RETRIEVING HISTORY: THE 18TH CENTURY MORTUARY HISTORY OF THE LITTLE DUTCH CHURCH, HALIFAX

Paul B. Williams, Paul Erickson and Laird Niven

Abstract

In 1752, three lots of land in the "North Suburbs" of Halifax, were granted to German settlers for the burial of their dead and for the erection of a meeting-house. The latter, the Little Dutch Church, was built in 1756. It served the community until 1800 when a new church was built a block to the south. The graveyard continued to be used for burial until the mid-19th century. In 1996, necessary repairs to the foundations, prompted archaeological excavations beneath the floor of the church. The project included the removal of the contents from three, badly disturbed, late 18th century crypts and an archaeological assessment of the remainder of the undercroft. Testing took place in seven areas. In two of these, fully articulated skeletons were revealed. The nature of these burials — stacked, two deep and head to toe, without coffins, in a shallow trench — suggested the presence of a large, unrecorded, mass grave (fosse commune), apparently predating the construction of the church. During the summers of 1996 and 1998, the partial or complete skeletal remains of over thirty different individuals were excavated and analyzed. Initial speculation indicates that these represent some of the earliest European settlers who had died during one of the epidemics which affected the new colony between 1749 and 1755. Further analysis, using University of Tennessee's FORDISC 2.0, standard biometrics, and a detailed study of the dentition, however, has shown that, as well as possible European colonists, the grave trench may also include the bones of non-Europeans.

Résumé

En 1752, trois parcelles de terrain ont été octroyés dans les « faubourgs nord » de Halifax à des colons allemands pour qu'ils puissent ensevelir leurs morts et construire un centre communautaire. Ce centre, qui est en fait l'église Little Dutch, a été bâti en 1756. Il a servi aux offices jusqu'à ce qu'on construise au sud, en 1800, une nouvelle église à un pâté de maisons de là. Le cimetière est resté en service jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle. En 1996, comme il fallait absolument réparer les fondations de l'église, on entreprit des fouilles archéologiques sous le plancher. Dans ce cadre, il a fallu enlever le contenu de trois cryptes en très mauvais état datant de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et procéder à l'évaluation archéologique du reste de la crypte. On a procédé à des essais dans sept secteurs. Dans deux de ces derniers, on a découvert des squelettes non désarticulés. La nature de ces sépultures — cadavres empilés par deux, tête-bêche, sans cercueil, dans une fosse peu profonde — fait songer à une grande fosse commune non mentionnée dans les archives et manifestement antérieure à la construction de l'église. En été 1996 et 1998, on a dégagé et analysé les squelettes partiels ou complets de plus de 30 personnes. Selon les premières hypothèses, il s'agirait de certains des tout premiers colons européens morts lors d'une des épidémies qui ravagèrent la nouvelle colonie entre 1749 et 1755. Toutefois, en procédant à d'autres analyses, notamment à l'aide du logiciel FORDISC 2.0 de la University of Tennessee, des techniques classiques de la biométrie et d'une étude détaillée de la denture, on a constaté que la fosse contenait peut-être, outre d'éventuels colons européens, des restes humains non européens.

In 1752, three lots of land in the "North Suburbs" of Halifax were granted to German settlers for the burial of their dead and for the erection of a meeting-house. The Germans had been part of an elaborate settlement scheme initiated by Edward Cornwallis following the initial settlement of Halifax. Disillusioned by the quality of the settlers who had accompanied him to Nova Scotia,

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Cornwallis petitioned the authorities in London to recruit hard-working Swiss and German Protestants to the new settlement. Close to 2,400 settlers, most of whom came from the Palatinate region, arrived in Halifax between 1750 and 1752. In 1753, the majority of these were relocated to Lunenburg. About twenty families remained in Halifax, settling in an area north of the town palisades, later referred to as Deutschtown. The land was divided into "German Lots" and apportioned to the new settlers. At the time, the three lots were set aside for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. From the very beginning, burial appears to have taken place on these grounds. It was not until 1756, however, that a meeting-house was erected on the corner lot.

Figure 1. The Little Dutch Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
(Source: Paul Williams)

The Little Dutch Church (Fig.1), a former domestic dwelling, was obtained in exchange for lumber and moved to its present location by the volunteer efforts of community members. In 1760 it was enlarged by 3.0 m with the addition of a steeple, built to house a bell removed from a convent in the New French port of Louisbourg. The church was consecrated as St. George's in 1761 and, in 1800, it was replaced as the parish church by the newly built St. George's Round Church a block away. The Little Dutch Church continued to be used on occasion and throughout much of the 19th century it served as a schoolhouse. Burial continued until 1843.

The Little Dutch Church was pressed back into regular service in 1994 when fire destroyed a large portion of the Round Church. More regular use served to highlight structural problems, in particular the poor state of the foundation walls. This became most apparent in the days leading up to a visit by the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, to the church in June 1995(1). A preliminary structural investigation under the floor determined that extra support would have to be put in place to ensure the safety of the expected guests. The Kohl visit therefore prompted the beginning of a three year restoration campaign by the German Canadian Association of Nova Scotia(2).

