Dominant Ideologies: A Study of Social Class and Status in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia

By

Owen Hems

B. Archaeology

A thesis submitted in partial requirements for the degree of Master of Archaeology and Heritage Management, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Education, Humanities and Law, Flinders University, June 2016

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Name: Owen Hems

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Abstract

Despite recent claims of a classless society, or that class is 'dead' (see, for example, Beck 1986 and Pakulski and Waters 1996), it remains fundamental to understanding and interpreting the recent past. In some ways the denial of class has been compounded by the nature of archaeology and the historical record, both of which have traditionally served middle class interests and perspectives. Despite this, several archaeologies of class have challenged and contradicted existing interpretations and histories by revealing the stories of the working classes and minority groups that had been misrepresented or ignored by the dominant history. However, such a study of class has yet to be undertaken in the archaeology of South Australian cemeteries.

This thesis seeks to address this gap through a study of memorialisation practices (headstones, grave furniture and printed death and other funeral notices) in nineteenth and twentieth century Adelaide, South Australia. Physical monuments from West Terrace Cemetery, and other, written, forms of commemoration, such as death notices, In Memoriams and obituaries, were analysed to understand the individual, personal, response to death, and the broader social structures and ideologies which structured, and were embodied in, individual practices, ideas and emotions. Through this understanding, it is argued that commemorative practices and the cemetery in the nineteenth century played an active role in maintaining and legitimating the dominance of the middle class, as well as reflecting growing class consciousness and conflict as different classes asserted their own views, tastes and practices. This changed in the twentieth century, however, as the growing privatisation of grief and disassociation of class identities that followed the First World War and Great Depression caused commemorative practices to become increasingly uniform, denying the existence of class. The dominance of the middle class was then masked through ideologies of individualism, gentility and respectability that identified the right characteristics that were the key to success and social status, denying class and the barriers and social determinants of success. These ideologies maintained and reproduced the social structure, as adhering to ideals of respectability was the key for individuals to gain and maintain their social status.

Acknowledgements

x

1 Introduction

Despite recent claims of a classless society, or that class is 'dead' (see, for example, Beck 1986 and Pakulski and Waters 1996), it remains fundamental to understanding and interpreting the recent past (McGuire and Walker 1999:159–160; Reay 1997:226). In some ways the denial of class has been compounded by the nature of archaeology and the historical record, both of which have traditionally served middle class interests and perspectives (Deetz 1996:11; McGuire and Walker 1999:159–160; Trigger 1989:14). Despite this, several archaeologies of class have challenged and contradicted existing interpretations and histories by revealing the stories of the working classes and minority groups that had been misrepresented or ignored by the dominant history (Deetz 1996:11; McGuire 2014:123).

This thesis adopts a comprehensive approach to investigating how people from different social classes viewed, and responded to, death in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It will also look at the broader social structure to investigate how power relations and the social hierarchy were established and negotiated through grave monuments from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia (figure 1.1 and figure 1.2). Specifically, it will address the following questions:

1. To what extent are differences between social classes reflected in headstones dating from 1870 to 1940 in West Terrace Cemetery?
2. How do data from physical monuments relate to other forms of memorialising death, such as death notices, In Memoriams and obituaries in newspapers? and
3. What does this say about the social structure and power relations between social classes in South Australia?

To answer these questions, an approach that synthesises the Marxist approach of archaeologists such as McGuire (1988) and Parker Pearson (1982) and the emotion approach of Tarlow (1999b), with the insights provided by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) will be used to understand both the individual, personal, response to death, and the broader social structures and ideologies which structured, and were embodied in, individual practices, ideas and emotions (Bourdieu 1984:466; Nobel and Watkins 2003:522; Reay 2004:432–433).

Figure 1.1: Location of South Australia and Adelaide
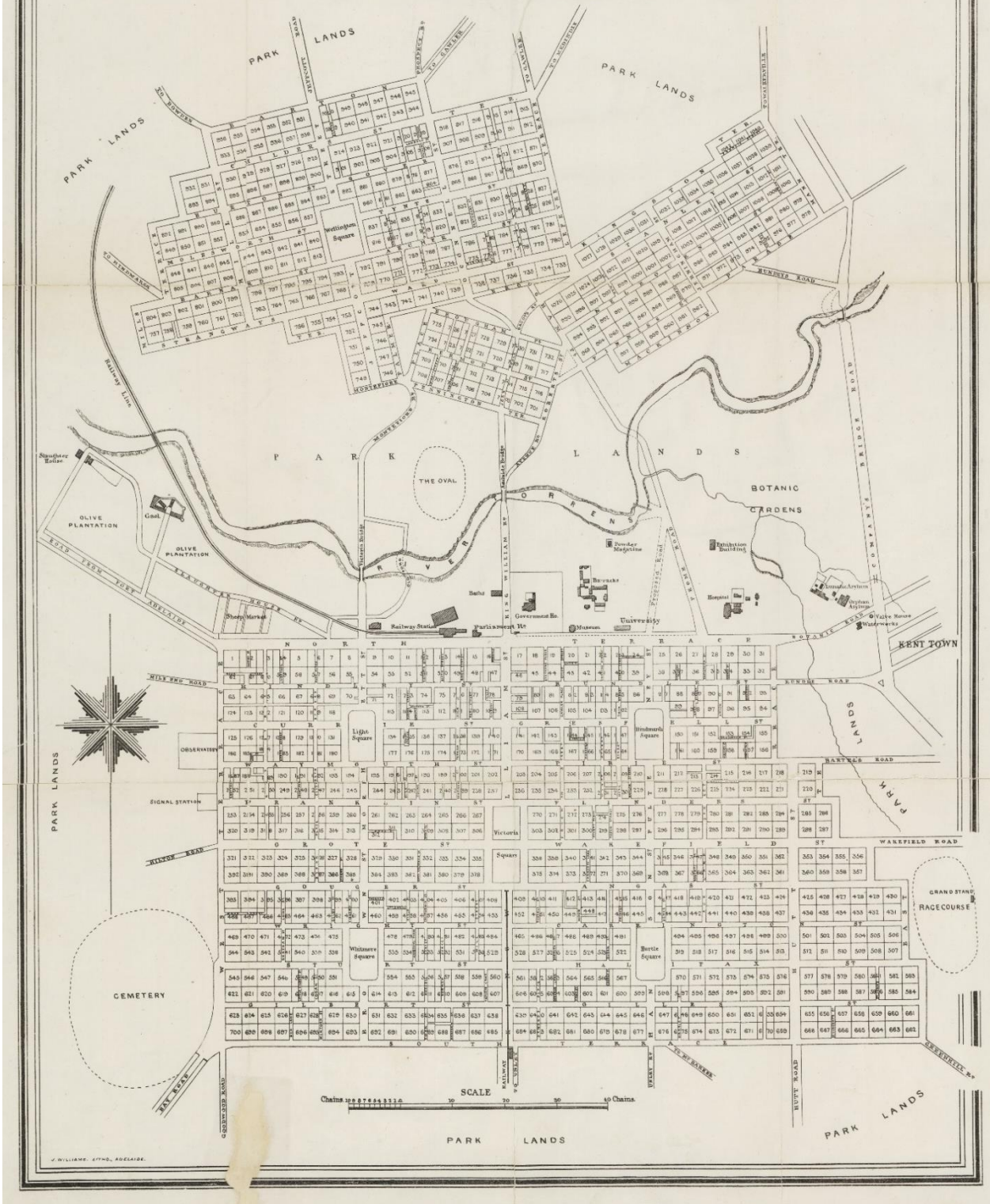
Figure 1.2: 1878 map of Adelaide showing the location of West Terrace Cemetery in the bottom left hand corner. Image retrieved 16 June 2016 from State Library of South Australia <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/maps/map/1671/1671182/map1671182_zmp.jpg>

1.1 Significance of study

This study is significant because it addresses the subject of social class, fundamental to the understanding of the recent past and social relations, stability and change, which has yet to be fully explored in the archaeology of South Australian cemeteries. While various thesis-related projects have been undertaken on cemeteries in South Australia (see chapter 2). None have focussed on social class or fully researched the backgrounds of those buried in terms of class (but see Degner 2007; Farrell 2003; Muller 2006).

