby. Tradition holds that there may be at least 2000 people buried within the garrison graveyard site, with gravestones made centuries ago from Boston-area slate to modern-day granite markers still identifying burial spots (Figure 6).

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 6.** VIEW OF THE GRAVEYARD LOOKING TOWARDS SAINT GEORGE STREET

## CHAPTER 3

### EARLY GRAVESTONE ART

#### SKILL OF CARVING

Centuries ago, gravestone carving was a skilled, physically demanding trade. In the early 1700s, New England was one of the foremost leaders, with “Boston and environs [being] one of the most important gravestone carving centres of the New World.”<sup>78</sup> Many carvers were stonemasons, shipwrights, or other tradesmen for whom gravestone carving was usually a secondary or part-time occupation. Often there was simply not enough business to support the carver full time, but with an ever-increasing population demand slowly increased to where workshops specializing in gravestones were established.

As with many early trades, gravestone carving was often a hereditary livelihood and families stayed in the business for several generations. Not surprisingly, the refinement and skill of the carvers (also called cutters) varied greatly, as did their individual, often colourful, artistic treatments. These early carvers were often inspired by illustrations found in broadsides, engravings, woodcuts, bookplates, and illustrated primers, which each adapted to his artistic flare or their clients’ wishes and sometimes outlandish whims.<sup>79</sup>

The slate used to produce early New England markers was subdued in colour, yet beautifully varied, ranging from almost black to shades and tints of grey – greenish, reddish, and bluish – occasionally streaked and striated.<sup>80</sup> Yet, no matter the individual carver’s decorating technique, he followed a customary process in making the marker once he had the blank slab from the quarry:

He used a cold chisel and a boring tool (gimlet) to shape one end of the slab to the desired profile ... Having prepared a smooth face to work on, he marked off the centerline and sketched his decorative design around it, using for this purpose a compass and dividers ... He [then] removed stone from within and around the sketches until the design was articulated in a [semi-relief] ... He began each letter by removing two or more serifs with quick hammer blows, gradually joining them with a cut that broadened to meet the serif, a precaution which prevented the stone from splitting or breaking beyond the edge of the letter... if the carver only engraved the inscription, he was paid one or two pennies per letter. If he finished the entire stone he was paid on the average of two pounds.<sup>81</sup>

Like other tradesmen, gravestone carvers had personal techniques and skills. Indeed, each carver's method was essentially his advertisement, which he often signed with his "business card." An excellent example of this is found on the Mary Hilton marker (1774) in Chebogue, Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia (Figure 7); the business promotion in the carver's postscript located just below the epitaph is obvious<sup>82</sup>: "Abraham Codner Next the Drawbridge Boston."

Responsibility for the composition and wording of the epitaph was very likely shared, as it is today, between the carver and the client. Although the carver probably had a lot of influence, as the inscriptions were generally similar in length and treatment. Yet the fashion of the day (as now) was perhaps the strongest influence in determining what "messages" were inscribed on the marker. Generally, each verse speaks to the living in one of three voices: that of the deceased, a friend or family member, or a philosopher.<sup>83</sup>

The layout and lettering on early gravestones had many variations, but there were also some standard characteristics, which was also often the case concerning the choice and carving of the gravestone imagery.

COURTESY OF HISTORY COLLECTION, NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM



**FIGURE 7.** MARY HILTON, 1774, CHEBOGUE, NS; SIGNED: "ABRAHAM CODNER NEXT THE DRAWBRIDGE BOSTON"

## WINGED SKULLS

Winged skulls (also variously called death heads or death's heads), were very popular gravestone motifs in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They came in a variety of artistic styles, often reflecting the

carver's personal tastes; hence they could be seen as cheerful, angry, or sad. Only a small number of winged skulls, all seemingly imported from New England, are found in Nova Scotia graveyards.<sup>84</sup>

As mentioned, there was an active and direct trade between New England, particularly Boston, and Nova Scotia beginning in the early 1700s. It is most likely, therefore, that some gravestones came from carvers in the Boston area, whose reputation for quality workmanship was firmly established. In fact, it was in Boston that successive generations of stone carvers – most were members of the Mumford, Codner, and Emmes families – produced round-eyed, round-headed, winged skulls.<sup>85</sup>

The earliest markers raised by the Puritans embodied a different attitude towards death than that of later generations. To a people who suffered the harshness of a severe climate, starvation and epidemics, death was to be feared. In a time when few people could read, gravestones were a form of illustrated textbook, for the images conveyed the messages of one's transience and the blessings of Heaven.<sup>86</sup> Actually, at the time the well-known Latin phrase *Memento mori* was a warning to "Remember that you must die." Emphasis, therefore, was placed on the desire for salvation, as this epitaph suggests:

The last day must always be awaited by man and no one should be called happy before his death and final funeral rites.<sup>87</sup>

Although the Puritans were commonly associated with the avoidance of imagery or the worshiping of icons, they still yearned to adorn objects, an outlet for which they apparently found in gravestone art:

After 1688 ... it was to art they turned when confronted with the awful immensity of death and the long voyage of the soul. So when it came time to bury family members, they were not satisfied with uninspiring doctrines their ministers preached at the gravesite. So the Puritans chose symbols [that] were often older than Christianity itself to express their aspirations and uncertainties in confronting the mysteries of death and Resurrection.<sup>88</sup>

These images simultaneously represented death and the hope for salvation. The subject would be cast in both its positive role as a “Door to salvation” and negatively as a reminder that only Christ could open that door.<sup>89</sup> A number of the early New England-style gravestones can still be found in the garrison graveyard.

Although there may have been more in the past, there are only three surviving gravestones with winged skulls in the garrison graveyard and the fragments of a fourth are in storage – they are the markers for Bathiah Douglass, Margaret Winniett, Anthony Oliver, and Mary Oliver. The gravestones date to the early 1700s when the winged skull was still a popular graven symbol.

The Bathiah Douglass marker (Figure 8) with its toothy, heart-shaped winged skull is the earliest known English-inscribed gravestone in Canada.<sup>90</sup> It is also an important example of the influence that New England carvers had on early gravestone art in Nova Scotia. The 1720 date may be contemporary to when it was actually carved.<sup>91</sup>

Carved in the popular light-bluish slate, the Douglass marker is attributed to Boston carver Nathaniel Emmes. His round, blank-eyed, heart-shaped winged skulls are found in Boston and other communities in New England, and beyond. Emmes’ style



includes ornate borders and graduated discs in the finials, indented skulls, and sometimes bones above the winged skull.<sup>92</sup>

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 8. BATHIAH DOUGLASS, 1720

Bathiah was the first wife of Samuel Douglass, a senior member of the train of artillery (a gunner) in the garrison, and a resident of the lower town. He was in Annapolis Royal in 1714, and possibly participated in the 1710 capture of Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal), along with his brother, Alexander, who was part of the expedition.<sup>93</sup>

Samuel served in Annapolis Royal for at least thirty years, rising from a gunner to a bombardier. He also had successful trading relations with local Acadians, while his brother, Alexander, a seaman, also lived in Annapolis Royal having remained after the expedition in 1710.<sup>94</sup> Samuel died in late December 1743, and is most likely buried near his first two wives. His third wife, Anna, quickly settled his estate and returned to Boston where one of her young stepchildren was living. She does not seem to have erected a gravestone to her late husband.

The tripartite shape with its tightly curved top of the Bathiah Douglass marker makes the winged skull appear scrunched, with the wings seeming almost bat-like; in fact, the winged skull looks as if it's about to burst through the top.

One theory sees that the winged skulls are the representation of the arrival of death and the flight to salvation. The skull may symbolize the mortal remains and the wings, signifying swiftness and power, being the soul in transition. It also communicated that life was short and not to be wasted. An alternate hypothesis asserts that the early winged skulls were not symbols representing the Angel of Death, but rather they personified the angel that death released: "If we trace the origin of the symbol to its English, Italian, and Roman antecedents, however, we find it may have had a more particular meaning which was related to the idea of a ghost or spirit."<sup>95</sup>

So rather than being symbols of death, winged skulls may have been representations of the shades of the dead, and a reminder to the living to make the most of life in productive ways, while it was still possible to do so.<sup>96</sup>

Other motifs sometimes accompanied a winged skull – including an hourglass, even a winged version; a coffin, sometimes with a figure inside; a skeleton alone or holding a sickle representing the grim reaper; while the side panels often have florets, finials, foliage, or fruit.

Bathiah’s marker has swirled border panels, which may represent flowers, signifying regeneration. They seem to counterbalance the powerful winged skull; alternatively, they may simply have been used to “frame” the winged skull and epitaph. One must be careful in thinking that New England stonecutters created many optional forms of foliage for border panels with an equal number of meanings. It is very likely that the alternatives were meant to make stylistic rather than iconographic sense.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, the words and spelling of the first lines in Bathiah’s epitaph put the gravestone in its time period and cultural setting:

HERE LYES Y<sup>e</sup> BODY OF  
 BATHIAH D<sup>o</sup>UGLASS WIFE  
 TO SAMUEL D<sup>o</sup>UGLASS WHO  
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE OCTO<sup>R</sup>  
 THE 1<sup>ST</sup> 17 20<sup>IN</sup> THE 37  
 YEAR OF HER AGE

Typical of the early gravestones, the opening line is followed by the name of the deceased and often with a title and/or relationship (for example, wife), the date of passing, and the age of the deceased.

To reduce the amount of lettering, carvers frequently used abbreviations, such as for the words “OCTO<sup>R</sup>” and “1<sup>ST</sup>” in the Douglass

inscription. The thorn, a symbol for the *th* sound, was also widely used. The symbol, which looks like the letter Y, appears most often as *Ye* for *the*. Also common, the right hand margin was sometimes a clutter of letters and words raised above or lowered below the line in order to make them fit.

Some spellings that may appear unusual, outdated, or even humorous, often reflect changes in style, thus, *lyes* for *lies*. Spellings such as for Douglass were often phonetic, while the use of bold upper-case letters was a common technique carvers used to perhaps give a sense of vitality to the short, but factual account.<sup>98</sup>

The arrangement of the words on the Douglass stone is poorly spaced and misaligned. For example, in order to correct the errors with the letters “L” & “A” in the first spelling of “D<sup>O</sup>UGLASS” and with the “A” in its second, the carver simply chipped the letters out and re-carved new ones, which was a common technique. As well, if you look closely you can still see the faint outlines of the letters “A” and “S” behind the letters “L” and “A” in the first spelling of Douglass.

Another motif used during the popularity of the winged skull was the full skeleton, either alone or combined with other symbols, such as an hourglass. An excellent example of this was found on the Rebeccha (Rebecca) Douglass gravestone (Figure 9).

Rebeccha Douglass died in 1740, leaving behind several children. She was the second wife of Samuel Douglass. Unfortunately, this memorial has succumbed to the ravages of time; the face of the marker has completely broken away. A pre-1932 photo is the only record of its fascinating graven art.

COURTESY OF WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE (PRE-1932)

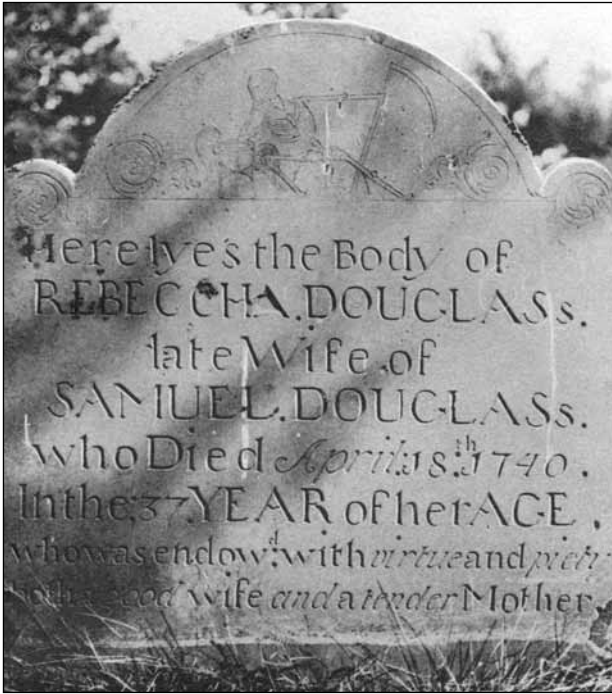


FIGURE 9. REBECCHA DOUGLASS, 1740

Almost certainly carved in New England, the gravestone had several intertwined symbols depicting death: a simple incised skeleton holding a sickle and forcefully leaning over an hourglass.

The skeleton alludes to life's brevity, while the hourglass graphically depicts the relentless passage of time and one's entire existence on earth and the certainty that the flesh shall eventually dissolve away after death. To emphasize the idea that the sands of time are symbolically telling us that the hours of our lives will unavoidably run out, carvers sometimes inscribed (although not in this case) mottos such as *Tempus fugit*, "Time is flying," "Time has run out," or "Time is gone," and *Fugit hora*, literally "Hours flee" or "Hours are fleeting."

The hourglass was often associated with a scythe, a figurative image of Death: the divine harvest, representing the temporary nature of life. When seen in the hands of Father Time, it symbolizes the ending of a life, which could be cut short at any moment.

It seems that in the early 1880s, at least one observer was not impressed by the iconography on Rebeccha's gravestone, for it was noted that:

With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,  
on which the representation of Father Time was carved  
in such peculiar manner that from pose and expression  
this figure might have passed for a lively you rather than  
the dead reaper, and was irreverently known to the vil-  
lage youths as "Sarah's young man", a title suggested by a  
popular song of the day.<sup>99</sup>

In addition to the basic information about Rebeccha (note the different spelling of Douglass to that on Bathiah's stone), her epitaph also poignantly describes her character:

Here lye's the Body of  
REBECCHA. DOUGLASs.  
late Wife of  
SAMUEL. DOUGLASs.  
who Died *April*:18<sup>th</sup>:1740.  
in the: 37. YEAR of her AGE.  
who was endow:<sup>d</sup> with *virtue* and *piety*  
both a *good* Wife and a *tender* Mother.

Given the symbols inscribed on Rebeccha's gravestone, a very suitable epitaph might be this version of a very common graven verse:

Reader behold and shed a tear  
 Think on the dust that slumbers here,  
 And when you read the fate of me,  
 Think of the glass that runs for thee.

The layout of the epitaph is an excellent example of the antiquated and typically "relaxed" lettering and punctuation format that often appeared on early gravestones: note the interplay of upper- and lower-case letters, periods, commas, colons, superscripts, italics, and "pause" periods, which is a carving technique characterized by a raised period between words.

As was customary, Rebeccha's epitaph speaks of the supportive and, some would argue, not uncommon submissive role of women. A woman's name was usually attached to a man's, if not her husband then that of her father. Thus, the maiden names of the first two wives of the Douglass household are not recorded on their gravestones. As fate would have it, both Bathiah and Rebeccha died at 37 years of age.

The light bulb-shaped winged skull on the Margaret Winniett gravestone (Figure 10) is quite different from the heart-shaped design attributed to Nathaniel Emmes. The marker is good quality, light-grey slate, most likely from the Boston area. Marguerite (Margaret) Winniett was the daughter of William Winniett of Annapolis Royal, via Boston.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY

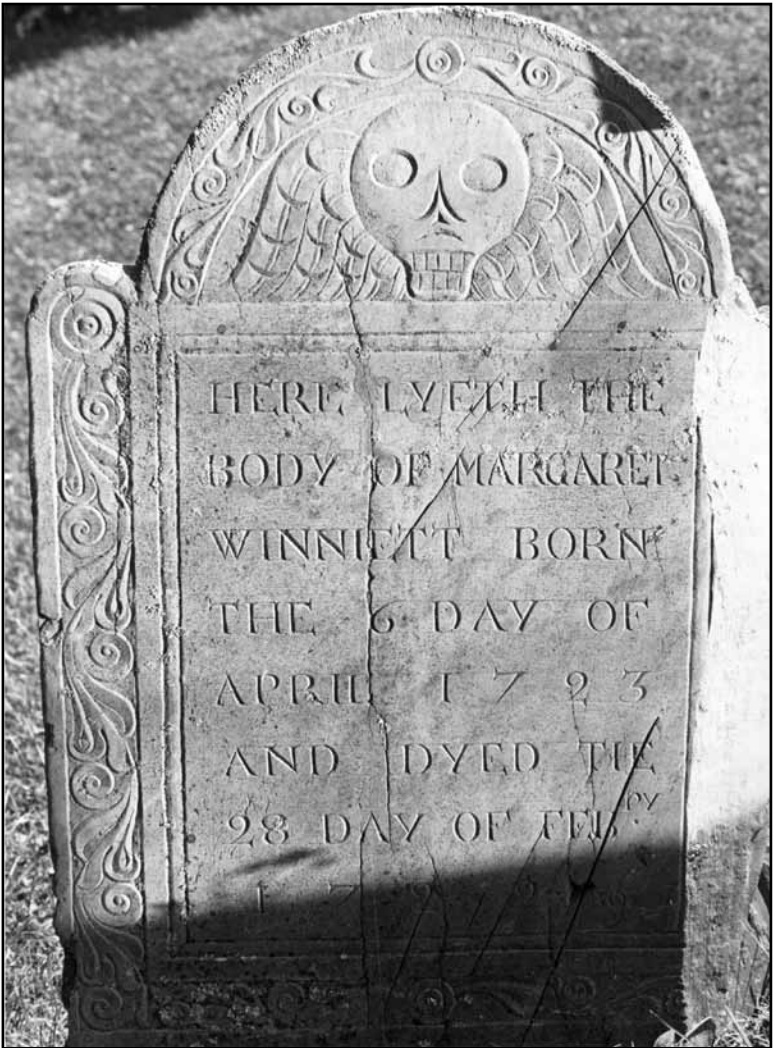


FIGURE 10. MARGARET WINNIETT, 1729

Lieutenant William Winniett participated in the 1710 siege of Port-Royal, after which he settled in the renamed town of Annapolis Royal. The following year, he resigned his military



commission to embark on a career as a merchant-trader and he married Marie-Madeleine Maisonnat, a French Catholic and daughter of Pierre Maisonnat *dit* Baptiste and Madeleine Bourg.<sup>100</sup> The marriage raised eyebrows within the garrison, for her father was a French privateer, who was licensed to be so in war.<sup>101</sup>

Winniett had trading connections at Annapolis Royal, in the Acadian settlements farther up the Bay of Fundy, and at Canso, selling a variety of provisions, which mainly came from Boston. Several of his vessels were built under his direction in Annapolis Royal. Winniett “the most Considerable Merchant, and one of ye first British Inhabitants in this place” was also a member of the Nova Scotia Council.<sup>102</sup>

Margaret was born in 1723 (she had seven brothers and five sisters)<sup>103</sup> with a physical deformity and died six years later. Her father had made provisions for her in the event that she outlived him. In his will, Winniett gave all his estate to his “beloved wife [Marie-Madeleine] Winniett and to my well-beloved children my lawful heirs upon her body, to be equally divided amongst them,” and it made his wife sole executrix.<sup>104</sup> In fact, William seems to have left his widow “in deplorable circumstances,”<sup>105</sup> when he died, somewhat embarrassingly, in 1741, having drowned in Boston harbour after falling overboard while relieving himself.

Whatever her true state of affairs, his widow, nevertheless, remained an influential figure in Annapolis Royal over the succeeding decades, and the family’s connections with the town continued through the children and grandchildren.<sup>106</sup>

The winged skull on Margaret’s stone is rather calm looking, passively staring at the viewer. The eyes are round and the teeth are carefully cut and nearly perfectly aligned. The nose is formed by

dual triangles superimposed within each other. If you look closely, you can still see the faint lines where the carver had carefully ruled the slate for inscribing the epitaph, which is composed entirely of evenly spaced, uppercase letters.

The Winniett stone is designed in the temple-arch style. Unlike with the Bathiah Douglass marker, however, the carver allowed enough space for the wings to spread, which actually pushes the skull to the foreground, creating the illusion that it is emerging out of the stone. The border decoration includes rosettes designed as simple discs, or coils, surrounding the sides and rising above the winged skull.