In July 1995, a follow-up survey of the undercroft noted the poor conditions of three brick crypts and their contents. The investigators also observed the presence of loose bone throughout the

undercroft(3). On the basis of this investigation, it was concluded that any repairs to the foundation walls could further damage the crypts and potentially disturb archaeological deposits associated with the early history of the church (Stephen Powell, personal communication 1996). Given the historical nature of the site, provincial legislation proscribed that any subsurface work associated with the repair of the foundations would not be allowed to proceed until an archaeological impact assessment had been carried-out(4).

In May 1996, archaeological assessments took place under contract to In Situ Cultural Heritage Research Group. Primary investigations, directed by Laird Niven and Paul Williams, focussed on the heavily disturbed crypts (Fig. 2)(5). Little was known about these crypts prior to 1996, although a report in the *Acadian Recorder*, 14 December 1896, (Halifax 1896) made reference to their existence:

> "In excavating for the purpose of placing new joists under the floor three brick vaults or sepulchres were discovered. Two of these are comparatively intact, but in the third a portion of the arch has caved in. Our reporter, with some difficulty, crawled under the building and had a view of those gloomy receptacles and of the remains which they have guarded for a century or more. So far as could be made out, there appears to be nothing left but bones, the coffins and the sepulchral raiments have entirely disappeared."

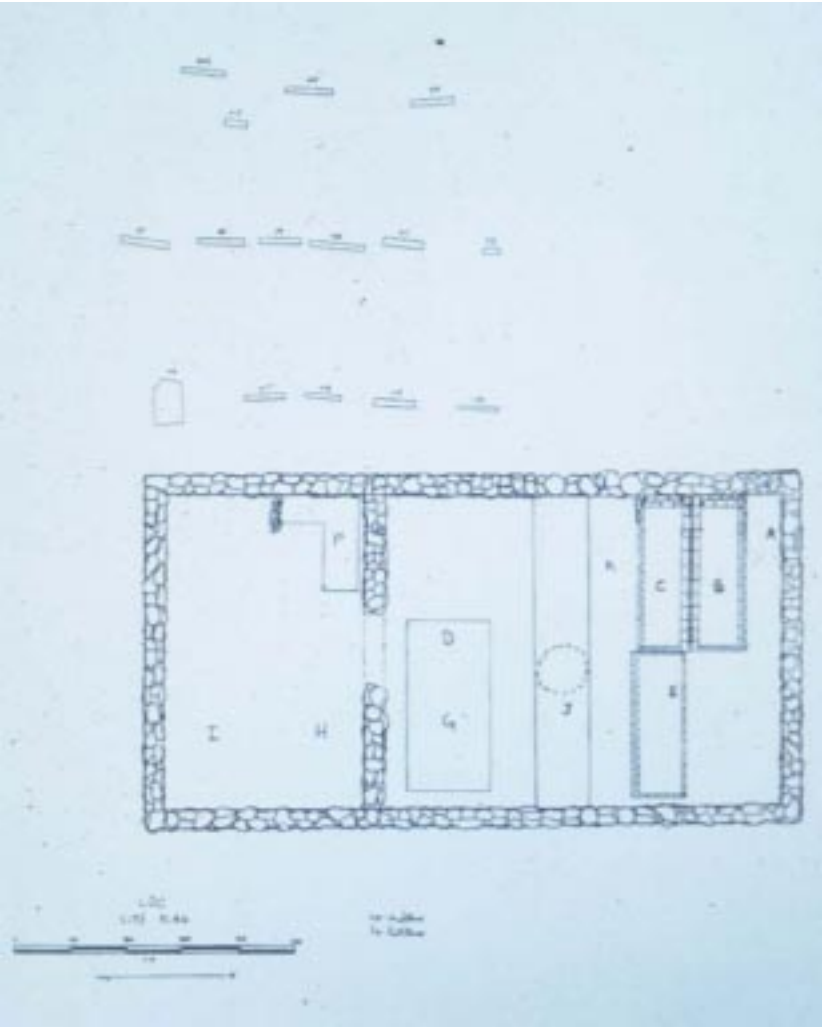

Figure 2. Site plan of the undercroft showing position of the crypts and the test units. (Source: Brent Huber)

Dating to the late-18th century, the crypts are associated with prominent members of the German community. The style, a single occupant brick-lined shaft grave with a vaulted roof, was popular among the merchant classes in Europe at the end of the 18th century (Litten 1996). They are found in two other Halifax churches, Saint Paul's and St. George's (Fig. 3). Initial investigations revealed that only one crypt, the northernmost of a double crypt, had a relatively intact vault (Fig. 4). The adjoining crypt was completely missing its vault, moreover, its southern and eastern walls stood to a height

Figure 3. The crypt of Col. Frederick Des Barres below St. Georges's Church, Halifax, NS. (Source: Laird Niven)

Figure 4. View of the vault covering the northern section of the double crypt, Little Dutch Church, Halifax, N.S. (Source: Laird Niven)

of only four or five courses(6). A small portion of the vault in the westernmost crypt was also standing but was removed as it posed a potential safety hazard(7). In each, brick and building debris was intermingled with, and overlay, disarticulated human bone and coffin remains (Fig. 5)(8).

