

IN THIS NEGLECTED SPOT: THE RURAL CEMETERY LANDSCAPE
IN SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

The cemetery is a feature of the human landscape. It has been described as a memorial to the living as well as to the dead because it reflects the various sustaining mechanisms of the society which creates it. Wealth, prestige, kinship, ethnic and religious barriers are all represented to a degree in the cemetery. This study focuses on the rural cemetery landscape of southern British Columbia in the social and economic context of the 19th century.

The cemetery is first described in subjective terms as a series of vignettes. The aesthetic qualities of the cemetery are stressed and the emotions they evoke are considered. A more rigorous examination of the rural graveyard landscape in southern British Columbia follows Chapter 1, where the results of field work are presented. The scene is set for an interpretation of that landscape in Chapter 3, including a discussion of English and American antecedents in cemetery planning and 'death's celebration' in the 19th century. Chapter 4 considers the rural cemetery landscape of southern British Columbia as a reflection of 19th century society in that province.

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It is always easier to tread a path which has been cleared before you. To Mark I owe so very much--he cajoled, berated, sympathized and encouraged when I needed it most. I thank him for caring enough to see me through.

Finally, I thank my family, who never quite understood why I left the comforts of southern Ontario, but who knew this was important to me. I hope I can repay them some day for the support they have given.



*Above the town, on the hill brow, the stone angel used to stand.
I wonder if she stands there yet, in memory of her who relinquished
her feeble ghost as I gained my stubborn one, my mother's angel that
my father bought in pride to mark her bones and proclaim his dynasty,
as he fancied, forever and a day.*

*Summer and winter she viewed the town with sightless eyes. She was
doubly blind, not only stone but unendowed with even a pretense of
sight. Whoever had carved her left the eyeballs blank. It seemed
strange to me that she should stand above the town, harking us all
to heaven, without knowing who we were at all. But I was too young
then to know her purpose although my father often told me she had been
brought from Italy at a terrible expense and was pure white marble.
I think now she must have been carved by stone masons in that distant
sun who were the cynical descendants of Bernini, gouging out her like
by the score, gauging with admirable accuracy the needs of fledgling
pharaohs in an uncouth land.*

Margaret Laurence

CHAPTER ONE

CEMETERY IMAGES: BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ONTARIO

The impetus for this study stems from my earlier interest in the rural cemetery as a landscape feature in southern Ontario. There, you can travel the county backroads and see a dozen or so small graveyards within a distance of 60-70 miles. The tell-tale symbols--a field of precisely carved, white marble headstones, on a slight lean, surrounded by the towering red granite shafts of a different era--are conspicuous against the rolling Ontario countryside (see Plate 1.1). Invariably, these cemeteries are located between two small towns, at the corner of a crossroads, or beside a red-brick or fieldstone church. They are often, but not always, found on a grassy knoll, which is usually shaded in spring and summer by a row of mature elm or maple trees. When Ontario is at her verdant, summer best, the rural cemetery is a cool, green haven--appealing to the eye and soothing the soul.

The scenes described above strike a chord within me. I find the rustic setting of the rural cemetery--the leafy old trees and aging marble headstones--aesthetically pleasing. They are silent places but their silence is not the frightening stillness of the unknown. Rather, it is conducive to quiet walks and calm reflection and in that setting I can sense and accept, the natural order of events.

While examining characteristics of the country graveyard in southern Ontario, I came to realize that I had not only stepped into an unique place but also back through time. I had unknowingly entered a



Plate 1.1 The rural Ontario graveyard landscape.
A cemetery near Brougham, Ontario.

different world and the people I met there intrigued me. I became interested in knowing their names, their origins, and the events that had affected their lives. Few of those people are my own ancestors and yet they felt as close to me as my own kin, because they are part of my Ontario heritage.

The people who created the rural cemeteries throughout southern Ontario (and who are now buried in them), established the foundations of the province. Those foundations are strong and that strength is reflected in the landscape of the graveyard. I am impressed by the audacity of the red granite obelisk which proclaims not only wealth and prestige in a community, but also endurance. Similarly, I cannot ignore the sight of sons, fathers and grandfathers laid side by side in family plots begun well over a century ago. There is a sense of continuity in those cemeteries; the names on the headstones are names still listed in the nearest town's phone directory. These were real people--coping as we all do with whatever the present circumstances happen to be. I can smile and muse upon the character of one Patrick McConnel, laid to rest in a Medonte township cemetery beside his three wives. He survived them all and married the last in his eighty-fifth year. I can pause and reflect for a moment at the sight of five small graves in a row, all children and members of the same family, all dead within days of each other. In cases such as these, the cemetery is much more to me than a collection of markers with faceless names. It is a reminder of those people who had a hand in shaping Ontario's landscape as it appears today. Those who settled the Ontario countryside early in the nineteenth century

took up the task of making a home and completed it. They cleared the land, built houses, barns, roads, churches, and schools for their children. Those same people built the cemeteries.

The graveyard then, *is as much a memorial to the living as it is to the dead* and as such, reflects those ideas which we hold to be important. The types of monuments, the placement of trees, shrubs, grave enclosures, pathways, and driveways in the cemetery landscape may tell us as much about a society as does, for example, its architecture. Similarly, the barriers which divide religious, ethnic and economic groups are often as clear in the layout of a cemetery as in society at large. Our present means of interment in a spacious memorial garden, with a standard size bronze marker set flush to the ground is an accurate reflection of the loss of individuality in today's society.

The cemetery evokes shared associations and feelings. It may well have unpleasant associations for many people. They set foot inside on no more than two or three occasions during a lifetime at a time of sorrow. They are unlikely to remember details of the cemetery apart from a desire to escape the situation as soon as possible. Far more than a monument in praise of the dead, the cemetery is a reminder of our own mortality, which few can accept comfortably. An eighteenth century epitaph conveys the message that we ignore today.

Remember me as you pass by
As you are now
So once was I
As I am now,
So you must be
Prepare therefore
To follow me.

In contrast, our society has been accused of engaging in a conspiracy "to pretend that death does not exist; corpses, bones and funerals being kept well out of sight and segregated from everyday life."¹

While the cemetery fulfills a practical function as well as a symbolic one, it is also a sacred place. The fence which surrounds it separates it from the profane world. Entering through the cemetery gate is like walking through the doors of a church. A special set of feelings is aroused. These feelings are presumably widely shared, for most societies have burial places that are hallowed to them. Depending upon our mutual regard, we may honour and respect those places as we would our own. Emily Carr for example, paints a vivid picture of an Indian graveyard.

It was a quiet place, this Indian cemetery, lying a little aloof from the village. A big stump field, swampy and green separated them. Birds called across the field and flew into the quiet tangle of the cemetery bushes and nested there among foliage so newly created that it did not know anything about time. There was no road into the cemetery to be worn dusty by feet, or stirred into gritty clouds by hearse wheels. The village had no hearse. The dead were carried by friendly hands across the stump field.²

The aspect of quiet depicted in that selection and the chance it affords for respite, from a world which appears to ignore both, are two of the cemetery's most important and attractive ingredients as a place. There is an opportunity to come to terms with oneself regarding

¹ James Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, p. 14.

² Emily Carr, *Klee Wyck*, pp. 94-95.

death and the mortal nature of the human being. It is also a "firm and fixed social place, ritually consecrated for this purpose, where the disturbed sentiments of human beings about their loved ones can settle and find peace and certainty."³ A final feature of the cemetery is that it is a testimony to our ancestral roots, a ". . . book of history, biography, an instructor in architecture and sculpture."⁴

A history book, a sacred place and a haven from the outside world were the characteristics present to varying degrees in the cemeteries I visited in southern Ontario. On moving to British Columbia, I was curious to know whether or not these same characteristics applied to the cemeteries here. Essentially then, I looked for the southern Ontario landscape in British Columbia, and I did not find it. Rather, I found a cultural landscape totally different from anything I had known before. The difference is related to both different physical environments and settlement histories. The variety in British Columbia landforms and climatic conditions, for example, is striking. There is a dramatic contrast between the arid interior plateau and the wet coastal mountains. Similarly, the social environment (settlement patterns and development) seemed as variegated as its physical setting. Only fragments of British Columbia reflected the agrarian stability of rural Ontario; the rest was apparently settled by a mainly itinerant population, often more interested in quick profit than in permanent settlement. With such a social

³ W. Warner, *The Living and the Dead*, p. 49.

⁴ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 16.

and physical mosaic, British Columbia could not reproduce the Ontario cemetery. I cannot envision a 'typical' British Columbia cemetery--my varied impressions of individual cemeteries appear below in the form of several vignettes.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCHYARD

At St. Stephen's churchyard on the Saanich peninsula, I found perhaps the closest British Columbian equivalent of the Ontario cemetery. It is more reminiscent, however, of the English country churchyard (see Plate 1.2). One passes under the lychgate at the entrance and walks down a central gravelled pathway towards a small, white frame church. On either side are the graves of departed members of the flock, shaded in spring and summer by gnarled oaks. The wisps of reindeer moss which hang from the branches in fall and winter give the place a ghostly atmosphere, somewhat different from the welcoming green of the other seasons. A photograph taken in about 1900 reveals that each grave was once surrounded by a freshly whitewashed picket fence (see Plate 1.2a). The fences are gone but the solid gray granite crosses and white marble slabs remain. No grave is beyond the sight and presence of the church and the feeling is strong that one walks upon consecrated ground. To my mind, there is a feeling in that churchyard of permanence and stability--very like the impression conveyed by the Ontario cemetery. The gray granite crosses seem to symbolize strength and the nearby church enhances the sense of durability. You may indeed "sleep the long sleep



Plate 1.2 St. Stephen's Churchyard--Saanich.
The Romantic landscape of the English
churchyard recreated in British Columbia.



Plate 1.2a St. Stephen's Churchyard ca. 1900.
Note picket fences around the plots.

of death" in St. Stephen's churchyard.⁵

THE YALE CEMETERY

The cemetery near the small settlement of Yale in the Fraser Canyon brings British Columbia's colourful past into sharp focus. I find a strong sense of history here, as strong as that in any Ontario cemetery. Yale was an important gold rush town and its cemetery is a good reflection of the time when miners struggled through the Fraser Canyon on their way to the goldfields. Natives of Scotland, Ireland, England, North Wales, Germany, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Massachusetts, and Ohio are buried here. A number of the graves are those of young men, but there is also the plot of six year old Daisy Summer who "faltered by the wayside and the Angels took her home." The markers represent the work of several stonecarvers in Victoria and at least one stone was brought from outside the province, carved by a W. A. Smith in Ingersoll, Ontario. They were made of wood, marble and gray granite and one was a very fine brown slate. (Slate is rarely used in British Columbia; it is unfortunate that the origin of this marker is not known, see Plate 2.17). A few plots at Yale are enclosed by wooden picket fences and two by very elaborate wrought ironwork. While iron enclosures may also be seen in the Ontario cemetery, wooden picket fences are not usually evident and thus provide a point of contrast between British Columbia and Ontario. I saw little ironwork on the mainland or

⁵ Kenneth Lindley, *Of Graves and Epitaphs*, p. 20.

in the interior apart from Yale. Its presence there is probably due to the town's accessibility to foundries at Victoria or New Westminster. Presumably, steamers travelling up the Fraser to Yale on a regular basis carried items such as grave enclosures and mail-order headstones as part of their cargo.

The variety of markers and enclosures at Yale cemetery, dating back to the Gold Rush and representing individuals from several ethnic backgrounds, give the place a charm all its own. It is by no means as well-tended nor as peaceful as the churchyard in Saanich or the typical Ontario graveyard; and in spite of its relative age, there is little of the sense of continuity with the past. It is located on a steep hill about a half mile south of town, totally overgrown by a shrub of the acacia family (see Plate 1.3). Hence, it is difficult to locate and any efforts to find the graves are hampered by a thick tangle of thorns. Persistence is rewarded however, and there is much of interest in the Yale cemetery.

THE ROCK CREEK CEMETERY

The Rock Creek cemetery sits on an old river terrace overlooking the Kettle Valley. The town it serves is located below on the valley bottom, another creation in the rush for gold. Unlike many ghostly counterparts in the interior, Rock Creek survives as a place on the map. The cemetery appears to be only a small part of that survival; it lies to one side of a gravel track which winds up and west of the town into the surrounding hills. I found the Rock Creek graveyard dry and dusty;



Plate 1.3 A view of the Yale cemetery. It is extremely difficult to see the headstones because of the vegetation growth. Two or three monuments are evident in this picture while the rest are well hidden.

the breeze soon obliterated my footsteps on the trail which divides the cemetery. The deciduous grove of trees in St. Stephen's churchyard or in the Ontario cemetery is absent at Rock Creek and the July sun beats down on an open landscape. A wild mixture of rabbitbrush, sage, and speargrass hides many of the markers, both old and new. I did not find the Rock Creek cemetery as inviting as I did the glade at St. Stephen's. With its thorns and prickles, it requires almost as much effort to walk through as the cemetery at Yale. The predominantly marble markers I found there are a startling white--apparently the arid climate bleaches them out. They are simple in style and shape, without the variety displayed at Yale or the gentle weathering of those at St. Stephen's. The rows are neat, but have wide gaps, giving the impression of something started but incomplete. The Rock Creek cemetery seemed to stress the graveyard's functional role as a disposal ground for the dead. I found little evidence that the people in the town below cared whether or not the graves go untended, and no sense of the permanence found in the solid granite at St. Stephen's.

PHOENIX GRAVEYARD

The Phoenix cemetery is green and shaded, not by leafy old elms, but by tall firs. The grave markers are aging but they are wooden, not marble. The small picket fences around them are charming in their simplicity. It is a quiet place and encourages the same opportunity for peaceful reflection as the Ontario cemetery.

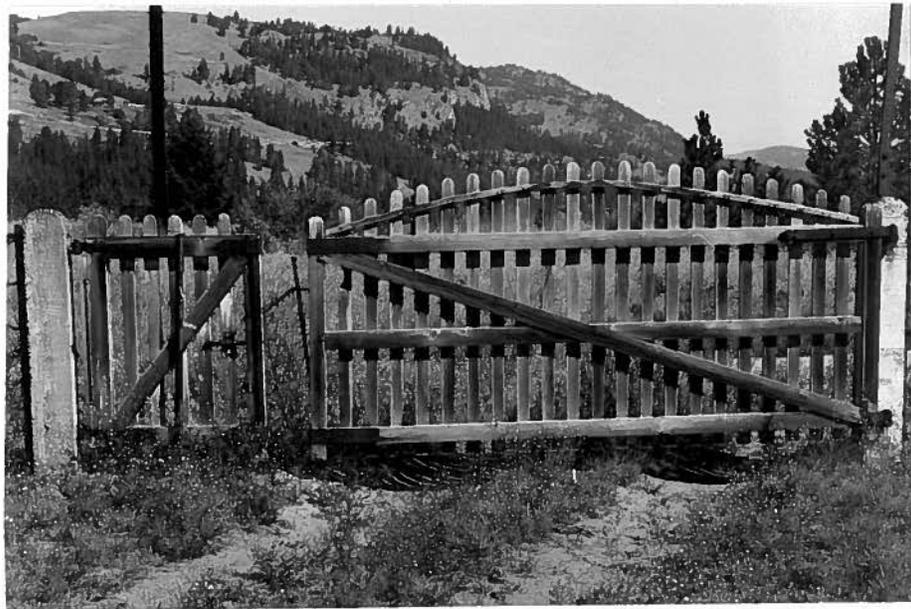


Plate 1.4 Old cemetery gate at the entrance to Rock Creek graveyard. The dirt track in the foreground peters out about 10 yards from the entrance in a tangle of underbrush.

I found the Phoenix cemetery a welcome relief after a particularly frustrating search on a hot, dusty day. It is a half mile or so south of the old mine along the road between Phoenix and Greenwood and almost out of sight on a steep, heavily treed slope. On the sight of what was once the town of Phoenix is now a huge open pit. The desolation is so complete that a description of Phoenix in its heyday reads as fantasy. Between 1890 and 1920, it was "a big, brassy place, full of locomotives, blasting, four churches, champion hockey teams, 28 saloons, five dance halls, gambling casinos and the biggest plate glass windows in the west."⁶ This was the Phoenix of not even a century ago; unlike the mythical bird, it is unlikely to rise from the ashes. Only the cemetery marks the old townsite and only it testifies to the fact that people once lived and worked there.

From contemporary accounts, a lychgate marked its entrance; now a hand-painted sign hangs slightly askew on a brand new chain-link fence. Entering the gate, I faced a disarray of markers--some broken and leaning against the wooden picket fences that surround them, others tilting against trees at awkward angles. The gates of toothless picket fences swing on rusty hinges. Many of the wooden markers have withstood time well enough but are weathered, like the fences around them, to a uniform gray. If the plots themselves were once neat and well-kept, they are no longer.

As at Yale, a number of young men are buried at Phoenix. The markers tell of birthplaces in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Quebec, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Scotland, and North Wales. Several children also

⁶ Bruce Ramsey, *Ghost Towns of British Columbia*, p. 175.

have plots there and the local Oddfellow Lodge reserved a large piece of consecrated ground for its members. Mature fir trees stand tall among the graves, giving the place a kind of cathedral effect (see Plate 1.5).

Phoenix graveyard is now a world in itself and stands as a silent monument to a town which has long since disappeared. Its markers fail in their duty to commemorate individuals--there is no one left to be reminded.