Margaret's epitaph states that she died on the "28 DAY OF FEB.<sup>ry</sup> 1729/30." The dual year dating system was used before the standardization of the calendar; Great Britain and the colonies adopted the new and improved Gregorian calendar in 1752. Up until this time, colonists were living with two overlapping calendars, the Julian and Gregorian. Accordingly, double dates were frequently used if death occurred between January 1 and March 24.<sup>107</sup>

The words, "HERE LYETH THE BODY OF" bluntly refer to the fact that the deceased's mortal remains are lying here, while the soul presumably makes its way to the everlasting resting place. At first glance, this may appear cold and unemotional. It did, in fact, express great emotion, for it communicated the important and necessary step to eternity: the melting away of the flesh and all mortal parts. Concerning the design of Margaret's gravestone, Anglican clergyman William Inglis Morse wrote that:

[...] from the artistic point of view ... the artist was considerate in his idea of Time and Death. Treatments

of such happenings are many. The cleverest artist is one who can remove the actual and put it into the realm of something apart from cold facts. Death in those earlier samples of art is removed from the realm of dreadful. Terrors fade, and the decorative comes in, the desire to adorn the departed with decency and glory ...<sup>108</sup>

Margaret's marker is the only memorial with the prominent Winniett family name in the garrison graveyard. Three of the Winniett daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Marie-Madeleine married men associated with the military and political life of Annapolis Royal – Alexander Cosby, John Handfield, and Edward Howe, respectively – while one son, Joseph, became a member of the Nova Scotia assembly and a judge.<sup>109</sup> Famous descendants of the family include Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, Turkey (Crimean War), as well as Philipps Cosby and William Wolseley, both of whom had distinguished naval careers.<sup>110</sup>

The two other examples using the winged skull motif are the gravestones for Anthoney Oliver (Figure 11), and his wife, Mary (Figure 11a).

Anthoney, a trader from Boston, arrived in Annapolis Royal in 1718, taking up residency in the lower town. He also acted as a spokesman for inhabitants and merchants of the town in their dealings with the governing council.<sup>111</sup> He died in 1734 having carried on a successful trading business. Anthoney's marker has barely survived, for it is now secured with metal bars.

Mary's gravestone (died 1742) has surrendered to the elements. The image has completely sheared away from the face; fortunately, the pieces with the winged skull icon have been saved.



FIGURE 11. ANTHONY OLIVER, 1734



FIGURE 11a. MARY OLIVER, 1742

### WINGED SOUL EFFIGIES

Life is a visual counterpart of death on all but the earliest grave-stones, most often portrayed in the form of wings that will carry the soul to heaven,<sup>112</sup> for: “My soul would stretch her wings in haste, fly fearless through death’s iron gate.”<sup>113</sup> While the winged skull remained popular, more common were soul effigies (also called angel heads or cherubim), with the idea of the soul in Bliss remaining very popular.

The innocence of soul effigies seems to convey the idea of resurrection and the spirituality of life in the world to come rather than stark human mortality. Soul effigies can be found in countless creative variations. The shift in religious thought that brought about the change from the seemingly stark images of death as embodied in the winged skulls to the winged soul effigies as symbols of

resurrection is a complex and much debated subject. Yet, the soul effigy seemed to embody the idea of moving away from a religion that scared to one that was uplifting.<sup>114</sup> It became the single most popular gravestone image and it too arrived in Nova Scotia from New England as a style in gravestone carving.<sup>115</sup>

A plump face, life-like eyes and an upward-turned mouth typically characterize this motif. We also see a change in tone in describing the deceased: with winged skulls that personified the grimness of death, there are phrases such as “Here lyes buried ...” which gradually changed to expressions such as “Here lies [buried] the body [corruptible, what was mortal] of...”

While slight, this change was important because early epitaphs with winged skulls stress either the decay and shortness of life or the Calvinistic emphasis on hard work and the need for exemplary behaviour on the part of the fated. On the other hand, epitaphs with soul effigies tend to stress resurrection and later heavenly reward.<sup>116</sup>

The earliest existing soul effigy carving in the garrison graveyard is the William Rodda marker (Figure 12). William, who died in 1763, was the son of Stephen and Theodisha Rodda; he was a Board of Ordnance artificer at the fort. Carved in green-purple slate, it is most likely from the Boston area.

The motif shows a chubby-faced, curly haired, angelic-looking child. The image was not intended to be a realistic portrait of the deceased, but rather the features visually “represent” the deceased if only in a non-figurative way in order to convey that he died young. William was eleven years and nine months old when he passed. Positioned below the wings are two birds, possibly symbolizing resurrection and the flight of the soul back to God. They

may in fact be stylized doves, which were typically found on children's stones symbolizing innocence and the messengers of God carrying the soul to heaven.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 12. WILLIAM RODDA, 1763

By the outbreak of the American Revolution, rural Nova Scotia had moved beyond the survival level, and was producing items for local use, which may well have included carved gravestones. Local gravestone carving may have been further encouraged by the fact that the importation of gravestones from New England had virtually stopped following the Revolution – although even before that not all markers were imported from there, since a few stones were also imported from England.<sup>117</sup> The Revolution directly impacted Annapolis Royal, as it did the Maritime Provinces generally.

Thousands of United Empire Loyalist refugees arrived during the last days of the conflict. By the fall of 1783, over 3000 refugees

had flooded Annapolis Royal. People were housed in every available space, including churches – several hundred were crammed into St. Luke’s alone – shops, storehouses, the courthouse, and elsewhere. Gradually, the Loyalists settled throughout the county, with the population of the town levelling out at around forty-five families.<sup>118</sup>

This sudden influx of new settlers was an enormous boost to local development, whereby empty lands were occupied, local markets developed, and activity encouraged. Furthermore, the Loyalists, many of whom were some of the more distinguished who located in Nova Scotia, were to have a major influence in all spheres of life in Annapolis Royal and well beyond. During the following decades, the town’s population would grow as it became a commercial hub, a regional shipbuilding centre during the great “Age of Sail,” and the western terminus for the Windsor and Annapolis Railway. It is perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, that many Loyalist decedents are buried in the garrison graveyard.

The largest number of early-1800s decorated gravestones (before 1800 to about 1830) in Nova Scotia display soul effigies.<sup>119</sup> In fact, evidence suggests that a skilled local carver was very likely producing gravestones decorated with soul effigies for clients in Annapolis Royal and nearby communities.





## CHAPTER 4

### LOCAL CARVING TAKES ROOT

#### LOCAL CARVERS' CREATIONS

Who was this mysterious stone carver whose name is lost to us today, but who has left his mark in the garrison graveyard and elsewhere?

The so-called “Annapolis carver” undeniably favoured the winged soul effigy.<sup>120</sup> While we cannot attribute them definitively to this single carver, their similarities in design and carving techniques suggest that the Annapolis carver produced a number of gravestones for residents of Annapolis Royal and the surrounding area. He may have actually carved the markers in his workshop in Saint John, New Brunswick, where similar gravestones are found, dating from the 1790s to about 1820. In Nova Scotia, almost all mark the graves of United Empire Loyalists.<sup>121</sup>

COURTESY OF HISTORY COLLECTION, NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM P133.87.5



FIGURE 13. FRANCIS BARCLAY LECAIN, 1806

The Annapolis carver had a distinctive style, which is quite recognizable. The Francis Barclay LeCain marker (Figure 13) is an excellent example of his work. The photo of the LeCain stone was taken a few decades ago, for the marker is now in poor condition and its image is deteriorating.

Working in sandstone, he usually cut his stones in a two-tier, narrow-arch fashion, which taper to a small but high, rounded curve on the tympanum, or top.<sup>122</sup> The narrow top restricts the wing height, thus making the effigy appear scrunched as if being influenced by some unknown force. Other characteristics include the roundness of his soul effigies, which are carved in shallow relief, the eyes are incised in diamond-shaped sockets, and the faces have semi-circular heads, from which the hair rolls down to meet the wings beneath the clear-cut chin.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 14. THOMAS WALKER, 1811

Francis LeCain, originally from the Island of Jersey, was a “Master Artificer” or “Armourer” in the garrison and the family was “of

the gentry.”<sup>123</sup> He was brought to Annapolis Royal by the Board of Ordnance to work on the fort.<sup>124</sup> LeCain probably fought alongside the artificers who recaptured the town blockhouse after the Amerindian attack on the settlement in June 1744.<sup>125</sup>

LeCain first married Alicia Maria Hyde, whose father had also been a “Master” in the Ordnance Department. Following Alicia’s passing in 1758, Francis married Elizabeth Foster.<sup>126</sup> His obituary notice, reputedly written by the garrison Chaplain, Rev. Jacob Bailey, observed that he:

Died at Annapolis Royal ... aged [84] years—the oldest settler in the county, and who lived sixty-four years in this town. He was always an honest and worthy man, and left about 100 descendants. He was fifty-five years a Freemason.<sup>127</sup>

During his many years as a resident of Annapolis Royal, Francis is said to have been:

An eyewitness of all the stirring and fateful events of which this historic town was the centre, and was contemporary of the long series of brilliant men ... from [Paul] Mascarene to [James] De Lancey, all of whom were his friends and associates.<sup>128</sup>

LeCain’s gravestone epitaph reads:

Sacred to the memory of  
Francis LeCain, who died  
March 7th, 1806, in the 84<sup>th</sup> year of his age.  
He liv’d Respected  
And Died Lamented.

Four other examples of soul effigies reflect the diversity of styles found in the garrison graveyard – namely the memorials to Thomas Walker, Ann Martha (Wilkie) LeCain, Andrew Gottlieb Bierdemann, and Margaret Henkell.

Carved in sandstone, both the Thomas Walker (Figure 14) and the Ann Martha LeCain (Figure 15) soul effigies share several similar design features – narrow, rounded top, high-rising layered wings, round faces that narrow to a near point at the chins, eyes set within diamond incises, rounded noses, single-line style mouths, and straight hair. Collectively, they suggest, speculatively, that the same unidentified carver may have produced both markers.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 15. ANN MARTHA LECAIN, 1819

The Andrew Gottlieb Bierdemann – also spelled Beardeman – epitaph (Figure 16) tells us exactly when he died in 1819:

In Memory of

Andrew Gottlieb Bierdemann

Who departed this life on munday the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sept at

Eight minutes before eight in the 67<sup>th</sup>

Year of his age

Andrew had these touching poetic verses inscribed on the gravestone of his first wife, Mary Horney, who died in 1805 (see Figure 27). The wording aptly reflects the change in attitude towards death and the afterlife:

In life esteem'd in death deplor'd  
 The mouldering body lies  
 Till the new Heaven and Earth restor'd  
 Shall rise him to the skies.  
 I hope my dear thou are at rest  
 With saints and angels who are best  
 And in short time I hope to be  
 In paradise along with thee.

Bierdemann was apparently a man of many enterprises, including supplying the garrison with breadstuffs. His second wife, Henrietta Esther Waller, was much younger than him. She was likely the daughter of Joseph Waller, a lieutenant of the 5th battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, who was among the Loyalists mustered in Annapolis Royal in 1784. Dying childless, Andrew left Henrietta his fortune, and she subsequently married William Macara.<sup>129</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 16. ANDREW GOTTLIEB BIERDEMANN, 1819

The soul effigy on the Margaret (born Fraser) Henkell marker (Figure 17) is squeezed within a very narrow top, which gives the motif an almost three-dimensional appearance.

Her family originated from Scotland and they came to Annapolis Royal as a military posting, where her father, James Fraser, was appointed ordnance storekeeper in 1789. In keeping with tradition, the Fraser daughters, including Margaret, and a granddaughter, married officers posted at the fort.<sup>130</sup> Margaret (seemingly the widow of a Captain Thong), married George Henkell (Figure 17a), who was a British officer of German decent. Margaret was 23 years his junior.

Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, appointed George Henkell, former surgeon in the prince's regiment, the Royal Fusiliers, as garrison surgeon in 1796. The Prince felt that Henkell's, "gentleness of temper" did not make him "rough" enough for the Royal Fusiliers." George remained as surgeon until 1816.<sup>131</sup>

It seems that Prince Edward and Dr. Henkell were great friends and enjoyed each other's company, for apparently they would sit and converse in German over their pipes and beer when the prince visited Annapolis Royal. Upon the birth of George and Margaret's son, Edward, Prince Edward presented a sword to his namesake (the sword was later lost in a museum fire in Ottawa).<sup>132</sup> Margaret's epitaph reads:

HALLOWED To The Memory of

MARGARET

Late Wife of

GEORGE HENKELL

Surgeon to His Majesty's

Garrison of Annapolis

Who died Sept. 5, 1808

In the 34 Year of her age.

[Verse below illegible]

On either top corner of George's marker are a compass and a square, indicating that he was a member of the Annapolis Royal Freemasons' lodge. Gravestones also mark the burial sites for George and Margaret's son, Edward (died 1873), and their daughter, Louise Margaret (died 1855).





FIGURE 17. MARGARET HENKELL, 1808

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



FIGURE 17a. GEORGE HENKELL, 1818

## WHEN ANGELS CALL

The word “angel” comes from the Greek *Angelos*, meaning messenger. In Christian theology they may also represent the watchfulness of God. The biblical reference for the origin of the guardian angel, for example, is found in various verses, including:

## CHAPTER 4

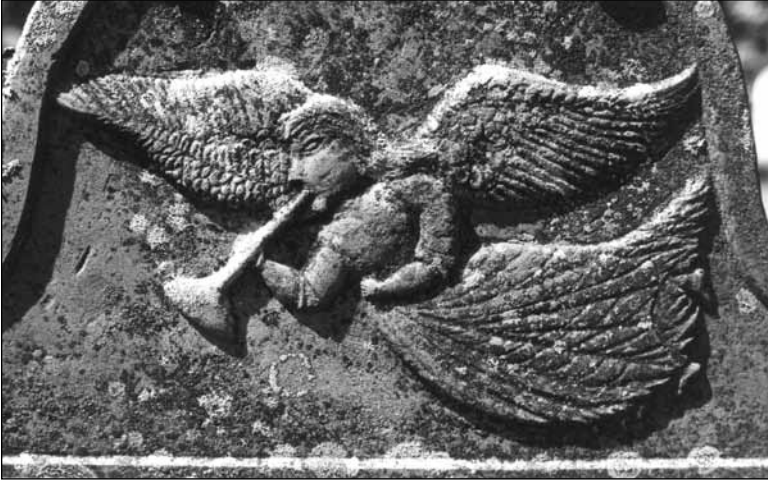
For he will give his angels charge over thee,  
to keep thee in all thy ways.

They shall bear thee up in their hands,  
lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

(Psalms 91:11-12, *King James Version* – henceforth *KJV*)

The trumpeting angel has been a commonly used image on grave-stones, as for instance on the Michael Spur marker (Figure 18). Angels were thought to be extremely beautiful and were therefore portrayed as handsome boys and comely women. However, since as spiritual beings they were considered sexless they were given a genderless appearance and clothed in a non-descript loose flowing garment that covered their feet.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



**FIGURE 18.** MICHAEL SPUR, 1804

The trumpet and angels are typical Protestant symbols of resurrection, “And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet ...” (Matthew 24:31, *KJB*), and are in part the sources

## LOCAL CARVING TAKES ROOT

for the concept of angels carrying the soul: “And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham’s bosom.” (St. Luke 16:22, *Old Testament* – henceforth OT)

In fact, images of a figure holding or sounding the trumpet inform us that the deceased is happily waiting Judgement day. The actual physical resurrection is also mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments: “And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.” (Job 19:26, OT)

The Spur gravestone depicts a full-sized angel in flight actively blowing its trumpet, denoting both rebirth and the calling of the soul to heaven:

In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump:  
for the trumpet shall sound,  
and the dead shall be raised incorruptible,  
and we shall be changed. (I Corinthians 15:52, KJB)

His epitaph reinforces this message:

The voice of the alarming scene  
May every heart obey  
Nor be the heavenly warning vain  
That called our friend away.

The angel figure on the Spur marker is well executed: notice the carver’s attention to detail, including the puffy cheeks that inform us that the trumpet is indeed being blasted, the etched wings, and the tiny shoes.

On another gravestone that has a plainly carved angel, the verse, which is all that is said about the deceased, also alludes to the sounding of the trumpet:

The trumpet shall sound  
And the dead shall rise  
MY MOTHER

### FLAME OF LIFE

Carved in sandstone, this gravestone (Figure 19) memorializes Mary Cornwell (died 1799) and her five-year-old daughter, Elizabeth (died 1797). The central motif is a simple inscribed lamp with a flame, which forms a decorative border around the top of the marker. Although it could easily be interpreted as an urn, since it was not unusual for carvers to sometimes show a flame rising from an urn.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 19. ELIZABETH CORNWELL, 1797, AND MARY CORNWELL, 1799

The lamp variously symbolized knowledge, guidance, a love of learning, and the immortality of the Spirit. It was also known as the "lamp of life," presumably the soul burning until Judgement day; for when the flame is snuffed out so should the person's life be extinguished.

## URNS AND WILLOWS

A fundamental shift occurred in mortuary sculpture with the introduction of the urn and willow design, which was also accompanied by an increasing tendency toward noticeable sentimentality in gravestone art.

The period following the American Revolution has been called the neoclassical revival (from around 1780 to 1830). With the founding of their new republic, Americans sought to divest themselves of the dominant styles of Great Britain by replacing them with ones that reflected their newly acquired sense of freedom. Consequently, they turned to the buildings of ancient Rome and Greece for inspiration, and soon neoclassical influences began to dominate many areas of life. The earlier archaeological discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum (about 1750) had also renewed interest, particularly in Europe, in the classical period.

Art, clothing, architecture and even gravestone art were influenced by this "revival." As political philosophies of the new nation changed, so too did attitudes towards death, grieving, and symbols of mourning. This produced the most popular of these images, the neoclassical urn and willow carved in every imaginable variation with columns, tassels, banners, and drapery.<sup>133</sup> The older graven symbols became peculiar relics, while long-held beliefs gave way to the technological concerns. Hence, the symbols of Puritanism quietly faded into the burial grounds, where they have remained silently undisturbed.<sup>134</sup>

We also see a change in the shape of the markers, wherein square shoulders begin to replace the earlier round-shouldered designs. As well, the wording of epitaphs, such as “Here lies the body of,” gradually gives way to “In memory of” or “Sacred to the memory of.” This subtle change also marked a move away from the earlier stones that designated the location of the deceased, or at least some part. “In memory of” is a simple memorial statement, a sentiment in fact that would still make sense on markers erected just about anywhere.<sup>135</sup>

The earliest images of urns on gravestones in Nova Scotia were imported. By the early 1800s, however, the urn was a well-established symbol used by local carvers to represent the depository for the earthly remains of the deceased.<sup>136</sup> They reinforced this symbolism by adding weeping willows, veils, and other neoclassical imagery.

A fine example of a neoclassical draped urn with tassels is found on Isabella Runciman’s gravestone (Figure 20). The epitaph describes Isabella as a “relic,” an antiquated term for widow, of the late George Runciman, formerly a leading merchant in Annapolis Royal. Her marker also communicates an affectionate farewell from her husband:

She was an affectionate partner and sincere friend  
Her husband mourns her departure with four small  
Children who do not feel their loss.

Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.

Matth. Chapt. 5th Ver. 8.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 20. ISABELLA RUNCIMAN, 1834

Another artistic treatment of an urn adorns Isabella Fraser's marker (Figure 21). Isabella was the daughter of the aforementioned James, ordnance storekeeper at the fort, and Margaret Fraser.