The removal of the crypt contents was relatively straightforward, particularly in the case of the double crypt which simply required the removal of the debris and the recording of the position of the disturbed human remains before removal(9). In the latter, the coffins had been completely frag-

Figure 5. Pre-clearance view of the southern section of the double crypt. (Source: Laird Niven)

mented which simply required the removal of debris and the recording of the position of the disturbed human remains before removal. In the latter, the coffins had been completely fragmented. However, details of their construction could be discerned from pieces of fabric covered board with applied, tinned-iron, decoration as well as from the plain, cast-iron, drop style handles. There were also copper alloy shroud pins and fragments of cotton and silk funerary garments in the northernmost crypt. Much of the coffin remained in the single, westernmost, crypt: A "standard single-break" coffin (Fig. 6), 2.0 m by 0.55 m, fabric covered and decorated with embossed tinned-iron plate. In this instance, however, the cast-iron handles were elaborately decorated with embossed details. The skeletal contents of this coffin were heavily disturbed.

During the crypt clearance, secondary investigations concentrated on subsurface testing. This was intended to establish the depth and the condition of the foundation walls and to assess the archaeological potential of the remainder of the undercroft. Concern was expressed that further burial evidence might be encountered below the church. These views were supported by the 1896 account, which also recorded that,

Figure 6. View of the western crypt showing part of the coffin.
(Source: Laird Niven)

> ... This church, as has been said, was built "upon the German burying ground." The digging into the earth but a few feet under the floor, has painfully demonstrated the truthfulness of this historical fact. There are now, awaiting a second interment, two large tubsfull of skulls, and, speaking anatomically, of all description of bones. These have been gathered up by the labourers as they progressed in their work of excavation - and all from but a foot or two below the surface. In one spot, embracing a very limited area, there were no less than six skulls lying in close proximity to each other....

Despite this report, there was no indication of where exactly the human remains had been discovered, where they had been reburied, or the nature of that discovery.

Working in extremely difficult conditions (Fig. 7), three test areas were opened. In two, Units 1D/G (a 1.5 m x 3.0 m unit) and 1J (1.0 m x 2.0 m), articulated human skeletons were soon encoun-

Figure 7. The working conditions in the undercroft. (Source: Paul Williams)

Figure 8. Unit 1D/G, excavations in progress showing the relatively shallow depth of the burials. (Source: Paul Williams)

tered as little as 0.3 m below the surface (Fig. 8). By the end of the season, seven skeletons had been exposed in 1D/G and a further three in 1J(10). The difficult working conditions and complex nature of the burial - two layers of corpses, buried head to toe (Fig. 9) - slowed progress. This, coupled with time and financial constraints, left the investigations uncompleted in 1996. The trenches were back-filled and the bones were removed to Saint Mary's University for analysis and safekeeping.

In 1998, with repairs to the foundations completed and the creation of a safer working environment, a second round of archaeological investigations was begun. Excavation continued in the

Figure 9. Unit 1D/G, partial excavations of the

Figure 10. Seventeenth century impression of mortuary practices in time of plague (attributed to John Dowell). (Source: Julian I.itten (1991), *The English Way of Death: the common funeral since 1450* (London: Robert Hale), p.145, fig.75)

previously opened test areas, Units 1D/G and 1J. This was intended to complete the work of 1996 and to find a suitable place for the reburial of all the bones(11). In the process those skeletons that had been left *in situ* in Unit 1D/G were removed and Unit 1J was extended the width of the church.

The removal of the remaining bones from 1D/G allowed the depth and nature of the burial area to be determined(12). The latter appears to have been a mass-grave, or a fosse commune. Such burial trenches had been commonplace in Europe from the later mediaeval period (Fig. 10). Often associated with the burial of the poor or burial in times of epidemic, the fosse could often measure thirty or more metres in length and be as much as five metres deep. Hundreds of corpses were lowered into such a pit, layered many deep and often head-to-toe, until it was filled. Seldom were corpses buried in coffins. Most often, they were sewn or tied into shrouds or winding sheets and placed, perhaps unceremoniously, into the *fosse*(13).