This thesis seeks to build on existing research by addressing this gap. In doing so, it will address biases in the historical record and assumptions of a direct correlation between class and status and the quality of headstones by exploring how people from different social classes commemorated and mourned their dead. It will also explore how the power relations of Adelaide were reflected and negotiated over time through commemorative practices (McGuire 1988:440), allowing a better understanding of social relationships between groups and how British ideologies and social hierarchies were transported and applied in the new colony.

Importantly, it will also add new knowledge by comparing physical monuments to other, written, forms of commemoration. While there has been historical research undertaken on newspaper notices (Jalland 2002, 2006, 2014; Starck 2004), the relationship between them and physical monuments has yet to be studied in Australia. The broader approach taken by this thesis will therefore provide a more complete understanding of commemorative practices.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review argues that, from a Marxist perspective and through an archaeology of emotion, responses to the death of people of different social classes and in different areas of social space, can be better understood. Before this can be considered, however, the meanings of class and status, and how they might be made visible in the archaeological record, need to be explored.

2.2 Class and Status

2.2.1 Social Class and Habitus

Karl Marx defined class based on the mode of production as 'the way in which society produces and exchanges its goods and the manner in which it uses techniques, tools, skills, and knowledge' (Curtis 1970:4). The social relations of production, or the connections between those who own the means of production, the tools and materials used in production and its labourers (Marx and Engels 1978:150), change with the development of the modes of production, therefore the 'relations of production in their totality constitute what is called the social relations, society' (Marx 1933:29). The history of society is, therefore, fundamentally a history of social class and class struggle (Marx and Engels 2012:34). Marx saw modern capitalist society as consisting of two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or the owners of the means of production and its labourers (Marx and Engels 2012:34–35).

A person's relationship to the means of production determines their access to resources, or capital (figure 2.1) (Bourdieu 1987:4; Foley 1986:40). The owners of the means of production exploit the labour of their workers to gain surplus value, or profit (Foley 1986:40). The surplus value of production provides the upper classes with economic capital, or the control of economic assets, such as properties, possessions and income (figure 2.1). The amount of economic capital therefore determines, and is determined by, class (Foley 1986:40). Economic capital can then be converted by a person into other forms of capital, such as cultural or social (figure 2.1) (Bourdieu 1984:125). Cultural capital, or informational capital, is the control over, and access to, knowledge, skills and

education. Social capital is the resources that are controlled and accessed based on connections and membership in particular groups (Bourdieu 1987:4). Capital can also be converted, either in a person's lifetime, for instance if they go to university and gain cultural capital in the form of a degree, or across generations, for example by a working class family pooling all of their economic capital so that they can send their children to university (Webb et al. 2002:24).

People who share the same relationship to the means of production and the same form of capital, when subjected to similar economic and social conditions, develop shared outlooks and adopt similar practices, forming social classes (figure 2.1) (Bourdieu 1987:6). The economic and social conditions of a social class are internalised and embodied by people through their habitus, simply defined as 'the dispositions that internalize our social location and which orient our actions' (figure 2.1) (Nobel and Watkins 2003:522; Reay 2004:432–433). It is not a direct reflection of a class's conditions of existence, but a sensibility developed through a lifetime and an upbringing in those conditions and the possibilities they include or exclude. It informs a person's attitudes and perceptions and is embedded in values and automatic gestures of the body, such as ways of walking, talking or eating. This understanding forms their primary habitus (Bourdieu 1984:466; Daenekindt and Roose 2013:48–49). However, the habitus can change as it absorbs and responds to the social and economic circumstances around a person throughout their life. Viewed through the lens of their primary habitus, these secondary experiences, different to those of their upbringing, are either adapted to—transforming the habitus—or rejected (Reay 2004:434; Reay et al. 2009:1105). However, upwardly mobile people risk losing their previous social connections by changing their attitudes and habits to adapt to the higher social group. Similarly, downwardly mobile people risk rejection by their new social group by holding onto the attitudes and habits of their primary habitus (Daenekindt and Roose 2013:49).

For Bourdieu (1984:466) differences of lifestyle and practice are connected to social class and the tastes formed by the habitus function as a social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding members of classes to the practices and goods which correspond with their social standing (figure 2.1). Bourdieu (1984:177–178) states that:

> One has to take account of all the characteristics of social conditions which are … associated from earliest childhood with possession of high or low income and which tend to shape tastes adjusted to these conditions.

The formation of tastes and differences in consumption between social groups are based in the opposition between the tastes of luxury and the tastes of necessity. The wealthy have the freedom to choose, being the product of material conditions defined by their distance from necessity (Bourdieu 1984:177–178). The less wealthy are forced by their lack of capital to the tastes of necessity. The working class, therefore, for example, favour foods that are the most 'filling' and economical to provide labour power at the lowest possible cost, making a virtue out of necessity rather than trying to obtain something that is already denied to them (Bourdieu 1984:177–178, 1990:54).

2.2.2 Bourdieu, Max Weber and Social Status

Bourdieu's conception of status followed that of Max Weber. The tastes, distinctions and dispositions formed by the habitus symbolically form a shared style of life, constituting status groups (figure 2.1) (Weininger 2005:86). Weber defined status, and a person's or group's status situation, as 'a position of positive or negative privilege in social esteem' (Weber 1978:60). For him, social esteem is based on a person's lifestyle, education and the prestige gained from belonging to a particular group or a certain occupation or, in other words, the cultural, economic and social capital people own and can display (Weber 1978:60). Weber's positive status is used by Bourdieu in his concept of symbolic capital, which is the amount of positive status that is ascribed to a person or group and that can then be used to gain other forms of capital, i.e. economic, cultural and social (Webb et al. 2002:XV, 110).

Status groups define themselves by the distinctions of taste that are determined by their habitus, in terms of what they deem to be, for example, beautiful or ugly, distinguished or vulgar, fine or coarse (Bourdieu 1984:56, 468). It is, therefore, through tastes that the social position is betrayed and the social order made visible.

Classes, through their tastes, distinctions and dispositions, establish symbolic boundaries around their lifestyle (Brubaker 1985:763; Weininger 2005:86). This forms a hierarchy that can reflect the class structure, but could also cross-cut and divide it in different ways (figure 2.1) (Weininger 2005:96). Status groups like those formed around certain types of occupations within a class, such as academics or industrialists, divide up the class structure, forming a faction within that class' style of life, while status groups that are held in positive or negative esteem cross-cut the class structure due to their status not being based on wealth (Weber 1978:60).