CONCLUSIONS

I have included the above series of sketches to highlight the contrasts between the southern Ontario and the British Columbia cemetery. I was also concerned with pointing out the differences in the British Columbia cemeteries themselves. It became clear to me in the course of my field work that it is not so easy to stereotype the British Columbia cemetery as the Ontario cemetery. There is a difference in the overall morphology of the cemetery between the two provinces, in physical settings and in the societies they represent. There is as much difference between cemeteries in different parts of British Columbia. If it is true that a cemetery reflects the people who made it, then these British Columbia cemeteries, so unlike those in Ontario, so different one from another, have something to say about the nature of early British Columbia. My task here will be to describe these cemeteries, and then, insofar as I am able, to interpret them. Chapter Two is given to a detailed description and Chapter Three to interpretation.



Plate 1.5 Phoenix cemetery. The tall trees and surrounding shrubbery, aging grave markers and the picket fences surrounding them make Phoenix as aesthetically appealing as the Ontario graveyard.

CHAPTER TWO
THE RURAL CEMETERY LANDSCAPE OF SOUTHERN
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Reconnaissance surveys of several cemeteries in the Fraser Valley were carried out during the late spring of 1975, to assess the volume and kinds of information which would be available for a study of the cemetery landscape. On the basis of material gathered at that time, a classification scheme was devised for noting the following features: visibility (whether or not the cemetery was an outstanding part of its surroundings), site location, the method of enclosure, vegetation inside and outside the cemetery, internal kerbing and/or fencing of grave plots, the spatial arrangement of grave spaces and walkway patterns. A similar scheme was devised for tombstones in the cemetery. In the field, information was taken concerning (1) the date of death on the marker; (2) the material from which the marker was carved; (3) the predominant motif; (4) lettering; (5) the epitaph; (6) the shape of the marker; (7) the compass orientation of the marker. Each piece of data was assigned a code for computer processing. A tombstone sample size of 1000 was arbitrarily chosen and I imposed a temporal limit, 1850-1925. This period takes into account the earliest settlement phase in British Columbia and gives some scope for exploring changes in tombstone fashion. By 1925, tombstone art seems to be directed towards functional purposes rather than artistic expression.

Fieldwork was conducted during the summer and fall of 1975 and was limited to southern British Columbia, an area that was accessible to me and that represents strikingly different environments and settlement histories. Highway 3, which runs along the southern border of British Columbia was used as a transect line, as was the Fraser Canyon route to Lillooet, and the Island Highway on the east coast of Vancouver Island to Courtenay.

Any cemetery with more than an estimated total of 1000 tombstones was excluded from the sample. Following similar field experience in southern Ontario, I found that a unit of this size (containing 500-1000) stones is the most manageable one for detailed study.¹ An exception to the preferred sample size is Ross Bay cemetery in Victoria. It provides a cross-section of tombstones before 1880 and there I selected at random 100 markers to record in the tombstone classification scheme. Ross Bay is also used as a model for the Victorian cemetery, an important consideration in future discussion. Using the sample size limit mentioned above, large cemeteries at Grand Forks, Rossland, and Trail were excluded from the sample, although a general set of field notes was taken for each one. Similarly, Doukhobor, Mennonite, Japanese, and Indian cemeteries were viewed, but in a most general sense. Ethnic diversity in

¹ This fact is verified by the work of others. Gillespie and Price dealt with cemeteries in Delaware and Illinois respectively, and they too selected those with fewer than 1000 stones. Francaviglia's study in Oregon, though a basic work in the field of necrogeography, does not mention the size of the cemeteries sampled.

FIGURE 1

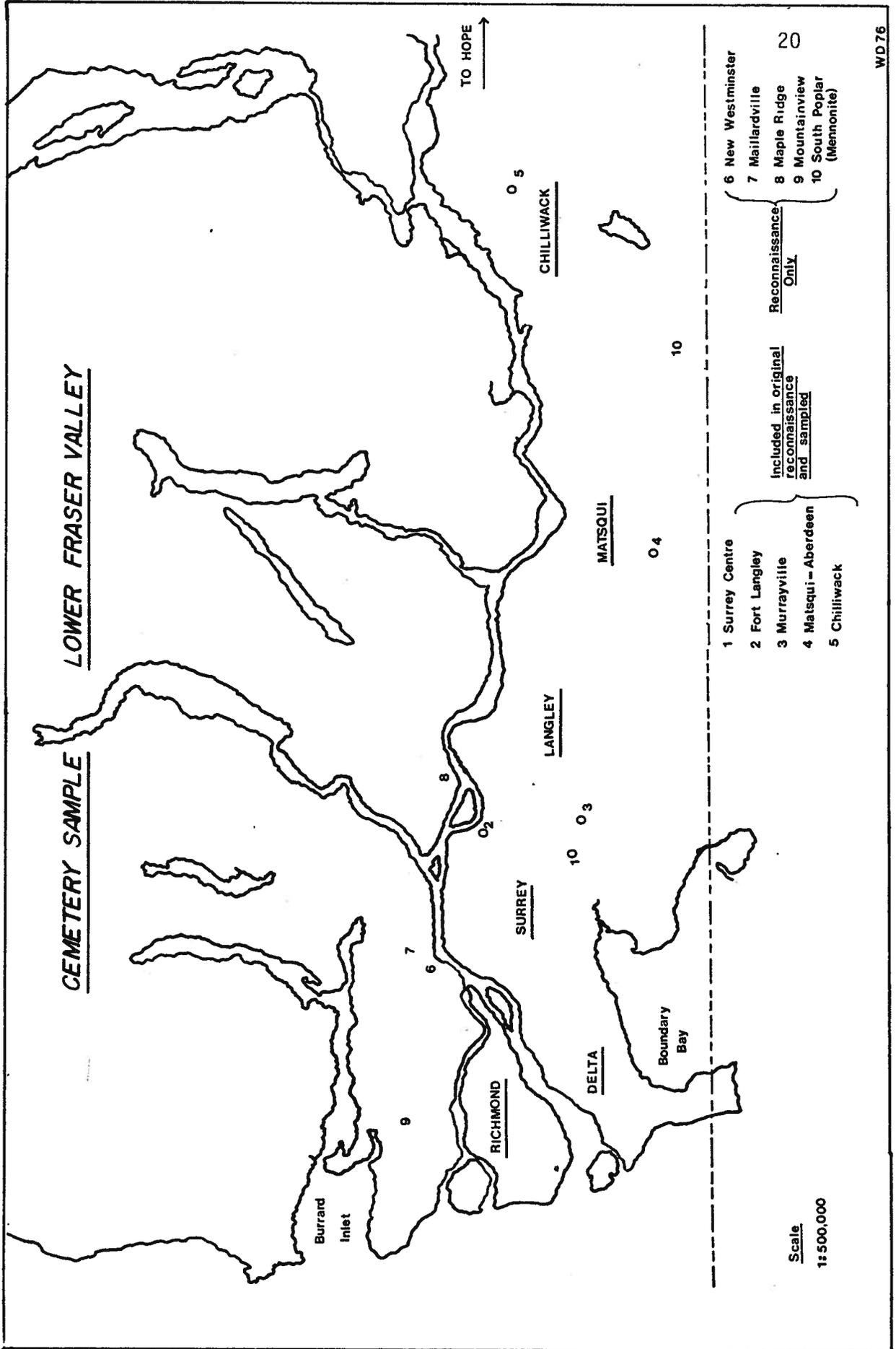
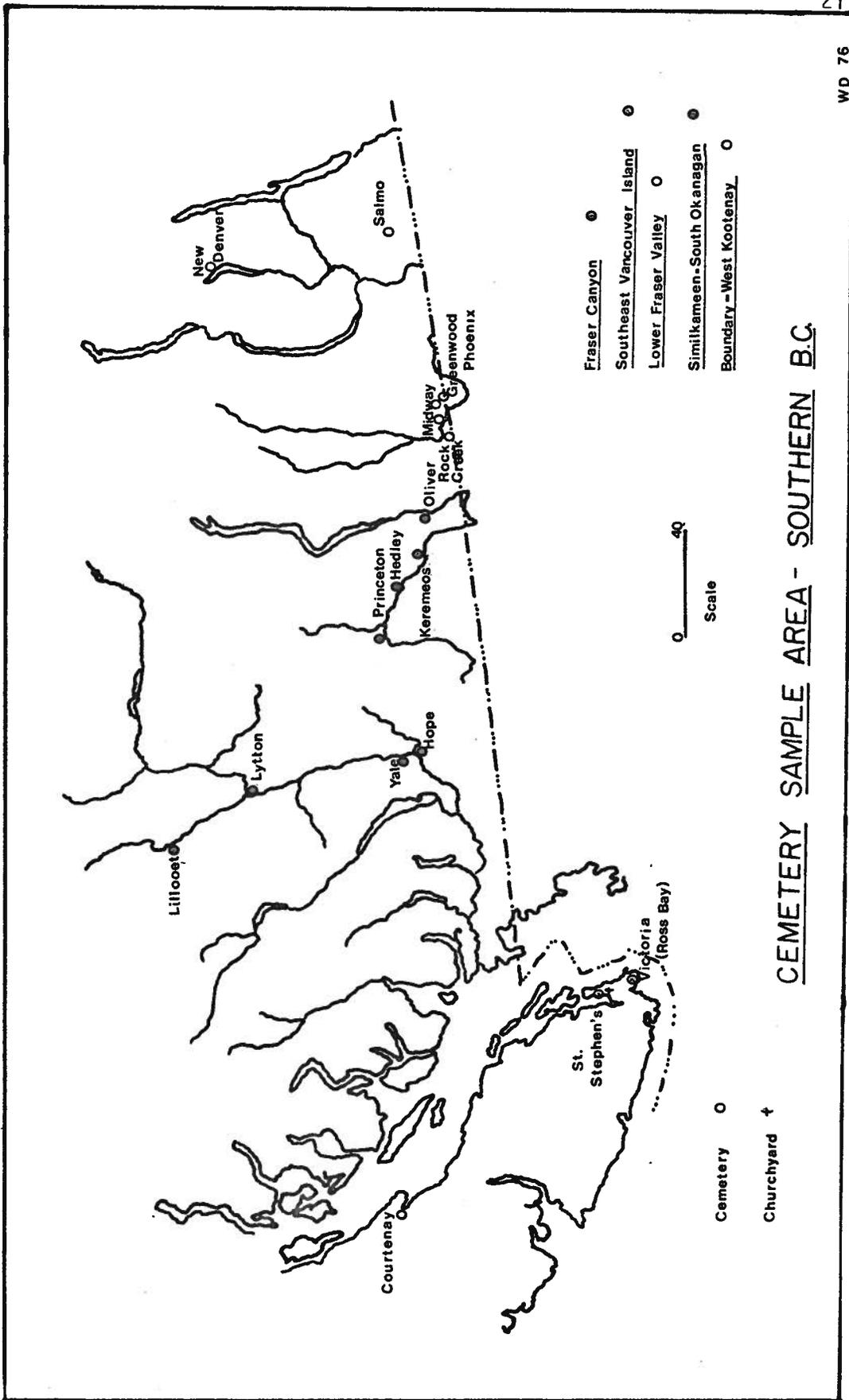


FIGURE 2



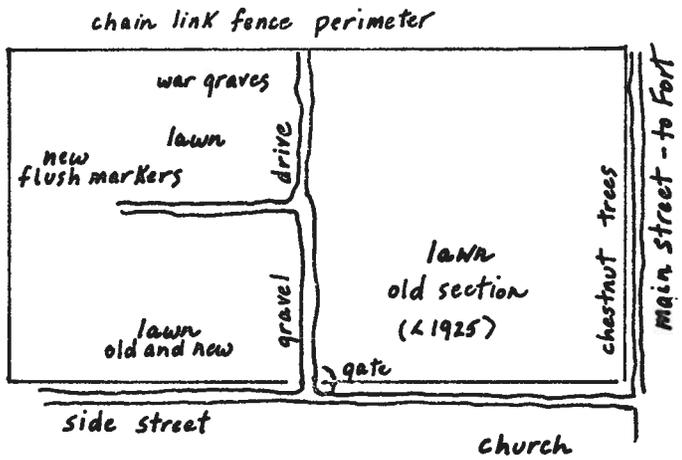
CEMETERY SAMPLE AREA - SOUTHERN B.C.

Cemetery ○
Churchyard †

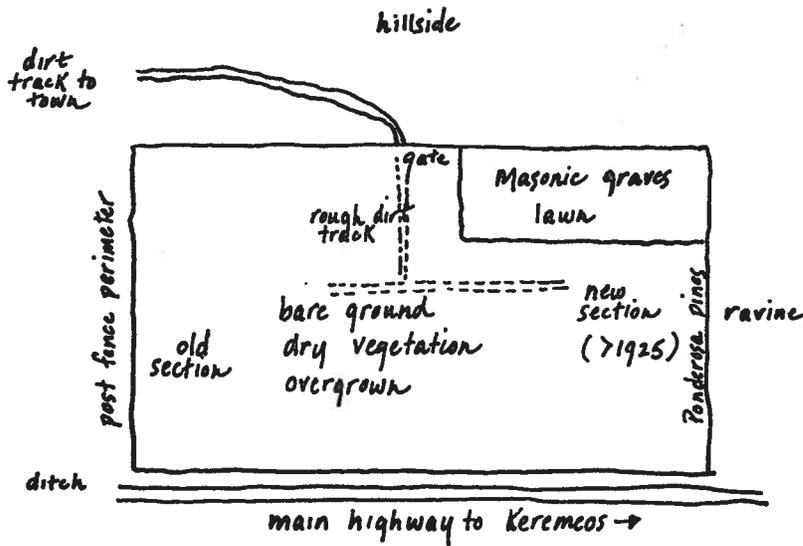
Fraser Canyon ○
Southeast Vancouver Island ○
Lower Fraser Valley ○
Similkameen-South Okanagan ○
Boundary - West Kootenay ○

0 40
Scale

SKETCH MAPS OF CEMETERIES FROM FIELD NOTES

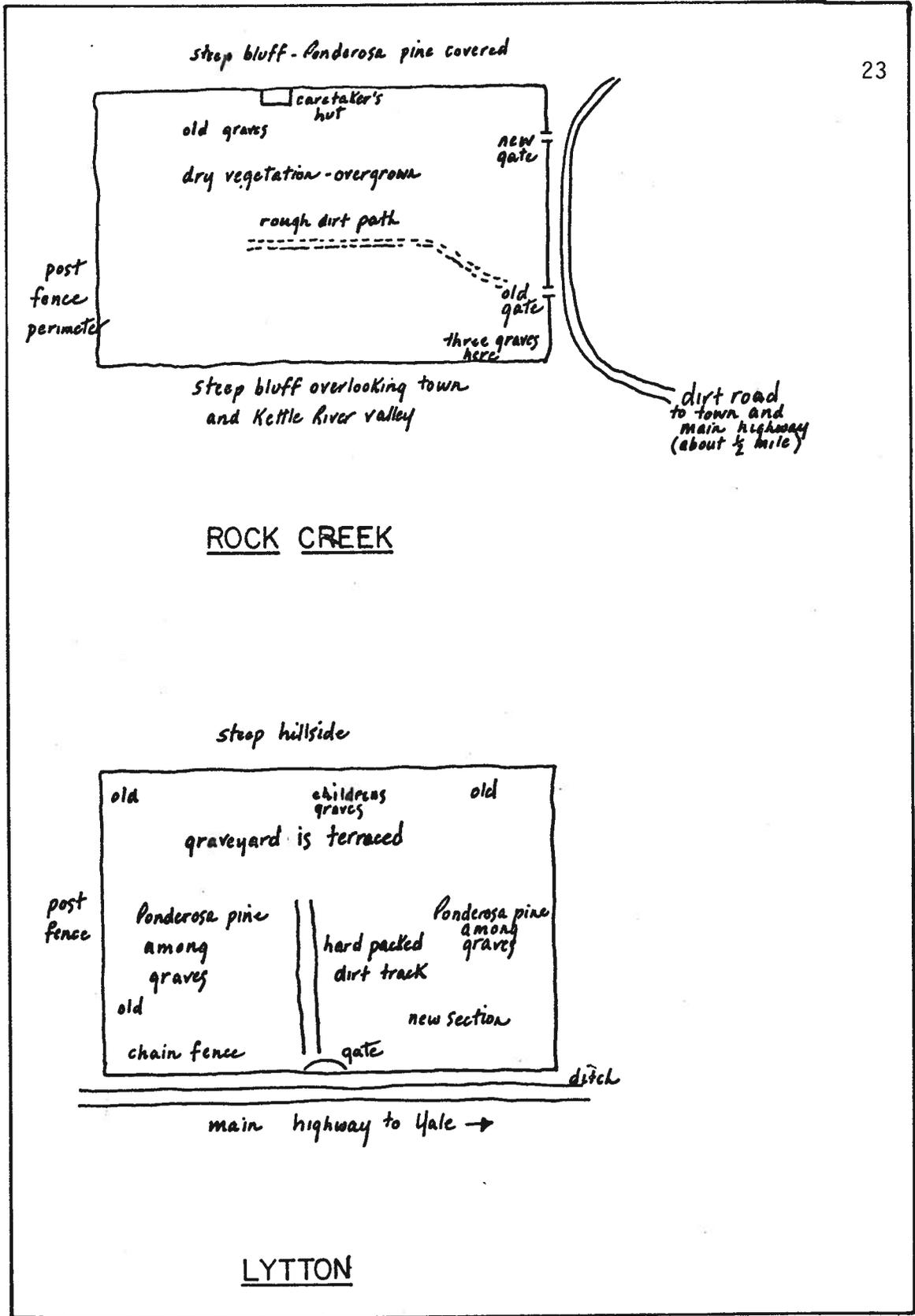


FORT LANGLEY



HEDLEY

FIG. 3 Cemetery Sketch Maps



ROCK CREEK

main highway to Hale →

LYTTON

the cemetery landscape is recognized but as I have been most interested in the cemeteries created by what might be called the predominant society, I confined my recording to the small graveyards (see Plates 1.2-1.5 pp. 2, 8,9,12,14,17 and Plates 2.1-2.11).