The Little Dutch Church, burials appear to fit such a pattern: shrouded, placed two deep, and head-to-toe(14). The burial trench measured 3.0m wide and

Figure 11. Unit 1D/G, southern profile showing rock fill above the burials

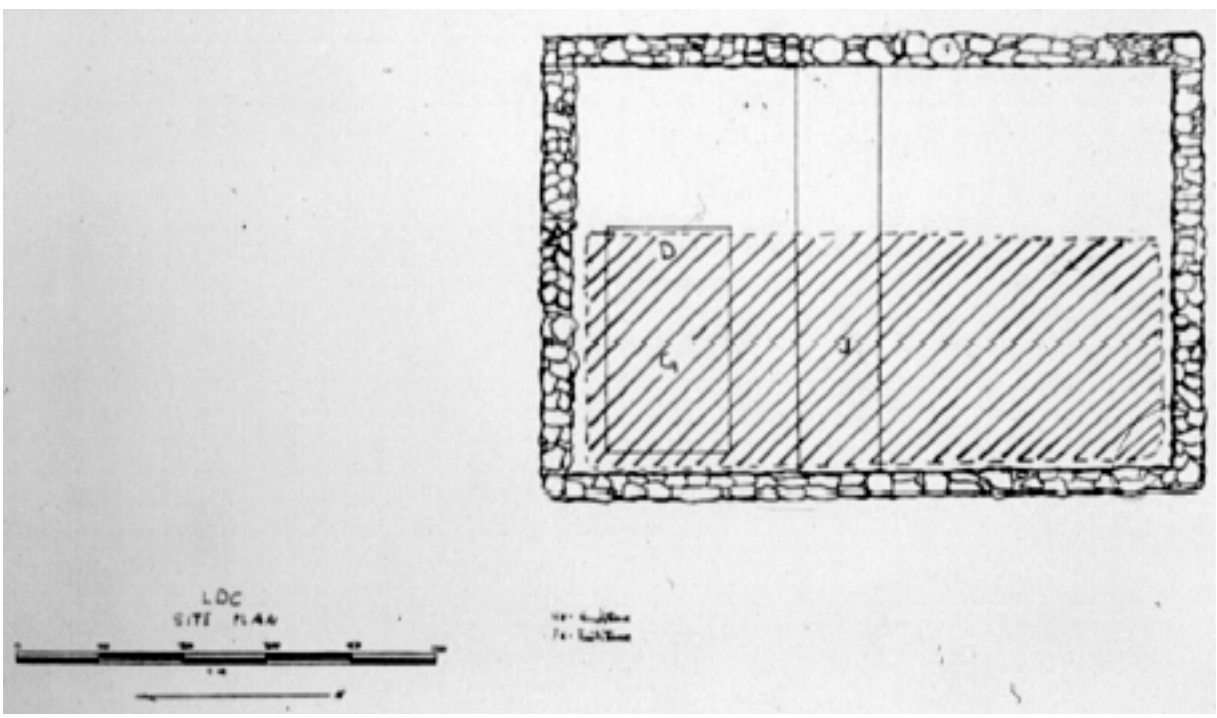

Figure 12. Plan of the original pre-1760 structure showing the relative position of the mass grave. (Source: Paul Williams)

between 0.5 m and 1.0 m deep (the bodies had been covered with a layer of large rocks and then soil, see Fig. 11). On the basis of the limited subsurface investigations, the length of the trench could not be ascertained, although further investigation of Unit 1D/G revealed that the northernmost extent of the mass-grave appeared to end at the original (i.e. 1756) north foundation wall (Fig. 12). Moreover, its western edge was delimited by the western foundation wall(15). As the grave in all probability pre-dated the construction of the church, this arrangement gives every indication that the church may have been purposefully erected above the grave, perhaps as some form of memorial.

Figure 13. Commingled human remains in the 1896 reburial pit. (Source: Laird

Figure 14. Cranium believed to be that of Otto William Schwartz. (Source: Paul Williams)

Figure 15. Cranium believed to be that of Anna Justina Schwartz. (Source: Paul Williams)

The 1998 investigations also exposed a pit (approx. 0.75 m dia. x 0.5 m deep), in the extension to Unit 1J, in which were commingled human remains (Fig. 13). In all, 610 bone or bone fragments were recovered, representing a minimum of thirteen individuals (Lundrigan 1996). It is presumed that this was the site of the reburial of the skeletal remains exposed in 1896. With the three crypt burials, those from the mass grave, the 1896 reburial pit, and loose disturbed bone, the remains of at least 30 individuals were identified.

While forensic analysis was limited by the terms of the contract, questions were naturally raised as to the identity of both the occupants of the crypts and the mass-grave. The crypts each contained the remains of single individuals(16). However, there is conflicting historical information as to who these people may have been. Five different possibilities are recorded (Lundrigan 1996). Certainly the1896 report spoke with confidence as to the identities of those interred within the crypts: Major Leonard Lockman (c.1697-1769), a surgeon who had accompanied Cornwallis; Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal (1727-1799) the first German minister of the church(17); and Joseph Gerrish (1709-1774), storekeeper of the Royal Naval Dockyard(18). Other reports recall that Otto William Schwartz (1715-1785) and his wife Anna Justina Schwartz (1724-1784) were also buried beneath the church. The Schwartz's, were among the group of initial settlers in Halifax in 1749 and had been prominent in the church until their deaths. Otto, a furrier, had served as Elder in the Lutheran community and was the prime benefactor of the Little Dutch Church in the early years(19).