ECONOMIC CAPITAL

CULTURAL CAPITAL

SOCIAL CAPITAL

SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

SOCIAL CLASS

HABITUS

TASTES, CHARACTERISTICS, MANNERISMS, WAYS OF TALKING, EATING ETC.
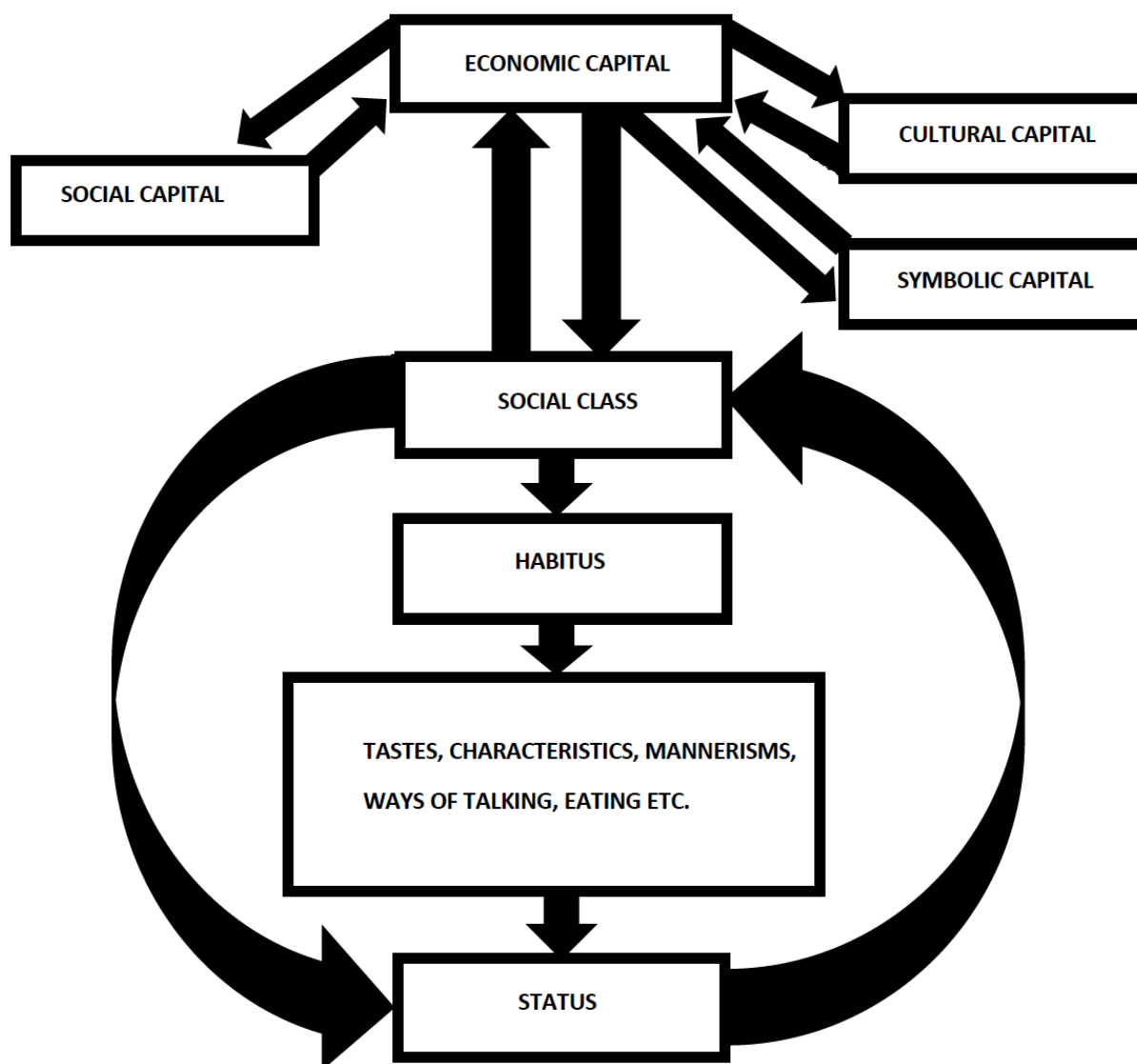
STATUS

Figure 2.1: Class and status formation

2.2.3 Class differences and identification with class

Class differences tended to be clearer in the nineteenth century, which was marked by rapidly increasing industrialisation and urbanisation (Beaud 1983:83). The poor conditions of the working classes in factories and cities, and the stark differences between the lives of factory owners compared to their workers, fostered class consciousness, as workers banded together to protest their conditions (Beaud 1983:90). The insecurity of wage dependence, conflict and frustration that resulted from an authoritarian work environment, and evidence that workers were not receiving their fair share of profits, caused workers to overcome their different backgrounds and identities (Oestreicher 1986:23–24). For example, the 1886 protests for an eight-hour day in Detroit united

workers, transcending ethnic, trade and neighbourhood identities (Oestreicher 1986:159). Conditions improved in Britain with the granting of universal suffrage in 1867 and the foundation of the Trades Union Congress in 1868, after which wages were increased and the level of exploitation became milder (Beaud 1983:104).

In Australia, class consciousness and unionism grew more pronounced and active in the mid to late nineteenth century, especially in campaigns to reduce working hours to an eight-hour day (Moss 1985:94–96; O'Lincoln 2005:35–40). Depending on the economic and labour circumstances of the time, demands were either met, easing class tensions, or rejected. For example, in South Australia employers granted concessions to their workers, reducing working hours in the 1880s and 1890s (Moss 1985:106–107). However, the generosity of employers depended on the demand for labour at the time, granting concessions in times of labour shortage, while maintaining their stance in times of labour surplus (Moss 1985:105). The power of unions and workers to challenge their employers and working conditions, however, began to decline, becoming ineffective during economic depressions in the 1890s and late 1920s and early 1930s, as employers grew stronger and poor economic conditions meant that the need for workers to keep their jobs and maintain their social position outweighed their desire to strike (Broomhill 1978:176; O'Lincoln 2005:46–47, 49)

Mass production from the early twentieth century made material things affordable to a larger segment of the population. The working classes became consumers as well as labourers (Ewen 1976:24–25; McGuire 1988:464–465). From the latter half of the nineteenth century success became associated with conspicuous consumption. Mass production, therefore, made success – as defined by the ability to own 'things'–attainable by the working classes. An ideology of individualism that developed alongside capitalism as a social system also worked to blur class differences, creating beliefs such as opportunity for all, individual freedom, autonomy in property ownership and the right to skills that would improve their conditions (Leone 1999:211–213). A person's characteristics became key to their level of success, while social determinates, such as inheritance and social connections, were denied (McGuire 1988:460), although still highly influential. This mystified inequality and class differences because there were no longer winners and losers, only degrees of success that were attributable to the individual (McGuire 1988:465).