Another very recognizable neoclassical symbol of mourning was the weeping willow. The weeping willow is beautiful, but associated with the symbolic tree of earthly sorrow and human sadness – Nature's lament. Indeed, its Latin name, *Salix babylonica*,<sup>137</sup> refers to the passage in which the Jews mourn their captivity in Babylon:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea,  
 we wept, when we remembered Zion  
 We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof  
 For there they that carried us away captive  
 required of us a song ...  
 (Psalm 137, KJV)



COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS

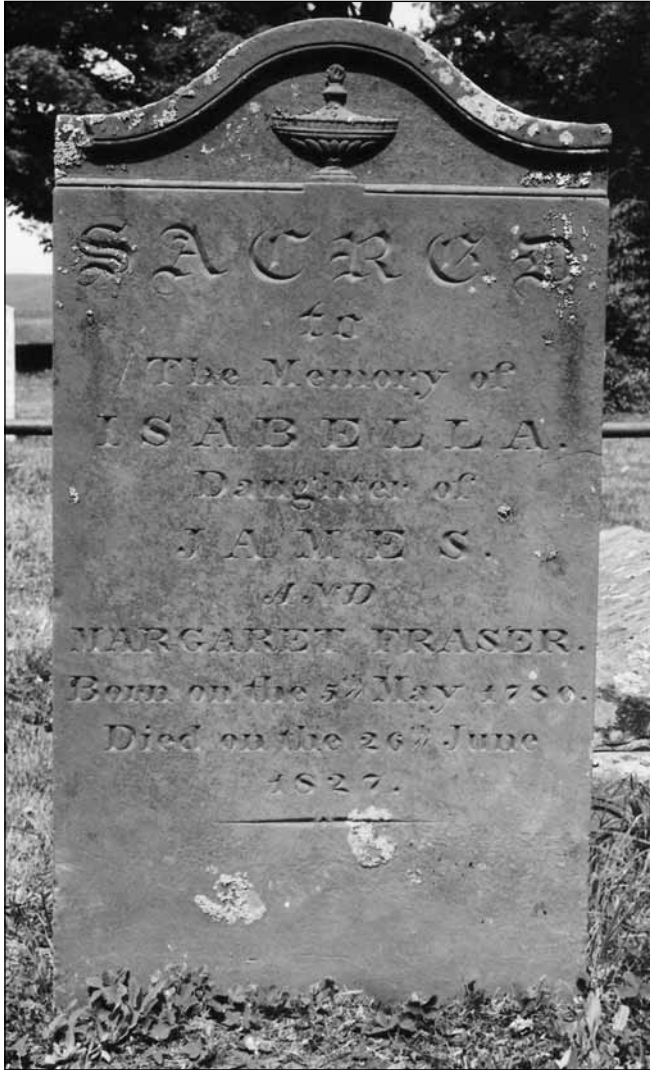


FIGURE 21. ISABELLA FRASER, 1827

The weeping willow symbolizes grief and death and so it appears in paintings of the Crucifixion. Conversely, it also represents healing and regeneration, for one only need plant a branch and

it will regenerate. The weeping willow was frequently depicted in nineteenth-century pictures of mourning, for in the Victorian language of flowers it meant forsaken.<sup>138</sup>

An example of a singular weeping willow is illustrated on the Henry Goldsmith stone (Figure 22). According to his epitaph, Henry was formerly a “Barrister-at-law and Collector of his Majesty’s Customs at Annapolis ...” and husband of Harriet Goldsmith.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY

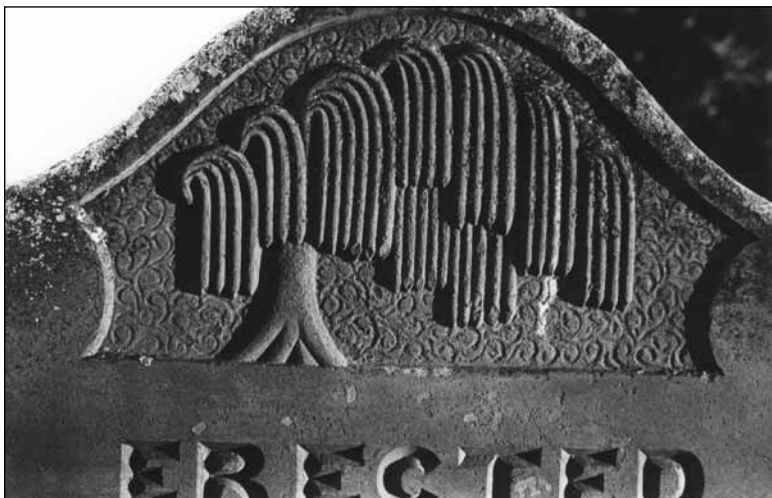


FIGURE 22. HENRY GOLDSMITH, 1845

Carvers would also combine the weeping willow with other symbols, including the urn as depicted on the Elizabeth Ruggles gravestone (Figure 23). The light and elegant foliage of two illustrated willows gracefully drape over the funerary urn. The willow tree alone or in combination with other symbols of mourning also appears on later period grave markers, examples of which are discussed in subsequent sections.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY

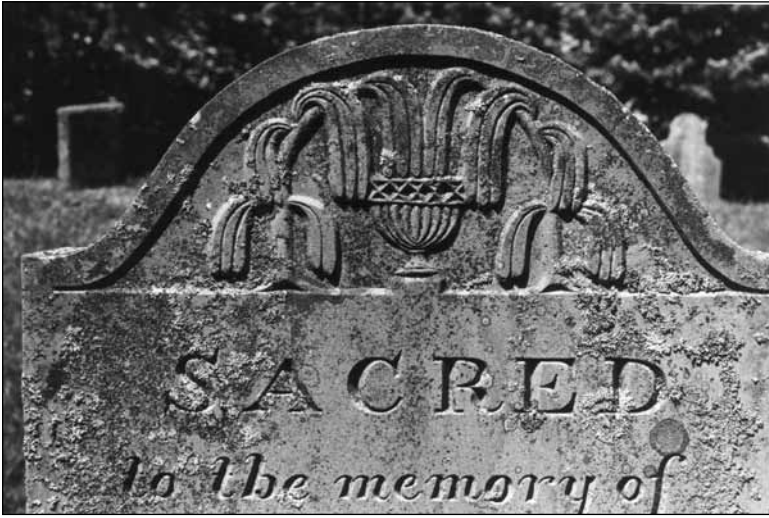


FIGURE 23. ELIZABETH RUGGLES, 1834

## RECUMBENT STONES

Recumbent gravestones, commonly called tablestones, were placed horizontal on freestanding legs or solid support bases; and grave slabs called “body stones” or “wolf stones,”<sup>139</sup> which can be found simply lying on the grave.

Two examples of recumbent markers, produced from New Brunswick sandstone, are those for Henrietta Cossins and her grandchildren, five-year-old Joseph Cossins Cooper and three-year-old Henrietta Francis Cooper (Figure 24). Her inscription says, in part, that she was the “Relict [a wife left behind by the death of her husband] of the late Joseph Cossins.”

A distinguishing feature of these particular markers is the traditional Scottish thistle motif. The thistle, the flower of Scotland and an ancient heraldic emblem, is a fire-herb representing courageous defence and deep-rooted ideals. Its thorns symbolize

both evil and protection, and in Christianity iconography it represents the pain and suffering of Christ – Christ’s Crown of Thorns and his passing.

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 24.** HENRIETTA COSSINS, 1810, AND HENRIETTA COOPER, 1854

Gravestones commemorating Scots often have some adaptation of the thistle indicating, “I will never forget thee.”<sup>140</sup> Beyond a representation of the thistle, there was generally little use of ornamental imagery on early Scottish markers. Typically, however, there was plenty of text to inform passersby as much about the deceased as possible, including descriptions of which part of Scotland (North Britain) the deceased emigrated, their life, and who paid for the memorial.<sup>141</sup>

Other examples of recumbent gravestones are those for Laura Johnstone (born Stevenson), former wife of John Johnstone of Annapolis Royal, and daughter of William James Stevenson of Jamaica, and for John Lichtenstein (anglicized Lightenstone), a Polish Jew born in Cronstadt, near St. Petersburg, Russia (Figure 25).<sup>142</sup> Interestingly, John Johnstone was also Lichtenstein’s grandson. The stones are mounted on so-called “Wallace

legs,” suggesting that the sandstone came from the Wallace quarry on Nova Scotia’s Northumberland Strait.

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 25.** JOHN LICHTENSTEIN (OR LIGHTENSTONE), 1813, AND ELIZABETH LAURA JOHNSTONE, 1830

According to tradition, Laura Johnstone could not care for herself and required the aid of a maid and a governess. One evening, she was left alone in her room with an oil lamp still alight. The maid hearing two knocks on the wall, rushed to Laura’s room where she found her in flames. The maid poured water on Laura but it was too late, for she was too severely burned. It is thought that when she went to snuff out the lamp, Laura accidentally caught the flounce of her muslin dress on fire. On hearing the news, her husband, who had been attending the House of Assembly in Halifax, rushed back to Annapolis Royal, making it just in time for the funeral, as Laura had succumbed to her terrible burns.<sup>143</sup> Call it a twist of fate or simply someone’s sense of dark humour, but the flower Deadly Nightshade was once growing over Laura’s grave-stone. Author Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, wrote touchingly that the garrison graveyard:

is a place hallowed to me and I could wish my remains might rest in the same spot ... where my father [John Lichtenstein] lies ... and where my dear Laura was laid to rest some years since and an infant child who was still-born.<sup>144</sup>

John Lichtenstein was living in Savannah Georgia when the Revolutionary War broke out and the Patriots had taken over the city. He and his daughter, Elizabeth, fled to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Having obtained a commission with the New York Volunteers, John participated in a number of battles during the war, the last being in 1781. He came to Annapolis Royal following his military service.<sup>145</sup> John's now-illegible epitaph included this verse:

Verily, verily I say unto you  
The hour is come and now is  
When the dead shall hear the call of the son of God,  
And they that hear shall live. John\_v. 25.

Several other recumbent stones remember the well-known Ritchies. One marker commemorates Judge Thomas Ritchie's wife, Elizabeth, who died at 32 years of age, leaving behind seven children, "too young to feel their loss." Composed by her sister, Elizabeth's epitaph extolled her virtues in twenty-two lines of verse (see Epitaphs, page 149); certainly different from the short verses of today.

### CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE

There are several sandstone and polished granite obelisks in the garrison graveyard. The George R. Grassie (pronounced Gracie) marker is a good example of a pedestal obelisk carved from

## CHAPTER 4

sandstone (Figure 26). The stone has a square pedestal base from which the obelisk rises to a tapered point at the top. Obelisks vary from the artistically plain such as the Grassies' to the elaborately decorated.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



**FIGURE 26.** GEORGE R. GRASSIE, 1883

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Obelisks signify eternal life and were an Egyptian sun-worshipping symbol. Among the many architectural discoveries in the Middle East was the supposed grave of Queen Cleopatra VII, which

was guarded by obelisks. Obelisks have been called Cleopatra's Needle, three of which were re-erected in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Paris, London, and New York (the latter two were a pair that originated from Alexandria, Egypt, the royal city of Cleopatra)<sup>146</sup>; although they have no particular connection with Cleopatra. Nonetheless, similarly shaped gravestones became commonly known as Cleopatra's Needles.

The Grassie stone also marks the graves of Adela Grassie (died 1862), George Grassie (died 1870), and George's wife, Ann Marie, born Fenwick (died 1882). For many years, George was Sheriff of Colchester, Nova Scotia, and afterwards chief clerk of the Supreme Court of Annapolis.<sup>147</sup>

### GERMAN SIMPLICITY

The Mary Horney gravestone (Figure 27) is carved in light-brown sandstone. Mary's husband, the previously mentioned Andrew Bierdemann, is buried next to her (Figure 16).

The motif on Mary's marker is a bouquet of plainly etched flowers tied together with a ribbon. The petals are only partially opened, with one of the flowers hanging on its stem to the left of the bouquet. The plainness of this flower design is similar to ones found on Germanic gravestones located in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.<sup>148</sup> Andrew took great care in choosing a fitting verse for Mary, for his deep sense of loss is palpable:

I hope my dear, thou art at rest  
 With saints and angels, who are bless'd,  
 And in short time I hope to be  
 In Paradise along with thee.



COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 27. MARY HORNEY, 1805

The drooping flowers visually strengthen Andrew's loss and sadness, for flowers in their various stages of decay remind us of the cycle of life and death. It further reminds us of the biblical Book of Job (14-2) when it laments that man (also woman) "comes forth like a flower and is cut down."

The final design feature on the Mary's gravestone is seemingly a rope motif surrounding its outer edge. Rope symbolizes, among other things, eternity, which is fitting since it figuratively ties the flowers and verse together. On the other hand, of course, the carver may have used what appears to be a rope as simply a decorative feature.

In the latter half of the 1800s, the garrison graveyard experienced a series of changes and innovations, some of which came about as a result of international trends and developments, while others were purely local in origin. At the end of this period, however, the garrison graveyard would have types of gravestones that had never been seen before, trees and shrubs planted, iron fences enclosing some of the plots, and the decorative cast iron fence running along the St. George Street side of the graveyard.



## CHAPTER 5

### CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

#### PARK-LIKE CEMETERIES

By the early 1800s, churchyards were so overcrowded that the air in churches was made dangerously unhealthy and the grounds became quite disgusting places to visit. For example, through the fictional character of Sam Slick, well-known writer and a one-time resident of Annapolis Royal, Thomas Chandler Haliburton described Halifax's St. Paul's graveyard in 1836 as:

...a nasty dirty horrid lookin' buryin' ground there; it's filled with large grave rats as big as kittens, and the springs of black water there, go through the chinks of the rocks and flow into all the wells, and fairly [poison] the folks; it's a dismal place...<sup>149</sup>

So there began a movement to address the health risks associated with these overcrowded, unsanitary burial grounds. Surprisingly perhaps, the so-called rural cemetery movement did not begin in Europe, but rather it started in Boston. It was not a formally organized movement, but rather intelligent community leaders reacted similarly to comparable problems.<sup>150</sup> It was also inspired by romantic views of nature, art, national identity, and the gloomy theme of death. As such, it drew upon advancements in burial ground design in England and France, especially from the design of the world-renowned Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, established in 1804.<sup>151</sup>

Founded in 1831, Mount Auburn Cemetery, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was "the first garden cemetery in the English-speaking

world” and was a leader in the rural cemetery movement.<sup>152</sup> Now a National Historic Landmark, there are many notable figures interred at Mount Auburn, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, author of *Evangeline: Tale of Acadie*. It and several other cemeteries – including Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia, Green Mount in Baltimore, and Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York – became the prototypes that other cities quickly adopted.<sup>153</sup>

Dr. Jacob Bigelow, a Harvard Medical School professor, was the driving force behind the establishment of Mount Auburn, for he recognized (as did others) the connections between contagious diseases and the inadequate and unsanitary old burial grounds located within the expanding city.<sup>154</sup>

Gradually, the decayed and poorly maintained graveyards were replaced with large cemeteries located outside cities such as Boston. People were provided with public transportation to the sites, where they could stroll about or take carriage rides through the splendour of a well-organized, park-like setting. The planners likewise envisioned people deriving pleasure, education, and specific emotional fulfilment on how best to live life in harmony with art and nature.

Probably the oldest rural cemetery in Nova Scotia is Halifax’s Camp Hill Cemetery (the term still applies even though it is now well within the city today), which was established in 1844 with the closing that same year of the overcrowded and neglected St. Paul’s burying ground.<sup>155</sup>

The popular new cemeteries inspired a movement for municipal parks that was encouraged by the writings of Andrew Jackson Downing and the groundbreaking work of other promoters of

“picturesque” landscaping.<sup>156</sup> These cemeteries also influenced gravestone styles. Larger monuments began to appear, many carved from marble, alluding to the durability of marble statues of antiquity. Mount Auburn actually forbade the use of slate, as did all the other new cemeteries, which very likely helped the commonly called “white stone” to become the preferred material for memorials.

The change in materials also spread to Nova Scotia and elsewhere in Canada. Some of these changes were gradually implemented in the garrison graveyard, albeit on a far less grand scale.

### ALLURE OF WHITE STONE

White stone has an ancient association with burial practices. In the scriptures, white is the first of the canonical colours and is emblematic of purity, innocence, faith, life, and righteousness. When linked with a burial marker it implies that the deceased is acquitted of sins and finds reward in heaven, for:

He that hath an ear,  
let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches;  
To him that overcometh will I give to eat the hidden manna,  
and will give him white stone,  
and in the stone a name is written,  
which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.  
(Revelation 2: 17, KJB)

Whatever the reasons for its popularity, white stone literally took over cemeteries as the material for grave markers. In Nova Scotia, it was used from around 1845 to about 1920. Simultaneously, we also see the establishment of an ever-increasing number of commercial monument works and the appearance of “cookie-cutter” images that clients could select “off the rack.”<sup>157</sup>

The traditional symbols of mourning, such as soul effigies and neo-classical motifs, were almost completely abandoned as allegorical themes grew in popularity, many of which are still in use today. Such was the profusion of motifs that a textbook was developed: fingers pointing upward or downward, lambs decorating children's graves, clasped hands and praying hands, doves, crowns, books, and shells, among many other images.

The introduction of such eclectic motifs reflected, in part at least, Victorians' desire to do things in a romantically elaborate fashion, sometimes verging on what today seems absurd. Given the sheer number of available images, however, it is difficult to determine whether the choice of a specific motif was based on emotional feelings, religious beliefs, aesthetics, or perhaps a combination of factors.

Many of the nineteenth-century gravestones in the garrison graveyard are made of marble. This type of "white stone," however, is a dolomite limestone also called "sugar marble." It is not the same as the durable marble – calcite limestone – found in Italy or say Vermont. The white stone contains magnesium and is quite porous, which makes it very susceptible to erosion.

Unquestionably, white stone was beautiful when it first became widely available. Many of these once pristine stones in the garrison graveyard (and elsewhere), however, are now covered with unsightly lichens that freely grow on their porous surfaces. The stone crumbles, known as "sugaring," into a powder-like substance over time, which is hastened by lichens, acid rain, and weathering. Consequently, many of the white stones have degraded so badly that the images and inscriptions are no longer legible.

## HORSE IN FLIGHT

The Robert Leslie gravestone (Figure 28) shows a winged horse in full flight, which is a representation of the Leslie family coat of arms.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



**FIGURE 28.** ROBERT LESLIE, 1868, AND ANN BOTSFORD LESLIE, 1822

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The horse can variously symbolize strength, courage, intellect, virility, or the swiftness of the passage of time. It is, therefore, depicted in arms in various positions such as rampant or salient (in a fighting position) as on the Leslie marker. Encircling the horse motif are the words “Grip Fast,” surrounded by ivy – a plant that represents friendship and/or fidelity, for ivy tends to cling, and of eternal life because it is forever green.

Robert Leslie was born at Dornock, Sutherlandshire, Scotland and educated for the medical profession at Edinburgh. Initially a surgeon in the Royal Navy, he eventually joined the army and came



to Nova Scotia sometime before November of 1820.<sup>158</sup> Leslie was officially described as either “Hospital Assistant” or “Apothecary to the Forces” at Annapolis Royal.

Dr. Leslie seems to have entered private practice five years later, but still treated military staff on a contract basis, for in 1836 he had a contract to treat the three-man detachment of the Royal Artillery stationed at the fort.<sup>159</sup> He had a distinguished medical career and was a prominent figure in Annapolis Royal until his death in 1868 at age 76.

Leslie’s epitaph alludes to his military service: “Formerly of his Majesty’s (George IV) Medical Staff.” His gravestone also marks the grave of his first wife, Ann Botsford Millidge, daughter of the garrison chaplain, Rev. John Millidge. Ann died during childbirth in 1822, at age 22.

The grave of Leslie’s second wife, Ann Amory, born Sneden, (1885), with whom he had 12 children, adjoins his. Her epitaph reads in part (the same opening verse is inscribed on both wives’ stones):

I am the resurrection and the life.

Erected by her beloved children William and Helen Leslie.

Hold then thy cross before my closing eyes,

Shine through the gloom and point me to the skies.

Heaven’s morning breaks and earth’s vain shadows flee;

In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 29. MARY CUTLER, 1891

## CELTIC CROSS

Although an ancient symbol, which often marked the area of early ecclesiastical sites, the Celtic cross's symbolism is shrouded in mystery and hotly debated. There are numerous interpretations and legends about its original meaning.

On gravestones, the Celtic cross is depicted in a variety of artistic styles, such as the incised design etched on the Mary Cutler marker (Figure 29). Mary was the second wife of Edward H. Cutler, Judge of Probate, and Sheriff and Registrar of Deeds, Annapolis County.<sup>160</sup> The verses on Mary's stone read:

UNTIL THE DAY BREAK AND THE SHADOWS FLEE AWAY

Blessed are the pure in heart for they

Shall see God

A gravestone with an identical Celtic cross motif and first verse also marks the grave of Mary's sister, Phebe (also spelled as Phoebe) Walker (Figure 30); the latter never married. It is very likely that the same unidentified company supplied both markers.