The undifferentiated cemetery described by Price (10 graves or less) and the small family plot recognized by both Price and Francaviglia (20 graves or less)² undoubtedly exist in British Columbia, but were neither sought nor found in this study. To some, there may be no more poignant statement than the single cross or headstone against a gathering sky: a solitary grave slab (of wood, not stone) meekly rising from the lowly grave mound near an old established looking settler's homestead, its simple lettered story upon the white painted board, telling of one or more breaches in the family since it came there."³ These are impossible to locate however, without a good deal of intimate, local knowledge.⁴

Even the small cemeteries I studied were often hard to find. Topographic maps at a scale of 1:50,000 were virtually useless because graveyards were not consistently marked on them (they appeared on some

² Larry Price, "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study," *Professional Geographer*, Volume XVIII, No. 4, 1966.

³ Edwin Guillet, *The Pioneer Farmer and Backwoodsman*, p. 208.

⁴ In a recent historic survey of the Squamish-Lillooet area (unpublished), two such graveyards were documented. One was on the site of 29-Mile House (along the old Harrison Lake-Lillooet road) and apparently dates from about 1860. The authors of the report conclude that, "although the picket fence of the small cemetery is broken down and scattered on the ground and the headboard is apparently missing, one might safely assume from its style and obvious age that the grave or graves there date from the gold rush period." Another cemetery was located in "thick brush" near the site of Port Douglas and was also dated to the Gold Rush.



Plate 2.1. The Murrayville Cemetery



Plate 2.2. The Fort Langley Cemetery



Plate 2.3a. Matsqui Cemetery. Ornamental vegetation in the cemetery landscape. Note arrangement of boxwood shrubs and weeping willow in background.



Plate 2.3b. Surrey Centre Churchyard. Mature Douglas fir among the headstones.



Plate 2.4. The Hope Cemetery



Plate 2.5. The Lytton Cemetery. Note broad dirt track dividing the cemetery in half.



Plate 2.6. A View of the Lillooet Cemetery.
Note lychgate in background.



Plate 2.7. A View of the Hedley Cemetery
from the highway.



Plate 2.8. The Princeton Cemetery and the tall Ponderosa Pine among the graves in the old section.



Plate 2.9. The Greenwood Cemetery --a terraced effect.



Plate 2.10. The Midway Cemetery



Plate 2.11. The New Denver Cemetery

maps and not on others). Many were hidden by an overgrowth of vegetation and could not be seen from the highway. The best procedure for finding a cemetery was to consult an official in a village or town hall, the local museum, tourist information booth, or at the local café. In most cases, the cemetery was located beyond the town limits and usually well off the main road. It was known to local people only; the outsider would see it only if he had a reason for doing so.

This transect of southern British Columbia established a very clear division between coastal and interior cemeteries. Those in the Lower Fraser Valley and on southeastern Vancouver Island are well-kept and parklike, with regular rows of evenly spaced granite and marble headstones. Both regions reflect a similar settlement history. The Fraser Valley was settled in the latter third of the 19th century because of its arable potential and because of its proximity to centres like Victoria and New Westminster. Southeastern Vancouver Island was settled at approximately the same time for like reasons and an image of each region might include cleared, cultivated fields dotted with barns and houses--evidence of a rural, sedentary existence.

There is a clear distinction between the landscape described above and that of the Fraser Canyon or Similkameen cemetery. With the exception of a well-watered municipal lawn cemetery at Oliver and the recently lawned section of the Princeton cemetery, the interior graveyard landscape is dry and bare. Ground vegetation is at a minimum, the paths between the graves are often gravelled over, many of the plots are kerbed with concrete, or mounded with loose dirt. Both the Fraser Canyon and

Similkameen cemeteries represent a dramatic change in climate and vegetation from the coastal zone. They are part of a semi-arid belt which stretches through a major portion of central British Columbia. In terms of settlement history, the towns in the Fraser Canyon are among the oldest in British Columbia, but they did not develop within an agrarian economy. They were little more than stopping places along the corridor to the Cariboo goldfields and once harboured a highly mobile population. Towns in the Similkameen and south Okanagan were settled after 1890; some started off as mining camps (Princeton and Hedley) and others became known as service centres for the orchards in the Okanagan (e.g., Keremeos and Osoyoos).

The graveyard landscape in the Boundary-West Kootenay country is slightly different from that described above. It tends to be an unkempt landscape--vegetation grows virtually unchecked. Internal grave enclosures (i.e., picket fences or kerbing) are much more evident here than in any other region of southern British Columbia. The gravestones are less regularly spaced and the path between the graves is no more than a worn track. The Boundary-West Kootenay cemetery reflects a gradual shift in vegetation zones caused by an increase in precipitation. The change is particularly marked after Grand Forks, where the Columbia and Subalpine forest are the major biotic zones. Extremes are represented by the semi-arid Rock Creek graveyard landscape (very like the south Okanagan cemetery) and the leafy green grove at New Denver. While physically different, the Boundary-West Kootenay region has a settlement history as a mining area and thus, a shared development with the Similkameen and Fraser Canyon communities.

FIELD RESULTS

The rural cemetery is not an obvious feature of the human landscape in southern British Columbia, as are churches, barns, fences, and field patterns. It is not the striking part of the country scene that it is in southern Ontario.

The visibility of cemeteries (defined solely on the basis of whether or not the cemetery could be seen from the main road) varies regionally, but only slightly so. They are less hidden in the Fraser Valley and southeastern Vancouver Island than elsewhere in southern British Columbia. Fort Langley, Matsqui, and Surrey Centre cemeteries, for example, are apparent from the road to the casual observer. On the other hand, the graveyards at Lytton, Yale and Hedley, although found alongside the highway, are well protected by vegetation and hidden from view. Cemeteries in the Similkameen-south Okanagan and the Boundary-West Kootenay regions are also well-disguised. One must know exactly where to look for them. Town burial grounds at Princeton, Rock Creek, Midway, Greenwood, and Salmo are beyond the town limits and along poorly marked tracks off the main route.

The visibility of a cemetery depends largely on its site. There is a popular conception that graveyards are placed on elevated ground, hilltops being the preferred location from both a practical and symbolic standpoint. In this study, that generalization could not be made. Only half the cemeteries sampled, including Murrayville, Surrey Centre, Chilliwack, Greenwood, Midway, Phoenix, Salmo, Yale, and Lytton could be

considered to be on any slope at all. Others were on old river or lake terraces, New Denver and Rock Creek holding commanding views of Slocan Lake and the Kettle Valley respectively. The hillside is not always the favoured site in cemetery location in southern British Columbia.⁵

Most of the rural cemeteries sampled are set apart from the surrounding landscape by a fence, either a modern post or chain link fence. There are a few exceptions. A tall cedar hedge marking the southeastern boundary of the Surrey Centre churchyard is one, and a white picket fence at Shady Creek churchyard is another (see Plate 2.12). Contemporary accounts would suggest that the picket fence was usually the first to be built whenever ground was set aside for a graveyard.⁶ Emily Carr described the old Quadra Street cemetery in Victoria in the following manner: "it had a picket fence and was surrounded by tall, pale trees."⁷ Undoubtedly, a whitewashed picket fence enhanced the appearance of the

⁵ An interesting variant on the cemetery location theme was introduced in a paper on the placemen of a Chinese cemetery in Victoria. According to the author, it seemed highly likely that an ideal location was determined through the application of *feng shui* or "a combination of Chinese philosophical, religious, astrological, cosmological, mathematical and geographical concepts." In fact, records indicate that the Chinese Association in Victoria purchased a parcel of land in Saanich which apparently fulfilled the proper balance of factors. It was never developed as a cemetery however, because of opposition from local residents. See David Lai, "A Feng Shui Model as a Location Index," *AAG*, Vol. 64, Dec., 1974, pp. 506-513.

⁶ See contract of the Sandon Miner's Union for a picket fence to be built around the town cemetery. MSS, Victoria, 1912. A description of a small graveyard in rural Ontario contains the passage: "it was surrounded by willow trees and a picket fence." *Pen Pictures of Early Pioneer Life in Upper Canada*.

⁷ Emily Carr, *The Book of Small*.

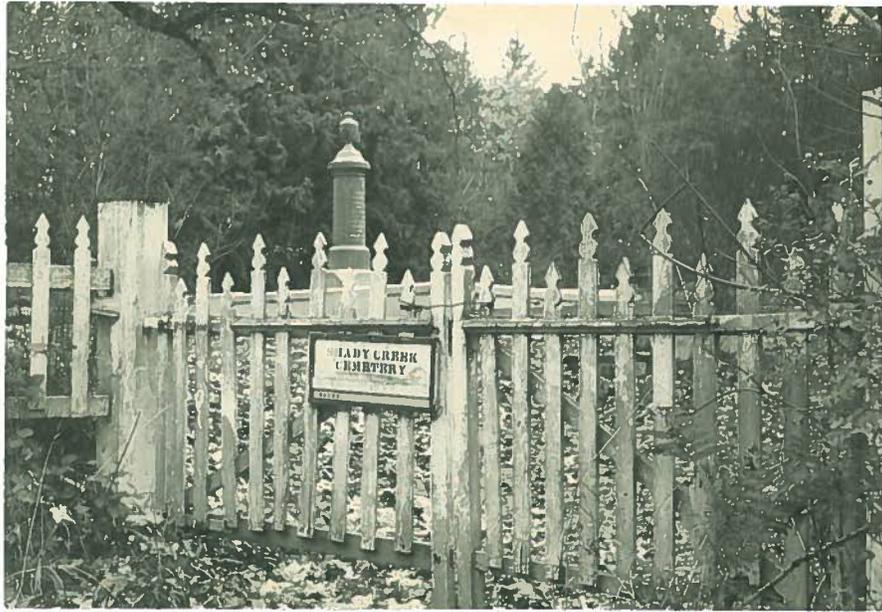


Plate 2.12. Picket fence around the Shady Creek Cemetery.

graveyard, but most have long since weathered and rotted. Many have been completely removed to make way for newer fences.

Picket fences *inside* the cemetery around individual grave plots have survived much better. The enclosure of plots appears to have been a widespread practice in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in southern British Columbia. It is a noticeable characteristic of the Similkameen-south Okanagan and Boundary-west Kootenay cemeteries where the fences have been well preserved in a dry climate. There is every likelihood that the custom was carried on throughout the entire study area but that the pickets were removed when they reached a derelict state to facilitate modern cemetery upkeep. This is almost certain to have been the case in the Fraser Valley, for example, where upkeep is kept at a high standard. The absence of these small fences in graveyards at Hope, Yale, and Lillooet is conspicuous because the older the area, the more likelihood of finding picketed graves. They marked graves for instance in the old Quadra Street cemetery in Victoria and at St. Stephen's churchyard on the Saanich peninsula⁸ (see Plate 1.2a, p. 9). The graveyard at Phoenix contains several examples of the varied and ornate styles used in making these fences (see Plate 2.13).

Other methods of delineating individual graves include concrete or fieldstone kerbing, mounding, wrought iron enclosures (Lytton, Yale,

⁸ See plates on pages 69, 71 in Bruce Ramsey, *Barkerville: A Guide to the Fabulous Cariboo Gold Camp*. Also see Plate, page 129 in Edgar Fawcett, *Reminiscences of Old Victoria--The Old Quadra Cemetery*.



Plate 2.13. Picket fence enclosure around an individual plot.

Ross Bay) and lead piping between granite or marble corner posts (see Plates 2.14, 2.15). Kerbing is found throughout the sample area with slight variations in style. In the Similkameen-south Okanagan, the centre space is sometimes filled with bits of gravel or limestone. Mounding appears to be a response to shallow soil conditions and is generally found in the dry interior cemetery. The origin of the iron grave enclosures is not known, but they were probably produced by British Columbia foundries. In the *B.C. Directory* for 1877, a firm in Victoria advertised, "Monuments, Headstones, Grave Enclosures--Undertakers, Funerals Conducted with Care and Economy." Presumably, the metal grave enclosures cost more than simple wooden fences. They are rare in southern British Columbia, appearing on only a dozen of the 1000 plots in the tombstone sample.

The lead piping method, consisting of one or two pipes placed around the perimeter of the grave between granite or marble corner posts, is often combined with kerbing and is found in all regions except the Fraser Valley. Again, such enclosures may have been removed recently to facilitate maintenance.

A large number of graves in the sample were unenclosed (at least three-quarters), but there is reason to believe that enclosure by any of the above means was once common. Modern regulations often prohibit them altogether.⁹

⁹ Municipal cemetery by-laws in the Fraser Valley include the following regulation: "No grave or lot shall be defined by fence, railing, coping, hedge or any other marker save by tablet or marker as here-infor provided for."



Plate 2.14. Iron grave enclosure at Lytton. Note tasseled urns on the corner posts.



Plate 2.15. Lead piping enclosure in foreground and concrete kerbing in background at Ross Bay cemetery.

One of the more noticeable features of a cemetery is its ornamental vegetation. While symbolic associations of cemetery vegetation are discussed in Chapter 3, the types of vegetation and their spatial arrangement are considered here. It is to be expected of course that species will vary regionally since climatic conditions are quite different throughout the study area. At least six biotic zones are represented in the sample,¹⁰ responding to various moisture, temperature and soil conditions. Any attempt at ornamental vegetation in a graveyard must take into account these local conditions.

In the Fraser Valley, a few attempts have been made to mark individual graves with an arrangement of boxwood, rhododendrum or yew bushes, often at the four corners of a grave. Though by no means a common practice, it occurred in half a dozen cases at the Fort Langley, Matsqui and Surrey Centre cemeteries. At Surrey Centre, the graves are shaded by mature Douglas fir and cedar (see Plate 2.3b, p. 26). The old section of the Murrayville cemetery is bordered on two sides by mature cedars and the Fort Langley graveyard is bordered by a streetside row of chestnut trees. Every cemetery visited in the Valley has a well-kept lawn and, except for the species given above, little other vegetation. The cemeteries observed on Vancouver Island are similar except for St. Peter's Quamichan

¹⁰ These zones include the Gulf Islands, the Coastal Forest (north bank of the Fraser River to Hope), the Puget Sound lowland (south bank of the Fraser River and the Lower Mainland), the Dry Forest (the Fraser Canyon north of Boston Bar to Lytton and Lillooet, also Princeton), Osoyoos Arid (Keremeos and Osoyoos), the Columbia Forest east of Grand Forks and the Subalpine Forest of the West Kootenays. B.C. Natural Resources Conference, 1954, Resource Map No. 11.

and St. Stephen's churchyards, where Gary oaks have been planted between the graves.

In contrast to the greenery of the coastal cemetery, the graveyards of the interior are open and arid, until the moist slopes of the Kootenays are reached. In the interior graveyard, including those in the Similkameen-south Okanagan and parts of the Boundary country, the graveyard vegetation tends to be a wild mixture of sage, rabbitbrush, thistle and speargrass. Midway is an exception; there the sparse grass is clipped close to the bare ground. At Princeton and Lytton, tall Ponderosa Pine give shade to the graves while mature fir dwarf the disarray of markers at Phoenix. In no cases does there appear to be any rhyme or reason to the ground plan of these trees; nothing of the manicured landscape of the Fraser Valley and southeastern Vancouver Island is suggested.¹¹

As with enclosure, the practice of marking graves with flowers, trees or shrubs may have been more widespread earlier in the century than present appearances would suggest. Only vestiges of the custom remain and without contemporary accounts or photographs, it is difficult to speculate much further on its extent. Today, the same regulation which restricts the enclosure of graves also prevents the planting of

¹¹ When the first cemetery regulations were passed in 1877, one of the expressed goals of the cemetery trustees was to ". . . ornament such cemetery in such manner as may be most convenient and suitable for the burial of the dead and to embellish the same with such walks, avenues, roads, and shrubs, as may to them seem fitting and proper." A conversation with a Cemeteries Division officer in 1975 revealed that landscaping is no longer a prime consideration, but that profit (selling gravespaces) is.

ornamental vegetation on a grave-site--again, to facilitate maintenance.

Landscaping in a more general sense, i.e., the attractive presentation of the cemetery as a whole, was possibly a consideration in locating the graves among the trees at Phoenix, Princeton, and Lytton.

Planned paths and walkways are not common in the small cemeteries of southern British Columbia. There is usually a centrally placed drive or track dividing the cemetery in half. In some cases it is barely distinguishable. At other cemeteries--Murrayville, Chilliwack, Princeton and Ross Bay--there are well-gravelled drives winding around the perimeter. In most graveyards there is evidence of a worn path between the rows of graves but only in Ross Bay are foot paths a deliberately planned feature. A network of attractive footpaths would imply that the cemetery may serve a function beyond that of a simple burying ground. In fact, urban cemeteries in the 19th century often provided an additional service to the public as greenspace in their parklike setting. Ross Bay appears to have been designed with that in mind.