The task of determining identity fell to Nicole Lundrigan, a new graduate of the Department of Anthropology, Saint Mary's University. On the basis of age-related pathologies (i.e. dental wear, bone resorption, osteoarthritis), Lundrigan concluded that the three skeletons were the remains of elderly people. One, from the westernmost crypt, had been a large man (confirming the 1896 reports). Historical accounts suggest that Rev. Houseal fitted such a profile. On these grounds and on the evidence presented on a plaque on the eastern wall of the church - which records that he was buried below the floor in 1799 - a tentative identification was made.

Of the remains recovered from the two adjoining crypts, it was concluded that they were the bones of a man and a woman (Figs. 14,15). As Anna Schwartz is the only woman believed to have been buried beneath the church, the remains of the latter are thought to be hers. It was further speculated that the former were most likely those of her husband. They had died within a year of each other, 1784-5, and all evidence points to the crypts having been built at the same time (sharing both a common wall and floor). Moreover, their coffins appear to have been of identical construction.

As to the burials of Gerrish and Lockman, no firm conclusions were reached. The former is problematic as no contemporary records exist which indicate that he had been buried at the church. On the other hand, a reasonable case may still be made for Lockman (Lundrigan 1996; Erickson 1999). Again, contemporary accounts record that he was buried in a crypt beneath the church. Moreover, His hatchment hangs in the church. Further, it might be speculated that loose coffin board and a coffin handle (not associated with those found in the three crypts), stray bone, and the remains of an 18th century shoe, indicate that an earlier burial, perhaps Lockman's, had been disturbed during the construction of one or more of the crypts.

The identification of the occupants of the mass-grave proved to be more of a challenge. The 1896 report claimed with a certain conviction that, "SKULLS OF ORIGINAL SETTLERS IN HALIFAX [were] EXPOSED TO VIEW." The interpretation of the discoveries was naturally based

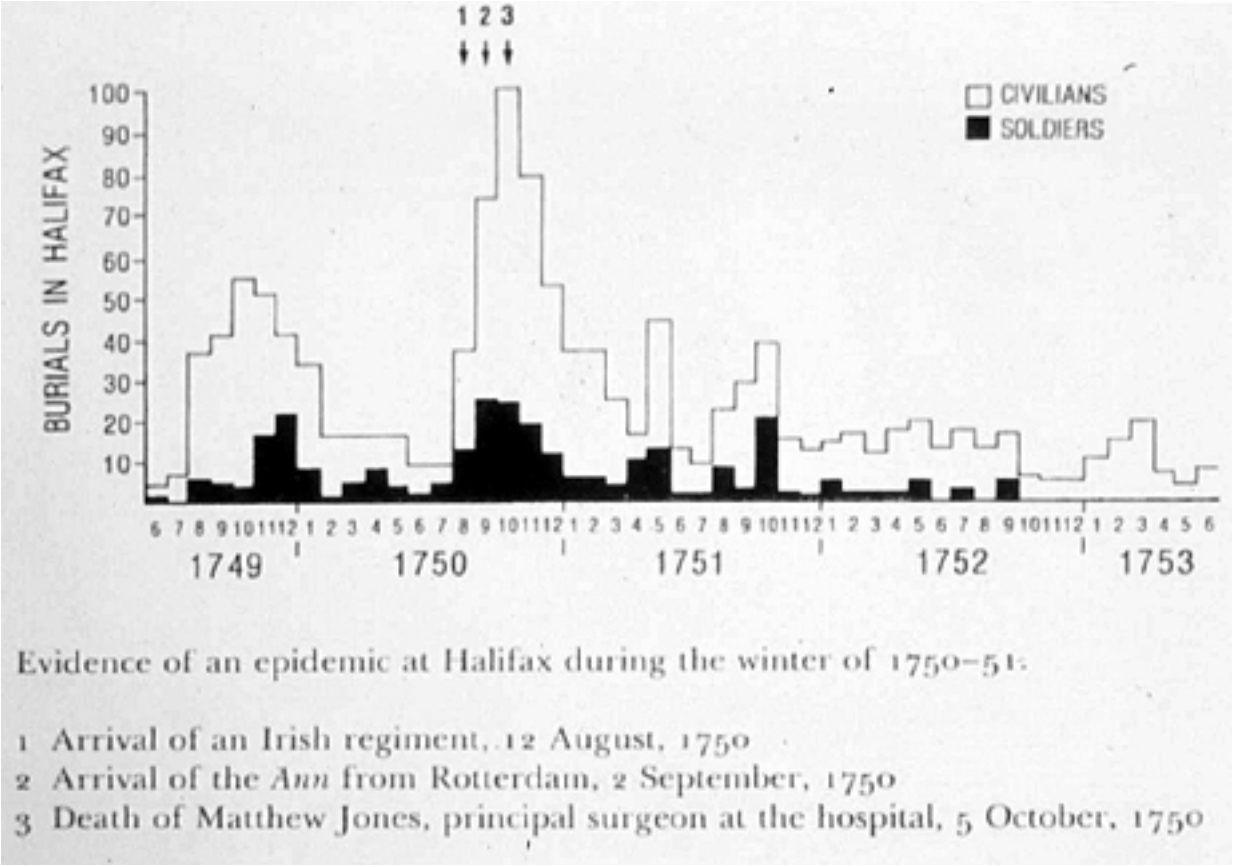

Figure 16. Burial rates in Halifax between 1749 and 1753. (Source: Alan Marble (1993), Surgeons, Smallpox and the Poor (Montreal: McGill Queen's Press), p.28, fig.3)