Mary and Phebe were the daughters of Thomas and Phebe Walker (born Millidge), his second wife, who had seven children together. Along with his mercantile interests, Thomas was also a Member of the Provincial Parliament (MPP) from 1806-1812.<sup>161</sup>

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 30.** PHEBE WALKER, 1893

## WHAT HANDS SAY

In graven art, a hand generally symbolizes either the hand of God or a person's hand reaching up to God. They were also used, and remain so today, to represent someone reaching out to a departed loved one, signifying farewell, or they are shown holding objects such as flowers. At first glance hands might appear all the same, yet artistically they can vary significantly.

Hands in white stone are very common. The image on the Harriet Goldsmith (born Burdain) gravestone (Figure 31), for example, shows a simple incised right hand with the first digit pointing upward. Harriet was the second wife of Henry Goldsmith

(Figure 22). The pointing finger may symbolize hope or indicates that the deceased has gone to heaven, which Harriet's epitaph seems to suggest:

Just when thou wilt, O Saviour, come  
Take me to dwell in Thy bright home.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 31. HARRIET GOLDSMITH, 1884

The Andrew Gilmore marker (Figure 32) has the most elaborate depiction of hands in the garrison graveyard. The very popular clasped hands motif symbolized unity and affection after death. The inscribed words above the Gilmore image, "MY HUSBAND" reinforce this link, representing the last farewell between Andrew and his wife. Several nice details can be seen in the motif: the woman's hand has long, slender fingers with a ruffled blouse cuff covering her wrist, while the man's hand is larger and the wrist

shows the cuff of a uniform, alluding to Andrew's connection with the military.<sup>162</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 32. ANDREW GILMORE, 1894

Gilmore, a native of Dongahan, County Tyree, Ireland, served at Annapolis, by his own account, nine times with nine different Regiments between 1831 and 1854. As his epitaph attests, he was:

The Last Soldier That Stood Sentry  
on the Old Fort at Annapolis

Andrew retired in Annapolis Royal and worked as a cobbler, in a tiny house on the fort property, to supplement his pension. When tourists began taking an interest in the dilapidated fort in the late 1800s, the old Irishman donned his uniform jacket and acted as tour guide (Figure 32a).<sup>163</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA



FIGURE 32a. ANDREW GILMORE POSING ON FORT GROUNDS, AROUND 1884

Another variant of clasped hands is found on Jeremiah Wilson's gravestone (Figure 33). It shows a simple set of incised clasped hands, symbolizing the earthly parting of Jeremiah and his wife, Elizabeth, whose gravestone is located next to his. This is confirmed by the inscribed words, "The Last Farewell."

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 33. JEREMIAH WILSON, 1876

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

The Joseph Norman marker (Figure 34) shows a hand pointing to what is probably a passage in a Bible, which was also quite a popular mourning motif.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 34. JOSEPH NORMAN, 1863

Norman was a native of County Kent, England. Apparently the Duke of Wellington (the so-called “Iron Duke”) having tired of his reputed mistress, a Spanish lady named Gregoria Remonia Antonia Reiez, married her off to Joseph in October of 1813 at



Gibraltar.<sup>164</sup> The Duke stationed Joseph at Annapolis Royal in 1820, where he spent 33 years as ordnance storekeeper and then barrack master (Figure 34a).

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA



**FIGURE 34a.** JOSEPH NORMAN, FORMER BARRACK MASTER

In St. Luke’s parish record for April 1837, it reads: “Mr. Norman [Mr. Joseph Norman, Barrack-master at the Fort] to be notified to have the Garrison part of the burial ground fence put up.” There seems to have been an ongoing problem of keeping cattle from trespassing on the site.<sup>165</sup>

Gregoria died in 1862, at 72 years of age and Joseph in 1863; their son, Walter, survived them. Norman’s obituary spoke of his skill during his 55 years of military service:

[He] earned for himself, in front of the enemy, the reputation of being one of the best swordsmen and most perfect horsemen in the army.<sup>166</sup>

Norman's epitaph noted that he was "Much esteemed & respected by all who knew him," and it draws a parallel between his military life and that of a servant of Christ:

Soldier of Christ arise  
And put your armour on  
Strong in the strength which God supplies  
Through his Eternal Son.

The George Runciman stone (Figure 35), shows a hand pointing to a passage in the Bible, which is confirmed by the scripture inscribed below in small lettering. An image of the Bible is often used to represent the word through which one gains revelation.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 35. GEORGE RUNCIMAN, 1872

Runciman's marker is also an excellent example of Scottish gravestones of the latter 1800s, with its thistle and high relief carving. A thistle (see previously discussed interpretation of its symbolism) is located on either side of the Bible. George Runciman was originally from Haddington, Scotland, and was a leading merchant in Annapolis Royal until his death in 1872.<sup>167</sup> The verse on his markers reads:

Mark the perfect man and behold the upright  
For the end of that man is peace.

Another variation of the hand and book theme is found on the John J. Fleet marker (Figure 36). It shows a woman's finger pointing possibly to the Bible or the Book of Life, with overflowing bouquets of flowers located on either side. The hand and Bible/Book are draped in Victorian scrolls, which give the image an almost three-dimensional, regal appearance.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 36. JOHN J. FLEET, 1883

The image of an open book with a finger pointing to a passage may also be interpreted as the open Book of Life, a record of a person's good deeds and accomplishments, with the finger possibly pointing to where life was left off. Indeed, books remind us that gravestones are, figuratively speaking, documents bearing vital statistics and epitaphs concerning the deceased. The open book may also signify that the marker is a kind of biography, or when the book is closed, the Earthly story of the deceased has ended.

### LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS

Flowers were very popular on white stone and so are frequently the primary motif on Victorian-period gravestones; mainly for women and children, for they embody the idea of the shortness and splendor of life<sup>168</sup>:

As for man, his days are as grass:  
as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth.

For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone;  
and the place thereof shall know it no more.

(Psalm 103: 15-16 KJB)

Victorian social etiquette dictated that emotions, wishes, and thoughts were not to be openly expressed. Therefore, an elaborate language based on flower symbolism was developed, of which women were especially attuned to the "silent" language: specific types of flowers and mixed bouquets conveyed clear messages to the recipient.

With the increasing complexity of flower symbolism and the language of flowers, dictionaries were published, such as the popular *The Language of Flowers*,<sup>169</sup> to guide the understanding of flower

meanings. From the numerous interpretations of one or more flowers, a person would assemble a bouquet with great care. Although Victorians had a complex understanding of flowers, ours is not nearly so sophisticated. We must be careful, therefore, when trying to decipher the meanings:

As there is some controversy ... over the derivation of meaning and the actual meanings of particular flowers and plants, so there is likely to be difficulty over assigning precise meanings to funerary floral ornament.<sup>170</sup>

In the following century, however, some carvers actually showed their prospective clients what they thought particular flowers symbolized:

One printed catalogue from the 1920's shows several gravestones with various decorations. Alongside each picture a caption gives the meaning of the decoration, and so the potential purchaser is advised that ivy stands for fidelity, roses for everlasting love, lily for purity, laurel for victory, reward and glory, olive leaf for peace and victory, passion flower for faith.<sup>171</sup>

On the other hand, flowers also embody resurrection in their own right, for through God's power nature, flowers, and fruits return seasonally: "This is an example to us of how easily he can make those that are in the dust awake to life.<sup>172</sup> Whether it is a bud, flower, or even somewhere in between generally indicates how old the person was at their passing.

The Mary Ruggles stone (Figure 37), for instance, has a pair of incised roses, with one in full bloom, the other a bud, the latter perhaps representing someone left behind. Mary, who died at

57 years old, was the second wife of Israel Williams (the first wife, Elizabeth, is referred to as the “consort of I.W. Ruggles’ on her gravestone). Mary’s simple one-line verse reads: “When we were yet without strength in due time Christ came [?].” The rose has also been used to symbolize that the soul attains its perfect state after death.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 37. MARY E. RUGGLES, 1860

Cassandra Whitman’s marker (Figure 38) shows a fairly standard Victorian type bouquet of flowers, with one flower in full bloom and another as a bud. In this case, the flower motif is indeed for the mother and her child, for Cassandra and her infant son, James

Edward, are buried together. The bud is surely for James, who died at just over three months old. Hence, the meaning is very likely innocence, bereavement or some similar expression of sorrow.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 38. CASSANDRA WHITMAN AND SON, JAMES EDWARD, 1863

If life were hard, so was giving birth. The lament of another young mother is a poignant reminder of the numerous young women who died during or shortly after childbirth:

18 years a maiden  
 I year a wife  
 I day a mother  
 Then I lost my life<sup>173</sup>

It was common for a mother and child to be buried together, since child mortality rates remained high until the late 1800s. The verse, “Budded on earth, to bloom in heaven” is typical of those that were linked with the image of a bud on a child’s memorial.

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

This verse seems to have given way to the expression “nipped in the bud” that is still used today.

This same verse is equally appropriate for George and Edith Runciman. Their markers (Figure 39) depict broken flowers, mere buds snapped off at the stems. In fact, the two-word verse for six-month-old George, poignantly expresses this sentiment: “Early Transplanted.”

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



**FIGURE 39.** GEORGE W. RUNCIMAN, 1865, AND EDITH GORDON RUNCIMAN, 1873

The verse on the gravestone to Frederick L., the 15-year-old son of John and Lydia Roach also speaks to the meaning of flowers in conveying his parents’ despair:



## CHAPTER 5

Stay friend, stay, nor let thy [heart] profane  
The humble stone that tells you life is vain.  
Here lies a youth in mouldering ruin lost.  
A blossom nipt by death's untimely frost.  
O, then prepare to meet with him above,  
In realms of everlasting love.

The symbolism of a budded rose bush on the John A. Charley Haicke gravestone with its melodramatic, some would say morbid, epitaph also expresses his parents', William and Florilla Jane Haicke, grief:

It budded but it could not bloom  
In such a dark and thickening gloom.

Finally, the epitaph to Amelia Lovett communicates vividly the heartfelt sense of loss, made even more so because history repeated itself for her parents. Eleven years earlier, their first-born child, Sarah, had also died shortly after birth<sup>174</sup>:

[...]Amelia, dau. of Phineas and Margaret Lovett,  
who departed this life, Dec. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1812, aged 5 months and 4 days

This lovely infant in fresh bloom  
Whom wishes couldn't save  
Submitted to her early doom  
And sunk into the grave.

IN MEMORIAM TO CHILDREN

Like today, parents in the latter half of the 1800s took great care in choosing gravestones for their deceased children, especially when it came to selecting the motif and verse.

Death rates among children remained high, but diminished as the century progressed. Even with advances in medical treatments, however, diseases such as scarlet fever, typhus, and cholera continued to wipe out entire families. Cemetery historian David Sloane described rural cemeteries of this period as “scenes of adoration of dead youth,”<sup>175</sup> which was reinforced in literature, song, and gravestone epitaphs.

Lambs were, and remain, very common motifs on children’s gravestones. The Benjamin J.R. James marker (Figure 40), for example, displays a simple lamb as its primary image, symbolizing purity and weak, gentle and innocent; Benjamin died at two months of age.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 40. BENJAMIN J.R. JAMES, 1806

A lamb is also found on the memorial to Charles (Figure 41), the only son of Thomas and Louisa Whitman. The lamb motif embodies the harsh reality of the impossibility, then, of saving many children from early death and it provides consolation for survivors. The concept of the lamb as comfort is found in:

He shall feed his flock like a sheppard:  
he shall gather the lambs with his arm.  
He carries them in his bosom.  
(Isaiah 40:11 KJB).

The image of a lamb lying down is, therefore, not only a victim, “but also one who, in the words of the burial prayer, has been taken into the safe-keeping of eternal love.”<sup>176</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 41. CHARLES WHITMAN, 1860

The gravestone for Carman and Laura O’Dell (Figure 42), children of Corey and Mary W., is a good example of the specialized stones

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

used to mark children's graves. It is the most poignant children's marker in the garrison graveyard, typical in Victorian melodrama; not unexpectedly, it is located in the heart of the Victorian end of the graveyard.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



FIGURE 42. CARMAN AND LAURA M.A. O'DELL, 1862

The motif is of a cherub-like child lying very innocently and exposed on top of the grave, with two lambs resting at the base.

Collectively, they symbolize the inseparable link between life and death, and the common belief that there is nothing more innocent than a sleeping child.

A final example of Victorian-era graven imagery sentimentality for children is the gravestone for Arthur and Bennet Ritchie (Figure 43). It depicts two doves drinking from a fountain: two fledgling birds drinking from a pool/fountain/birdbath, representing the fountain of youth, the waters of life, the only or final taste of life. In Christian theology, the dove symbolized peace and reconciliation, while a dove hovering over water refers biblically to the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God. The dove also represents purity, for it was one of the few birds permitted as a sacrifice under Mosaic Law.<sup>177</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 43. ARTHUR RITCHIE, 1878, AND BENNET RITCHIE, 1884

## VICTORIAN NOVELTIES

As mentioned earlier, during the last half of the 1800s, carvers created a profusion of graven images with an equal number of

possible meanings. Take, for example, the Alfred Whitman marker (Figure 44), which has an incised anchor with an intertwined rope.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 44. ALFRED WHITMAN, 1861

One cannot assume that just because his memorial has an anchor motif that Whitman had a connection with the sea. Although an anchor is commonly used for fishermen and other seamen, since it is associated with St. Nicholas of Myra, patron saint of seafarers. In this case, the anchor was very likely meant to signify Faith, Hope, and Charity: The anchor is an early Christian symbol of hope, which is grounded in faith, because God's promise to the faithful is "... hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast ..." (Hebrews 6:19, *KJV*).

As a young man, Alfred Whitman was a book-keeper for a company engaged in a large West India business. When his health no longer allowed him to continue working his farm, Whitman moved to

Annapolis Royal where he again entered into trading activities. In the general election of 1844, Alfred obtained the seat for the township of Annapolis by acclamation. He was returned on three other occasions and in 1857, he was promoted to the Legislative Council, where he served until his death in 1861.<sup>178</sup>

The weeping willow remained a popular symbol during the Victorian period, an example of which is found on the Agnes Heaps stone (Figure 45). A wind-tossed willow mournfully hangs over a gravestone, quite a different interpretation of the willow than those of the earlier neoclassical style. It depicts a dual image of loss, with the gravestone acting as a symbolic substitute for the urn as the repository of the deceased's mortal remains.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 45. AGNES HEAPS, 1865

A snapped-off gravestone is used as the symbol of mourning on the Bertha Hall (Figure 46) marker. This image seems to have

a similar meaning as the broken flower stem, in that it clearly marks the end of the mortal being.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



**FIGURE 46.** BERTHA D. HALL, 1867

The Catherine Boehner (pronounced Beaner) gravestone (Figure 47) uses a broken chain to indicate a loss in the family, which is confirmed by the emblazoned words, “PARTED BELOW, UNITED ABOVE.” The chain may also symbolically stand for the chain of life or the circle of life. On either side of the chain is possibly the morning glory flower, used to express affection, for the gravestone was “erected by her sorrowing husband.”

### **FAMILY PLOTS**

There are a number of family plots in the garrison graveyard where members of some of the most prominent families of Annapolis Royal are interred: they are Hudson, Foster, Gavaza, Gilpin, Mil-  
lidge, O’Dell, Perkins, Ritchie, Runciman, and Wheelock.



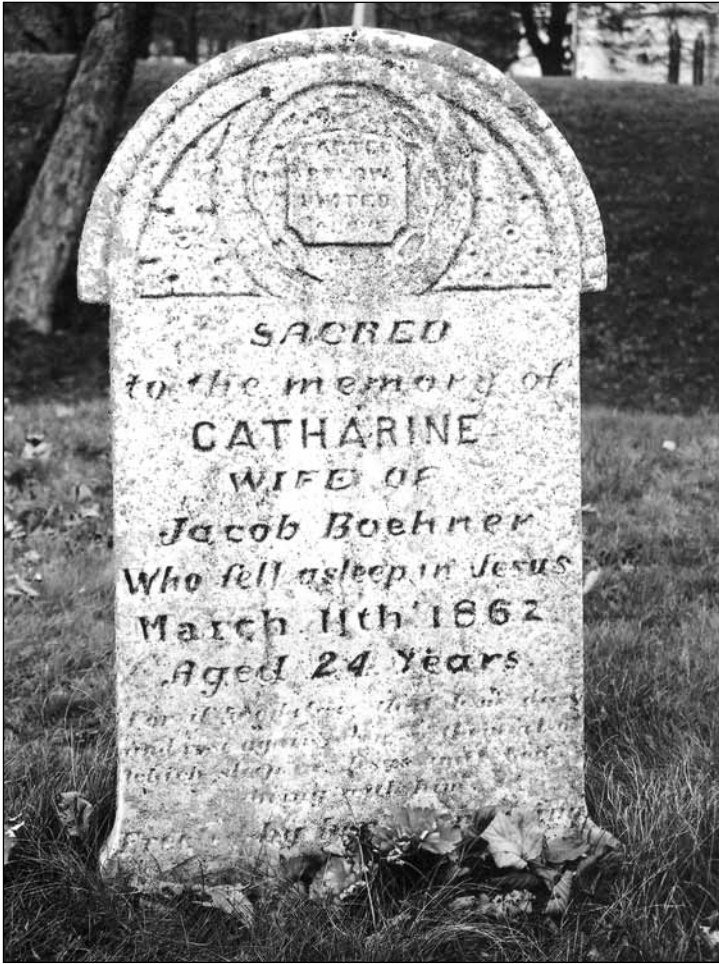


FIGURE 47. CATHARINE BOEHNER, 1862

Family plots are often easily identifiable – the stones tend to be grouped together, they are often similar in style, sometimes the same carver produced all or a number of the markers, and the plots are often enclosed with a fence.

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

Along with its use in fabricating fences, cast iron was also used for making toys, bridges, tools, and even grave markers. Cast iron fences became popular for enclosing graveyards, family plots, and even individual graves. Symbols such as stars, sheep, and willows are frequently found on cast iron fences in graveyards. Just such a decorative cast iron fence with stars encircles the Hudson family plot (Figure 48), which is also a good example of the later Victorian property trends.

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 48.** HUDSON FAMILY PLOT

Gravestones in the Hudson plot memorialize Henry (died 1854), his wife, Elizabeth (died 1849); their son, Henry (died 1861), and their daughter, Eliza Ann (died 1879). Henry's epitaph informs us that he was formerly a native of the city Cork, Ireland, and, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion Rifles. Henry and Elizabeth's other son, William, erected his parents' markers:

This stone has been erected by his eldest son,  
Who mourns the loss of a kind and indulgent father.

An honest man the noblest work of God.

Erected by her son, Wm. E. Hudson in testimony  
of his affection for an amiable and beloved mother

Eliza Ann's epitaph reads:

It is a faithful saying for if we died with him  
We shall also live with him. II Tim. II XL.

In the mid-1870s, the firm of Munro and O'Neill of Halifax fabricated the cast iron fence fronting the graveyard along St. George Street, which was a fairly common type of public fence in the Victorian period. In fact, it is a rare example of Nova Scotia cast-iron work of the period, since most often other materials are used when cast iron fences need to be replaced. Henrietta Esther Macara (born Waller) of Halifax bequeathed the funds to pay for the fence, for her mother and father are buried in now-unmarked graves. As well, her first husband was the previously mentioned Andrew Gottlieb Bierdemann (Figure 17).<sup>179</sup>

The gravestones in the Foster family plot have similar stylized neoclassical arch and pillar motifs with flowers spanning the pillars, such as the marker for John McLeod Foster (Figure 49).

Arches and pillars often symbolized the soul's passage from earth to heaven through a doorway, or portal. Some also say that arches symbolize either victory of life or victory of death. Although two different firms supplied the Foster markers – Drysdale & Hoyt Bros. and T. Dearness – they produced nearly identical stones.<sup>180</sup>

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



**FIGURE 49.** JOHN MCLEOD FOSTER, 1872

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John McLeod Foster's epitaph simply asks:

O, death, where is thy sting?

O, grave, where is thy victory?