A regular row grave pattern is used in all the cemeteries sampled although the unevenness of some rows at Matsqui, Hope, Surrey Centre and Princeton indicates that the first few burials may have been made in more haphazard fashion. A scattered plot arrangement could well have been a feature in the earliest phase of creating a cemetery. Emily Carr noted for example that the first few graves in Ross Bay cemetery seemed lonely and far apart.¹²

¹² Emily Carr, *The Book of Small*.

Systematized burial is used not only for efficiency but also serves to separate religious, ethnic and fraternal factions in some cemeteries. When Ross Bay cemetery opened in Victoria, it was noted that Episcopalians could not lie beside Nonconformists or Catholics and that Methodists, the Chinese, paupers, and atheists alike were allotted separate blocks of consecrated ground.¹³ When the B.C. Cemetery Bill came under revision, the *Daily British Colonist* argued vehemently for the right of such groups to be buried apart from one another.¹⁴ Indeed, the general populace seemed to agree. The issue was an important one and had racial overtones, as witnessed in the following statement: "there would be nothing to prevent the interment of a Chinaman directly alongside a dear friend, and the living relatives of that friend would have the pleasure of witnessing the Chinese burial decorations of pork, chicken, and other luxuries."¹⁵

Ethnic divisions were made clearly in cemeteries at Princeton and Maple Ridge where the Japanese are buried in a separate corner of the graveyard (see Plate 2.15). If a cultural group were strongly represented in an area however, it tended to bury its dead in separate cemeteries. The Japanese at Greenwood, the Doukhobors at Grand Forks and in the Slocan Valley, and the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley (Abbotsford, Clearbrook, Yarrow) all have their own burial places.

¹³ Emily Carr, *The Book of Small*.

¹⁴ *Daily British Colonist* (Victoria), April 2, 8, 17, 1879.

¹⁵ *British Daily Colonist*, May 14, 1876, p. 3.



Plate 2.16. Japanese marker at Princeton.
The Japanese are buried in a
separate section of the graveyard.

Cemeteries at New Denver, Rossland, Phoenix, Princeton and Chilliwack had separate sections reserved for the Masonic and Oddfellow orders. With the exception of Phoenix and the old Rossland cemetery which are now completely abandoned, the sections reserved for the fraternal organizations are well-maintained--apparently by local chapters. The Masonic cemetery at Hedley, for example, has a lawn, totally in contrast to the rest of the cemetery which is bare ground. From the inscriptions on some of the older stones, it is likely that both societies took over the burial duties for some of their poor members. At Phoenix, there is a stone erected to an individual by the Cranbrook I.O.O.F. Lodge--probably the chapter to which he belonged. At Courtenay, the I.O.O.F. Brierville, Tennessee Lodge erected a stone to one of its members killed in a mine explosion (see Plate 2.22).

TOMBSTONE CLASSIFICATION RESULTS

The most obvious element in the morphologic character of the cemetery--any cemetery--is the grave marker.

Almost all the gravestones erected in southern British Columbia between 1850 and 1925 were made of wood, marble, or British Columbia gray granite. Of the eight tombstone materials found in this study (cast zinc, red granite, slate, sandstone, wood, marble, and gray granite) the latter three were by far the most popular choices in all regions.

Between 1870 and 1880 (see Figure 4-a), twenty-eight markers were recorded on Vancouver Island, eleven in the Fraser Canyon and two in the Fraser Valley for that period. The small number of markers in these three

TOMBSTONE MATERIALS

FIGURE 4

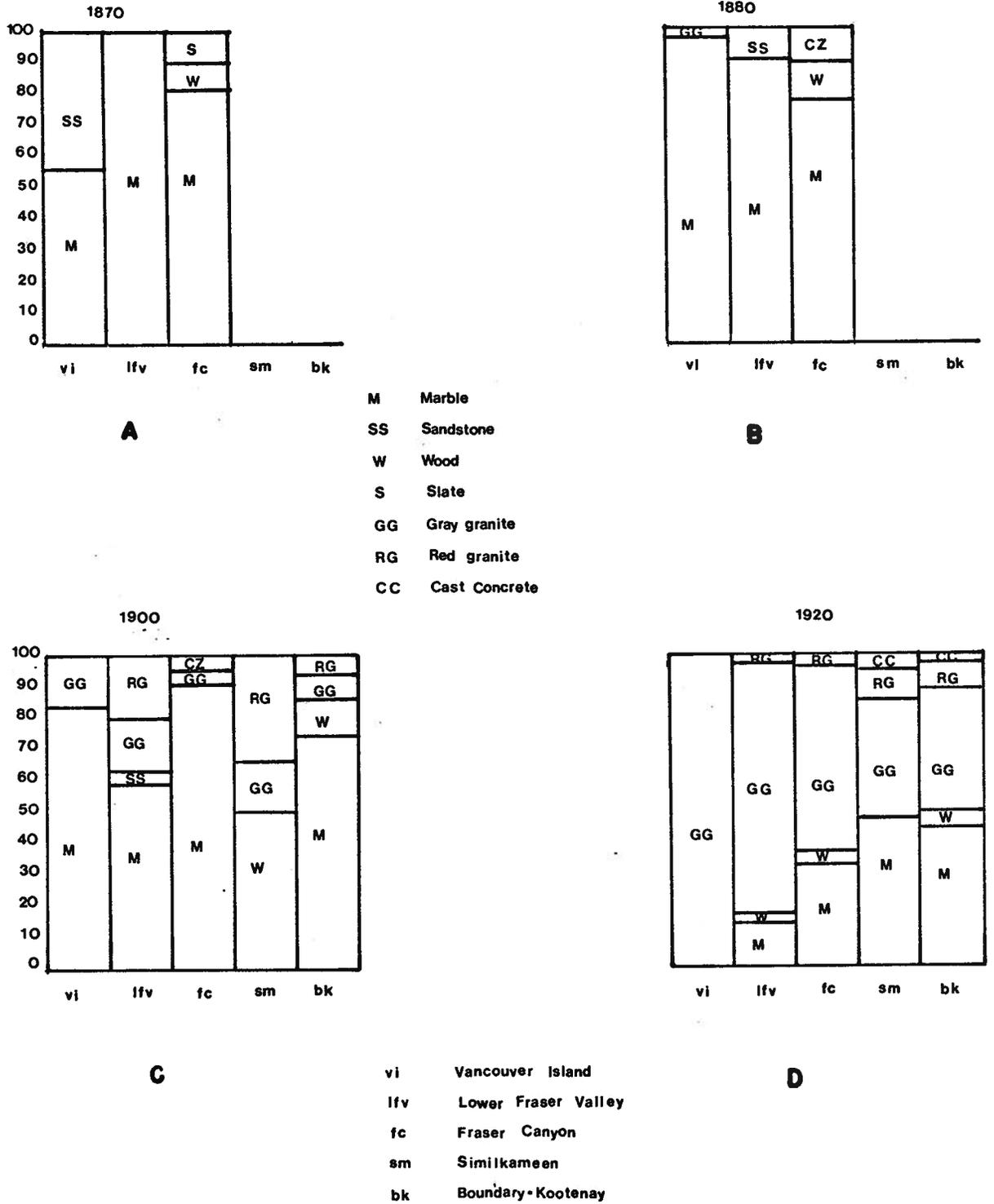


Figure 4. Tombstone materials 1870-1925.

regions could reflect both low population density at this time (especially in the Fraser Valley) and the disappearance of the earliest markers. There is a notable lack of headstones for example at Lillooet and Lytton for the Gold Rush period; because of the age of the settlements, there should be a few in each place. No gravestones could be found however, which were older than 1885.

At least half the markers recorded for this decade were made of marble (see Figure 4-a, p. 46). A brown slate and a wooden marker added some variety in the Fraser Canyon and both of these were found at Yale (see Plate 2.17). The very low proportion of wood is somewhat surprising, since it was probably the most readily available material. Possibly wooden headboards were more numerous than the study showed but have gradually weathered, fallen and been removed. This might explain the lack of old markers at Lillooet and Lytton.

Sandstone made up 42 per cent of the sample on Vancouver Island and was most strongly represented in the 100 stone sample taken at Ross Bay. It was obtained from a quarry at Haddington Island off the northeastern coast of Vancouver Island.¹⁶ It appears to have been worked by one man, a Robert Foster, who was employed as a stonecarver in Victoria during the 1870's (see Appendix One). Sandstone was used as a material until about 1885 and is found only in Victoria and at the Fort Langley cemetery. It is not especially durable, being susceptible to exfoliation, and was rarely used after Foster left the business.

¹⁶ Information obtained from the present owner of the Stewart Monumental Works in Victoria, October, 15, 1975.

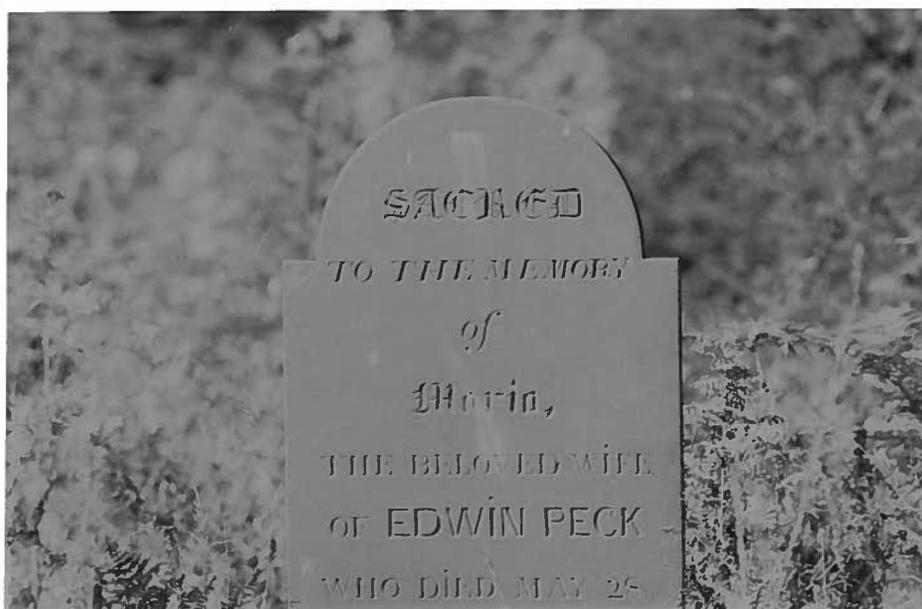


Plate 2.17. A fine brown slate marker found at the Yale cemetery. Slate was rarely used as a carving material for British Columbia gravestones.

In the 1880's, the Fraser Canyon, Fraser Valley, and Vancouver Island are again represented in the sample. Marble was still used with the greatest frequency--over 75 per cent of the time in all three regions (see Figure 4b, p. 46). Sandstone virtually disappeared from the Vancouver Island sample after 1885 and only one gray granite marker creates diversity there. Marble continued to be popular throughout the '90's.

By 1900, the Similkameen-south Okanagan and Boundary-West Kootenay cemeteries are added to the tombstone sample. Marble is a popular material in the Fraser Canyon and on Vancouver Island but is displaced to a certain extent in the Fraser Valley by red and gray granite. The gray granite, a local resource from coastal quarries on Nelson, Texada, and Granite Islands, was increasingly used throughout the province towards 1925¹⁷ (see Figure 4-c, p. 46). At least one dealer in New Westminster sold granite monuments throughout the Lower Mainland and its appearance in the Fraser Valley at this time may reflect his influence. Red granite monuments were imported from Aberdeen, Scotland, Sweden, New Brunswick, and were distributed from New Westminster as well.¹⁸ The small number of gray granite markers on Vancouver Island for this period (1900-1910) could be an indication of the fact that most monument makers in British Columbia were still living in Victoria and that their professional preference was for marble. At this time at least two kinds of marble were being used: a white marble which was imported from Vermont, Italy, Sweden,

¹⁷ Information gathered in conversation with Mr. J.B. Newall of the Newall Monumental Company (since 1909) in Vancouver, July, 1975.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

and Scotland; and a blue marble, actually a dark gray, which came from Vermont.

Marble markers were not represented at all in the Similkameen-south Okanagan between 1900 and 1910. Wood was used in about 50 per cent of the sample, while red and gray granite comprised the rest. Presumably, wood was obtained locally, whereas red and gray granite markers were shipped in from coastal dealers.

Approximately three-quarters of the tombstones in the Boundary-West Kootenay region were carved from marble (1900-1910). The remainder are wood or gray or red granite. There seems to be some evidence for a slight time lag with the introduction of materials to different regions. By 1910, the Fraser Canyon, Fraser Valley, and southeastern Vancouver Island settlements were well-established. A good communications network linked all three regions and tombstones could be distributed easily from manufacturing centres in New Westminster, Victoria, and Vancouver. A changing preference from imported marble to local gray granite and foreign red granite is reflected in all three regions.

On the other hand, towns in the Similkameen-south Okanagan and the Boundary-West Kootenay districts were in the preliminary stages of settlement at the turn of the century and links to the coast were less strong. This may explain the slightly higher proportion of wooden headboards in these areas because it was readily available. The high percentage of marble monuments in the Boundary-West Kootenay region is probably attributable to a marble firm which existed in Nelson for a

short time early in the 20th century.¹⁹

Between 1920 and 1925 (see Figure 4-d, p. 46) there was a striking increase in the use of gray granite in all study regions. By this time, wooden markers were rarely used in the Similkameen-south Okanagan and the Boundary-West Kootenay regions, probably because of improved transportation links to the coast. The high representation of marble and red granite in both those places may indicate a slight time lag in tombstone style preference across the province. Marble and granite (red) are present only in a few cases in the Fraser Valley and on southeastern Vancouver Island. These regions are close to monument makers in Vancouver and Victoria²⁰ as well as to the source of gray granite. It is to be expected that any changes or trends in the carving material (such as the tendency to use British Columbia granite) would occur first in those regions closest to the point of origin. Before 1900, the centre of diffusion was in Victoria. After 1900, a number of firms were established in Vancouver and they distributed tombstones throughout the province. The only granite and marble dealer in the Directory outside of the Lower Mainland for this period was the one at Nelson.

Many different motifs were used (see Appendix Two) but only five were used frequently. Almost half the stones recorded displayed no design at all--merely a brief inscription. Approximately fifteen of the

¹⁹ A listing for the Kootenay Marble and Granite Works in Nelson may be found in the *B.C. Directory* for the period 1905-1909. The name of the firm was observed on a marker at Midway.

²⁰ A partial listing of monument makers and their approximate length of stay in the business is contained in Appendix One.

thirty-one designs were represented in only one or two instances. Their effect on the overall sample is negligible and they are included in the miscellaneous category in Figure 5. Another half dozen motifs (rosette in corner, wheat sheaf, cross and crown, cherub, Rock of Ages and thistle) were found on only five to ten stones each and also fall into the miscellaneous category on the graph.

Between 1870 and 1880, the so-called "classic" designs, which are well-represented in the tombstone art of southern Ontario²¹ and the American West during the 19th century, are also found in the Fraser Canyon, Fraser Valley, and Vancouver Island cemeteries. The weeping willow, pointing (heavenward) finger, clasped hands, rose, lamb of innocence (popular on childrens' markers), and dove of peace were the common motifs (see Plates 2.18 to 2.24).

Monument makers in British Columbia were attuned to the current fashion in tombstone art. The similarities in the designs themselves, which exist from British Columbia to southern Ontario and throughout the American West, indicate that pattern guides were probably available to monument dealers.

In the decade of the 1880's, there came to be more variety as far as choice in motif is concerned, but the classic designs are still adhered to in most cases. By 1900, there was a decided increase in the range of motifs available. There is little regional distinction except that the variety of motif is greatest on the Island. This may be because

²¹ Carolyn Hanks, *Early Ontario Gravestones*. See also plates in Lambert Florin, *Tales the Western Tombstones Tell*.