Class differences, and identifications with class, have become less visible in the twentieth century due to improved working conditions and mass production reducing the material differences

between classes. Sociologists, such as Beverley Skeggs (1997) and Diane Reay (1997; 1998), have used Bourdieu's concept of habitus to understand class denial and disassociation in late twentieth century Britain. Dis-identification with a class identity is itself a class process. The reasons people choose to identify with a class, or not, are themselves differentiated by class, emerging out of class oppositions and struggles (Reay 1998:267). Reay argues that, despite the denial of class identities, there are still classed differences that are formed from habitus, which inform people's understandings of everyday life, attitudes and actions (Reay 1998:267). Class culture has become focussed more on differentiation than unity, with tastes and distastes acting as social filters, allowing people to place themselves and others into the social hierarchy (Reay 1997:226)

2.3 Emotion

2.3.1 Emotion and Habitus

Emotion is also determined by habitus, with each class developing different 'emotionologies' (Rosenwein 2010:11). Archaeologist Sarah Tarlow uses a constructivist approach to understanding emotions (Tarlow 2012:171). This approach developed as a response to biological understandings which viewed emotions as universal and hardwired (Tarlow 2000a:716). The constructivist approach, while acknowledging a biological aspect, argues that systems of cultural meaning are primary. Constructivists argue that emotions are culturally specific and created differently within each culture (Tarlow 2000a:716).

Barbara Rosenwein argues that different social groups have different 'emotionologies', proposing that the idea of emotional communities needs to be considered (Rosenwein 2010:11). Like tastes, these communities define and differentiate themselves through the emotions they value, devalue or ignore. Emotional responses and expression, such as the nature of emotional bonds between people and the ways, and when, certain emotions are expressed, also vary according to social group (Rosenwein 2010:11).

Sociologist Ian Burkitt combined the constructivist understanding of emotions with Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Burkitt 1997:43). He defines emotions as 'both cognitive and pre-cognitive: they involve culturally informed interpretation, but are also bodily dispositions instilled through social practices' (Burkitt 1997:43). Emotions therefore, like tastes, mannerisms and characteristics, are determined by a person's habitus. Burkitt argues that:

a culture provides for people an *emotional habitus,* with a language and set of practices which outline ways of speaking about emotions and of acting out and upon bodily feelings within everyday life. (Burkitt 1997:43, italics in original)

Combining Rosenwein's argument for emotional communities with Bourdieu's concept of habitus allows for an explanation of how social groups develop different emotionologies tied to their status and class.

2.4 Class and Status in the Archaeology of Cemeteries

The value of grave monuments in their ability to reflect the beliefs, attitudes and social conditions of the living community around them was first recognised by James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen (1966:502). They argued that, as the cemetery is created and maintained by the living community, it should, therefore, reflect the community's views of religion, status, class and of life and death (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:502; Dethlefsen 1981:137).

Michael Parker Pearson's (1982) influential and Marxist-inspired research on modern burial and commemorative practices in Cambridge, UK, argued against Deetz' and Dethlefsen's (1966:502; Dethlefsen 1981:137) idea. Instead, Parker Pearson argued that the symbolism within cemeteries does not present the actual power relationships of society, but an idealised version of them. Cemeteries, therefore, play an active and constructive role in the development of social relationships (Parker Pearson 1982:112). The deceased, through their mortuary monuments, can be manipulated by the living for the purposes of increasing status and power. Headstones in the nineteenth century were used for the purposes of social advertisement, where the status of the individual was overtly displayed to consolidate their social position. The social context determines whether and how the monument is used for social advertisement. The decline in expenditure on monuments after WWI, for example, was argued by Parker Pearson to reflect religious, medical and hygienic ideologies that have removed the dead from the world of the living. Extravagant, grandiose monuments were no longer considered tasteful, resulting in class and status differences becoming hidden (Parker Pearson 1982:107, 112). Headstones can therefore do two things: express tastes and emotionologies that arise from the class habitus, and naturalise or deny the inequalities and differences between social classes that these tastes and emotionologies represent (Bourdieu 1984:466; Burkitt 1997:43).

Randall McGuire (1988) adopted a similar approach in his analysis of nineteenth and twentieth century cemeteries in Broome County, US. McGuire argued that monuments, their inscriptions, motifs and design, as well as the layout of the cemetery, reflect the ideologies that play an active role in the power struggles of society (McGuire 1988:440). Like Parker Pearson, McGuire argued that headstones form a material manifestation of ideologies that symbolise the divisions between different social groups. Changes in attitudes towards, and beliefs about, death and their material expression, reflect broader changes in the ideology of the dominant group of society (McGuire 1988:470).

In Broome County McGuire found that, during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, people established a continuing relationship with their dead to cope with the shock and pain of death (McGuire 1988:471). The cemetery was seen as a connection between the living and the dead, with the memorialisation of the dead representing the continuation of the family. This connection needed to be maintained to keep the person's memory alive. Only when this was broken would the death become a reality. Therefore, the cemetery needed to be visited regularly (McGuire 1988:472). Monuments of this period were public statements that would be seen by visitors. Choice in monuments, and their position in the cemetery, reflected the wealth and power of the individual, and competed with each other for the visitor's attention (McGuire 1988:472). The wealthy celebrated their success by erecting family plots that provided the final statement of the success of the male patriarch, while recreating the idealised relationships and roles of the family. The husband was seen as the provider and protector, while the wife provided the moral and material support.

The ideology of social Darwinism was also evident in the cemetery, as it served to legitimate and celebrate success while reinforcing the natural origins of inequality (McGuire 1988:461). The poor, who could not afford family plots and were forced to erect monuments of lesser quality, or no monument at all, were marked as failures who, by necessity, violated the sanctity of their home by sending their wives and children to work (Ferry 1999:136–137; McGuire 1988:461; Young 2003:60, 76). The cemetery of the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century preserved inequalities, proclaiming them to be the natural order of the world.

The end of the nineteenth century marked a period of crisis for capitalism in America, marked by the Great Depression of 1893 and falling profits (McGuire 1988:464). The crisis was resolved after the introduction of mass production and the creation of a new ideology, which reworked the past

cult of individual success to a new context. Mass production was hailed by capitalists as exploiting no-one, because the workers were rewarded with consumer products (McGuire 1988:464). Success was still identified by displays of material consumption, but could now be achieved by much of the working class (Ewen 1976:24–25; McGuire 1988:465). The differences in consumption between classes was reduced, as now everyone could afford cars, houses and washing machines; only degrees of quality and quantity remained. The new ideology of the early twentieth century stressed the emotional bond between husband and wife, denying the patriarchy of the husband (McGuire 1988:465). This ideology can be seen in changes in mortuary display during the interwar period (McGuire 1988:465). Mass production made headstones cheaper, and affordable to a larger segment of the population. People of lower classes could afford to erect larger stone monuments and establish family plots. Competition in mortuary display lost its meaning, as more people could afford elaborate monuments (McGuire 1988:465). The wealthy who continued to erect expensive, elaborate monuments began to be criticised, while those who erected less ostentatious monuments were hailed (McGuire 1988:465).

The twentieth century also saw a move away from the Victorian glorification of death, which began to be seen as morbid and wasteful (Griffin and Tobin 1982:24; Jalland 2002:305; McGuire 1988:472). These two competing ideologies conflicted into the 1930s, evidenced by the arguments for the advantages of cremation and understated funerals, against the cost of funerals and the perceived poor taste of ostentatious monuments (McGuire 1988:471–472). This new ideology can be seen in the cemetery through a decreased investment in, and standardisation of, monuments that served to deny both death and class and gender inequalities (McGuire 1988:473). Cemeteries no longer reflected the social stratification of society or competed for the attention of visitors, but changed to increasingly speak to an intimate private audience (McGuire 1988:466).