The Gilpin family was one of the most socially distinguished families in Annapolis Royal, so it is not surprising that its plot is the largest and most prestigious in the garrison graveyard (Figure 50). There are at least sixteen Gilpin descendants or

relatives buried or remembered in this family plot, including Rev. Edwin Gilpin, his wife, Gertrude Aleph, and their son, Alfred.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 50. GILPIN FAMILY PLOT

Other family members include Ann Woodrop Sims, daughter of I.B. Gilpin; Elizabeth Miller Gilpin; Susan Baring, daughter of J.B. Gilpin and wife of Rev. W.W. Godfrey, whose lengthy obituary reads in part that:

This truly remarkable gentle character, who with triumphant faith, comes to her grave in full age, 'like a shock of corn cometh in his season.'<sup>181</sup>

There was also the eldest son of Rev. William Gilpin, Vicar of Boldre, England, John Bernard Gilpin who:

Spent the evening of his days in this parish [Annapolis Royal],  
and departed this life in peace and hope, XI May,  
MDCCCLI. Dictis Factisque Simplex.

Also interred is Amelia Gilpin, a daughter of the aforementioned Thomas Chandler Halliburton. Two of his other eleven children

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

are also buried in the garrison graveyard. The verse on Amelia's marker reads in part:

Erected by her husband and children.

The sun shall be no more thy light by day;

Neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee;

But the Lord shall be unto thee and

Everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. (Is. 60. 19)

Also remembered are Lieutenant Arthur Fowden Gilpin, of H. M. Wiltshire Regiment, who died in Dagshai, India, and was buried there in 1907, and Charlotte Smith, whose epitaph reads:

We are going through the vale of misery use it for a well.

Psalm XXX IX

[...] the dear wife of Jno. Bern'd Gilpin, M.D., do lie here  
dying at Halifax at dawn Sunday 3 March, MDCCCLI  
She was brought to this parish by her own request.

Close by lieth their infant first born and infant son  
Bernard who died at Halifax Friday II of Jan. MDCCCL  
Aged II years VI months.

And look for the resurrection of the dead.

The Gilpin plot includes nine large recumbent markers, two with capstones, or "roofs," and one small, free-standing marker, all enclosed with a chain-link fence. The most attention-grabbing design feature is the varied artistic interpretations of the family crest (Figure 50a) on the recumbent stones. The crest represents

a boar sable armed and we are informed from the pedigree of the family of Gilpin, of Kentmore, Scaleby:

To this Richard, Baron of Kendal gave the manor of Kentmore, in the time of King John (1199-1216), for killing a wild boar that did great mischief in the adjoining mountains; thus he took for his arms a boar saber (sable) armed and tusked gules.<sup>182</sup>

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY

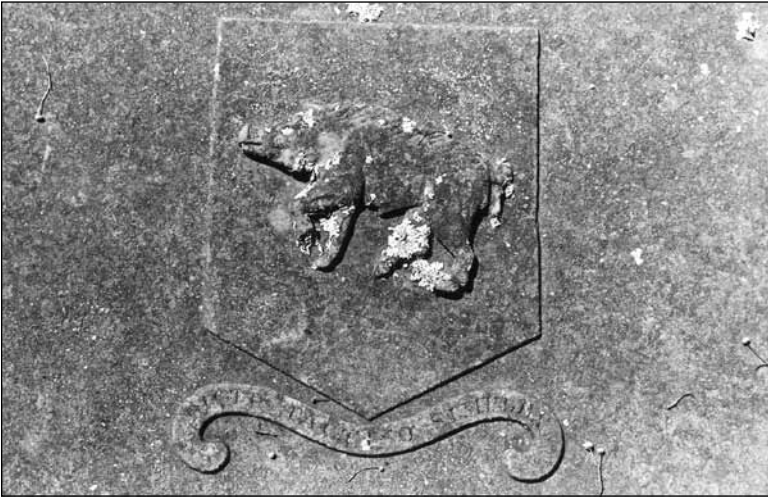


FIGURE 50a. GILPIN FAMILY CREST

The family motto reads: “Dictis Factisque Simplex” (Simple/Humble in word and deed). This is somewhat ironic considering that the Gilpin family’s plot is the most expensive and ostentatious in the graveyard. Moreover, some family members were very high-ranking and influential in the Church of England leadership. Another feature on a number of the memorials is the sheer abundance of script, some of which had to be inscribed on the edges of the stones.

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

The Rev. Edwin Gilpin, a native of Pennsylvania, was the son of John B. Gilpin and Anne Woodrop Simms. Rev. Gilpin, ordained in Halifax in 1816, served as rector of St. Luke's for 28 years and was the last officiating garrison chaplain; he served in the latter position from 1832 until the military vacated the fort permanently in 1854.<sup>183</sup> His life history is recounted in detail on his gravestone, with special verses, mostly quotations from the Bible, inscribed on all four edges. A sample verse is found on the marker to Rev. Edwin Gilpin's wife, Gertrude Oleph:

In hope of eternal life which God, that  
cannot lie, before the World began.

(Titus 1:11)

Below this verse is a short, sentimental inscription from her husband, "Yet I'll remember thee EG."

A red marble obelisk – the tallest freestanding memorial in the graveyard – dominates the Gavaza family plot, which is enclosed by low stone and iron fence (Figure 51).

Among the family members remembered are Thomas Antonio Gavaza (died 1876) and his wife Eliza Marshall (died 1891). Thomas was an Annapolis Royal merchant who had two stores, Thomas Gavaza & Sons, which were destroyed by fire in 1877.<sup>184</sup>



COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA



FIGURE 51. GAVAZA FAMILY PLOT

Thomas' epitaph reads:

Hold thou thy cross before my closing eye;  
Shine through the gloom and point me to the sky  
Heaven's morning breaks and earth's vain shadow flee.  
In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me.

MASONIC SYMBOLS

Major Erasmus James Philipps is believed to have founded a regimental Masonic Lodge in Annapolis Royal in June 1738,<sup>185</sup> the first in present-day Canada. Members are thought to have held their first meeting at the Sinclair Inn located on lower St. George Street. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are a number of gravestones recognizing members of the fraternal order of Free and Accepted Masons in the garrison graveyard.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA; KEN FAY



FIGURE 52. HARRIS HALL, 1868

The most elaborate marker commemorates Harris Hall (Figure 52), which his epitaph says was erected by Fraternity members of the Annapolis Royal lodge as a token of their esteem and which they acknowledge:

[...] Deeply regretted by all who  
knew him  
In the Temple above there is  
no night and the righteous  
shine forever.

A number of traditional Masonic symbols are inscribed on the Hall marker: the letter “G,” a compass, and a square mounted on a Bible in relief; and on the stone’s edges are a plumb and level, which are almost always united in Freemasonry ritual.

In very simple terms, since each symbol has multiple (and some say secret) meanings to Freemasonry members, the Bible is the Volume of the Sacred Law, “G” for God, the Compass embodies human reason and exemplifies our wisdom of conduct, a Square is an emblem of virtue in which our actions square with others, the Plumb reflects integrity of life, and the Level teaches equality.<sup>186</sup>

## MODERN GRANITE MARKERS

Polished granite became a popular material for gravestones beginning in the late 1800s. This stone is extremely hard; hence special tools were developed for sandblasting the decorative images and epitaphs through rubber stencils onto the stone. Today, blocks of raw granite weighing up to eight tons in more than a dozen colours are imported to Nova Scotia from different parts of the

world and from elsewhere in Canada. Locally, granite is obtained from places such as the Nictaux quarry.

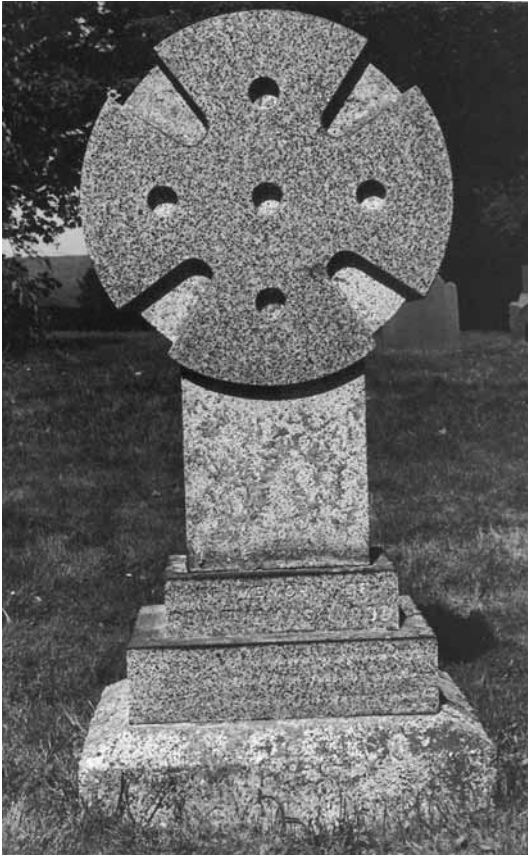
Like many of today's material objects, gravestones and graven art have seemingly lost much of the craver's personal touch. Many modern granite markers are standardized in dimensions and epitaphs. Even the production process requires far less direct human labour, since computer-guided laser drills do the carving:

Over the past 50 years there has been a simplification of gravestone ornamentation and epitaph. It is unlikely this is caused by any single factor, but rather by a combination of events: ... the decline of religious beliefs, and changing patterns of morality. Gravestone designs indicate how our culture has moved from a frank acceptance of death and bodily decay, through emphasis on life after death in heaven and God's pervasive powers, to our present state of avoidance and denial of death.<sup>187</sup>

That being said, clients can still have quite elaborate artwork on almost any theme inscribed on a memorial. These are often supplemented with personal mementoes such as embedded photos or even a voice recording of the deceased. The small number of polished granite markers in the garrison graveyard is a mixture of original markers and/or replacements.

The granite gravestone to the memory of the Rev. Thomas Wood (Figure 53) was erected in 1910 during the Church of England's Bicentenary marking the first Anglican Church service in what was then Canada. The ceremony was held at the fort to celebrate its capture by the British in 1710.<sup>188</sup>

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



**FIGURE 53.** REV. THOMAS WOOD, 1778

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The memorial actually consists of two stones; a freestanding Celtic cross design and a flat stone with the inscribed epitaph. The last lines of his epitaph read (see page 153 for the full inscription):

DIVINE BLESSING CROWNED HIS  
APOSTOLIC ZEAL POSTERITY  
REVIVES HIS MEMORY

Rev. Wood is considered to have been the first missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in southwestern Nova Scotia.<sup>189</sup> Of Scottish origin, he was a resident of New Brunswick and New Jersey. From May 1746 to late 1748, Wood served as a surgeon in Shirley's Regiment of Foot at Louisbourg. The Bishop of London ordained him in 1749, the year of Halifax's founding.<sup>190</sup> Rev. Wood was made deputy chaplain in the 1750s and undertook occasional visits on behalf of the Rev. John Breynton, rector of St. Paul's in Halifax, for the latter seems to have rarely carried out his duties in Annapolis Royal.<sup>191</sup>

In 1755, he was appointed chaplain at Fort Cumberland (located near Sackville, New Brunswick), formerly Fort Beauséjour until its capture in June 1755. Four years later, Wood became chaplain to the first Nova Scotia House of Assembly and was inducted vicar of St. Paul's. He settled permanently in Annapolis Royal with his family in 1764, where he administered to the townspeople and acted as deputy garrison chaplain.<sup>192</sup>

Rev. Wood was an expert linguist and is perhaps best remembered for his ability to preach in English, French, German, and Mi'kmaq, and for his translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Mi'kmaw language. He also wrote a Mi'kmaw grammar, and on September 4, 1766, he read prayers to the Mi'kmaq in their language at a service attended by the colony's governor in St. Paul's in Halifax.<sup>193</sup> Rev. Wood died in December 1778, a much beloved and devoted missionary of the SPG, and seemingly highly respected by the Mi'kmaq.<sup>194</sup> His wife Mary (born Myers), whose marker (Figure 5a) adjoins his, passed away eight months before him (see Epitaphs, page 153).

A grey granite gravestone (Figure 54) was also erected in 1910 to mark the grave of the esteemed Rev. Jacob Bailey and his wife,

Sarah Weeks. Jacob Bailey was a prominent United Empire Loyalist and as his epitaph recounts he was the “Frontier Missionary,” first rector of St. Luke’s parish and a chaplain to the troops in the Annapolis garrison from 1782-1808.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR COLLECTION (UNDATED PHOTO)



**FIGURE 54.** REV. JACOB BAILEY, 1808, AND SARAH WEEKS, 1818

Born in Rowley, Massachusetts in 1731, of a modest farming family, Bailey, nonetheless, graduated from Harvard. He first taught school and then became a Congregational minister after being ordained in England in 1760.<sup>195</sup> When the Revolutionary War broke out, he, like thousands of other Loyalists, sided with the Tories for which he was constantly persecuted and very poorly treated by friends and neighbours. Fearing for their lives, Rev. Bailey, his wife, Sarah and their children sought refuge in Boston in 1774.<sup>196</sup>

Life for the Baileys was no better in Boston. In his journal, Bailey describes having at one point to keep himself concealed for two days, “to avoid the fury of the champions of political liberty and liberty of conscience.”<sup>197</sup> In October 1778, after complaining bitterly that he was “reduced to such Poverty and Distress as frequently and for a Considerable Time to be destitute of even the Necessaries as well as the comforts of life,”<sup>198</sup> and several times driven to roam about disguised, the Baileys escaped to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they arrived with no food and mere rags for clothing.<sup>199</sup> The next year, the family moved to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, where he remained pastor of the Church of England until 1782, when he came to nearby Annapolis Royal.

Rev. Bailey was rector of St. Luke’s parish and deputy chaplain to the garrison until his death in 1808 at 77 years of age.<sup>200</sup> His wife and six children survived him. Jacob Bailey is remembered as a dedicated missionary, unwavering Loyalist, and prolific writer; in fact, his literary achievements make him one of the most important figures in Canadian literature; poetry being his most significant accomplishment.<sup>201</sup>

Another garrison chaplain was the Rev. John Millidge, who served from around 1817 until his death in 1830. At his request, Millidge was buried under the chancel of St. Luke’s Church.<sup>202</sup> A stone in the garrison graveyard marks the grave of his “relict,” or widow, Hannah (born Simmonds) who passed in 1869 at 90 years of age; perhaps fittingly, a verse on her marker reads: “The weary are at rest.” Rev. Millidge had the well-known Runciman House built in Annapolis Royal; now a museum, it is a superb example of Regency architecture.



THEY SERVED AT THE FORT

Many other troops also served at the fort and are buried in the garrison graveyard, including Ensign George Audley (Figure 55), whose gravestone is the earliest existing military marker.

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR COLLECTION



FIGURE 55. ENSIGN GEORGE AUDLEY, 1806

Ensign Audley came to Nova Scotia from St. John's, Newfoundland, with the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment in the summer of 1805. The following year, the Regiment's headquarters appears to have been Annapolis Royal, where some

200 members were stationed, under the command of Major Charles Sutherland – a seemingly difficult and hard-drinking senior officer.<sup>203</sup> In February, three months before he died, Audley had a stroke of bad luck, having “lost all his ‘military appointments’ and probably the rest of his belongings when a fire gutted his room while he was spending the evening in a fellow officer’s room.”<sup>204</sup>

The battalion attended his funeral, probably with the required funeral party composed of a sergeant, one trumpeter or drummer, and 30 rank and file commanded by an ensign.<sup>205</sup> His garrison comrades fondly remembered Audley:

SACRED  
To  
the Memory of  
ENSIGN GEORGE AUDLEY  
of the Royal Newfoundland  
Regiment  
who died the 25<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1806  
in the 30<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age.  
This stone is placed  
by his Brother Officers  
as a testimony of their friendship  
and esteem.

In an ironic postscript, two years after Ensign Audley’s death, Major Sutherland was court-martialed. One allegation was for “having behaved in an indecent and irreverent manner” at

Audley's funeral. Sutherland was ultimately found not guilty, but was found culpable on other charges and tossed from the service.<sup>206</sup>

A number of military personnel also served at the fort at Annapolis in permanent staff positions, which were separate from the regular rotation of regiments. These men looked after the fort's buildings and supplies, and took care of the spiritual and secular needs of the garrison. They were respected members of the town, many of whom served 20 or 30 years and then retired on pensions to spend the rest of their lives in Annapolis Royal.<sup>207</sup> Two such staff officers were Thomas Williams, father and son.

Thomas Williams Sr. was the garrison's ordnance storekeeper from at least the 1750s into the 1780s, and then as the commissary of provisions and barrack master.<sup>208</sup>

Williams Sr. had links to some of the early Annapolis Royal families, including through his marriage to Ann Amhurst, daughter of Captain Edward Amhurst of the well-known 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot.<sup>209</sup> When privateers sacked Annapolis Royal in 1781, they kidnapped Thomas and prominent merchant John Ritchie; they were later exchanged for a rebel prisoner.<sup>210</sup> Both Thomas and Ann Williams died in 1788.

When Prince Edward visited Annapolis Royal to inspect the ongoing work at the fort in 1797, he was introduced to Thomas Williams Jr. and his wife, Anna Maria, the daughter of naval officer and former barrack master, Thomas Walker.<sup>211</sup>

Thomas Jr. had succeeded his father as barrack master and commissary of provisions. Actually, he was acting in the position when

## CROWDED CHURCHYARDS TO FORMAL SETTINGS

Prince Edward, who was close in age to Thomas, personally recommended him for the positions. The Prince described Thomas as “a man of the most upright integrity and in distressed circumstances from being burthened [sic] with a very large family.”<sup>212</sup>

In December of 1799, Anna Maria Williams gave birth to another child, named William Fenwick Williams. It was commonly believed, however, that Prince Edward, by then the Duke of Kent, was the actual biological father. Prince Edward had returned to England in the fall of 1798 and then returned to Halifax the next year with the title of Duke of Kent and the appointment as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America.<sup>213</sup>

Unfortunately, illness prevented Thomas Jr. from fulfilling his duties and he died in July of 1806 at the age of 38. Just three weeks before his passing, people were optimistic concerning his health: “Com(missary) Williams was with his [wheel?!] Chair with Mrs. Williams in the Square of the Fort and accepted two Glasses of Port Wine.”<sup>214</sup> Thomas left behind his young wife and their children with little money.

Sir William Fenwick Williams would become known as the hero of Kars, Turkey (Crimean War), and be appointed governor of Gibraltar, then the commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, as well as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia.<sup>215</sup>

Charles Alexander Simpson, an assistant surgeon in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Figure 56), also served as a medical staff member at the fort. Simpson died after a three-day illness at age 29; his epitaph reads:

CHAPTER 5

L. W.

DEPOSITED HERE

until the sound of the great Trumpet

THE REMAINS

OF CHARLES ALEXANDER

SIMPSON

ASSIS.<sup>T</sup> SURGEON 60<sup>th</sup> REG.<sup>T</sup>

a native of Medley, Staffordshire

ENGLAND

He obeyed the mighty word

RETURN.

after an illness of 3 days

in the 30th year of his age

March 20th 1820.

The graves other young men of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment who also died while stationed at Annapolis Royal now rest in are unmarked.

Another surgeon who served was John Armstrong, a native of Ireland, who was a member of the 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Brigade. He died in 1827 at 38 years of age.<sup>216</sup>

At least three members of the Royal Rifle Brigade are buried in unmarked graves, including John Armstrong, assistant surgeon. He arrived in May of 1826 and died just over a year later at 38 years of age.<sup>217</sup> Armstrong was one of the hundreds of Irishmen who served at the fort over the 150-year British military occupation.