FIGURE 5

TOMBSTONE MOTIFS
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

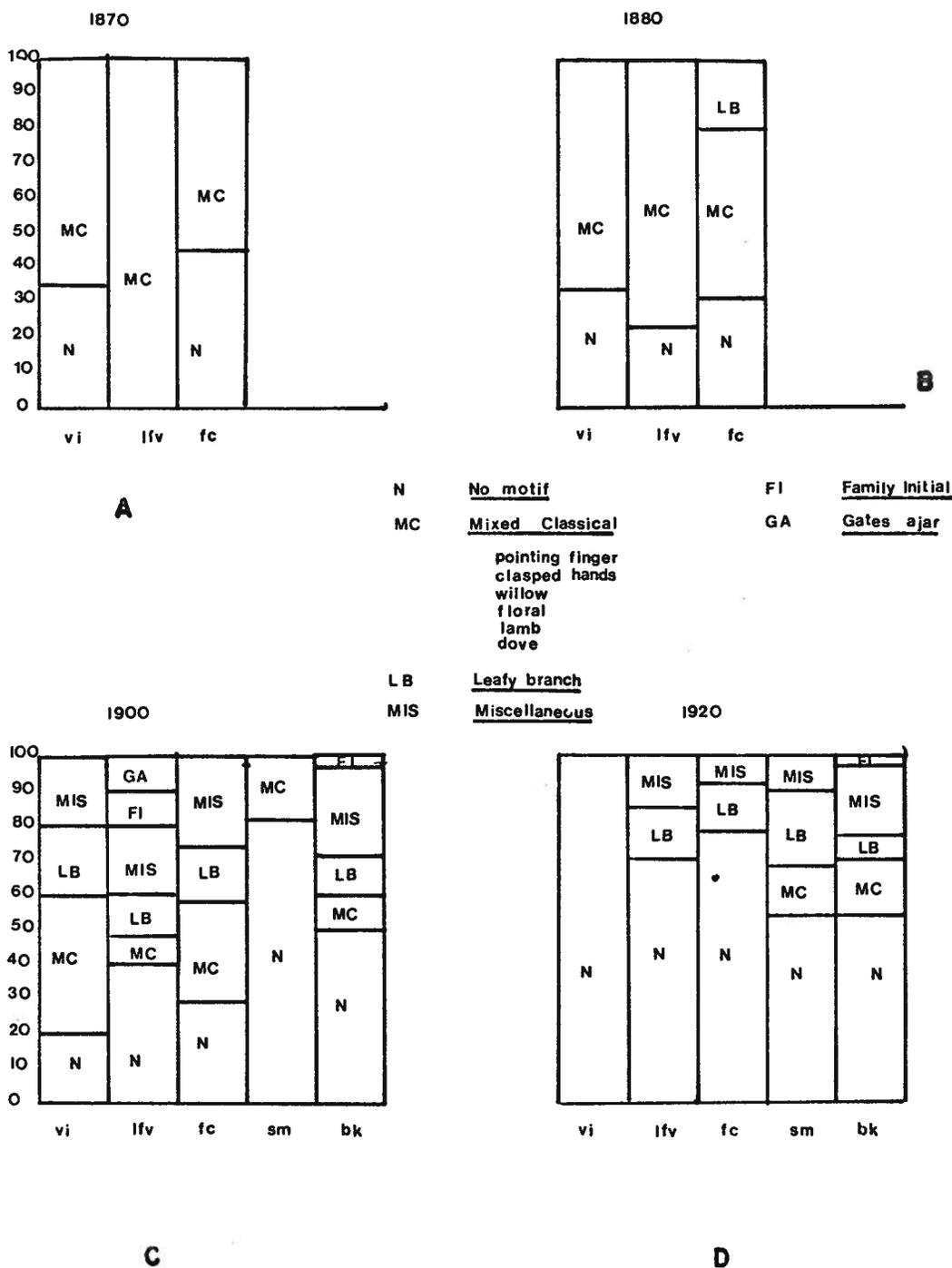


Figure 5. Tombstone Motifs 1870-1925

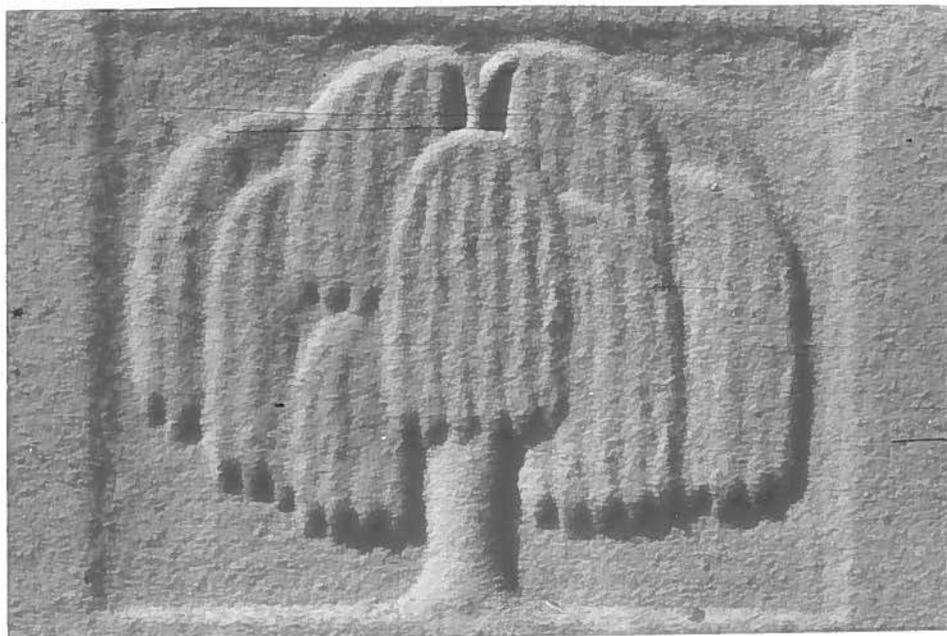


Plate 2.18. Classic Weeping Willow Motif.



Plate 2.19. An elaborately sculpted variation on the weeping willow motif. Ross Bay.



Plate 2.20. Classic Pointing Finger Motif.

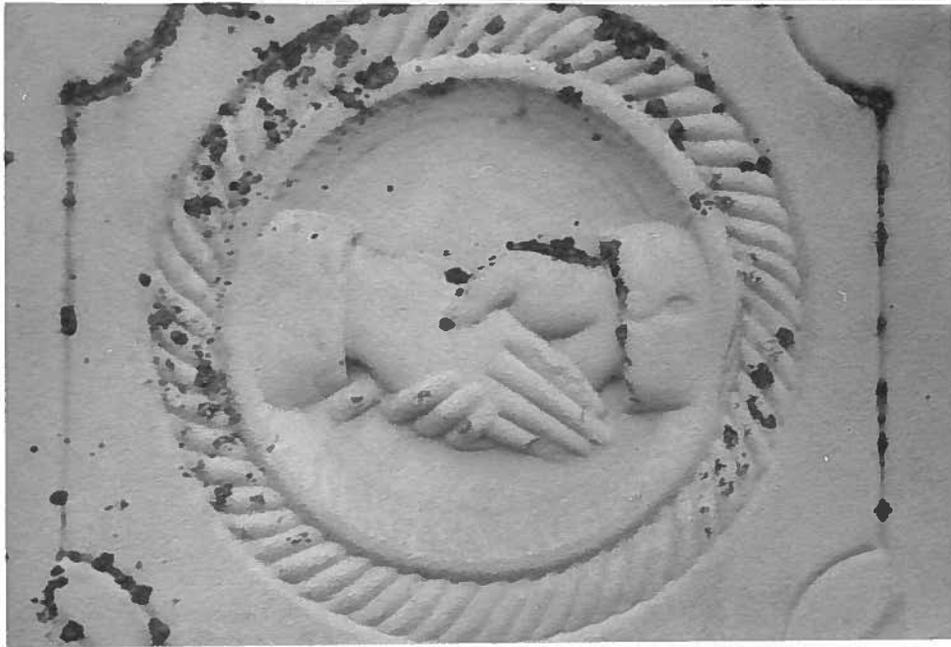


Plate 2.21. Classic Clasped Hands Motif.



Plate 2.22. Clasped Hands Motif on marble marker at Courtenay.



Plate 2.23. Classic Rose Motif.



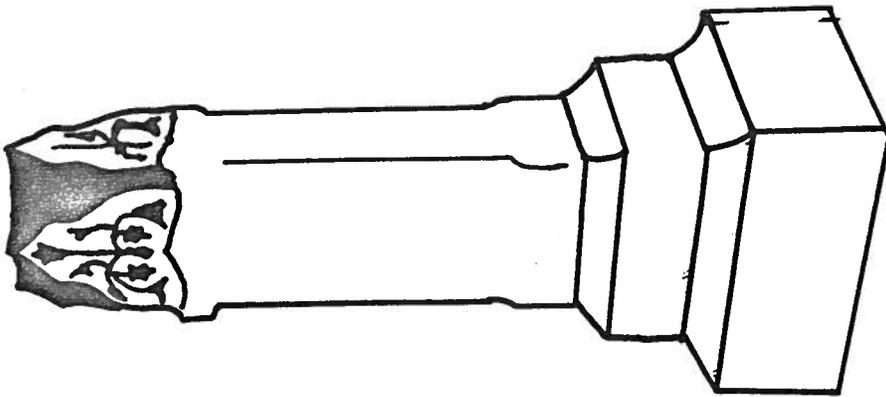
Plate 2.24. Lamb Motif on child's
marker at Princeton.

the cemeteries here are closer to the monument makers in Victoria. At this time the classic designs declined and others such as the leafy branch, Gates Ajar and family initial were introduced²² (see Figure 6). The latter three designs are indicative of a particular marker type which appeared in British Columbia at the turn of the century. The obelisk shaped monument was offered by most dealers between 1890 and 1910 and was often chosen by the public. The designs offered in the catalogues and associated with the obelisk include the three mentioned above. They are highly stylized and destroy whatever remained of the creativity and individuality of the 19th century tombstone carver.

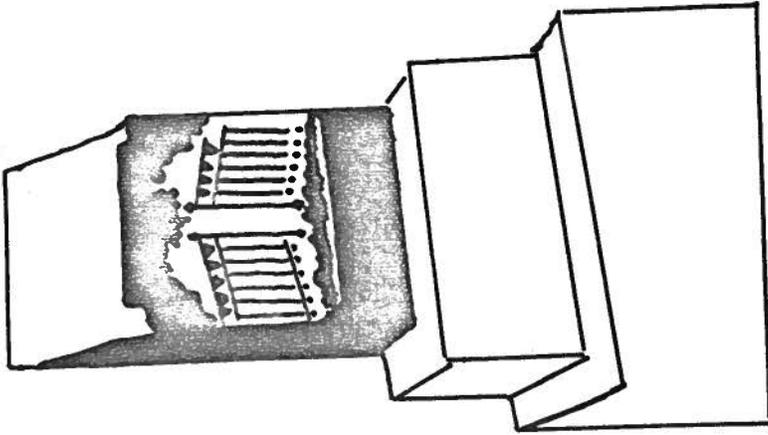
There is a complete lack of design displayed on tombstones in the Similkameen-south Okanagan region. The wooden headboards consistently lacked decorative symbols as did the rough-cut gray granite slab of the early 20th century (see Plates 2.25 and 2.26).

Between 1920 and 1925, there is a marked tendency to eliminate the motif. The wider choice in the Similkameen-south Okanagan and Boundary-West Kootenay may be due again to a slight time lag in response to changing tombstone fashion, but the trend to have no decorative symbol at all reflects an overall attitude change. Both markers and cemetery landscapes lost the Victorian flair for elaborate display and romantic images of death, and became much more subdued in appearance. Utmost simplicity in tombstone style and cemetery design was the order of the day after about 1915. Monument makers rarely worked as individual

²² See plates in Lambert Florin, *op. cit.*



LEAFY BRANCH (IVY) MOTIF
ON OBELISK



GATES AJAR MOTIF

FIGURE 6



Plate 2.25. Wooden Headboard in the Greenwood Cemetery. Note that there is no motif, only an inscription.

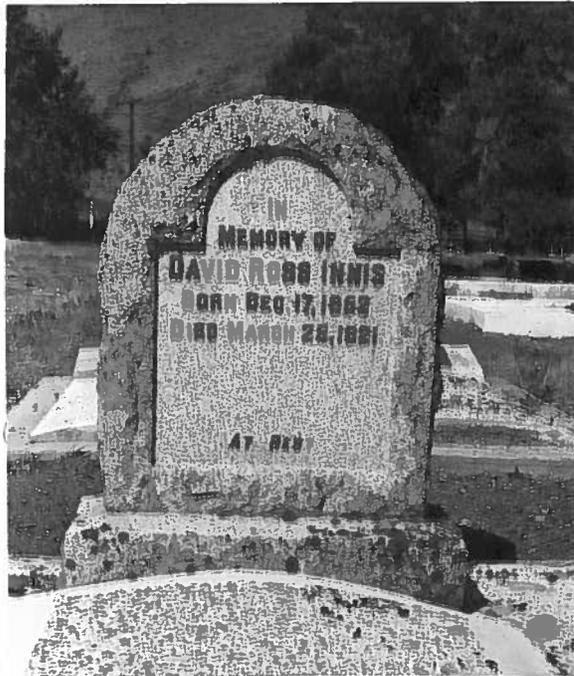


Plate 2.26. Rough-cut gray granite tablet with ledger in foreground.

craftsmen as they had in the 19th century. They formed partnerships and employed as many as fifteen men to keep up with the demands of an expanding trade.²³

Further evidence of the trend towards a more subdued response to death is supplied by the epitaphs which appeared at the turn of the century. Again, these are a function of time and do not vary across the province. After 1900, the use of short, one line phrases such as "Gone But Not Forgotten," "At Rest" and "Rest in Peace" became fashionable (see Appendix Three). The longer verses of the 19th century which sometimes referred to the deceased directly or which repeated Biblical quotations were abandoned in favour of the shorter forms. The following is an example of direct reference to the deceased, found in the Chilliwack cemetery.

Gone dear Angus, How we miss thee
Lonely is our home
For the one we loved so dearly
Has forever passed away.

Lettering on tombstones combined a series of techniques; incising and relief, block print, and script appeared in varying proportions throughout the time period. Various combinations of the above were found in all areas. One notable historic trend may be seen in the increased use of individual lead letters which were fastened to the marker with tiny studs. The method was used throughout the study area and in every

²³ Information gathered in conversation with Mr. Newall, who was referring to his father's business. July 1975.

case it appears on a particular type of gray granite marker which became popular after about 1910 (see Plate 2.26, p. 60).

A final category employed in the classification of tombstones in the study was that of shape. Shape has already been mentioned above in reference to motif. It was stated, for example, that the obelisk was introduced and became popular between 1890 and 1910.

The tablet shape (see Figure 7) and its variations is probably the most stereotyped tombstone image and was chosen frequently after 1850 throughout the study area. It was especially popular before 1890 and is associated with a mass-produced white marble marker popular throughout the 19th century and with wooden headboards of the same period (see Plates 2.25 and 2.26, p. 60). It appears again after 1910 as the rough-cut granite tablet. A gabled version of the tablet was used to some extent before 1900 and was invariably carved from marble (see Plate 2.27). The wooden cross, another typical way to mark a grave, is represented in only a few cases prior to the turn of the century. There are fewer of these markers than one might expect; obviously they could be quickly and easily constructed. Possibly there were more than the sample indicates but they have not survived the passage of time.

About 1900, the obelisk tombstone appears on the market. It, too, was a mass-produced marker, usually of marble, although red granite obelisks were imported from the east and distributed throughout southern British Columbia between 1890 and 1910. The obelisk enjoyed only a brief stay in tombstone fashion and even at the turn of the century, gave way

FIGURE 7

POPULAR TOMBSTONE SHAPES

IN
SOUTHERN B.C. 1850-1925

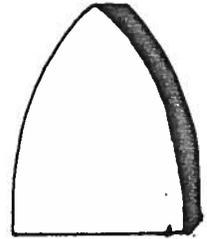
TABLET



plain

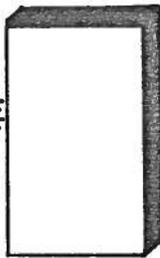


shoulder

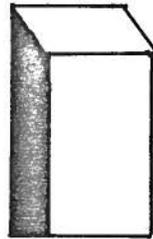


gothic

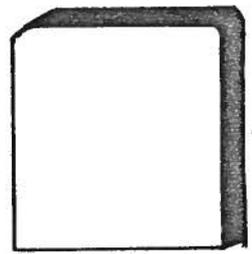
RECTANGLE



plain

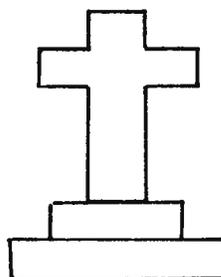
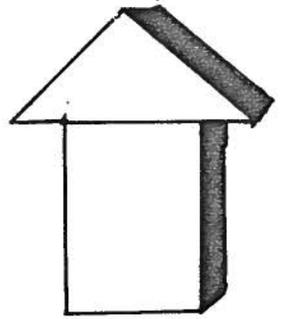
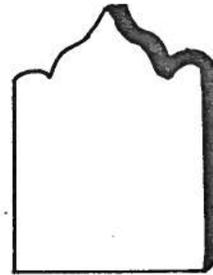
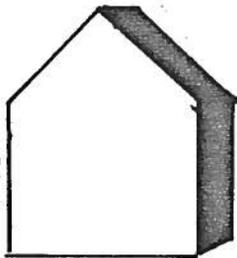


pulpit

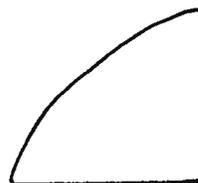


rounded edge

GABLED



tiered cross



'breadbox'



Plate 2.27. A gabled version of the tablet.

to other, angular forms (see Plates 2.28 and 2.29). This trend was evident across the province and continued to the end of the sample period (1925). The new forms took on a variety of rectangular and angular shapes (see Figure 7, p. 63) and were carved from both marble and granite.

The cross reappeared as a tombstone shape in most areas after 1900 but it was no longer made of wood. Instead, it was carved from marble or gray granite and placed on top of a two or three tier base (see Plates 2.30 and 2.31).

It should be obvious that certain types of tombstones are identifiable on the basis of their composite features. The white marble tablet shape of the 19th century is one, defined on the basis of material, shape, standard dimensions and a certain range of classic motifs. The obelisk is another type and it, too, was manufactured according to set measurements and was usually carved from marble with a standard series of designs. The angular forms which eventually surpassed the obelisk in gravestone fashion displayed basically the same motifs. After 1910, the gray granite marker appeared increasingly in one of two forms: as a rough-cut bell or tablet shape, or as a rough-cut rectangle. Both models were bulky and clumsy looking, but were essentially a reflection of a desire for simplicity (or perhaps low cost). Finally, the plain wooden cross, the ultimate symbol of Christian death and the resurrection, is replaced in the 20th century by white marble and gray granite versions, precisely cut and durable.