Aubrey Cannon (1989:437) opposed McGuire, arguing that social stratification was still reflected in the cemetery through patterns of competitive display. He argued that the changing headstone design, from the elaborate monuments of the nineteenth century to the simpler monuments of the twentieth century, were the result of the competitive use of headstones for social and economic display (Cannon 1989:437). Competitive display can lead to increasingly elaborate monuments, but it can also cause restraint as elaboration becomes associated with people of lower status. Cannon likened mortuary patterns to fashions in dress, luxuries and etiquette (Cannon 1989:437). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the wealthy upper classes

distinguished themselves through elaborate monuments and funerals. As other classes started adopting and emulating them, elaborate monuments lost their appeal and were labelled vulgar by the rich, who then adopted simpler monuments. According to Cannon, the upper classes were the trendsetters of society, who were then emulated by the middle and working classes (Cannon 1989:438–439). Cannon argued that the emulation of upper class mortuary practices was the symbolic expression of status aspirations by those of lower status who looked to increase their social standing (Cannon 1989:447).

Cannon's argument, however, does not take into account different class identities. The British middle class in the nineteenth century, for example, separated themselves from other classes, identifying and distinguishing themselves based on their occupations, education and level of sophistication (Gunn 2005:53). Each social class, whose members share the same habitus, developed their own outlooks, emotions, tastes and characteristics based on the economic and social conditions of their upbringing. These are expressed either consciously or subconsciously, as people recreate their habitus through expressing the things they think are important without necessarily being aware that they are doing anything deliberately different to anyone else (Bourdieu 1984:466). The relationships between social classes are, therefore, more complex and varied than Cannon suggests. Each group has their own tastes and views, the trendsetters are not always going to be people in the upper classes. However, status emulation does occur and fashions are emulated, but only in instances where the other group is held in high social esteem by the people emulating them.

Sarah Tarlow has argued against these Marxist approaches, and their status- and power-centric interpretations, opting instead for an archaeology of emotion (Tarlow 1997, 1998, 1999a, b, 2000a, b, 2012). She contends that mortuary rites are meaningful in different ways, arguing that the Marxist focus on power reduces ideology to solely being for the purposes of legitimating, or challenging power relationships (Tarlow 1999a:23). An archaeology of emotion is, therefore, needed to properly understand the strong feelings and emotions of grief that inform people's actions after the loss of a loved one.

Tarlow used this approach to study the graveyards of the Orkney Islands in the UK (Tarlow 1999a, b). Emotions, being culturally constructed, are able to be accessed through the metaphors present in material culture, enabling archaeologists to understand past emotions (Tarlow 1999a:48). Tarlow found that the monuments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contained different

metaphors and inscriptions, which focussed on the emotional connections between the deceased and the bereaved. This is a sharp contrast to the memorials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that were preoccupied with the social status of the individual and showed little emotion. This is represented in the language used in inscriptions, with the more emotive 'in loving memory' replacing 'here lies the remains of'. Metaphors, such as the metaphor of sleep, began to be used in the nineteenth century. This was represented in monuments through the increasing use of designs that resembled bedheads (Tarlow 1999b:189). Many of the metaphors included the suggestion that the deceased and the bereaved would be reunited in the afterlife, a sentiment that would become characteristic of the nineteenth century (Tarlow 1999b:191). References to the dead and decaying body also disappeared in the nineteenth century, replaced with epitaphs that instead emphasised the grief of the survivors (Tarlow 1999b:189).

The metaphors used in the nineteenth century served to comfort the bereaved and help them come to terms with their loss, as their loved one 'had just fallen asleep — out of contact, but not gone forever' (Tarlow 1999a:195). Growing ideologies of individualism meant that the deceased was no longer just a dead person, and a reminder of one's own mortality, but a unique individual with whom the bereaved shared a close emotional bond (Tarlow 1999a:195).

Such changes did not occur outside wider ideological frameworks, however. Society in the nineteenth century became highly individualised through the ideologies associated with capitalism (Leone 1999:211–213), placing great emotional, social and personal significance on relationships of affection, such as marriage (Tarlow 1999b:175). The desire of the bereaved to represent the uniqueness of these personal relationships accounts for the high degree of variability found in mortuary monuments of the nineteenth century (Tarlow 1999b:175–176). These personal mourning practices and expressions of grief gradually became conventionalised, compulsory and oppressive, no longer representing personal and powerful feelings of loss (Tarlow 1997:110). This resulted in a crisis of expression that was heightened by the losses caused by WWI. This caused the place of mourning and the expression of grief to move away from the cemetery to the home (Tarlow 1999b:176). The increasing availability of photographs meant that they replaced monuments as key individual forms of remembering (Tarlow 1997:116–117) and expressions of grief changed from ostentatious public displays to intensely personal and private ones (Tarlow 1999b:147). Tarlow's archaeology of emotion approach allows for an understanding of the private,

personal response to death. It does not, however, take into account the broader social, economic conditions and power relationships that determine, and control, how that response is expressed.

2.5 Cemetery Studies in South Australia

Various studies on cemeteries in South Australia have occurred in the context of thesis projects, ranging from the accuracy of information on headstones, and who erected them (Marin 1998), to the materials that were used for the coffins in pauper burials (Matic 2003), and the status of women and gendered differences in commemoration (Adamson 2012; Wright 2011). This section will only focus on those projects that are most relevant to exploring the subjects of social class and emotion within the cemetery (Degner 2007; Denny 1994; Farrell 2003; Muller 2006).

Michelle Denny (1994) investigated the use of motifs between different social classes in North Road Cemetery, Nailsworth, South Australia. Denny argues that there was no strong evidence that different occupational groups adopted certain types of motifs on their monuments (Denny 1994:40). This study, however, fails to explain why there was no difference in the symbols used by different social classes and why people from different classes chose to adopt similar motifs. The meanings behind the motifs used were also left unexplored.

Farrell investigated emotion and ideology in headstones from two rural cemeteries—one public and one Catholic—in Mintaro, dating from 1850 to 1950 (Farrell 2003:6). Farrell tried to identify the social status of the burials and their family history, but the majority of historical information only described the lives of wealthy people. People who had no property or occupation were not included in records. Therefore, the graves could not be placed into a social context because social status could only be inferred for a small number of graves. Farrell found that changes in emotion coincided with changes in economic, religious and social ideologies, demonstrating that the expression of emotion is influenced and limited by ideology (Farrell 2003:102). However, she did not go into detail about the meanings behind certain emotions or motifs, or the beliefs behind them, and why they changed over time.

Degner also included emotion in her study of children's graves from the nineteenth century. The study focussed on the Fleurieu Peninsula, a predominantly rural area isolated from urban influences (Degner 2007:7). Degner found that children aged from birth to four years were likely to be associated with symbols of lambs, purity and innocence (Degner 2007:92). Although this was only a minor occurrence, it was spatially diverse. Children older than four were commemorated

16

with the same themes of sleep and heavenly reunion that were used for adults. Degner found that in the latter half of the nineteenth century more emphasis was placed on heavenly reunion, reflecting broader trends towards more emotive epitaphs in this period (Degner 2007:87). Overall, though, children were commemorated very conservatively, with plain headstones of a standardised size. Degner argues that this indicated that children were largely part of the adult world (Degner 2007:93–94). However, the biographical backgrounds of the children, or their families, were not investigated, so no comparison could be undertaken between social groups and their views towards children.