on historical association and on, what the reporter concluded to be, "historical fact"(20). Yet, no historical accounts survive, if they ever existed, of such a mass-burial on the site. Instead, in making a connection between the German immigrants and the discoveries, reliance was placed, naturally, on both the physical and the historical context; inference was drawn from their location beneath the church and from the connection of both church and burial ground with the early German-Palatine settlers(21).

Likewise, the cause and the dates of death came to be inferred from accounts of wide-spread disease and the subsequent increase in the death rates corresponding to the arrival of the German settlers between 1750 and 1752(22). Speculation pointed to the arrival of the ship, Ann, in the Autumn of 1750, in particular, as one of the most likely harbingers of disease and death. Alan Marble shows (Fig. 16) that it was at this point that the death rates in the new colony of Halifax greatly increased. Both the 1996 and the 1998 analyses concluded that the occupants of the mass-grave had been in generally good health prior to death and that they had been a relatively young population. Lundrigan noted that this seemed to contradict the historical accounts which suggested that the German settlers were elderly and sickly (Lundrigan 1996). The cause of death could not be determined and no pathological evidence was found for disease. Although a plausible cause of death at the time would be 'ship's fever,' or typhus, this again may only be speculated upon.

All skeletal remains were analysed in the Anthropology Department, Saint Mary's University (by Lundrigan in 1996 and by Erickson in 1998). Basic analysis was carried out, both in 1996 and 1998, using standard analytical procedures which assessed the sex, age, stature, and overall health of

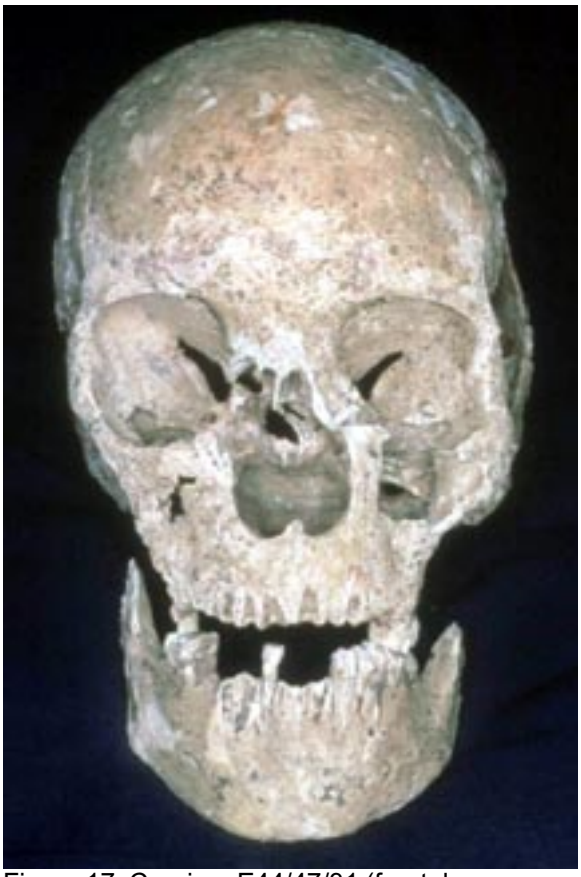

Figure 17. Cranium E44/47/31 (frontal aspect). (Source: Don Cunningharn)

Figure 18. Cranium E66A (frontal aspect). (Source: Don Cunningham)

Figure 19. Cranium E66A (lateral aspect), showing degree of prognathism. (Source: Don Cunningham)

each individual(23). In 1998, skeletal measurements were also entered into the University of Tennessee's comparative forensic database, *Fordisc* 2.0. Paul Erickson generated data for the sex, as well as the race, of fourteen of the most complete specimens in the sample.Following his analysis, Erickson concluded that the sample contained both males and females. Three were sub-adults, while the rest were over 18 years of age, with an average age of 25-30. Average stature was 1.69 m for males and 1.66 m for females.