Plate 2.28. Obelisk shaped marker. Note the ceramic memory picture--a custom associated with Eastern Europeans.



Plate 2.29. A tombstone shape popular at the turn of the 20th century. Note the 'manufactured' appearance.



Plate 2.30. Variation on the simple cross: ivy draped across one arm, a bird perched on the other.



Plate 2.31. Second variation on the simple cross. The stone is carved to simulate bark-covered logs.

Because of standardization in tombstone styles, there is little regional variation in monuments in southern British Columbia. A few minor differences have been pointed out, relating to the types of carving media, design and shape trends, but these are probably more a function of a time lag in the diffusion of tombstone fashion than a reflection of definite regional preferences. Overall, I noticed that monuments in the interior tended to be quite plain. In the Similkameen-south Okanagan, Boundary-West Kootenay, and Fraser Canyon regions, at least 52 per cent of the tombstones sampled had no motif at all. This could be compared to a slightly lower proportion (40 per cent to 46 per cent) on Vancouver Island and in the Fraser Valley. The cost of a tombstone varied according to size, intricacy of design, length of inscription and the distance it had to be shipped. Artistry and fashion may have been sacrificed for the sake of economy in the interior.

The reader is reminded at this point that the tombstone is only part of the larger landscape being considered here--the cemetery. The tombstone is certainly a key element in cemetery morphology but so are the fences, walkways, trees, shrubs, and enclosures described in previous sections. All are tangible statements of the contemporary attitudes of a society toward death. While the elements themselves do not seem to vary much across the province, there are differences in overall morphology. The contrast between the 'Wild West' appearance of the graveyard at Rock Creek and the pastoral scene at St. Stephen's churchyard is striking.

Living people create the cities of the dead; the monuments, landscape vegetation, pathways and driveways are a reflection of their tastes

in design and the way they choose to symbolize death. An individual's attitude toward death will depend heavily upon the values shared with the society around him. Accordingly, different cemetery landscapes are not only a function of different physical elements, they are also a function of different attitudes within a society. What, then, were the significant values of those who created the cemetery at Rock Creek or the churchyard at St. Stephen's? This question must be answered, if the character of small cemeteries in southern British Columbia is to be fully explained.

CHAPTER 3
THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE CEMETERY
IN EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia was settled in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by immigrants from the British Isles, Ontario, the Maritimes, by Americans from California and the Midwest, by some Continental Europeans, and by some Chinese and Japanese. Society was not reborn, *de nova*, on the frontier; rather, institutions, technical skills and social order brought from their homelands were introduced and adapted to a new environment.

Free land was not the incentive for migrating to the Pacific Northwest as had been the case in Ontario, in the American Midwest, and on the Canadian Prairies.

Unlike the Prairies, British Columbia was not originally settled by agriculturalists and the culture which eventually gelled did not have an agrarian hue.¹

With the exception of a few small regions--the Lower Fraser Valley, parts of eastern Vancouver Island, the Okanagan, where potentially arable land was developed--minerals, forests, and fish were the province's outstanding economic assets. Individuals brought both ambition and entrepreneurial skills to the task of turning them into cash. This pioneer population was young and vital, predominantly male and drawn by the

¹ Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils*, p. 36.

prospect of challenge and prosperity on a new frontier. While immigrant ships sailed to destinations in Upper Canada with Scots and Irish families who had been misled by reports of the agricultural potential on the Canadian Shield, a motley collection of prospectors toiled up the Fraser Canyon to the Cariboo goldfields.

The Gold Rush in 1858 created New Westminster and stimulated mushrooming growth in Victoria. Both Victoria and New Westminster offered a variety of services, goods and amusements; they were linked to each other by a daily steamer run, and had strong ties with San Francisco and eastern Canada. Less sophisticated were interior towns such as Hope, Yale, Lytton, and Lillooet which earned places early in provincial history as stopover points along the Fraser Canyon route. Later, strikes were instrumental in the creation of towns like Princeton, Hedley, Rock Creek, Phoenix, and Greenwood. The ore was not always gold but the pattern of settlement was much the same. Miners stayed as long as the ore lasted, until a richer claim was staked elsewhere, or until the bottom dropped out of the market. Remnants of ore buckets and tramlines, disintegrating smelters and collapsed mineshafts haunt the landscape today. It was a mobile existence characterized by a boom-and-bust mentality, and for ordinary miners a restless search for work in the mining camps of the western third of the continent.

In Chapter 2, I suggested that the cemetery, a landscape manifestation of death, is not a striking feature of the human landscape in southern British Columbia. Generally, cemeteries are located outside population centres and are hidden from view. Elevated locations are not

always preferred or chosen. Each cemetery is separated from its surrounding environment by a fence. The demarcation of individual graves through the use of wooden and wrought iron enclosures or concrete kerbing is a characteristic of the late 19th century. The practice had disappeared for all intents and purposes by 1925. Walkways and paths tend to be inconspicuous and there are few apparent attempts at landscaping using ornamental trees or shrubs. Monuments of the period (1850-1925) display contemporary trends in style and shape, with few regional variations. Variations do occur however in the overall appearance of the cemeteries; coastal cemeteries, created by relatively stable, settled populations, are quite different from cemeteries associated with itinerant miners. Yet these British Columbia cemeteries, relatively inconsequential on the human landscape, have something to say about early British Columbia. The cycle of life continued here. British Columbia was as much a place of death as of progress. The businessman in Victoria, the settler on his homestead in the Fraser Valley, the hardrock miner in camps in the Kootenays--each had an investment in a rapidly growing British Columbia, but all died in the end. This new place did not always turn out to be the promised land. Women died in childbirth and children of fever. Men were killed in mining or logging accidents. While youth, vigour, and new beginnings were stressed at every turn, death was never far away. How could they cope with it psychologically? Was death a part of life's consciousness? How were the dead to be buried? And where? People here faced those questions again and again.

THE SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA CEMETERY IN
PERSPECTIVE: CEMETERY PLANNING

In 1870, the Governor of the province and his council passed "An Ordinance to Make General Regulations for the Establishment and Management of Cemeteries in the Colony of British Columbia." The ordinance made provision for a board of trustees to be set up to administer public cemeteries. This board was "at liberty to withhold such permission and prevent the erection of any monument which shall appear to them inappropriate or unbecoming and shall determine and fix the position of any monument which may be proposed to be erected, according to the description, size and character thereof, having reference to the general plan for ornamenting the said cemetery in an appropriate manner."² In 1877, an amendment was added that public burial grounds were to be located outside of city and town limits. Both regulations provide the key to the larger practical and theoretical framework against which the rural cemetery in southern British Columbia may be viewed.

The first consideration, that public cemeteries were to be planned spaces, had antecedents in cemetery reform movements in England and the eastern United States during the 19th century. By 1800, churchyards in England (the common burial place) were badly overcrowded. The grisly details of interment practices which were brought to public attention included the fact that there could be as many as seventeen or eighteen corpses crammed into a single grave space. Recently interred bodies were

² *Consolidated Laws of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1877.

often dismembered or disturbed to make room for the newest addition.³ The problem was not confined to England; in France it was recognized that churchyards threatened the public health with their "pestilential emanations."⁴ A movement was begun to relieve overcrowding and the chance of disease (cholera)⁵ through the design of planned public cemeteries.

Elysium and Arcady were to be the ideals, where memorials to the dead standing among pastoral landscapes created in the best traditions of English classical design would give solace to the bereaved.⁶

Cemetery planning and the notion of a public burying ground was introduced to the United States in 1796 with the building of the New Burying Ground in Connecticut.⁷ A square-plot pattern was adopted for the graveyard, very like the grid system introduced in city street patterns of the period. The New Burying Ground was designed by the prominent 19th century urban planner, James Hillhouse. Each grave space was of equal dimensions and dug to face in an easterly direction, according to the traditional Christian association with the Resurrection. Walkways and lawns were rolled and smoothed to present an orderly but pleasant appearance which became the model for English and American cemeteries

³ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 35.

⁴ Phillipe Aries, *Western Attitudes Towards Death*, p. 69.

⁵ James Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, p. 183.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷ J. B. Jackson, "From Monument to Place," *Landscape*, Winter 1967-68, p. 23.

alike. Each element in the landscape was designed to offset the others --in totality, a tasteful arrangement of trees, shrubs, enclosures, monuments, and pathways.

By mid-century, planning guides were available to aid in proper design. John Louden's widespread 'The Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards' (1843) for example, listed over 500 trees, shrubs and flowers which would be suitable for graveyard display.⁸ Suitability was defined not only in terms of a species' biologic needs and the way it lent itself to maintenance, but also in terms of its symbolic associations. The connection between death and the garden is a long one in Christian tradition. Evergreens and especially yew trees were attached to sacred places and burials even before Christian times.⁹ The yew especially is a common plant in English churchyards, the longevity of the tree being a symbol of eternity.¹⁰ In fact, most evergreens find a place in cemeteries as an emblem of endurance (including spruce, pine, cedar, and cypress). Louden dismissed the deciduous weeping willow as tending towards "modern sentimentalism [sic]," but it is traditionally linked with grief or mourning.¹¹ As a water-loving plant, it filled an additional practical function in the drainage of low-lying churchyards.¹²

⁸ John Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁹ Kenneth Lindley, *Of Graves and Epitaphs*, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹¹ Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹² Lindley, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

It was suggested in Chapter 2 that landscaping by ornamental vegetation is not an outstanding feature of the rural cemetery in southern British Columbia although the few plantings were symbolically significant. The use of yew trees on a few graves at Surrey Centre, Matsqui-Aberdeen, Fort Langley, and at St. Stephen's on Vancouver Island is directly attributable to English influence. In addition, they are extensively used in Ross Bay cemetery in Victoria. Boxwood and rhododendrum bushes displayed in a limited number of cases probably have the same origin, as does the willow tree at Matsqui and the oak trees at St. Stephen's and St. Peter's churchyards.¹³ The Douglas fir and western red cedar in Surrey Centre and the Ponderosa pine at Lytton and Princeton symbolize life eternal with their ever-greenness.

Another method of marking individual graves, i.e., enclosure by picket fences or kerbing is more difficult to trace in terms of origin. It was not mentioned as a planning consideration in the design of the New Burying Ground, although it seems to have been a common practice in North America after 1850 and possibly before. Francaviglia found it to be a characteristic of his Victorian period (1880-1905) when grave enclosures were particularly elaborate and made of wrought iron.¹⁴ Only two such enclosures were found outside of Ross Bay cemetery, but wooden picket fences surrounding single graves were apparently part of a widespread

¹³ Curl notes that the oak was used as a symbol to ward off evil, James Curl, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁴ See Plates in Lambert Florin's, *Boot Hill, Historic Graves of the Old West*, pp. 170-171 for grave enclosures in Idaho.

practice throughout southern British Columbia before about 1910. There are two possible explanations for the custom. The first and obviously practical one, "to keep out intruders in the shape of cattle which might be grazing in the adjacent fields."¹⁵ Though the latter observation was made in Upper Canada, similar reasoning was undoubtedly used elsewhere including southern British Columbia.

Secondly, enclosure was a way of emphasizing and maintaining the deceased's individual identity in a graveyard.¹⁶ It was abandoned gradually as a practice, as cemetery architects moved away from the heavily symbolic Victorian landscape of the 19th century cemetery, towards a less cluttered one.¹⁷ The lawn cemetery--as the new plan was called--was a forerunner of the modern memorial garden. Adherents to the idea urged the removal of fences, hedges and shrubs for both practical (maintenance) and aesthetic reasons. Simpler forms, including lawns, tree clusters, winding roadways, and inconspicuous graves replaced previous manifestations of death on the landscape. Spring Grove Park cemetery in Cincinnati was one of the first to adopt this plan and, using it as a guideline, "the cemetery became more spacious and parklike. It ceased to be a motley collection of monuments of every style, each enclosed in its own well-defined space, and became instead an integrated composition of lawns and clusters of trees."¹⁸ With the advent of the

¹⁵ *Sketches of Upper Canada*, p. 110.

¹⁶ W. Warner, *The Living and the Dead*, p. 282.

¹⁷ J. B. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁸ J. B. Jackson, *American Space*, p. 70.

lawn cemetery then, the enclosure practice disappeared.

Concrete kerbing was used for a time early in the 20th century (apparently a more subtle form of enclosure) to mark both single graves and family plots, but had disappeared from the scene by about 1925.

The outer fence of a cemetery has a similar function to inner enclosure in the sense that livestock intruders are kept out. The fence's symbolic purpose however, lies in the separation of sacred and profane space. The outer boundary of a cemetery distinguishes death and its visible signs from the surrounding landscape. Indeed,

. . . rituals of consecration have transformed a small part of the common soil of the town into a sacred place and dedicated this land of the dead to God, to the sacred souls of the departed and to the souls of the living whose bodies are destined for such an end.¹⁹

On passing through the cemetery gate, one enters a different world.

The threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious. The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds--and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible.²⁰

Most North American cemeteries followed the example of the New Burying Ground in adopting a square-plot pattern (regular rows, equally

¹⁹ W. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

²⁰ Marcel Elaide, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 22.

spaced) and most cemeteries in southern British Columbia seem to have been designed with that principle in mind.²¹ Most were dug with an eastern exposure in preparation for the Final Judgement.²² A few graves in the sample faced other directions (south, southeast and northeast) and it was not uncommon to find a marker in a churchyard which faced the church itself. These tend to be the exception rather than the rule however. Today, the "orientation of graves is becoming more and more a matter of convenience to the cemetery and less a matter of popular custom."²³

A final consideration in planning the public cemetery, though certainly not the least important factor, is that of topography. Designers recommended high ground or gently rolling terrain²⁴ and graveyards are often associated with hilltop or hillside locations. The hilltop is traditionally a spiritual location; in practical terms, it is the least susceptible to floods and often has little agricultural value.²⁵ Poor drainage could be a serious problem from more than one standpoint, implied in the following observation at Ross Bay cemetery:

²¹ The plot pattern for the cemetery at Sandon illustrates the tendency to conform to some sort of regular burial system. MSS, Victoria.

²² Donald Jeane, "The Traditional Upland South Cemetery," *Landscape*, p. 39.

²³ Donald Drewes, *Cemetery Land Planning*, p. 64.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵ Francaviglia, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

I have known when it was necessary to hold the coffin down in the water with shovels or have a man get down and stand on the coffin until enough soil was thrown on it to keep it down.²⁶

The cemeteries in southern British Columbia adhere to some of the principles of cemetery management outlined in the 1870 Ordinance in the sense that they have an ordered layout and the graves are dug for the most part facing the same direction. Ornamentation in a tasteful or "appropriate" manner however, appears to have been ignored. Ross Bay is the exception and is probably what the Governor and his council had in mind for cemetery landscapes throughout the province when the regulation was passed.

It is important to realize that the landscape of Ross Bay is a far cry from the large public cemetery in 19th century London, where the bid for burial reform was brought to fruition. Ross Bay has none of the "Greek Revival of Kensall Green," the "Egyptian Revival of Highgate," or the "strange melancholy Gothic of Nunhead."²⁷ Moreover, it appears to be a transitional cemetery, somewhere between the heavy romanticism of the Victorian landscape and the simpler forms which are the antecedents of today's lawn cemetery. Nevertheless, Ross Bay is as close to the Elysium or Arcady model described above as the 19th century British Columbian would get. The monuments are imposing, some even ostentatious. Several are surrounded by wrought iron enclosures and many more are marked with well-placed trees or shrubs. Paths and driveways wind

²⁶ Edgar Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

²⁷ James Curl, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

throughout. With its "tumultuous detail" and "historical ornament," Ross Bay *is* the Victorian cemetery. "The Victorians did things in a big way and their cemeteries echo that grandeur of vision and hope for a future which vanished in 1914."²⁸

Few of the other cemeteries in the study display the overall form of that era. A wrought iron enclosure at Yale or Lytton, a yew bordered grave at Matsqui or Fort Langley are only token gestures. The churchyards at Surrey Centre, St. Stephen's and St. Peter's are perhaps the closest to Ross Bay in total atmosphere, including their additional value as greenspace.²⁹ The rest appear to be functional, with little concern for outward display.

THE MONUMENT AS PART OF THE CEMETERY LANDSCAPE

Grave markers in southern British Columbia reflect a similar emphasis on function rather than form. Few monuments in the interior could be called imposing either in size or design, unlike the elaborate displays at Ross Bay.

The custom of erecting a memorial to the deceased has a long history, although for several centuries it was reserved for wealthy secular persons or members of the clergy. Tombs lined the Appian Way to Rome and Medieval or Renaissance civilization may be studied through their respective sepulchral art forms. European cathedrals and churches

²⁸ James Curl, *ibid.*, p. 190.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

are littered with the monuments to kings, queens, lords and ladies, bishops and archbishops.³⁰ It is difficult to say when the common man placed a marker above the head of his fellow. One writer suggests that in England it was not much before the 18th century.