Stephen Muller used a phenomenological approach to study the landscape of West Terrace Cemetery (Muller 2006:10). Focussing on the colonial sections of the cemetery, Muller investigated how nineteenth century attitudes to death and burial were expressed and experienced through the cemetery's cultural landscape. The landscape was mapped and studied to see how it evolved over time. The headstones were recorded and placed within this context. Historical documents were also used to understand how people visited and used the cemetery (Muller 2006:43–44). Muller found that there were two levels of communication: the private and the public (Muller 2006:101). The private focussed on the needs of the deceased's family. The public domain was based on an awareness of social expectations and the desire to validate and maintain the existing social structure (Muller 2006:101). This can be seen in people choosing to be buried next to prominent, high status graves, as was the case with people choosing to be buried near the large and prominently placed grave of the Reverend Charles Beaumont Howard, an individual of high status, ensuring that their graves would be seen (Muller 2006:77). Muller's study demonstrates how the cemetery landscape and commemorative practices changed to reflect Victorian attitudes to death and visiting practices. Issues of social class, however, were only touched on by Muller in his suggestion for further research into the bare plots that likely contained wooden memorials belonging to the working class (Muller 2006:103).

2.6 Conclusion

An approach that uses both the emotion approach of Tarlow and the Marxist approach might enable a greater understanding of the private, personal response to death, and of the broader social, societal and structural factors that determine how that response is communicated and expressed. The Marxist approach also allows an understanding of the ideologies present within

the cemetery, and how people viewed and represented the inequalities and power relationships of society. This thesis will use such an approach to provide an understanding of how people of different classes, and in different areas of social space, responded to, and viewed, death in South Australia. It will also look at how power relationships were established and negotiated through the cemetery.

3 Historical Background

3.1 Introduction

South Australia, with its urban capital Adelaide, was a capitalist enterprise, planned according to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of colonisation and funded and advertised to the middle class, particularly pious Dissenters, who faced social and religious restrictions in Britain (Moss 1983:7). The working classes, brought over to labour for the middle class, lived in industrial areas with cheap housing, such as the west end of Adelaide, forming their own culture and lifestyle (Hammond 2003:5, 2007:39; Sumerling 1992:30). Between these two groups were the middling class: shopkeepers, managers and small entrepreneurs who sought independence and economic freedom (Ferry 1999:98). This chapter will outline the class structure of Adelaide, who these classes were, their differences and status divisions. These social relations are then related to both death and mourning rituals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Adelaide.

3.2 The Social and Religious Foundations of South Australia

3.2.1 Nineteenth Century Britain and the Plan for the Colony of South Australia

Wakefield's 1829 theoretical proposal for colonisation, *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia,* was developed in response to the social, economic, religious and political conditions and restrictions faced by the middle class in nineteenth century Britain (Moss 1985:2–3; Stone 2010:4).

Wakefield proposed a balanced migration policy, so that capitalists would not be without labour or labourers without work (Stone 2010:4). The 'systematic colonisation' proposed by Wakefield aimed to suppress attempts by the working classes to move out into the frontiers and own land. This was achieved by setting the cost of land at an artificially high price, unlike in other colonies where land was given away or sold cheaply (Moss 1985:7). The revenue from the sale of land would then be used to provide the working classes with passage, ensuring that there were labourers to work the land (Wanna 1981:10–11). The investors of the colony were middle class, and many were believers in nonconformist religions, including radical reformers and philanthropists frustrated by the lack of social mobility and the restrictions placed on them by the Church of England (Moss 1985:9). For them South Australia was a way to satisfy their ambitions,

achieving respectability and becoming a colonial elite (Richards 1986:123). The working class people who went to South Australia had hopes of bettering their lifestyles and escaping the misery caused by frequent economic crises and the stresses of industrial work, made worse by overcrowding and widespread poverty in the cities of nineteenth century Britain (Moss 1985:2).

In South Australia the working classes could escape the overcrowding and poverty of British cities, finding better work conditions as noted by Catherine Helen Spence in 1881:

> The distribution of leisure, like that of wealth, is not so unequal in a new country as in an old one…our work people have shorter hours of labour, more holidays, and higher wages than in England. (Spence 1881:41)

But, despite better conditions for workers, Wakefield's 'systematic colonisation' and the South Australian system of keeping land prices high and wages low to ensure that control remained in the hands of propertied owners, also kept the working classes from climbing the social ladder (Moss 1985:9; Wanna 1981:11). Land was the main obstacle to upward social mobility, as few assisted immigrants could afford to buy land on arrival and even then those who could were only able to afford small subdivided plots in Adelaide (Richards 1986:128).

The second principle of the Wakefield Plan was religious freedom for all Protestant denominations (Stone 2010:5). Although the legislation which barred Dissenters in Britain from holding public office was repealed in 1828 and 1829, nonconformists still faced many civil disadvantages and humiliations, including being excluded from universities, forced marriage in Anglican churches, forced burial in Anglican churchyards and forced taxation to maintain Anglican churches (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195). Wakefield's plan called for no established church or state funding of churches or schools; religion would only be supported by voluntary principle, and therefore nonconformists would be able to worship as they pleased (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195).

The middle class Dissenters who came to South Australia were mainly Congregationalists, Baptists and Presbyterians (Moss 1985:58). The colony's appeal to Dissenters was so marked that the 1901 census revealed a very different pattern of religious adherence compared to other colonies: South Australia had a lower percentage of Anglicans (29.5), Roman Catholics (14.4) and Presbyterians (5.1), while the proportion of Methodists (24.9), Lutherans (7.2), Congregationalists (3.7) and Churches of Christ (1.7) was substantially higher than the national percentage (Hilliard 1992:62).

Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, Anglicanism and its links to the Crown increasingly appealed to the social elite of the colony, many of whom converted from nonconformist denominations. This effectively made the Church of England the church of the social elite and transformed it into the de facto state church (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:203; van Dissel 1986:364).

Methodism, on the other hand, had a strong working class following and influenced the labour movement (Moss 1985:58). Beginning after the industrial revolution, Methodism, through its societies and chapels, provided a sense of community that the working classes had lost after moving to the city and was the second largest denomination in Adelaide in 1901 (Hilliard 1992:62; Moss 1985:56).

Catholicism, whose followers were predominantly of Irish descent and working class, was the third largest religious group (Hilliard 1992:62; Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212). The Catholic community bonded together, operating their own system of schools run by teaching nuns and brothers, as well as other charitable institutions. Catholics made up 30 per cent of the population of Adelaide's inner city wards. Outside the Adelaide 'Square Mile' Catholics were also strong in working class suburbs such as Port Adelaide, Thebarton and Hindmarsh (Hilliard 1992:63).

3.3 Class in Nineteenth Century Adelaide

3.3.1 The Middle Class Gentry

3.3.1.1 The Gentry in South Australia

The members of the South Australian gentry were ambitious members of the middle classes. Despite their diverse backgrounds and denominations, the South Australian gentry would become, by 1901, a conservative and mainly Anglican ruling class (van Dissel 1986:337). Members of the gentry in South Australia adopted the genteel code of the British aristocracy, learnt from the late eighteenth century onwards through etiquette guides (Stone 2010:115). Manners were viewed as the polish to the end product of a refined and regulated genteel human nature (Russell 2010:6). These rules on how to behave in 'polite', 'civilised' society, reinforced and regulated the social hierarchy, forming a symbolic boundary around the gentry and their lifestyle (Bourdieu 1984:56, 468; Stone 2010:115; Weber 1978:60).