Figure 20. Cranieum E66A (basal aspect), detail of dentition. (Source: Don Cunningham

The *Fordisc* 2.0 results also showed that, for fourteen specimens, the most probable racial grouping in seven instances was Black; in six, White; and in one, aboriginal American. In no case, however, did the probabilities exceed 95%. Given the fragmentary nature of the sample, these results

Figure 21. Left dental arch E66A (lingual view), showing flat occlusal wear.
(Source: Don Cunningham)

Figure 22. Unit 1D/G, partially excavated mass grave. (Source: Paul Williams)

were interpreted with caution (Erickson 1999). The 1999 report concluded that, "with three exceptions, the analysis of ancestry offers no compelling refutation of the interpretation that the reburied bones and *in situ* burials beneath the Little Dutch Church belonged to Europeans of the Palatine trade" (Erickson 1999). More standard analysis appears to support such a view. Erickson also cautioned that the *Fordisc* 2.0 comparative samples are drawn from a 20th century population. Consequently, the reliability of a comparison with18th century archaeological remains must be taken into consideration. Moreover, he pointed to the difficulties inherent in racial typing, in particular, racial overlap. Nor is the evidence conclusive for the exceptions: E44 & E47 (see Fig. 17, a maxilla and mandible which appear to have belonged with E31, a crania)(24) and E66A (a partial cranium, see Fig. 18).

Morphologically, E66a was distinctive from other crania in the sample. In addition to a degree of alveolar prognathism (Fig. 19), it also exhibited slight shovelling of the incisors, moderate to severe occlusal attrition (Fig. 20), and broader facial features. The latter three are generally assumed to be characteristics more commonly associated with someone of aboriginal American than of central-European origin. However, both standard biometrics and *Fordisc* 2.0, have not produced conclusive results. Erickson was left to ponder that E66A was the lone specimen that could not be excluded as aboriginal American. It is hoped that further analysis and the processing of DNA samples may help to further refine the conclusions.

Despite the lack of statistical certainty, additional evidence may help to support the notion that E66A, and conceivably others (e.g. E44-47), do not fit the European profile. Attention was specifically drawn to the degree and kind of dental attrition found in E66A (Fig. 21). The flat occlusal wear of both anterior and posterior teeth and the exposure of the dentine, in someone whose estimated age was in his late twenties or early thirties, is more consistent with someone of aboriginal,

North American, origin than someone of European extraction(25). Recent micro-wear analysis of the occlusal surfaces also appears to support these conclusions (Dunn 1999).

How strong a case may be made for a statement about the ancestry of E66A is still being debated. Despite the lack of conclusive data, questions began to be asked within the research team about the analytical bias which had assumed the ancestry of those buried beneath the church to be European(26). The weight of historical association and the physical context had pointed clearly to the latter interpretation of all the skeletal material. The discovery of E66a, and to a lesser extent E44-E47, may challenge the previous notions.

Though caution was taken to avoid making hasty conclusions about ethnic or racial identity, the possibility that the bones of an aboriginal American person were present among the skeletal sample, prompted a call to Chief Don Julian of the Federation of Mainland Mi'kmaq. Chief Julian was apprised of the situation and permission was obtained to continue the research (and to extract samples for DNA analysis). In the process, several questions were raised: If E66a was an aboriginal American was he Mi'kmaq? Was he Protestant or Catholic? How did he come to be buried in a mass-grave beneath a small Lutheran church?

These are questions for which we have few answers. The burial of E66a in a Protestant cemetery on the outskirts of an English settlement may indicate that he was not Mi'kmaq. In the mid-18th century, Mi'kmaq were not only allies of the French, and consequently at war with the English, but had been largely converted to Roman Catholicism. Additionally, there is little mention in the "official" histories of a Mi'kmaq presence at the time in Halifax. Mohawk and "half-breeds", on the other hand, were certainly part of the make-up of the early colony as members of John Goreham's Rangers. Finally, an intriguing burial record for Saint Paul's Anglican Church records that a John Tray, "Protestant Indian," was buried in Halifax on the 27 August 1750(27).

The archaeological investigations revealed a burial site of some complexity beyond the elaborate crypts. The mass-grave would appear to pre-date the construction of the church, and to have been initiated at a time of great hardship, epidemic, and mass death. Its occupants lie unrecorded, unknown, and undifferentiated in death (Fig. 22). They died sometime prior to 1756 and were buried in a Protestant burial ground, in a shallow trench, in a scene which may have been similar to that fictitiously described by Thomas Raddall (1993) for Saint Paul's burial ground:

> Here the dead were thrust away into the frozen earth with little ceremony, and little or nothing to mark the graves.... We may picture the rum-primed gravediggers, the shivering guard of redcoats watching the forest, the perfunctory parsons, the unwilling mourners ... and the air of gloom over all.

Endnotes

1. The visit coincided with the 1995 G7 meetings in Halifax.
2. The fund-raising was kicked off with a do nation from the German government.
3. A videographic survey was carried out by Rob Ferguson and John Guilfoyle of Parks Canada, Steve Powell, Nova Scotia Museum and the project architect, Gary Hanley.
4. Province of Nova Scotia Special Places Protection Act (1991).
5. The three 'crypts' were badly disturbed and there was concern that any further work on the church might further disturb their contents. See Niven 1998, Niven and Williams 1996.