We do not find memorials in the churchyard before 1700, apart from the occasional small and usually plain headstone, and a few box-tombs to local gentry, who, when the church could take no more burials, had to be buried outside. Whether many headstones were put up before that date is hard to say, but it is fairly safe to assume that there could only have been a few.³¹

By the time colonies were established in the eastern United States and Canada, the custom was more widespread. On the Atlantic seaboard in fact, gravestone carving became a highly developed individualistic art form in the 17th and 18th centuries.³²

The tombstones in British Columbia cemeteries bear little resemblance to those carved in New England during the 17th and 18th centuries. They vary little in design and have none of the individuality of the latter. The very fact that monument makers in Victoria and New Westminster offered design pamphlets to their customers by about 1880

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of sepulchral art see both Katherine Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840* and Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism, A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism*.

³¹ Pamela Glover, "Country Churchyards," *Commemorative Art*, July, 1966, p. 223.

³² Harriet Forbes, *Gravestones of New England and the Men Who Made Them*, p. 113. Several motifs designed and used by New England stonecarvers diffused along the eastern seaboard and appear on tombstones in the Maritimes for the 18th and 19th centuries. See Plates in William Morse, *Land of the New Adventure*.

indicates that much of the tradition had vanished by the time British Columbia was settled.³³ One writer suggests in fact that a peak in the art of gravestone carving was reached during the period between 1750 and 1850.³⁴ Another finds the white marble tablet-shaped monuments, among the earliest markers in southern British Columbia, "excruciating compared with the splendours of early monumental design."³⁵

It was the destiny of rural stonecarving to remain only a whispered promise of what might have been. It was a rural tradition of seeing never fated to transcend its vernacular beginnings because the Middle Ages whose child it was vanished with the Puritans from the face of New England.³⁶

Perhaps the closest thing to a carving tradition in southern British Columbia is the wooden marker. Although the headboards themselves are simple in shape and design, artistic endeavour is expressed through the variation in script and the care taken in its carving. While stone-carvers often created their markers in conjunction with related business activities, wooden monuments may have been carved by a friend or relative of the deceased. Even that fact is in doubt however. In a *Guide to the*

³³ See monument maker George Rudge's advertisement in the *British Columbian*, July, 1886, "Designs, Samples of Material and Prices Furnished on Application," and James Fisher, "Persons living at a distance, by sending a description of what they wish, can have designs, prices, etc., furnished on application."

³⁴ Pamela Glover, *op. cit.*

³⁵ James Curl, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

³⁶ Allan Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols 1650-1815*, p. 421.

Province of B.C., (1877-1878), it was noted that a contractor and builder in Nanaimo offered "Monuments and Headboards" in the latest styles. This would suggest that even the wooden markers, the earliest in the province, can lay no claim as unique, local art forms. In fact, the seemingly ubiquitous distribution of the wooden headboard in British Columbia and the American West would tend to support an argument for mass production. Chips of paint are visible on the few that remain and suggest that the marker was freshly whitewashed when first set up.

The marble and granite markers in southern British Columbia were distributed for the most part from Victoria, New Westminster and Vancouver (after 1900 in the latter case). Possibly some markers were imported from Spokane or Seattle. In the Boundary-West Kootenay region for example, it was easier to patronize American firms than it was to deal with monument makers in Victoria or on the mainland. Without evidence, it is difficult to know the volume of imported American tombstones.

Very few firms operated for any length of time in the British Columbia interior. The carvers in the vicinity of Victoria and on the mainland (see Appendix 1) used both local and imported materials. Some were apparently shipped pre-cut³⁷ while the rest were carved and inscribed locally. The earliest tombstone designs seem to have their antecedents in eastern Canada, New England and Great Britain. The clasped hands and pointing finger motifs for example are strongly represented in southern

³⁷ See advertisement for dealer Alexander Hamilton in the *British Columbian*, 1889. "Just arrived, A Large Shipment of the Finest Red Granite Monuments from New Brunswick."

Ontario graveyards and are associated in that province with the arrival of the professional stonecarver³⁸ and his chisel. They may also be seen in Scottish churchyards, a possible centre for outward diffusion. The weeping willow, Scots thistle, dove and rose motifs are other popular designs in eastern Canada, New England, the American West and Midwest which were apparently introduced to British Columbia by carvers who had gained their experience in these places. They appear infrequently however (partly because the marble tablets on which they are displayed were replaced quickly in British Columbia by the granite and marble obelisk of the 1880's and 1890's) and the designs, as suggested earlier indicate a degree of standardization. While professional competence may foster and encourage individuality, it may also destroy personal expression through increasing demand for a product. In the case of southern British Columbia it is clear that the professional monument maker had little chance to develop a distinctive style.³⁹ In fact, it is quite possible that the apparently classic motifs mentioned above found their way into design pamphlets prior to 1850 and were simply copied (unaltered) by stonecarvers all over the continent. While a client was free to suggest his own design and certainly had the power to choose an appropriate epitaph and inscription, the process was simplified with the advent of monumental pattern books. As yet, there is little substantive proof to

³⁸ Carolyn Hanks, *op. cit.*

³⁹ There are a few exceptions. In Victoria, for example, Robert Foster worked primarily with sandstone. His markers in Ross Bay and Pioneer Square in Victoria are simply designed but display both variety and skill in the inscriptions.

support such a statement but it is implicit in the frequency with which a motif like clasped hands appears in eastern Canada and the American West.⁴⁰ Certainly mass production techniques are well in evidence by 1890 with the appearance of symbols such as the "Gates Ajar," the laurel leaf branch⁴¹ and the "Rock of Ages" motif (see Figure 6, p. 59). They appear along with others in the catalogues offered by monument makers.⁴² Presumably, the customer chose what he felt to be an appropriate shape and design and the carver reproduced it exactly, leaving little room for artistic flair.

Because monuments in British Columbia are similar to those in Ontario and the American West which were produced after about 1880, the mass produced gravestone was apparently characteristic in the province. British Columbia was settled too late for the craft of rural stonecarving to develop.⁴³

Whatever variation occurs in the style of the markers between 1850 and 1925 reflects to a certain extent the attitudes which prevailed in cemetery design. The gradual trend towards simplicity in form and design after about 1910 is reflected in a move towards these same characteristics

⁴⁰ See plates in Lambert Florin, *Tales the Western Tombstones Tell*.

⁴¹ Lambert Florin, *Boot Hill*. See plates, pp. 188-189.

⁴² Alexander Stewart, *op. cit.*

⁴³ The use of local gray granite during the period may be the province's one claim to uniqueness in this field, but the markers are clumsy in shape and rarely display any design. The inscription invariably appears in raised lead block lettering.

in cemetery morphology. At present, the marker in British Columbia is a standard size rectangular block, flush with the lawn.

DEATH'S CELEBRATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The amendment to the provincial Cemetery Bill in 1877 effectively hid most cemeteries from public view. Practically speaking, a location away from population centres reduced the chance of disease from "pestilential emanations."⁴⁴ Symbolically, it might be that such a move reflected and bolstered a changing attitude towards death in the western world.⁴⁵ The old attitude, "that death was both familiar and near, evoking no great fear or awe"⁴⁶ changed gradually and was dramatized in the process. After 1700, man became less concerned with the fact of his own mortality and more so with the death of his fellow. This trend of thought persisted in the 19th century and was reflected both in the Romantic cemetery landscape and in what has been interpreted as a memory cult.⁴⁷ Because people were unwilling to accept the passing of a close friend or relative (epitaphs such as "Gone But Not Forgotten," "Not Dead But Sleeping," support this view, see Appendix 3) the cemetery became a "substantial and visible symbol of the agreement among men that they will not

⁴⁴ This in fact was a reason advanced for locating cemeteries in Chicago--that they be well away from population concentrations. No doubt similar reasoning was used elsewhere. See William Pattison, "Cemeteries of Chicago," *AAG*, Vol. 45, 1955, p. 248.

⁴⁵ Jackson, "From Monument to Place."

⁴⁶ Aries, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

let each other die."⁴⁸ Death was expressed personally and privately in a variety of ways and the trappings of mourning sold widely.⁴⁹

The congealed romanticism that encapsuled Victorian family life, that produced the keepsake and sentimental ballad, and that effloresced in the Valentine, found its reverse expression in objects, poems, ceremonies, and clothes in remembrance of the defunct.⁵⁰

The Victorian era was both transitional and paradoxical in its dealings with death: transitional because the "leafy melancholy of the Victorian cemetery, the dark mourning of Victorian clothes, and the sombre hush of the Victorian parlour"⁵¹ are no longer acceptable in our society which shuns most outward manifestations of death. The era was paradoxical because the intense desire to commemorate the individual in a manner deemed fitting and proper, actually became a highly public affair. Neighbours vied with each other to provide their kin with the most splendid funeral possible. It was a custom which eventually transcended class lines in a class-conscious society and the poor often chose debt in order to emulate the ostentatious funeral displays of their betters. In the cities, sanitary measures were taxed beyond capacity and epidemics lead to high mortality rates. People were obsessed by death in all its gloomy grandeur. Even in the capital of this province, things were little different.

⁴⁸ W. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁴⁹ James Curl, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ John Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Crepe streamed from the hats of the undertaker, the driver, the widow's bonnets, the carriage whips, and the knobs of the house doors where death awaited for the hearse. The horses that dragged the dead were black and wore black plumes, nodding on the top of their heads, black nets over their backs with drooping mournful fringes that ended in tassels tumbling over the shafts. . . . Funerals were made as slow and nodding and mournful as possible.⁵²

To say that the same customs were carried on outside of the urban scene may be a misinterpretation of what few facts are available. Large and showy displays for funerals seem out of place in towns such as Hedley or Rock Creek and it has already been suggested that the people living in these places were less interested in form than function. The graveyard was a place to bury the dead; outward display, whether it be in the form of a large and expensive monument or a long and gloomy funeral procession was strictly a matter of individual choice. Cemetery morphology and monument design in British Columbia indicate that many individuals preferred very simple burial practices.

The treatment of the common or average person at his death is an issue here. Traditionally, it was the practice "to interre persons of the rusticks or plebian sort, in Christian buriall, without any further remembrance of them, either by tombe, gravestone or epitaph."⁵³ In the Middle Ages, the very poor were buried in common graves, "several yards deep and wide. They were gradually filled up with cadavers sewn into their shrouds. When one ditch was full it was covered with earth, an old

⁵² Emily Carr, *The Book of Small*.

⁵³ Allan Ludwig, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

one was reopened and the bones were taken to the charnel house."⁵⁴ In Upper Canada in the 19th century, it was observed that all the work connected with a burial was done by family and friends. A carpenter or handyman was employed to make the coffin and at an appropriate time, the mourners gathered at the house of the deceased to follow in a procession to the final resting spot. "In the early days, if the cemetery was any distance from the residence of the deceased, the funeral would consist of a line of farm buggies."⁵⁵ The same custom was probably carried on in the smaller settlements of southern British Columbia--a simple ceremony attended by family and friends.

⁵⁴ Aries, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ *Pen Pictures of Early Pioneer Life*, p. 91.

CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSIONS: SOCIETY AND THE 19TH CENTURY RURAL
CEMETERY IN SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Most of the people who settled the province late in the 19th century held certain common attitudes towards death. Undoubtedly, they recognized its inevitability, a view which the French demographer Philippe Aries described as "resignation to the collective destiny of the species."¹ At one time, he notes, the celebration of death was very much a public affair, the dying man's bedchamber a place for observant friend and relatives. The individual accepted his fate and made peace with his gods and the world, according to the natural course of events.² In the Middle Ages when plagues swept much of Europe, sparing neither rich nor poor, death came to be seen as a traumatic departure from loved ones; it seemed untimely and unfair. With death so close at hand in this period, the uglier aspects of it were more apparent. The tombs of the wealthy in the Middle Ages display vivid portrayals of skeletons and decomposing cadavers as contemporary sepulchral art subjects.³ It was only the well-to-do who could afford elaborate forms of commemoration at this time.

¹ Aries, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ See plates in Katherine Esdaile's, *English Church Monuments*.

Not until the early 18th century were memorials erected in the churchyards of the western world to anyone but local gentry.⁴ Then, in Europe and the colonies, man's involvement and concern with the loss of those closest to him, blossomed into a romantic, highly emotional response to death. Great attention was paid to the *outward display* of grief. In some quarters, it took the form of gruesome skull and cross-bones motifs or hourglasses with the sands of time running out.⁵ The more frightening aspects of death and especially the void it represents were gradually transcended in the 19th century by a note of optimism. The belief "of life everlasting, of the paradise that ultimately awaited those who had not transgressed overmuch in this life . . . softened the terrors of dissolution and made possible death's celebration as a passage to perfect happiness."⁶

Most of the first settlers of European background in British Columbia probably accepted a Christian view of life after death and had been exposed, at least, to the drama and display of the Victorian funeral. Yet the romantic landscape of the Victorian graveyard, where one might ponder long on the passing of someone dear (see Place 4.32), is rarely found outside the Ross Bay cemetery. Two wrought iron enclosures at Lytton, a yew bordered grave at Fort Langley and a weeping willow tree at Matsqui are but single features of the Victorian cemetery landscape.

⁴ Pamela Glover, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁵ These were particularly popular motifs on the New England gravestones. See Harriette Forbes, *op. cit.*

⁶ Morley, *op. cit.*



Plate 4.32. "Where one might ponder . . . "

A romantic vision of death may have been widely held in British Columbia, but it was not always put into practice. The difference between the untamed graveyard at Rock Creek and the refined churchyard atmosphere of St. Stephen's is striking, as I have said before.

If one is to explain the variegated cemetery landscape in southern British Columbia, it is best to turn to the people themselves, as individuals and as components of a larger society. It is important to consider not only the values and attitudes which allow a society to function, but also the lifestyles within a society. Did people have the time to treat death as solemnly as the tenets of the 19th century demanded? Could they afford a showy funeral and an ostentatious monument? Questions such as these must be considered in the interpretation of the rural cemetery landscape in southern British Columbia.

In Chapter 3, I stressed that settlement in British Columbia was directed primarily towards the exploitation of certain natural resources. The physical character of the land did not generally permit a sedentary, agricultural life. The Fraser Valley and southeastern Vancouver Island communities (particularly the Saanich peninsula) are exceptions; both areas project the air of permanence associated with people who come to settle and farm, inspired by the agrarian ideal that agriculture provides a stable economic and moral foundation for society.⁷

⁷ Even in these areas, one could not completely escape the spectre of exploitation. Progress could be measured in board feet and logging firms and sawmill operations were major employers in both the Valley and on the Island.

Settlers in the Fraser Valley and on the Saanich peninsula were concerned with the business of building a farm or a farming community and thus establishing the strong foundations that one finds, for example, in southern Ontario. Their tasks included clearing, dyking, draining the land and building the homes, schools and churches which ensure the survival of a certain lifestyle. The population in nearby centres at Victoria, New Westminster, and Vancouver strove for similar goals. The tools and skills they brought as businessmen and industrialists were those learned elsewhere--in eastern Canada or the United States for the most part--and transplanted in British Columbia. Innovation was required when the new environment demanded it. Otherwise, those attitudes and values which contributed to the stability of society were carefully maintained. Hence we see the Victorian celebration of death in the provincial capital, complete with black horses, ostrich plumes, crepe streamers, and a distinctive cemetery landscape. Presumably, some city dwellers had both the time and money to devote to an impressive funeral display. Some of the wealthiest and most influential families in the province are buried at Ross Bay cemetery, including James Douglas', the Dunsmuirs, and the Todds. Each is marked by an ostentatious granite monument or a mausoleum. While a centre for change and diffusion then, the city is also the keeper of custom; the Romantic vision of death in all its melancholy splendour was relatively safe in 19th century Victoria.

The same vision is not so apparent in the cemetery landscapes of the Lower Fraser Valley and southeastern Vancouver Island. With one or two exceptions, none of the monuments in the regions approach the grandeur

seen in Ross Bay cemetery. Similarly, the wrought ironwork, ornamental trees and shrubs, and carefully planned walkways are missing. There is however, a sense of permanence--like that of the rural Ontario cemetery. The churchyards at St. Peter's, St. Stephen's, and Surrey Centre recall those in England and appear older than their 90-odd years. The province's first permanent settlers are buried in cemeteries throughout the Lower Mainland and southeastern Vancouver Island. Their graves are still tended by descendants and family plots are added to year after year. Each cemetery is well-kept and there is a sense that the community cares about its appearance.

The undercurrent of stability in this particular segment of 19th century in British Columbia allowed time for death and its fitting celebration. There may have been fewer ostrich plumes and less crepe than in Victoria--we are not dealing with wealthy men--but customs were probably adhered to as far as economy would allow. The use of boxwood bushes, yew trees, and rhododendrum on some graves indicate individual acceptance of contemporary trends.

Outside the Fraser Valley, cemetery landscapes seem to have been created by a different segment of 19th century society. In the mining communities of the Fraser Canyon, the Similkameen, and the West Kootenays, mobility characterized the population. Some miners followed a dream they had pursued elsewhere, while others were simply in search of a job. All had few intentions of staying in what may have seemed at first a god-forsaken landscape. Even when they did decide to remain, an exhausted ore supply or an unpredictable market forced them to leave a decade or so

later. The bustling frontier town of Phoenix for example, had a life-span of twenty years.