The South Australian gentry not only distinguished themselves from the rest of society on the basis of their manners and character, but also consolidated their status through those whom they

interacted with. The founding members of the colony of South Australia had, by 1869, created their identity as a colonial gentry, which was then consolidated through membership of exclusive clubs such as the Adelaide Club, intermarriage, social connections and architecture (Stone 2010:137). By occupation, membership was dominated by pastoralists (40 per cent of founding members), followed by 'professionals' (doctors, lawyers or senior government positions, including surveyors, coroners, sheriffs, or police commissioners). Other members were either in business, merchants, or civil servants (Stone 2010:137). These people, who typically arrived before 1850 and were mostly pastoralists with rural interests, would become the older families of the Adelaide gentry (van Dissel 1986:355–357). There still remained a prejudice throughout the nineteenth century against those who were considered to be 'in trade', namely those in manufacturing or shopkeeping (Hirst 1973:38; Stone 2010:90, 138).

Within the gentry, there were distinctions between the old gentry, who arrived in South Australia before 1850, and the new gentry, who arrived in the late nineteenth century. Compared to the old gentry, new members of the gentry came from more modest origins. Although they needed more wealth to be accepted by the old gentry, the new gentry by 1920 had secured their position through intermarriage between old and new families, and across occupations, for example members of pastoralist families marrying members of lawyer families (van Dissel 1986:359; Stone 2010:126). These social connections were further consolidated through education, with many of the gentry sending their children to Oxford and Cambridge, despite the establishment of Adelaide University in 1876 (van Dissel 1986:363). This sub-group consisted of 62 families who, by 1880, had established themselves at the top of colonial society. The new gentry consisted of seventeen families who joined the gentry after 1880. For those who became members of the Adelaide Club, their occupations included an ironmonger, saddler, flour miller, printer, journalist, lawyer, and doctor (van Dissel 1986:357–358). They made their fortunes typically in urban and commercial interests: three made their wealth in pastoral pursuits, four established leading professional families, two owned newspapers, three built warehouses, two were manufacturers, one a flour miller, and two were financiers (van Dissel 1986:357–358). This change in occupations reflected the development of the colony, from a predominantly pastoral one to an increasingly commercial and industrialised economy between 1880 and 1920 (van Dissel 1986:358).

The status divisions in the middle class mainly ran along the divide between those who were in the gentry and those who were not as well as between 'old' and 'new'. The old gentry were of a higher

status than the new gentry, although this became less marked in the twentieth century as families intermarried and the distinction became blurred (van Dissel 1986:359, 368).

3.3.2 The Middling Classes

3.3.2.1 Respectability

Respectability was an ideology, like the middle class ideology of gentility, which prescribed disciplines in ways of behaving, thinking and being (Skeggs 1997:2–3; Young 2003:60). To be respectable was essential to maintaining status and being accepted by mainstream middle class society. To achieve respectability, one had to be cleanly, chaste outside of marriage, reliable, sober, thrifty, time-consciousness, independent and self-responsible (McCalman 1982:90; Thompson 1988:198). It was the embodiment of moral authority, with the respectable looking down upon conspicuous consumption and its excesses, preferring to enjoy modest wealth and take pride in living frugal and pious lives. In this way it was achievable by more of the population than gentility and was more appealing to the stricter Protestant sects (Ferry 1999:134; Skeggs 1997:3).

Respectability, closely echoing gentility, focussed on a person's character, their family and home. Central to these was marriage and the foundation of family and domesticity (Young 2003:60, 77). The family and home formed the private sphere, protected from the outside public sphere (Ferry 1999:137). Respectable men would have a role in both spheres. To achieve this being employed in a steady regular paying job was essential. Respectable women remained in the private sphere of the home, church and polite society, maintaining its sanctity and purity, an aspect it shared with gentility (Young 2003:60, 76). For men, respectability also moved the emphasis from the male body to the male character, which would be gallant and courageous, a man of morals facing the tainted and corrupt outside world (Ferry 1999:134; Young 2003:76). The respectable woman had to maintain her virtue, for after the divide between proper conduct and scandal had been crossed, their virtue and respectability would be lost with no possibility of return. This often was dependant on one's reputation, for the slightest gossip could ruin a person's respectability and social standing (Ferry 1999:140).

3.3.2.2 Middling class
People in the middling class aspired to the values of respectability, resolutely protecting their independence and individualism. The middling class consisted of employees who held more

authority, such as managers and small entrepreneurs, and included storekeepers and public house owners (Ferry 1999:98). Their businesses were based on the knowledge and skills of the main operator, with labour often being carried out by family members or casual workers. People in the middling class usually owned the property where they operated, often a combination of their home and business (Ferry 1999:98; Wall 1994:173). The members of the middling class were usually immigrants and of modest backgrounds, often putting themselves into debt to maintain their business, as such they were vulnerable to economic downturns and local factors that could be fatal to their business. They epitomised the dream of independence and individualism, strongly believing in 'just rewards for hard work' (Ferry 1999:99–103). They were conservative, even reactionary, opposed to anything that threatened their independence, opposing the wealthy middle class, whose large businesses could absorb their business, and organised labour and government regulations that could affect their business, independence and freedom (Ferry 1999:103).

Status differences in the middling class were based on the type of stores and businesses they ran, who frequented them, where they were located, what they sold and the nature of their business. Middling businesses, their workers and clientele who adhered to the ideals of respectability were of a higher status than those who did not (McCalman 1980:110; Skeggs 1997:2–3; Watt 2006:779). People who owned small businesses, like slaughterhouses and factories which polluted the areas that surrounded them, were of a lower status due to the dirty and 'foul-smelling' nature of their work and their business's premises (Hammond 2007:39; Thornton 1992:160). On the other hand, businesses whose work and premises were deemed clean and respectable, such as retail pharmacies, were considered to be of higher status within the middling class (Donovan 1992:157).

3.3.3 The Working Classes in Adelaide

3.3.3.1 Skilled Working Classes

Like the middling class, gentility was out of reach for the working classes, who classified themselves along the distinctions of respectable and rough (Skeggs 1997:2). For them, the significant component of respectability was self-sufficiency (Briggs 2006:2; Young 2003:60). To be self-sufficient and economically independent meant to be industrious, to have the ability and willingness to make a living independently, in whatever fashion, avoiding the shame of dependency on charity and government welfare (Karskens 1998:229; Young 2003:60). Economic independence, however, was only achievable to those who maintained regular paying jobs and

who were most likely skilled workers. Regular employment meant that other aspects of respectability could be achieved by providing a regular income that could support a family and maintain a separate domestic sphere (McCalman 1982:91).

The respectable working classes were skilled or semi-skilled workers who remained in regular employment. Skilled workers, being in demand, were more likely to maintain regular employment and regard themselves as respectable (Broomhill 1978:24; Watt 2006:779). The type of work was also important to respectability: white collar workers (e.g. bank tellers, school teachers and shop assistants), unlike blue collar workers (e.g. construction and factory workers), had to maintain their respectability in both their work and leisure. They had to avoid billiard halls, pubs and street corners frequented by those they deemed to be socially inferior, instead turning to books and homely pleasures, while blue collar workers took pride and defined respectability based on their skill and type of income (Ferry 1999:142–143; Watt 2006:779).