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS

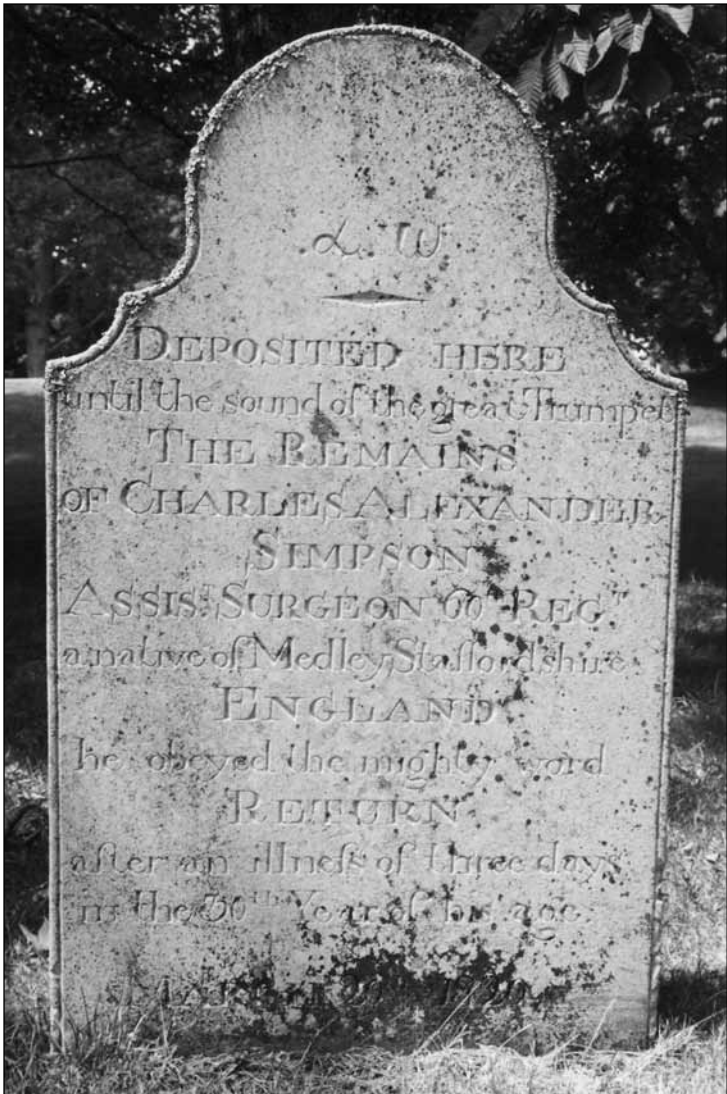


FIGURE 56. CHARLES ALEXANDER SIMPSON, 1820

Two 23-year-old privates of the Rifle Brigade, William Bailey and William Carpenter, also died tragically while serving at Fort Anne.

Both drowned in the Annapolis River when their boat capsized. Comrades erected a gravestone in their memory that reads:

Sacred to the memory of  
William Bailey and William Carpenter,  
Private soldiers, 2nd Batt., Rifle Brigade,  
Who were drowned in the Annapolis River,  
April 6th, 1843.

But the end of all things is at hand:  
Be ye therefore and watch unto prayer  
I Peter 4:7.

Among other troops who served at the fort was one William Prince, whose marker informs us that he was a native of Yorkshire, and late quarter-master of H.M. American Dragoons, who passed on in 1829 at 79 years of age.

Not the least, other garrison members' wives and children also died and are buried in the graveyard, including Elizabeth Georgina Katzman.

Elizabeth was the daughter of the aforementioned ordnance storekeeper James Fraser and his wife, Margaret. Margaret was a farmer's daughter from County Ross, Ireland, whom Fraser had married in their native North Britain (Scotland) in 1771.<sup>218</sup>

Elizabeth married Conrad Christian Katzman, a young German ensign of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in 1818. On the day Elizabeth wed, her niece, Augusta Henkell, married Lieutenant George Robinson (she was his second wife), also an officer of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment.<sup>219</sup> Augusta Henkell was the 18-year-old daughter of staff surgeon

George Henkell (Figure 18) and granddaughter of James Fraser. Tragically, she died nine months later at age 27 and was buried in the garrison graveyard with her eight-day-old son, James. When George Robinson died at age 75, having settled in the town when he retired from the military, the fort that had brought him to Annapolis Royal had been vacant for 11 years.<sup>220</sup>

A verse at the bottom of Elizabeth's marker read (no longer legible):

Lord, teach us to number our days that we may  
Apply our hearts unto wisdom.





## EPILOGUE

### SURVIVING INTO THE FUTURE

The Fort Anne NHSC garrison graveyard is one of the most historic graveyards in Canada. It is also a significant national cultural landscape, for it represents an unbroken link to the centuries of military and civilian life of Port-Royal-Annapolis Royal. There are over 230 extant gravestones – and perhaps over 1,700 unmarked graves – dating from 1720 to the 1940s, including the presumed oldest English-inscribed gravestone in Canada.

The garrison graveyard evolved over approximately three centuries – it began as a small French-Acadian *cimetière* (graveyard), became a British burial ground, then evolved into a local parish cemetery, and finally took on its present national historic site park-like setting of mature trees, ornamental shrubs, and well-kept lawns.

No above-ground features of the French-Acadian graveyard remain. There are also no descriptions of the markers that once identified the graves, which were most likely plain wooden crosses. Also unknown are the exact number of French and Acadians interred from around the 1650s to 1755, when the Acadians were deported.

The British likely began using the area adjacent to the French-Acadian graveyard as a burial ground in 1710 when they captured Port-Royal for the final time. The burial ground served both the garrison and community renamed Annapolis Royal. Members and families of the garrison were buried there until 1854, when the fort was last garrisoned. Residents of the town continued using the site for burials until around 1940.

## EPILOGUE

The British seem to have also used wooden crosses to mark some graves, but they also identified many with carved gravestones. The earliest slate markers came from the Boston area, then a centre of gravestone carving. By the time of the American Revolution in the latter 1700s, however, Nova Scotians had become more self-sufficient and were beginning to produce items locally, possibly even the occasional gravestone.

With the upheaval in the newly-founded United States, the importation of gravestones from New England virtually ceased, which probably further encouraged local tradesmen to gradually develop gravestone businesses. Additionally, sandstone, which was readily available in Nova Scotia, had all but replaced slate as the preferred material for gravestones. We also see a slow but sure change in graven iconography, with winged soul effigies replacing winged skulls. Neoclassical images, such as urns and willows, then gained favour as Americans turned to classical antiquity for inspiration for their new Republic. This trend was in keeping with the shift in general attitudes towards death and burial practice, from one where death was seen as inevitable to a view that a person could actually influence his or her destiny. As well, we see a shift in the design of gravestones, from the typical rounded shoulders to a more clean-cut, rounded top surmounted by a simple rectangular tablet. The width of the tablet extends beyond the base of the top, thus creating the impression that the marker has squared-off shoulders.<sup>221</sup> Examples of these changes are still evident in the garrison graveyard.

Beginning in the 1830s, concerns over the spreading of contagious diseases in overcrowded churchyards encouraged the development of more formal, park-like rural cemeteries, with strict rules of design and maintenance. This also marked another shift in the

## EPILOGUE

fabrication of gravestones, for there was a deliberate move away from the dark slates and sandstones to so-called “white stone.” In the succeeding decades, this trend literally took over cemeteries, including the garrison graveyard, along with an increased diversity of graven iconography for every possible taste.

Then in the late 1800s, polished granite became a popular material for gravestones, which was helped by the development of specialized tools that could readily carve into this extremely hard stone. With it also came another trend in gravestone art: from the eclectic variety of images and epitaphs found on the white stone markers, gravestone art largely became mechanical, clean-cut, with many standardized images and verses.

By the early 1900s, even though local preservationists had earlier expressed concern about its fate, the garrison graveyard was in a deplorable condition: seemingly destined for an inglorious demise. However, a few residents did their best to care for the remaining grave markers.

St. Luke’s parish, the overseer of the graveyard, recognized its importance, but it did not have the financial resources to properly maintain the site, especially after fund-raising efforts generated virtually no interest and other options also failed to gain support. Coincidentally, the graveyard had become a popular tourist attraction, as had Fort Anne’s old earthwork fortifications. Recognizing the potential draw for visitors, and only later appreciating its true historic importance, the Government of Canada finally acquired the garrison graveyard in 1968. Thus, it became part of present-day Fort Anne NHSC, where hundreds of visitors still wander among the gravestones each year.

## EPILOGUE

I have presented an overview of the garrison graveyard, along with a sampling of the styles of gravestones, graven art and epitaphs. They provide an opportunity to view in a micro setting the influence that New England had on gravestone art in early Nova Scotia, and then the subsequent impact that both regional and local carvers had on gravestone carving in the province.

While there were overlaps in styles and preferences, in the garrison graveyard (as in other burial sites) we can see the fear of death as embodied in the early eighteenth-century graven images, which in turn gradually gave way to the “Age of Reason” of the latter part of the century, only to be transformed by the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s Victorian-era lavishness, love of nature, and emotionalism. The 20<sup>th</sup> century, disrupted by two world wars and an economic depression, was by comparison secular, candid and efficient.<sup>222</sup>

Yet, a fundamental question remains for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: Will the ancient gravestones or, for that matter, even the modern-day markers, fall victim to the host of pressures that threaten their existence?

A significant danger to both historic graveyards and modern cemeteries is vandalism. Fortunately, the garrison graveyard has experienced only minor abuse. However, other less obvious forms of vandalism also occur where, for instance, gravestones have been inadvertently damaged by the very popular practice of creating rubbings of the images.

Rubbings can easily damage stones that have been weakened by weathering. The inscription on the Catherine Boehner gravestone (Figure 46), for example, was blackened with a marker, presumably to increase the legibility of the epitaph. While in this

## EPILOGUE

case there does not seem to be any permanent damage, rubbings and other activities can permanently harm the stones: they can remove or alter historic material, change the character of the original carving, deface the gravestone, and create long-term care and stability challenges.

Unquestionably, the greatest danger to the survival of gravestones is the environment, evidence of which can clearly be seen in the garrison graveyard. Many of the images and epitaphs are no longer legible and some stones are literally crumbling in place (Figure 57).

COURTESY OF W.P. KERR



**FIGURE 57.** WEATHER-DAMAGED GRAVESTONE

Several of the slate markers have split because of frost, causing the surfaces with the images and lettering to break away (Figure 11). Many of the sandstone and white stone gravestones have severely deteriorated; in some cases the carvings have completely

## EPILOGUE

disappeared, due to frost, lichens, and acid rain (Figure 56). Even some of the modern granite markers are showing signs of wear and tear.

Remedial conservation work has been undertaken (Figure 58), and protective winter covers (Figure 59) are being used to mitigate the decline. Yet, the relentless march of time continues to take its toll. Realistically, many of the carvings and epitaphs on the gravestones in the garrison graveyard will very likely completely disappear over the next several decades.

COURTESY OF PARKS CANADA



**FIGURE 58.** REMEDIAL CONSERVATION WORK ON GRAVESTONES

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In the meantime, the surviving gravestones continue to silently call out to passersby to stop, look, contemplate, and appreciate. Over the centuries, gravestone carvers have used their carvings and associated verses to emotionally touch the contemporary viewer. As such, there can be multiple interpretations of the “messages” since each of us reacts and views things differently, depending on our own life experiences. The fundamental

## EPILOGUE

questions about graven art still remain: Does it “speak” to you?  
Does it move you? What does it mean to you?

COURTESY OF SUSANN MYERS



**FIGURE 59.** COVER PROTECTS GRAVESTONE DURING THE WINTER

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## CARVERS' BUSINESS CARDS

The carvers listed below have signed gravestones or attributions in the garrison graveyard. This is not a comprehensive list, since there are doubtless other unidentified carvers or firms.<sup>223</sup>

### **“Annapolis carver”**

(Possibly Saint John, NB)

### **Drysdale & [Hoyt] Bros.**

Bridgetown, NS

### **E.W**

### **E.W.**

(Likely Falconer & Whitman  
Bridgetown, NS)

### **F.W. Clear**

Canning and Berwick, NS

### **J.R. Milligan**

Saint John, NB

### **J.H. Murphy**

Halifax, NS

### **L.W.**

(Likely Lyman J. Walker  
Truro, NS)

### **Nathaniel Emmes**

(Attribution)  
Boston, MA

**Mackenzie & Scott**

**O. Whitman**

(Believed Bridgetown, NS)

**Osgood & Co.**

Saint John, NB

**Osgood. S.P.**

Saint John, NB

**Raymond & McGill**

Yarmouth, NS

**Sanford & Sons**

Halifax, NS

**Stanton Bros.**

**T. Dearness**

Saint John, NB

**T. Wesley**

Halifax, NS

**W. C. Co.**

(Likely Walker & Co.

Kentville, NS)

**W. Bishop**

Halifax, NS

**W. Sleeth**

Saint John, NB

**Wesley & Sinclair**

Halifax, NS

## EPITAPHS

The following epitaphs are or were also inscribed on gravestones in the garrison graveyard. They are presented as transcribed at the time, as reproduced in publications, and/or as verified by first-hand observations.<sup>224</sup>

### ***William H. Corbitt, 1845***

Thou hast gone the way of all the earth;  
To wait the coming of the second birth;  
For immorality beyond the skies.

### ***Sarah Cumming, 1874***

Beyond this vale of tears there is a life above  
Unmeasured by the flight of time,  
and all that life is love.

### ***Joseph Foster, 1848***

A husband dear, a father kind,  
Virtuous on earth, to death resigned.  
Here rests his body in the tomb  
To lay till Jesus breaks the gloom.

### ***Jane Godfrey, 1886***

Weep not, she is not dead but sleepth.

E P I T A P H S

*Ann McDormand, 1826*

Not all the pains that e'er I bore  
Shall spoil my future peace.  
For death and hell can do no more  
Than what my Father please.

*Elizabeth W. Ritchie, 1819*

[...] Her life was short but it beamed with  
Beneficence. Her conduct showed how desirous she  
was to perform every religious and social Duty.  
She was an affectionate Wife, a tender Mother, dutiful  
Child and sincere Friend. Her Husband mourns.  
Her seven Children are too young to feel their Loss.  
Best in each prospect that could bind to Life,  
The happy mother, kindly cherished Wife,  
Gifted by heaven with every charm of mind,  
Where cheerful Wit with solid sense combined;  
The tender Heart that felt another's Grief;  
The ready Hand that gave distress Relief;  
Innocent Life thus loving and beloved;  
Why was Eliza from our Sphere removed?  
Oh might we dare to question Heaven's Decree.  
We ask this earth why deprived of thee.  
Heaven saw thye cup of earthly bliss o'erflow,  
And snatched thee e're the draught was mixed with woe  
Heaven saw thee early fitted? for the Sky,

E P I T A P H S

Mid--- thy spirit pure ascend on high  
There let the mourner wipe his tears away  
And with the Lord of faith thy change survey  
In humble hope this waving scene once o'er  
In Bliss to innocent and to pall no more.

***Thomas Ritchie (Judge), 1835***

[...] His memory is cherished in this County for the  
independence and fidelity with which he fulfilled  
his duties of the offices and of the integrity  
which characterised him through life. ...  
His children have erected this stone in affectionate  
remembrance of a beloved father.  
The memory of the just is blessed.

***Frederick L Roach, 1806***

Stay friend, stay, nor let thy [heart] profane  
The humble stone that tells you life is vain.  
Here lies a youth in mouldering ruin lost.  
A blossom nipt by death's untimely frost.  
O, then prepare to meet him above,  
In realms of everlasting love.

E P I T A P H S

***Lawrence Sneden, 1823***

[...] Late Merchant in ANNAPOLIS  
Before his Creator he was humble and devout,  
To his family kind and affectionate,  
Charitable without Ostentation,  
And rigidly just in his dealings.  
On the bed of Death  
He contemplated his approaching change  
at that eventful crisis of his existence  
resigned his Spirit  
into the hands  
of his Maker  
This tablet the tribute of affection  
and sorrow  
is raised in his memory  
by  
His disconsolate widow.

***William Tomlinson, 1830***

Afflictions sore I long time bore,  
Physicians were in vain,  
Till death did seize and God did please  
To ease me of my pain.

E P I T A P H S

**Thomas Wood, 1778**

[...] BORN IN NEW JERSEY  
PHYSICAN AND SURGEON  
ORDAINED IN 1749 FROM 1752  
AS MISSIONARY OF THE S.P.G.  
IN NOVA SCOTIA  
MINISTERED IN ENGLISH FRENCH  
GERMAN AND MICMAC  
FIRST VISITED THIS TOWN IN 1753  
ASSIGNED TO THE TOWNSHIPS OF ANNAPOLIS  
AND GRANVILLE  
LIVED HERE, LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE PRESENT  
PARISHES, FROM 1764 TO HIS DEATH DECEMBER 14, 1778,  
AGED [67]  
DIVINE BLESSING CROWNED HIS  
APOLISTIC ZEAL  
POSTERITY REVIVES HIS MEMORY

**Mary Wood, 1778**

HERE lyeth  
The mortal remains of  
M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Wood, in hopes of  
A Joyfull Resurrection thro' the  
Merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ  
She was the wife of the Rev<sup>d</sup>,  
Tho<sup>s</sup>, Wood, the first Vicar of  
S<sup>t</sup>. PAULS CHURCH in Halifax, and  
also the first Missionary of Annapolis and Granville  
Ob<sup>t</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>, April, 1778 Ast Sui 57





## ENDNOTES

- 1 Merrifield H. Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Carved Them, 1653-1800* (New York: D.A. Capo Press, 1967), 113.
- 2 Melvin G. Williams, *The Last Word: The Lure and Lore of Early New England Graveyards*. (Boston: Oldstone Enterprises, 1973), 18.
- 3 The candlelight tours of the garrison graveyard were begun as a Parks Canada centennial project in 1985. Thousands of people have experienced this unique historical resource, due to the singular dedication of Alan Melanson, long-time Fort Anne interpreter and former president of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.
- 4 Maryellen Harshbarger McVicker, "Reflections of Change: Death and Cemeteries in the Boonslick Region of Missouri," (nd), <<http://www.mo-river.net/History/Boonslick/>> (accessed May 30, 2010), 1.
- 5 Margaret Coffin, *Death in Early America* (New York: Alsevier Nelson Books, 1976), 125. I transcribed the inscription from the Thomas Roblee gravestone, Granville Ferry, Annapolis Co., NS.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 126.
- 7 Alan Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbolism, 1650-1850* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 43.
- 8 Deborah Trask, *Life How Short, Eternity How Long: Gravestone Carving and Carvers in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1978), 17.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 10 Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 56.
- 11 Trask, *Life How Short*, 7.
- 12 Jessie Lie Farber, "Early American Gravestones: Introduction to the Farber Gravestone Collection," <<http://www.davidrumsey.com/farber/>> (accessed August 5, 2010), 12.

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- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Trask, *Life How Short*, 7.
- 15 A.J.B. Johnston and W.P. Kerr, *Grand-Pré: Heart of Acadie* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2004), 35.
- 16 Ibid., 13.
- 17 Ibid. Archaeological evidence confirms that during his first years at Port-Royal, d'Aulnay and his followers occupied the Scots' Charles Fort.
- 18 Brenda Dunn. *A History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal: 1605-1800* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2004), 88.
- 19 Ibid., 87.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., 13.
- 22 René Baudry, "Charles de Menou d'Aulnay," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (henceforth *DCB Online*), Vol. VI, <<http://www.biographi.ca/>> (accessed August 2, 2010). See also Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 97.
- 23 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 39.
- 24 French engineer Delabat's plan entitled "Plan du Fort Royal à l'Acadie en l'état qu'on propose de le mettre l'an 1706," Library and Archives Canada (henceforth LAC) PAC #C21726.
- 25 Parks Canada Agency (henceforth PCA). "Some Maps at Fort Anne Historical Museum Which Show the Old Cemetery," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, folder C-045, n.d.), a.
- 26 Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, "Le cimetière de la paroisse de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal en Acadie, 1637-1755," (Halifax: PCA, 2008), 12. LeBlanc states that the Acadians did use an area within the present-day garrison graveyard for burials until their deportation in 1755.

## ENDNOTES

At least 500 Acadians are believed to have been interred; although further research is required to determine a more precise number.

27 Brenda Dunn, "The Garrison Cemetery and the Fort at Annapolis Royal: A study of the military personnel and their families buried in the old cemetery," (Halifax: PCA, 1987), 2. Where Acadians were buried is confusing, since the main church was not always in the town. That is, the Acadians had a number of "chapels" and burial sites in the Port-Royal area, including the Sainte-Anne Chapel, which was probably located in the area of the present-day Stoney Beach Cemetery on the lower Annapolis River. Dunn writes that the 1754 parish records indicate that several Acadians were buried there, including Anne Melanson from the nearby Melanson settlement. Several Mi'kmaq may have also been interred in the French-Acadian graveyard. Further research is required concerning the possible Mi'kmaq burials.

28 Sally Ross, "Acadian Cemeteries in Nova Scotia: A Survey," *Markers XXII* (2005): 3-4. In early December 1755, 1,664 Acadian men, women and children were loaded onto seven transport ships and deported from the Annapolis Royal area for dispersal in the southern Anglo-American colonies. Those aboard the *Pembroke* actually overpowered the crew and turned the vessel back towards the St. John River. Some ended up settling in Quebec, while a few also returned to the Annapolis area, where they lived in anonymity. See A.J.B. Johnston and W.P. Kerr, *Grand Pré* for further details on the broader Acadian Deportation experience,

29 John Bartlet Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada* (New York, 1927). The reference to Nova Scotia being "New England's outpost" derives from the title of Brebner's book.