Evidence in the graveyard would suggest that most of the inhabitants of the interior mining communities were young men. Most were far from their families and there was no need for them to recreate the manifestations of home that one sees in the farm settlements in the Fraser Valley. In the event of death, they would have to depend on their fellow workers for a decent burial. I have already mentioned that fraternal societies such as the Masons and Oddfellows often took over the task for some of their poorer members. The Sandon Miner's Union tended the plots in that community. Two headboards at Phoenix bear a simple inscription after the name of the deceased, "Erected by His Friends." Many of the markers are plainly carved, with nothing more than the most concise information--a man's name and his lifespan. The glorious clutter of the Victorian graveyard--draped urns and stone angels--is missing in the interior cemetery. It is missing because many were either unaware of, or unconcerned with the romantic vision of death in the 19th century held by those who were either educated enough to understand it or wealthy enough to afford it. Many could simply not afford an expensive monument.

Many of the interior cemeteries now go untended; there are few descendants in the nearby communities and thus, little continuity with the past. Names are forgotten, truly faceless, and many family plots remain unfilled--evidence of a transient population. The cemetery landscape in the interior is totally hidden from public view. It is purely functional space and affords little opportunity for a quiet stroll in a

parklike atmosphere. The provision of greenspace was a problem of the cities. The class of people who took advantage of such planned space in sedate outings was not present in the interior mining camp.

Rural cemetery landscapes in southern British Columbia reflect, as do cemeteries elsewhere, the structure and sustaining mechanisms of the society which created them. Position in the community, wealth, kinship ties, ethnic and religious barriers are all represented to some degree, no matter how small or how remote the cemetery. The monument and where it stands in relation to another is a clear mark upon the landscape. One of the most intriguing stones I found came near the end of my search. It stands in the Cumberland cemetery and commemorates union leader Ginger Goodwin. It is a jagged pink granite boulder on a rough base. Above his name is a hammer and sickle insignia; below are the words "SHOT--A worker's friend." There are few other ways of summarizing a man's life and work so completely.

The small public graveyards considered here were built by people of European descent. The antecedents for planned burial space with an eye to form or function or both, came from England and the eastern United States. Tombstone motifs, shapes, and materials often came from the same places; the art of rural stonecarving had died before reaching British Columbia and monument makers wasted little time in setting up concerns which often employed as many as a dozen men. From Victoria and New Westminster, stones were distributed all over the province in the 19th century; customers indicated their preference with the aid of mail-order catalogues.

There was a belief that each god-fearing citizen deserved his bid for immortality; the poor man was granted a humble wooden marker and the rich man, a towering granite obelisk. The man who built his home and contributed to the growth and stability of a community probably has a well-tended plot today and a link with the present through his descendants. The man who found his way to a mining camp in the interior is more liable to be forgotten--a name from the past on a weathered headboard. One part of society carried out death's celebration according to Victorian custom, the other conducted it simply and without fanfare. The differences are due to a society's stability, individual and shared awareness and acceptance of custom, economic factors and time. In many places, there was simply no time for death in the everyday bustle of life. It was accepted as the natural course of events, but was dealt with efficiently and quickly by the transient interior population. In the city, there was time and the wealth necessary for a "slow, nodding, melancholy" funeral.

The rural cemetery landscape in southern British Columbia is not particularly noticeable; it is however, an accurate reflection of the way the men who created it conducted affairs in life and death.

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APPENDIX ONE

MARBLE DEALERS AND MONUMENT MAKERS IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA (1870-1910)

APPENDIX ONE
 MARBLE DEALERS AND MONUMENT MAKERS IN
 BRITISH COLUMBIA (1870-1910)

- Ralph Ingham (Victoria)--before 1877.
- Robert Foster (Victoria)--in business during the 1870's. He apparently preferred sandstone as a material to work with. Most of his stones are found in Ross Bay. There is no signature on those in the Fraser Valley but it is possible that he did those as well.
- William Bell (Victoria) 1884-1891.
- George Kirsop (Victoria) 1877-1893.
- James Fisher (Victoria) 1886-1897. Fisher was the owner of the Albion Granite and Marble Works. He advertised periodically in the Daily Colonist; "All work guaranteed equal to any on the Pacific Coast and at reasonable rates." He also advertised a design catalogue for mail orders. (Daily Colonist, May 31, 1886).
- John Mortimer (Victoria) 1877 - ? Mortimer appears to have been one of the more successful members of his trade and the company he founded still operates in Victoria today as the John Mortimer Company. His work is primarily with marble and best represented in Ross Bay. Four of his stones were located in the Fraser Valley and one at Yale. The identical appearance of two stones, one at Fort Langley and one at Murrayville suggests a set of available patterns from which the customer might choose.
- Joseph Phillips (Victoria) 1884-1904. Phillips was born in Cornwall, England and apprenticed there as a stonemason. He arrived in Victoria in 1881 and by 1893 was advertising one of the largest stocks of rough and finished stone in British Columbia (*B.C. Directory*, 1887). He owned the Phillips Granite and Marble Works and was publicizing in 1887 as an "Importer of and Dealer in all Kinds of Polished Granite and Marble." (*B.C. Directory*, 1887).
- Thomas Bradbury (Victoria) 1895-1900. A contractor and builder, Bradbury moved to Vancouver as a contractor in 1900 and presumably left the monument business.

- George Rudge (Victoria) 1884-1894. Rudge was born in New Brunswick where his father was engaged in a marble dealership in St. Stephen's. Rudge apprenticed with his father and left for San Francisco in 1875. He formed a partnership in a marble firm in Seattle, but the business was destroyed by fire. He then went to Victoria and established a marble works there. In 1886 he appointed an agent at New Westminster to deal with the mainland trade (*British Columbian*, July 1886). In 1894, George Rudge was listed at the same address as four other members of the family--all stonecutters. By 1898, he had moved to Port Simpson, in partnership with a combined hotel and marble works operation. Rudge's signature was found on half a dozen markers at Lytton (2), Yale (2) and Fort Langley (2). The motifs were in a classic vein and the medium used was white marble.
- Alexander Stewart (Victoria) 1886-1904. Stewart owned the Stewart Monumental Works which are still operating under that name today.
- Alexander Hamilton (New Westminster), 1886-1902. Hamilton's work is well represented throughout the Lower Mainland. He was born in Scotland and apprenticed as a stonecutter to a large firm of marble and monument engravers there. He also studied higher forms of the trade at Edinburgh University. He founded the B.C. Monumental Works in New Westminster and regularly advertised in the *British Columbian*: "Plain or Elaborate, made to order and guaranteed to suit the tastes of the most sedate or fastidious. Parties wishing fair dealing and honest work will do well to give me a call." (*British Columbian*, Aug., 1887). He urged his potential customers to "Call and Inspect before Patronizing Island Capital." While all the markers recorded in this sample were marble, he also imported Scotch Granite, Swedish and New Brunswick red granite monuments (*British Columbian*, Mar. 28, 1889).
- P. Wade (Kamloops) 1887(?) - ? Although this individual's signature was found on three stones, he could not be traced through the directories.
- W. A. Smith (Ingersoll, Ontario). Signature found on a marker at Yale--apparently shipped from Ontario.

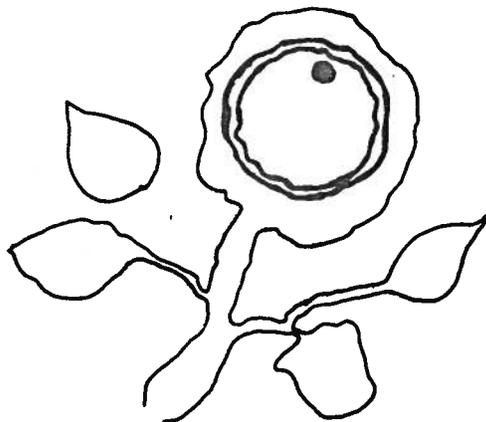
APPENDIX TWO
TOMBSTONE MOTIFS



CLASPED HANDS



POINTING FINGER



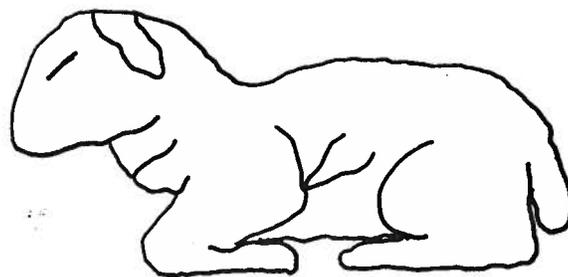
FLORAL



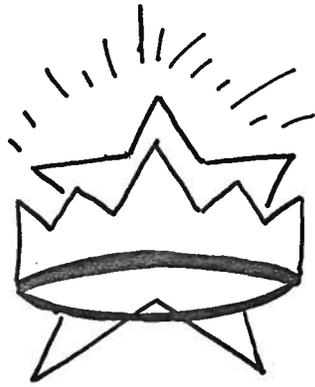
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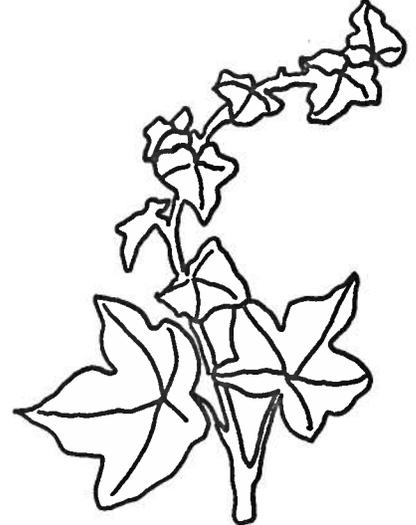
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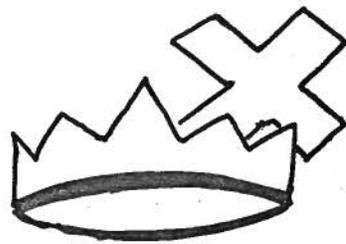
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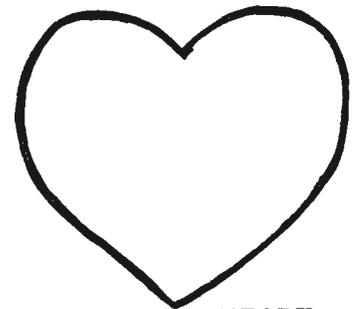
STAR AND CROWN



LEAFY BRANCH



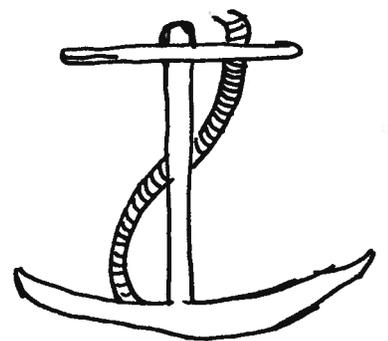
CROSS AND CROWN



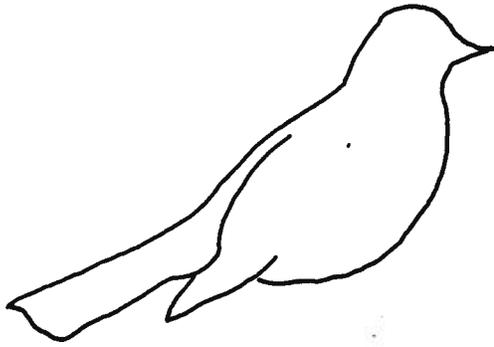
HEART



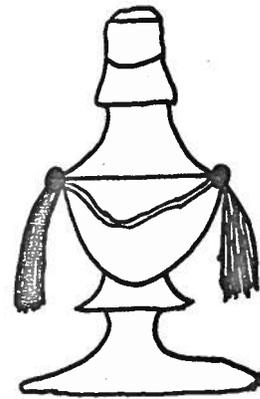
ROCK OF AGES



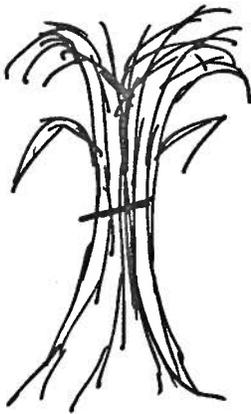
ANCHOR



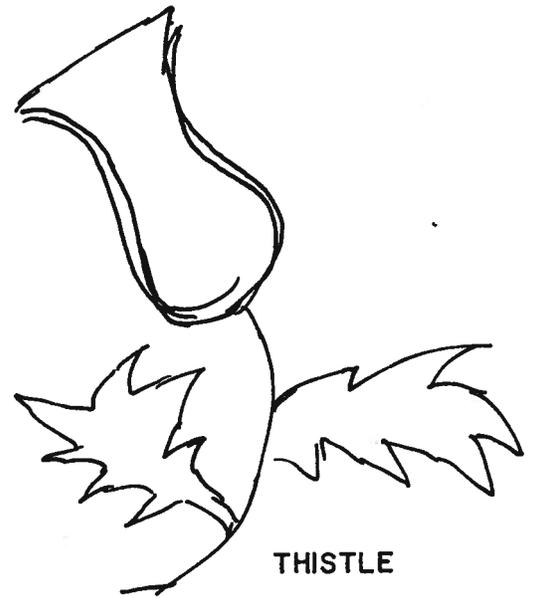
DOVE



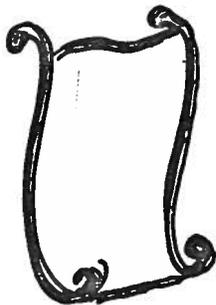
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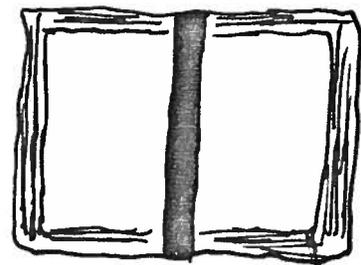
WHEAT SHEAF



THISTLE



SCROLL



OPEN BOOK

APPENDIX THREE
EPITAPHS FOUND ON TOMBSTONES IN
SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

APPENDIX 3
EPITAPHS FOUND ON TOMBSTONES IN
SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1. "At Rest" (common to all).
2. "Gone but not forgotten" (common to all).
3. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." Rev. 14.13
(Murrayville).
4. "Remember now as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now you soon shall be
So now prepare to follow me." (Murrayville)
5. "Budded on earth to bloom in heaven" (common on child's marker).
6. "Though lost to sight, to memory dear." (common to all).
7. "He is not dead but sleepeth." (Fort Langley).
8. "Rest in peace" (common to all).
9. "Suffer little children to come unto me
and forbid them not for such is the
Kingdom of Heaven." (Murrayville)
10. "Gone Home" (Murrayville).
11. "I have fought the good fight
I have finished my work
I have kept the faith." (Murrayville).
12. "They trials ended, thy rest is won." (Murrayville).
13. "No pains, no grief, no anxious fear, can reach
our loved one sleeping here" (Fort Langley, Matsqui).
14. "I am the Resurrection and the Life" (common to all).
15. "Calm on the bosom of thy God
Fair spirit rest thee now
E'en while with ours thy footsteps trod
His seal was on thy brow,

Dust to its narrow house beneath
 Soul to its place on high
 They that have seen thy look in death
 No more may fear to die" (Fort Langley).

16. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Fort Langley).
17. "I heard the voice of Jesus say
 Come unto me and rest
 Lay down thou weary one, lay down
 Thy head upon my breast.

 No home on earth have we
 No resting place before
 From sin and earth and self set free
 To dwell with God we go." (Fort Langley).
18. "May he find joy in the life everlasting" (Fort Langley).
19. "'Tis a little grave but have care
 For world-wide hopes are buried there
 How much of light, how much of joy
 Is buried with a darling boy" (Fort Langley).
20. "Until the day breaks and the shadows flee away" (Fort Langley).
21. "Peace, perfect, peace" (common to all).
22. "Sleeping" (common to all).
23. "He giveth his beloved sleep" (common to all).
24. "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness
 for they shall see God" (Fort Langley).
25. "A tender mother and a faithful friend" (common to all).
26. "Passed through the golden gate
 Into the beautiful shining land" (Matsqui).
27. "Sorrow vanquished, Labour ended, Jordan passed" (Matsqui).
28. "Safe At Home" (Matsqui).
29. "Not lost, But Gone Before" (common to all).
30. "They loved in life and in death they were not divided"
 husband and wife (Matsqui).

31. "We will meet again" (common to all).
32. "Asleep in Jesus" (common to all).
33. "He shall gather the lambs with his arms and
carry them in his bosom" (common on child's marker).
34. "Sleep on sweet babe
And take thy rest
God called thee home,
He thought it best" (common child's marker).
35. "Thy will be done" (common to all).
36. "Happy in life, peaceful in death" (Hedley).
37. "*Requiescat in pace*" (Princeton).
38. "A precious one from us has gone
A voice we loved is stilled
A place is vacant in our home
Which never can be filled" (Rock Creek, Greenwood).
39. "In the midst of life we are in death
The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away" (Phoenix).
40. "The Lord is my Shepherd I shall not want" (Greenwood).
41. "He died as he lived, on the square" (Phoenix).
42. "Farewell my friends and loved ones dear
I am not dead but sleeping here
I was not yours but Gods alone
He loved me best and took me home" (Surrey Centre).
43. "A faithful friend, a wife most dear
A loving mother lyeth here.
Great is the loss we here sustain
But hope in heaven we meet again" (Surrey Centre).
44. "He is gone but not forgotten
Never shall his memory fade
Fondest thoughts shall ever linger
Round the grave where he is laid" (Surrey Centre).
45. "His toils are past, his work is done
He fought the fight, the victory won" (Chilliwack).

46. "She faltered by the wayside and the Angels took her home" (Yale).
47. "So loved, so mourned" (Yale).
48. "Happy soul thy days are ended" (Ross Bay).
49. "They shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; They shall run and not be weary; They shall walk and not faint" (St. Stephen's).