6. Furthermore, a support for a temporary floor joist (placed prior to the visit of Helmut Kohl in June 1996) was located close to the southern edge of the crypt. The blocking for this post had been constructed of bricks salvaged from the crypt. An earlier support, possibly associated with the repairs of 1896, uses the western wall of the crypt as a base. At the eastern end there was also a partial collapse of the inner face of the stone foundation.
7. The latter crypt was a good deal shallower than the o ther two and of slightly different co nstruction (although in general concept similar). In particular it should be noted that, unlike the other two, there was no brick floor. Moreover, the space around and beneath the coffin had been filled with sand (which also filled part of the coffin).
8. Other wood, associated with the forms around which the brick vaults were constructed , was visible in the debris within each crypt.
9. It was later determined that unassociated bone and coffin pieces, were mixed with the remains of the original occupant of the southernmost crypt (this also turned out to be the case in the single crypt). The contents of the three crypts were removed in 1996. Further, in order to safeguard the human remains during the renovation process they were removed to Saint Mary's University.
10. The remains of six individuals were removed in 1996. Others which had been exposed were left *in situ*. Some of the skeletons in Unit 1J had been truncated by what appeared to be trenching under the church. It was determined that here were some of those bodies which had been disturbed in 1896 (although at this point the upper torsos and skulls had not yet been found).
11. One which would not disturb other potential burials nor add to the confusion of the archaeo-historical record. One test area was therefore taken down to sterile and the remaining skeletons removed (the second was left uncompleted because of time constraints).
12. Due to further time constraints and financial considerations, it was decided not to remove any more remains from Unit 1J.
13. Occasionally they would have been transported to the graveside in a common re-usable coffin.
14. Specimens of rope were retrieved from an are a above the head o f one of the ind ividuals in Un it 1D/G. This suggests that at least one of the individuals had been tied into a shroud or sacking of so me sort.
15. The eastern edge fell along the centre line of the undercroft while the southern edge of the trench was not established.
16. In two cases, anomalous bones, we re also found within the crypts.
17. Houseal, born in Heilbron, had come to Halifax from New York, as part of a Loyalist exodus in 1783. A Lutheran minister, he became ordained in the Anglican Church and served as the first German minister of the congregation of the Little Dutch Church. Questions arise about his burial, however. Separate accounts suggest that he was buried beneath the church, in the churchyard, and that he was first buried be neath the church and later moved to the churchyard. (Lundrigan 1996 and see Erickson 1999).
18. "The skeletons are tho se of adults - one indicating a very large per son. The impression is that one of these vaults contains the mortal remains of MAJOR LEONARD LOCKMAN, who died in 1769. It is b eyond do ubt that this early settler was interred under this old church, and a monument to his memory, displaying his coat of arms, is still to be seen in the north wall of the building. ... The remains in the centre vault are probably those of the REV. BERNARD MICHAEL HOUSEAL, who died in 1799.... In the vault alongside of Major Lockman there are no doubt, THE REMAINS OF JOSEPH GERRISH ... he died at Halifax in 1774." (Halifax 1896)
19. Otto William Schwartz, a German from Riga, had arrived in Halifax with Edward Cornwallis in 1749. He married Anna Justina Liebrich, a widow, in 1750.
20. "The supposition is that these represent the bodies of a number who died just previous to, and on, the arrival of the vessel in the spring of 1751 - for it is related of the emigrants brought by this vessel that many of them were very old - some above 80 years - and that there were thirty of them who could not stir off the beach. Within a few days of landing quite a number succumbed, and, likely enough, not divided in life, they were buried together in the corner of the burial ground over which the little church was erected a few years later." (Halifax 1896)
21. The German community had petitioned the Governor and had been given the land for burial in 1750(?), perhaps as a result of large numbe rs o f de aths due to illnes s contracted during their voyage to the 'New World .'
22. Likewise the 1 996 excavation report followed the earlier lead : "In all, the remains of at least twelve individuals were recorded. Who they may have been is not known. It is likely that they were some of the earliest German settlers who died during the typhus epidemic of the Winter of 1750-1 (although mass death due to illness, or the harsh living conditions, at any point between 1750 and 1755 cannot be ruled out)" (Niven and Williams 1996).
23. A detailed study of the oral health was also carried out in 1998 by Paul Williams, with assistance from Drs. Don Cunningham and Bruce Wright, School of Dentistry, Dalhousie University and April Mitchell, Dept. of Anthropology, Saint M ary's University.
24. They also mended with the crania E31.
25. Erickson (1999) suggests that, "attrition of this sort has been observed on American aboriginal skeletons, especially those from the American Southwest, and has been attributed to a traditional diet with a high component of hard morsels

and grit."
26. Erickson (1999): "in the case of the Little Dutch Church assemblage, all individuals were presumed to be White."
27. In reference to this record , Erickson (1 999) writes, "Saint Paul's burial records for this early period fail to identify where burials took place. The date 27 August 1750 is several days before the *Ann* arrived in Halifax on 2 September 1750. This date, however, could have been recorded erroneously some time after the burial took place. The important point is that before 1756 at least one aboriginal North American was buried along with Europeans in Halifax."

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