30 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 91.

31 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 3.

32 J. Bartlet Brebner, *Paul Mascarene of Annapolis Royal* (Annapolis Royal: Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, 1928, 503. This was a paper read at the unveiling of the portrait of Paul Mascarene by the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal (HAAR), June 12, 1928, and was reproduced from *The Dalhousie Review*.

33 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 97.

## ENDNOTES

- 34 Charlotte I. Perkins, *The Romance of Annapolis Royal Nova Scotia*, 5th ed. (Annapolis Royal: HAAR 1985), 56. The quotation concerning the numerous wooden crosses in the garrison graveyard likely dates to around the 1850s; however, this is only an estimate on my part.
- 35 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 7.
- 36 Ibid., 2.
- 37 Ibid., 3.
- 38 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 188.
- 39 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 3-4.
- 40 Ibid., 4.
- 41 Denise Hansen, "The Telltale Buttons: An 18<sup>th</sup> Century Military Burial at Fort Anne," (Halifax: PCA, 1995), 1. On May 16, 1994, an Ottawa, ON, physician, Dr. Brian Gushulak, saw the soldier's arm bone embedded in the clay soil while walking along the Annapolis River shoreline at the foot of Fort Anne's earthworks.
- 42 Public Works and Government Services Canada (henceforth PWGSC), *Conservation Plan: Garrison Graveyard, Fort Anne National Historic Sites of Canada* (Halifax: PWGSC, 2006), 2.5.
- 43 Perkins, *Romance*, 40.
- 44 HAAR. *Annapolis Royal & Area Established 1605* (Bridgetown: Integrity Printing, n.d.), 21.
- 45 Perkins, *Romance*, 40.
- 46 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 233.
- 47 HAAR, *Annapolis Royal & Area Established 1605*, 3.
- 48 W.P. Kerr, "Blockhouses at Annapolis Royal," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC, 1984), 24.

## ENDNOTES

- 49 W.P. Kerr, "Blockhouses," 24. The first preservationist group was the Garrison Improvement Committee (although in some period articles it is called the Parks Commission). In 1904, an international ceremony on the fort grounds commemorated the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sieur de Mons' arrival and the founding of Port-Royal. It was a forerunner of establishing Fort Anne Dominion Park, Canada's first administered national historic park, in 1917. This recognition also gave rise to the creation of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal in 1921, with a mission to sustain more than three centuries of history. Perhaps its greatest accomplishment was in 1938-39 with the reconstruction of the Port-Royal Habitation. Here as well, there also developed a new heritage philosophy – reconstructing elements of the past, which eventually spread across the country.
- 50 PCA, "References," 23.
- 51 PWGSC, *Plan: Garrison Graveyard*, 2.5.
- 52 Calnek, *History of the County*, 184.
- 53 PWGSC, *Plan: Garrison Graveyard*, 2.5.
- 54 PCA, "References to the Old Cemetery in the Early 1880's," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, folder C-055, 1953), 14. The quotation recorded in the Fort Anne document is said to have originated from F.S.W. *Visiting Our Neighbors* (Chicago, 1884).
- 55 PCA, "References," f2.
- 56 PCA "Appeal for Subscriptions to renovate the Old Military Cemetery at Annapolis Royal, 1901," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, folder C-055, n.d.), 1.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid., 2.
- 60 Ibid.

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- 61 Ibid., 1.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 PCA, "Index to the List of Gravestones in the Old Cemetery at Annapolis Royal," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, folder C-055, n.d.), 12-16.
- 65 PCA, "Appeal for Subscriptions," 1.
- 66 PCA, "The Old Cemetery is Under the Jurisdiction of St. Luke's – Church of England Annapolis Royal," (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, folder C-055, n.d.), f2.
- 67 PCA, "Appeal for Subscriptions," 1.
- 68 Ibid., 2.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 PCA, "Old Cemetery," f1.
- 72 Perkins, *Romance*, 59
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Brenda Dunn, "Re: The Spectator," e-mail message to the writer March 14, 2008.
- 75 PCA "Old Cemetery," f1.
- 76 Ibid., f2.
- 77 Brenda Dunn, "Fort Anne Garrison Graveyard," (Halifax: PCA, April 2002), 3. See also PWGSC, *Plan: Garrison Graveyard*, 2.5.

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- 78 Theodore Chase and Laurel K. Gabel, "Seven Initial Carvers of Boston 1700-1725," *Markers V* (1980): 212.
- 79 Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 283
- 80 Farber, "Early American Gravestones," 14.
- 81 Peter Benes, *The Mask of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Pres, 1977), 40.
- 82 Sue Kelly and Anne Williams, "'And the Men Who Made Them': The Signed Gravestones of New England," *Markers II* (1983): 3.
- 83 Farber, "Early American Gravestones," 27.
- 84 Trask, *Life How Short*, 11.
- 85 Benes, *Mask of Orthodoxy*, 172.
- 86 Edmund Vincent Gillon Jr, *Early New England Gravestone Rubbings* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), ix.
- 87 Forbes, *Gravestone of Early New England*, 25.
- 88 Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 18.
- 89 Benes, *Mask of Orthodoxy*, 34.
- 90 Trask, *Life How Short*, 11.
- 91 The five extant gravestones dating between 1720 and 1742 means the garrison graveyard is the only site in Nova Scotia known to have pre-1745 markers. Two stones for New Englanders are stored at Fortress Louisbourg NHSC. "The next oldest known gravestone in Nova Scotia is a small New England-carved slate marker dated 1752, which was uncovered in a Halifax graveyard in 1990 (personal communication with Deborah Trask)." PWGSC, *Plan: Garrison Graveyard*, 2.7.



## ENDNOTES

- 92 Trask, *Life How Short*, 94., and Benes, *Mask of Orthodoxy*, 40. Benes states that Nathaniel Emmes (1690-1750) was a former apprentice of well-known Boston carver William Mumford. Emmes is described “as an undistinguished Boston carver.” Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 314. For further opinions on Emmes see also Forbes, *Gravestone of Early New England*, 58-59, and Theodore Chase and Laurel Gable, “Seven Initial Carvers of Boston, 1700-1725,” 215.
- 93 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 189.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Benes, *Masks of Orthodoxy*, 50-51.
- 96 Ibid., 51.
- 97 Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 14.
- 98 Farber, “Early American Gravestones,” 31.
- 99 PCA, “References to the old Cemetery,” (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne NHSC Archives, n.d.), 14. Originally cited from Eliza B. Chase, *Over the Border: Acadia, the Home of Evangeline* (Boston: Osgood, 1884), 76-77.
- 100 Charles Bruce Ferguson, “William Winniett,” *DCB Online*, Vol. III, <<http://www.biographi.ca> > (accessed June 19, 2010).
- 101 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 96.
- 102 Ferguson, “William Winniett”.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Beamish Murdock, *A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie*, Vol. 2 (Halifax: James Barnes, 1866), 15-16.
- 105 Ferguson, “William Winniett”.
- 106 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 142.
- 107 Farber, “Early American Gravestones,” 35.

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- 108 William Inglis Morse, *Gravestones of Acadia* (Great Britain: A. Smith & Co., 1929), 8.
- 109 Ferguson, "William Winniett".
- 110 W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis*, ed. A.W. Savary, 2nd ed. (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1980), 631.
- 111 Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (henceforth NSARM), *Nova Scotia Archives III*. Edited by Archibald M. Macmechan (Halifax: NSA, 1908), 53-54.
- 112 Williams, *The Last Word*, 8.
- 113 Stephen Watts Broker, "Death and Dying in Puritan New England: A Study Based on Early Gravestones, Vital Records, and Primary Sources Relating to Cape Cod Massachusetts" (2003), <<http://www.yale.edu.ynhiti/curriculum/units/2003/2/03.02.01.x.html>> (accessed June 19, 2010). No page numbers. Broker is quoting Isaac Watts (1674-1749) from "Christ's Presence in Death," Methodist Hymn Book.
- 114 Barbara Rotundo, *Mount Auburn Cemetery: A Proper Boston Institution*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, (Cambridge: Harvard College, 1974), 272.
- 115 Trask, *Life How Short*, 15.
- 116 James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen. "Death's head, Cherub, Urn and Willow" (1967), <<http://www.histarch.uicu.edu/plymouth/deathshead.html>> (accessed June 3, 2010). There are no page numbers for the online copy of this article. The article was originally published in *Natural History*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (1967): 29-37.
- 117 Trask, *Life How Short*, 16.
- 118 Calnek, *History of the County*, 169.
- 119 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 120 Deborah Trask, "'Remember Me As You Pass By': Material Evidence of the Planters in the Graveyards of the Maritime Provinces" in Margaret Conrad,

## E N D N O T E S

ed. *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton, 1988), 300.

121 Ibid.

122 By this time, most regional and local carvers were manly producing markers from sandstone, which would have been readily available. Sandstone is found in a many shades and colours, from dark brown and a reddish brown to light tan. While slate allows for carving sharp details, sandstone allows for deep relief and lively designs.

123 Calnek, *History of the County*, 537.

124 Ibid.

125 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery" 9.

126 Calnek, *History of the County*, 537.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 PCA, "The Old Cemetery Fence," Annapolis Royal, (Annapolis Royal: Fort Anne Archives, folder C-045, n.d.), 11c. This was a paper presented by Ms. Helen Robinson to the HAAR on May 11, 1920.

130 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 228.

131 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 12.

132 Perkins, *Romance*, 26-27.

133 Farber, "Early American Gravestones," 22.

134 Ludwig, *Graven Images*, 63-64.

135 Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Death's head, Cherub."

136 Trask, *Life How Short*, 32.

## ENDNOTES

137 According to Jane Irwin and John de Visser, *Old Canadian Cemeteries: Places of Memory*. (Richmond Hill: Firefly Books, 2007), 305, the Latin name of the weeping willow, *Salix babylonica*, refers to the scriptural text. They further note that current horticultural opinions are that the tree translated as “willow” was in fact the Euphrates Poplar, the most common tree along the Euphrates River. Thus, our weeping willow is seemingly native to China and never grew in Bible lands. Notwithstanding this possibility, however, I suggest that certainly in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neoclassical revival the “willow” became a highly recognizable and popular symbol of mourning, a symbolism that continues.

138 Trask, *Life How Short*, 34, citing George Ferguson, *Dictionary of Christian Symbols* (New York: 1961), 40.

139 Farber, “Early American Gravestones,” 37.

140 Forbes, *Gravestone of Early New England*, 74.

141 Trask, *Life How Short*, 26.

142 PCA, “References,” d. The information is found as part of this document relating to the format for a graveyard tour.

143 Perkins, *Romance*, 57.

144 PCA, “References,” d. Quoted from Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston. *Recollections of a Georgian Loyalist*, ed. Rev. Arthur Wentworth Eaton (London: De La More Press, 1901), 135-136.

145 Johnston. *Recollections*, 37, <<http://books.google.ca/booksid=JQA7QLrKS9oC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Recollections+of+a+Ge>> (accessed June 10, 2010). The online copy of the book presents a selection of excerpts. Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston was known as a fierce Loyalist. In 1836, at seventy-two years of age, she wrote a striking memoir of her experiences, which is considered one of the most detailed, first-hand accounts of how the Revolution impacted women in Georgia. She died in Halifax, NS, in 1848.

146 Bob Brier, “Saga of Cleopatra’s Needles,” (2002) <<http://www.archaeology.org.0211/abstracts/Cleopatra.html>> (accessed August 7, 2010).

## ENDNOTES

147 Calnek, *History of the County*, 398-399. The Grassie marker is believed to have been carved in Yarmouth, NS, possibly by the Yarmouth Marble Works, and was likely installed following George's passing, since it also marks the graves of several family members who had predeceased him.

148 See, for example, the George Jung gravestone in Trask, *Life How Short*, 25. Similar simple flower designs are also found on nineteenth-century German furnishings.

149 Trask, *Life How Short*, 95, and Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Clock-maker: Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville*. (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey, 1839), 87.

150 Rotundo, *Mount Auburn Cemetery*, 269.

151 U.S. National Park Service (henceforth USNPS). *Burial Customs and Cemeteries in American History*, National Register Bulletin, <[http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletin/nrb41/nrb41\\_5.htm](http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletin/nrb41/nrb41_5.htm)> (accessed June 14, 2010). There are no page numbers. The Père-Lachaise Cemetery became the largest and most celebrated of Paris' park-like cemeteries. The planning included formal avenues and informal twisting paths lined with trees. The landscape was designed to display tombs in keeping with the new age of emotional expressions for those buried in the cemetery.

152 Rotundo, *Mount Auburn Cemetery*, 269.

153 USNPS, "Burial Customs."

154 Rotundo, *Mount Auburn Cemetery*, 269.

155 Trask, *Life How Short*, 36.

156 USNPS, "Burial Customs."

157 Trask, *Life How Short*, 38.

158 Calnek, *History of the County*, 188.

159 *Ibid.*, and Dunn, "The Garrison Cemetery," 13.

## ENDNOTES

- 160 Calnek, *History of the County*, 310.
- 161 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 162 The Andrew Gilmore gravestone was carved by Sanford and Sons, Halifax, NS.
- 163 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 6. Cited from Andrew Gilmore, "The Historic Garrison at Annapolis Royal, N.S.," *The Spectator* (1893). By the time Andrew wrote his memories, his recollection of details had become somewhat imprecise.
- 164 Calnek, *History of the County*, 188.
- 165 PCA, "References," e.
- 166 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 167 Calnek, *History of the County*, 307.
- 168 Irwin and de Visser, *Old Canadian Cemeteries*, 262.
- 169 See Henrietta Dumont, *The Language of Flowers: The Floral Offering: The Language and Poetry of Flowers* (Philadelphia: H.C. Peck & Theo Bliss, 1852).
- 170 Frances Clegg, "Problems of Symbolism in Cemetery Monuments" *Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 3 (n.d.): 309. This was from a copy of the article located in Fort Anne NHS archives.
- 171 *Ibid.*, 310.
- 172 Trask, *Life How Short*, 45.
- 173 Perkins, *Romance*, 36; and Morse, *Gravestones of Acadia*, 3. According to Morse, the stone was for Florianna Davoue (Loyalist), wife of Anthony Somersill Forbes, H.M. 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who died in 1815. The marker was in the now obliterated family cemetery on the old Davoue property across from the Baptist Church. Exactly the same verse appears on a gravestone on Plymouth's Burial Hill, Massachusetts, in Melvin G. Williams, *The Last Word*:

## ENDNOTES

*The Lure and Lore of Early New England Graveyards* (Boston: Oldstone Enterprises, 1973), 22.

174 Calnek, *History of the County*, 541.

175 Elisabeth L. Roark, "Embodying Immortality: Angels In America's Rural Cemeteries, 1850-1900" *Markers XXIV* (2007): 99. Roark is citing from David Charles Sloane, *Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 72.

176 Irwin and de Visser, *Old Canadian Cemeteries*, 256.

177 J.C.J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 86.

178 Calnek, *History of the County*, 457-458.

179 Perkins, *Romance*, 58. Additional information was taken from a paper by Mrs. H. Robinson, May 11, 1920 found in Mrs. I. Owen's scrapbook 4, 166, which is now deposited with LAC.

180 The Joseph Foster Sr. gravestone (and other Foster stones) is an example of a marker having been erected long after the person's passing. He died in 1848; however, it is signed Drysdale & Hoyt Bros., which according to Trask, *Life How Short*, 84, operated from around 1871 to 1885.

181 PCA, "References," K-2.

182 Perkins, *Romance*, 56.

183 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 15.

184 Calnek, *History of the County*, 185.

185 *Ibid.*, 96. Calnek says that Major Philipps was the first worshipful master, and that the Annapolis Lodge was, at the time, the fourth in the order of precedence of lodges chartered by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

186 Trask, *Life How Short*, 96, citing from John Lipman, "An Early Masonic Meeting Place," *Antiques*, Vol. LV, No. 5 (May 1949): 335-337.

## ENDNOTES

- 187 Clegg, "Problems of Symbolism," 314.
- 188 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetary," 14. Dunn notes that "This is one of the 'firsts in Canada,' which changed in 1949 when Newfoundland joined Confederation. There was an Anglican service in the fort at St. John's Newfoundland, 1702."
- 189 William Inglis Morse, *Land of the New Adventure: The Georgian Era in Nova Scotia* (Great Britain: A. Smith & Co., 1929), 8.
- 190 Jan. E. Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749-1776* (Montreal: Walker Press, 1930), 66; and C.E. Thomas, "Thomas Wood," *DCB Online*, Vol. IV, <<http://www.biographi.ca>> (accessed July 23, 2010).
- 191 Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches*, 66.
- 192 *Ibid.*, and C.E. Thomas, "Thomas Wood."
- 193 C.E. Thomas, "Thomas Wood."
- 194 Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches*, 66, and Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 219. Dunn writes that Rev. Wood was indeed highly respected by the Mi'kmaq. In 1765, he met "King Thomas," an elderly Mi'kmaq; Wood entertained Tomas and his family in his home in Annapolis Royal.
- 195 Calnek, *History of the County*, 466-467.
- 196 *Ibid.*, 467.
- 197 *Ibid.*
- 198 Julie Ross and Thomas Vincent. "Jacob Bailey," *DCB Online*, Vol. V, <<http://www.biographi.ca>> (accessed June 22, 2010).
- 199 Calnek, *History of the County*, 468. Rev. Jacob Bailey's journal vividly recounts his family's moving and painful experiences. His descriptions of the plight of the thousands of United Empire Loyalists who arrived in Nova Scotia during the closing days of the American Revolution – including details of life in overcrowded Annapolis Royal – are important historical records of the period.



## ENDNOTES

- 200 Julie Ross and Thomas Vincent, "Jacob Bailey."
- 201 Ibid.
- 202 Perkins, *Romance*, 40.
- 203 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 4.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid., 5
- 206 Ibid. Dunn citing from, "Court martial of Brevet Lt. Col. Chs Sutherland of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, at Quebec, on 5 September 1808."
- 207 Ibid., 9.
- 208 Ibid.
- 209 Calnek, *History of the County*, 629. Calnek spells Capt. Edward's family name as Amherst; it was, in fact, Amhurst. See also Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 218.
- 210 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 9.
- 211 Calnek, *History of the County*, 629.
- 212 Dunn, *History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal*, 231.
- 213 P.B. Waite, "Sir William Fenwick Williams," *DCB Online*, Vol. XI, <<http://www.biographi.ca>> (accessed July 15, 2010).
- 214 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 10. Dunn is quoting from a letter from DeGreiben to Fenwick, 6 July 1806.
- 215 P.B. Waite, "Sir William."
- 216 Ibid.
- 217 Dunn, "Garrison Cemetery," 5.

## ENDNOTES

- 218 Ibid., 10.
- 219 Ibid., 7.
- 220 Ibid.
- 221 Farber, "Early American Gravestones," 13.
- 222 Ibid., 3.
- 223 Most of the business addresses for the carvers and firms are derived from Trask, *Life How Short*, 83-92.
- 224 According to PCA "References," e, in the early 1900s, Miss Muriel A. Arnaud of Annapolis Royal transcribed the inscriptions from pre-1808 gravestones, which were presented under the title, "Monumental Inscriptions in the Old Burying-Ground, Fort Anne, Annapolis, Nova Scotia, Previous to 1808." In the early 1920s, Charlotte Perkins actively researched and documented the graveyard and its history, which included recording the inscriptions on all the gravestones. Laura Hardy, another Annapolis Royal resident, continued and completed projects begun by Charlotte Perkins. The epitaphs list in the article PCA, "List of Gravestones, 234 with Inscriptions..." was originally compiled in 1949 by Vernon E. Eaton and Ronald C. Rice, and re-transcribed by Fort Anne archivist Laura Hardy in 1952. A number of the same epitaphs appeared in *ECHOES*, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) Magazine, October 1928, while still others were recorded around the same time period by Morse, *Gravestones of Acadie*, 5-8. In certain cases, I also compared the same epitaphs with the original versions that were still legible at the time on the in-situ gravestones and in cases where several different versions were available.



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# INDEX

- 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Brigade 134
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Batt., Rifle Brigade 136
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment 133
- 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers 63
- 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot 25, 132
- 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment 26
- 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion Rifles 115
- 76<sup>th</sup> Regiment 27
- 84<sup>th</sup> Royal Highland 26
- Acadians 1, 2, 18, 21, 22, 43, 139, **156 notes**, **157 notes**
- Acadie 1, 15-17, 22, 86, **156 notes**, **162 notes**, **171 notes**, 176, 177, 181
- Age of Reason 142
- Allain River 16, 17
- Alexander, Sir William 16
- Alexandria 81
- American Revolution (*see also Revolution*) iv, 7, 28, 56, 71, 140, **169 notes**
- Amerindians 17
- Amhurst, Ann 132
- Amhurst, Edward 132, **170 notes**
- Amory, Ann 90
- Angel of Death 43
- Anglican 26, 51, 125, **169 notes**
- Anglo-American 27, **157 notes**
- Anglo-French 1, 18
- Ann Arbor 32
- Annapolis Carver 59, 60, 147
- Annapolis River 15, 16, 18, 19, 136, **157 notes**, **158 notes**
- Annapolis Royal i, iii-v, 1, 4, 6, 15, 17, 18, 21-23, 25, 27-30, 42, 43, 48-50, 52, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63-65, 72, 77-79, 85, 90, 95, 98, 100, 112, 113, 117, 118, 121, 123, 124, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 136, 137, 139, **155-160 notes**, **162 notes**, **164 notes**, **167 notes**, **169-171 notes**, **173-177 notes**
- Armstrong, John 134
- Audley, Ensign George 24, 130-132
- Babylon 73
- Bailey, Rev. Jacob 61, 127-129, **169 notes**, **170 notes**, 178
- Bailey, William 135, 136
- Baltimore 86, **168 notes**
- Baring, Susan 118

## I N D E X

- Bay of Fundy 18, 50
- Beaulieu 21
- Belleisle 21
- Bierdemann, Andrew Gottlieb 62-64, 81, 116
- Bigelow, Dr. Jacob 86
- Bishop, W. 148
- Board of Ordnance 24, 55, 61
- Boehner, Catherine 113, 114, 142
- Boldre 118
- Boston 18, 22, 36-41, 43, 48, 50, 52, 55, 85, 86, 128, 129, 140, 147, **155** notes, **161-163** notes, **166** notes, **168** notes, 174, 176, 178, 179
- Bourg, Madeleine 50
- Brebner, John Bartlet 22, **157** notes, 173
- Breynton, Rev. John 127
- Bridgetown 147, 148, **158** notes, 176
- British iii-v, 1, 2, 17, 18, 20-25, 27, 50, 64, 125, 133, 134, 139, 140
- Burial Grounds 5, 32, 71, 85, 86
- Cambridge 85, **163** notes, 178
- Camp Hill Cemetery 86
- Canada i, iv, v, 1, 6, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 41, 87, 123, 125, 139, 141, **155-159** notes, **164** notes, **169** notes, 173, 174, 178, 181
- Canso 18, 25, 50
- Cape road 20
- Carpenter, William 135, 136
- Carvers' Business Cards 38, 147, 148
- Caulfield, Thomas 17
- Celtic cross 92, 126
- Chapelle Saint-Laurent 21
- Charles Fort 16, 19, **156** notes
- Charles I 16
- Chebogue 38, 39
- Cherubim 54
- Christian churches 12
- Church of England 2, 26, 35, 120, 125, 129, **160** notes, 174
- Clear, F.W. 147
- Cleopatra's Needle 79, 81, **165** notes, 173
- Codner, Abraham 38-40
- Companies franchises de la Marine 21
- Consort 103
- Cooper, Joseph Cossins 76, 77
- Corbitt, William H. 149
- Cork 115

## I N D E X

- Cornwallis 129
- Cornwell, Elizabeth 70
- Cornwell, Mary 70
- Cosby, Alexander 23, 25, 26, 52
- Cosby, Anne 25
- Cosby, William 25
- Cossins, Henrietta 76, 77
- Cossins, Joseph 76
- County Kent 97
- County Ross 136
- Cowie, Dr. Murray 32
- Crimean War 27, 52, 133
- Cronstadt 77
- Cumming, Sarah 149
- Cutler, Edward H. 92
- Cutler, Mary 91, 92
- Dagshai 119
- De Lancey, James 61
- Dearness, T. 116, 148
- Delabat, Pierre-Paul 20, **156** notes
- De Muelles, Jacques 19
- Deportation 22, **156** notes, **157** notes
- Dongahan 95
- Dornock 89
- Doucett, John 23
- Douglass, Bathiah 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 51
- Douglass, Rebeccha 41, 45-48
- Douglass, Samuel 42, 45, 48
- Downing, Andrew Jackson 86
- Drysdale & Hoyt Bros. 116, 147, **168** notes
- Duke of Kent, Prince Edward 64, 133
- Duke of Wellington 97, 98
- Duvivier, Du Pont François 23
- Edinburgh 89
- Emmes, Nathaniel 40, 41, 48, 147, **162** notes
- England 23, 56, 85, 97, 118, 128, 133, 134
- Epitaphs 4, 8, 9, 55, 72, 79, 101, 107, 124, 125, 127, 141, 143, 144, 149, **171** notes
- Europe 71, 85
- Europeans 15
- Family plots 113-115
- Fay, Ken 49, 56, 62, 64, 70, 73, 75, 76, 82, 89, 91, 95-97, 99, 100, 105, 108, 110-113, 120, 123



## INDEX

- Fenwick, William 20, 21
- Flanders fields 24
- Fleet, John J. 100
- Footstone 12
- Formal cemeteries 13
- Fort Anne i, iii-v, 1-3, 9, 15, 17, 18, 26-29, 33-36, 135, 139, 141, **155** notes, **156** notes, **158-160** notes, **162** notes, **164** notes, **167** notes, **171** notes, 174-177
- Fort Anne National Historic Site of Canada i, iii, 1, 33, 36, **158** notes, 174
- Fort at Annapolis 17, 24, 95, **157** notes, 175
- Fort Beauséjour 127
- Fort Cumberland 127
- Fortress Louisbourg 22, **161** notes
- Foster, John McLeod 116, 117
- Foster, Joseph 149, **168** notes
- France 16, 85
- Franklin, Henry 34
- Fraser, Isabella 73, 74
- Fraser, James 64, 73, 136, 137
- Freemasonry 124, 176
- French/Acadian graveyard 18, 19, 21, 139, **157** notes
- Gavaza, Eliza Marshall 113, 121, 122
- Gavaza, Thomas Antonio 113, 121, 122
- Genesis 11
- Gibraltar 98, 133
- Gilmore, Andrew 94-96, **167** notes
- Gilpin, Amelia 118
- Gilpin, Arthur Fowden 119
- Gilpin, Elizabeth Miller 118
- Gilpin, Gertrude Aleph 118
- Gilpin, I.B. 118
- Gilpin, J.B. 118
- Gilpin, Jno. Bern'd 119
- Gilpin, John B. 121
- Gilpin, John Bernard 118
- Gilpin, Rev. Edwin 118, 121
- Gilpin, Rev. William 118
- Godfrey, Rev. W.W. 118
- Godfrey, Jane 149
- Goldsmith, Harriet 75, 93, 94
- Goldsmith, Henry 75, 93
- Government of Canada 29, 35, 36, 141
- Granite Markers 36, 124, 125, 144
- Grassie, George R. 79-81, **166** notes

## I N D E X

- Gravestone art i, 2, 6, 8, 37, 40, 41, 71, 141, 142, 178
- Gravestone carving iv, 37, 55, 56, 140, 142, **155** notes, **161** notes, 173, 178
- Great Britain 24, 29, 51, 71, **163** notes, **169** notes, 177
- Green Mount Cemetery 86
- Greece 71
- Gregorian calendar 51
- Habitation at Port-Royal 15
- Hackenley, Rev. John 35
- Haddington 100
- Haicke, John A. Charley 106
- Hale, Robert 25
- Haliburton, Thomas Chandler 85, **166** notes, 176
- Halifax 1, 18, 32, 78, 79, 85, 86, 116, 119, 121, 127, 129, 133, 147, 148, 153, **161** notes, **165** notes, **167** notes
- Hall, Bertha D. 112, 113
- Hall, Harris 123, 124
- Handfield, John 52
- Harvard 86, 128, **163** notes, 178
- Heaps, Agnes 112
- Henkell, Augusta 136
- Henkell, George 64, 65, 67, 137
- Henkell, Margaret 62, 64, 66
- Herculaneum 71
- Hilton, Mary 38, 39
- Historical Association of Annapolis Royal 4, **155** notes, **157** notes, **159** notes, 173, 176, 178
- H.M. American Dragoons 136
- H.M. Wiltshire Regiment 119
- Honour guard 26
- Horney, Mary 63, 81, 82
- House of Assembly 78, 127
- Howe, Edward 52
- Hudson plot 115
- Hyde, Alicia Maria 61
- Ireland 24, 95, 115, 134, 136
- Island of Jersey 60
- Italy 88
- James, Benjamin J. R. 107
- Jamestown 16
- Jenny's River 18
- Johnston, Elizabeth Lichtenstein 78, **165** notes, 176
- Johnstone, Elizabeth Laura 77, 78

## I N D E X

- Kars 52, 133  
 Katzman, Conrad Christian 136  
 Katzman, Elizabeth Georgina 136  
 Kentmore 120  
 Kentville 148  
 Kerr, W.P. i, iii, iv, 42, 53, 54, 68, 80,  
     94, 103, 104, 107, 109, 117, 126,  
     128, 130, 143, 176, 177, 181  
 Kespukwitk 15  
 King Gould 25  
*King James Bible (KJB)* 11, 68, 69, 87,  
     101, 108  
*King James Version (KJV)* 68, 73, 111  
  
*Language of Flowers* 75, 101, **167**  
     *notes, 175 notes*  
 Laurel Hill Cemetery 86  
 LeCain, Ann Martha 62  
 LeCain, Francis Barclay 59-61  
 Leslie, Ann Botsford 89  
 Leslie, Helen 90  
 Leslie, Robert 89, 90  
 Leslie, William 90  
 Lichtenstein, John 77-79  
 London 25, 81, 127  
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 86  
 Lovett, Amelia 106  
 Lovett, Margaret 106  
 Lovett, Phineas 106  
 Loyalists v, 18, 57, 59, 63, 128, **169**  
     *notes*  
 Lunenburg 81  
  
 Macara, Henrietta Esther 116  
 Macara, William 63  
 Mackenzie & Scott 148  
 Maisonnat, Marie-Madeleine 50  
 Maisonnat, Pierre 50  
 Maritime Provinces 56, **163 notes**, 178  
 Mascarene, Paul 61, **157 notes**, 173  
 Masonic Lodge 123  
 McCormick, Harold 29  
 McDormand, Ann 150  
 Medley 134  
 Membertou, Saqamaw 15, 16  
 Memoriam to Children 107  
 Memory Gardens 5  
 Menou d'Aulnay, Charles de **156 notes**,  
     173  
 Michigan 32, **176 notes**  
 Mi'kmaq iv, 2, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 127,  
     **157 notes, 169 notes**, 177, 181

## I N D E X

- Mi'kma'ki 15, 16
- Millidge, Ann Botsford 90
- Millidge, Rev. John 90, 129
- Milligan, J.R. 147
- Military funerals 23, 25
- Modern cemeteries 6, 8, 142
- Morse, William Inglis 34, 35, 46, 51,  
**163 notes, 167 notes, 169 notes,**  
**171 notes, 177**
- Mourning uniform 25
- Mount Auburn Cemetery 85, **163**  
*notes, 166 notes, 178*
- Mount Hope Cemetery 86
- Mumford, William **162 notes**
- Munro and O'Neill 116
- Murphy, J.H. 147
- Myers, Susan 36, 67, 74, 77, 78, 93,  
114, 115, 135, 145
- National Parks Branch (NPB) 33
- Neoclassical 71-73, 88, 112, 116,  
140, **165 notes**
- New Brunswick 59, 76, 127
- New England 6, 7, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24,  
37, 40, 41, 44, 46, 55, 56, 140, 142,  
**155 notes, 157 notes, 161-165**  
*notes, 168 notes, 173, 176-179*
- New Jersey 63, 127, 153
- New York 25, 79, 81, 86, **155 notes,**  
**157 notes, 161 notes, 165 notes,**  
173, 175, 176
- New York Volunteers 79
- New Scotland 16
- Newfoundland Fencible Regiment  
130
- Nictaux 125
- Norman, Joseph 20, 29, 97-99
- North America 1, 11, 12, 133
- North Britain 77, 136
- Northumberland Strait 78
- Nova Scotia i, iii-v, 1, 7, 13, 16-18,  
22, 25, 35, 38-41, 50, 52, 55-57,  
59, 72, 78, 79, 81, 86, 87, 90, 116,  
124, 127, 129, 130, 133, 140, 142,  
153, **155 notes, 157 notes, 158**  
*notes, 161-163 notes, 169 notes,*  
**171 notes, 174, 177, 178**
- Nova Scotia House of Assembly 127
- Nova Scotia Museum iv, 39, 59, **155**  
*notes, 178*
- O'Dell, Carman 113
- O'Dell, Corey 108, 113
- O'Dell, Laura M.A. 108, 113
- O'Dell, Mary W 108, 113
- Old Testament* 69
- Oleph, Gertrude 121

## I N D E X

- Oliver, Anthony 41, 52, 53
- Oliver, Mary 41, 54
- Osgood & Co. 148
- Osgood, S.P. 148
- Pallbearers 26
- Paris 81, 85, **166** notes
- Parker, Hananiah 22
- Park-like Cemeteries 85, **166** notes
- Parks Canada i, 3, 49, 56, 60, 62, 65, 70, 73, 74, 76, 82, 89, 91, 95, 96, 98-100, 105, 109-113, 118, 120, 122, 144, 173, 181
- Parks Commission **159** notes
- Patriots 79
- Père-Lachaise Cemetery 85, **166** notes
- Perkins, Charlotte 34, 35, **158** notes, **160** notes, **164** notes, **165** notes, **167** notes, **168** notes, **170** notes, **171** notes, 178
- Perpetual-care lawn cemeteries 5
- Petite Rivière 18
- Philadelphia 86, **167** notes, 175
- Philipps, Erasmus James 123, **168** notes
- Philipps Regiment 25, 26
- Planters 18, **163** notes, **164** notes, 178
- Pompeii 71
- Port-Royal i, iii, iv, 1, 15-20, 22, 27, 42, 49, 139, **156-159** notes, **162** notes, **164** notes, **169** notes, **170** notes, 175, 177, 181
- Prince, William 136
- Protestants 22
- Puritans 6, 40, 41
- Quebec 23, **157** notes, **170** notes
- Queen Anne 17
- Queen Cleopatra VII 80
- Raymond & McGill 148
- Razilly, Isaac de 16
- Recumbent Stones 79
- Reiez, Gregoria Remonia Antonia 97
- Remedial conservation 144
- Revolution iv, 7, 56, 71, 140, **166** notes, **169** notes
- Revolutionary War 79, 128
- Ritchie, Arthur 110, 113
- Ritchie, Bennet 110, 113
- Ritchie, Elizabeth W. 113, 150
- Ritchie, John 113, 132

## I N D E X

- Ritchie, Thomas 79, 113, 151
- Rituals 11, 25
- Rivière du Dauphin 18
- Roach, Frederick L. 151
- Roach, John 105
- Roach, Lydia 105
- Robinson, Lieutenant George 136,  
137
- Rochester 86
- Rodda, Stephen 55
- Rodda, Theodisha 55
- Rodda, William 55, 56
- Roman Catholic 1, 20
- Rome 71
- Rowley 128
- Royal Fusiliers 64
- Royal Rifle Brigade 134
- Rubbings 6, 142, 142, **161** notes, 176
- Ruggles, Elizabeth 75, 76
- Ruggles, Mary E. 102, 163
- Ruggles, I.W. 103
- Runciman, Edith Gordon 105
- Runciman, George 72, 99, 100, 105,  
113
- Runciman, George W. 105
- Runciman, Isabella 72, 73, 105, 113
- Rural cemetery movement 85, 86
- Russia 77
- Sackville 127
- Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Port-Royal  
1, 18, 177
- Saint John 59, 147, 148
- Sanford & Sons 148
- Savannah 79
- Scotland 16, 24, 64, 76, 77, 89, 100,  
136
- Scots 130
- Scottish 16, 76, 77, 100, 127
- Shirley's Regiment of Foot 127
- Simmonds, Hannah 129
- Simpson, Charles Alexander 133-  
135
- Sims, Ann Woodrop 118
- Skull and bones 7
- Sleeth, W. 148
- Sloane, David 107, **168** notes
- Smith, Charlotte 119
- Snedden, Lawrence 90, 152
- Society for the Propagation of the  
Gospel (SPG) 127

## I N D E X

- Spur, Michael 68, 69
- St. Alban's 32
- St. Ambrose 13
- St. George Street iii, 20, 30, 83, 116,  
123
- St. Lawrence 23
- St. Luke's 2, 26, 27, 30-33, 35, 36,  
57, 98, 121, 128, 129, 141, **160**  
notes, 174
- St. Nicholas of Myra 111
- St. Paul's 85, 86, 127
- St. Petersburg 77
- Stevenson, William James 77
- Sutherland, Charles 89, 131, 132,  
**170** notes
- Tennyson 27
- Te'wapskik 15
- The Spectator* 35, **160** notes, **167**  
notes, 175
- Thomas Gavaza & Sons 121
- Thong, Captain 64
- Tomlinson, William 152
- Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye 16
- Treaty of Utrecht 22
- Truro 147
- Urns and Willows 71, 140
- United States 18, 140, 179
- Vermont 88
- Victorian 1, 29, 75, 88, 100-103,  
109, 110, 112, 115, 116, 142
- Wales 24
- Walker, Sir Hovenden 23
- Walker, Lyman J. 147
- Walker, Phebe 92, 93
- Walker, Thomas 60, 62, 92, 132
- Wallace quarry 78
- Waller, Henrietta Esther 63, 116
- Waller, Joseph 63
- W. C. Co. 148
- Weeks, Sarah 128
- Weeping willows 6, 72
- Wesley & Sinclair 148
- Wesley, T. 148
- Wheelock 113
- White Stone 87, 88, 93, 101, 141,  
143
- Whitehouse Field 26

## I N D E X

- Whitman, Alfred 111
- Whitman, Cassandra 103, 104
- Whitman, Charles 108
- Whitman, Louisa 108
- Whitman, O. 148
- Whitman, Thomas 108
- Williams, Thomas Jr. 132
- Williams, Thomas Sr. 132
- Williams, Ann 132
- Williams, Anna Maria 132, 133
- Williams, Fenwick 133
- Williams, Israel 103
- Williams, Sir William Fenwick 52,  
133, 179
- Wilson, Jeremiah 96
- Winged skulls 6, 39-41, 43, 54, 55,  
140
- Winged soul effigies 6, 54, 140
- Winniatt daughters 52
- Winniatt, Joseph 52
- Winniatt, Margaret 41, 48-50
- Winniatt, William 48-52, **162** notes,  
**163** notes, 175
- Wolseley, William 52
- Wood, Mary 153
- Wood, Thomas 125-127, 153, **169**  
notes, 178
- Yarmouth 38, 148, **166** notes
- Yorkshire 136







The garrison graveyard at Fort Anne National Historic Site of Canada in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, is one of the most historic graveyards in Canada. The town in which it is located is today charming and picturesque yet for over a century it was a military stronghold, whether known as Port-Royal or after 1710 as Annapolis Royal. The place was alternately attacked and defended by the French or the British in the long struggle for military supremacy in North America. The garrison graveyard is the resting place for hundreds of French, Acadian, and British military personnel and civilians spanning over three centuries.

This book explores the compelling history of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal as told through the gravestones in this scenic graveyard setting. It presents a pictorial sampling and interpretations of the eclectic gravestone art and epitaphs, and offers numerous insights into the people whose lives are marked by the stones. As well, it looks at the attitudes, art, aesthetics, and beliefs that have come and gone, yet have left an imprint on this national cultural landscape.



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