3.3.3.2 Unskilled working classes

The status divisions among the working classes generally ran along the lines of those who were in steady, long-term employment and those who were employed in low skilled or casual, seasonal work. While casual workers could maintain a sober, moral character, the uncertainty and long periods of inactivity between work had a demoralising effect on workers, with many turning to alcohol. A separate domestic sphere was also not attainable due to women having to work to support their husband if he was not working or earning enough (Sumerling 1992:30). Unable to support their family and demoralised by the lack of work, casual workers could not achieve economic independence, a separate, protected, private sphere, or maintain the sober character demanded by respectability (McCalman 1980:112; Moss 1985:50).

The unemployed, like casual workers, could not afford respectability. For many in South Australia unemployment became a fact of life, with numbers well in excess of 10 per cent in the 1890s and remaining static at around six per cent until WWI, after which unemployment rose considerably, reaching a peak in the third quarter of 1932, when 35.4 per cent of trade union members were unemployed (Broomhill 1978:11; Wanna and Broomhill 1981:99). The Australian Census of June 1933 estimated that there were 26,490 unemployed men in the Adelaide metropolitan area, one third of all male income earners in Adelaide (Broomhill 1978:15). This was a significant portion for whom respectability was not achievable.

The workers mainly at risk of unemployment were the blue collar, semi-skilled and unskilled (Broomhill 1978:24). These were in the industrial sector, which represented 44.4 per cent of all male wage earners and included the building industry, small manufacturing industries, such as clothing and agricultural implements, and the growing motor building industry, along with its service industries (Broomhill 1978:19–20; Wanna and Broomhill 1981:103). It was these people who were hardest hit by any economic downturn that increased competition amongst the working classes (McCalman 1982:92). They were also the last to gain employment once the economy recovered after the Great Depression, when the demand was for skilled and semi-skilled workers (Broomhill 1978:24).

3.4 Death and Mourning in South Australia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In early nineteenth century Adelaide the ritual and formality of death soon took on a religious and moral character, in keeping with Victorian mortuary fashions in the mid-nineteenth century (Nicol 1992:1).

For most people death and mourning rituals were closely associated with religion, and were heavily influenced by Evangelical protestant codes of seriousness, piety, discipline and duty that the colonisers brought with them (Jalland 2002:51; Nicol 1992:4). The ideal of the good Christian death was particularly influential among the middle classes, who had the necessary wealth, time, space, servants and family support to achieve it (Jalland 2002:52). A good death required the person to be pious, prepared and courageous in the face of physical suffering and death. It would take place in a good Christian home, surrounded by family, with the dying person making their farewells reassured in the belief that they would be reunited in heaven (Jalland 2002:52). Consciousness needed to be maintained by the dying person throughout, as their last words were particularly significant for Evangelicals, who believed that a person's conduct in their final hours was an important indicator of their fitness for salvation (Jalland 2002:52).

Following a death, a decent, well attended funeral was important to maintaining the respectability of the person and ensuring they were given a proper send-off (Nicol 1992:2–3). This was, however, an additional expense to the burial plot and memorial. Undertakers in the nineteenth century offered a large variety of services, depending on the needs of the customer (Griffin and Tobin

1982:135). The cost of funerals could range from around £45 for an elaborate funeral to £5 10s for a more modest one that only included a cedar coffin, lined, bedded and mounted, a hearse with horse, use of hatbands, attendance of the undertaker and grave fees (Griffin and Tobin 1982:135–136). There were cheaper funerals available as well. Two undertakers in 1858 advertised prices between £4 and £4 10s 'for a funeral at the West Terrace Cemetery, coffin covered, lined and trimmed, with inscription plate, hearse, and plumes, coachman, with hatband, cemetery fee etc' (Griffin and Tobin 1982:138). The average cost of a funeral in the nineteenth century ranged from £15 18s to £7 10s, depending on the quality of the materials used to cover, line and make the coffin and the number of horses and mourning coaches required (Griffin and Tobin 1982:138–139).

On top of the funeral expenses were the cost of the monument and the fees charged by the cemetery. These were a significant financial burden, particularly for the working classes. Monuments could range from a simple marble headstone to a large elaborate family monument (*The Advertiser* 1906:8; *The Adelaide Observer* 1885:16). One such family monument was the Coglin family vault, located near the entrance of West Terrace Cemetery. This sarcophagus-styled monument, made of highly polished grey and red Scotch granite, resting on a large 13 by 10 feet slab of Italian marble and enclosed with an iron railing tipped with gold, was ordered by Mr P. B. Coglin M.P. at the cost of £1500 (*The Adelaide Observer* 1885:16). At the other end of the price range, the cost for a simple marble headstone was around £10 in 1903 (*The Adelaide Observer* 1903:34). Another article in *The Advertiser* (1906:8) estimated the average cost paid for a memorial, as well as burial fees, in 1906 to be £15. With the average daily wage between the 1870s and 1890s for a person in the building trades being 10s, or £3 per week based on a six-day week, this would represent five weeks' wages for a person in the working class (Murray 2008:90). West Terrace Cemetery also charged fees for the leasing of burial plots and for the right to erect a monument or bury an individual (Nicol 1994:41). These were outlined in the *Government Gazette* on 26 April 1855: leases were for 99 years with prices based on the size of the plot, one shilling was charged per square foot of ground; eight shillings were charged for a burial in leased ground, while thirteen shillings was charged per burial in unleased ground. To erect a headstone on a plot cost ten shillings (Nicol 1994:41). These expenses were necessary in order to avoid the stigma of a pauper burial and maintain respectability (Thompson 1988:200).

Funerals and memorials became smaller and more modest after WWI, which marked a shift in attitudes and practices to death from a dominant Christian culture that accepted death and openly grieved, to one that avoided death and silenced grief from 1918 onwards (Jalland 2006:18). Victorian forms of grief, such as the wearing of black following a death, came to be seen as morbid and bad for morale. The extravagance and pageantry of nineteenth century funerals was seen as self-indulgent, and individual civilian deaths as insignificant compared to all of the soldiers who had died overseas (Jalland 2002:305). The trauma of WWI accelerated the shift toward more modest funeral and mourning practices that had been called for by reform associations since the 1870s. They argued against rigid mourning etiquette and encouraged simpler funerals (Jalland 2002:305). Wearing of full black mourning ended with WWI and by the Second World War (WWII) discreet signs of mourning, like the wearing of black armbands, was hardly to be seen (Griffin and Tobin 1982:24). Grief became privatised and its expression suppressed, with people concentrating on life and avoiding thoughts of death. This corresponded with increasing life expectancy and a decline in infant mortality in the early twentieth century (Jalland 2002:326).

The shift in attitudes can be seen in cemeteries in Australia from the 1920s, where there was a change towards smaller, less costly, monuments with simpler designs and less relief carving (Murray 2008:94). Iron fences bordering the grave, common in the nineteenth century, were replaced by stone kerbing, and with the growing technological advances in photography making photographs and cameras cheaper, there was a decline in the number of people requesting tomb photographs, as they could take their own of the person throughout their lifetime (Murray 2008:94). The grave and the cemetery began to become less central to grief in the early twentieth century as alternative forms of memorialisation and remembrance meant that the grave was not the only form of remembrance (Murray 2008:95).

3.4.1 Death Notices, Obituaries and In Memoriams

Death notices, obituaries and In Memoriams in newspapers were another form of public remembrance and expression. Death notices began to appear in the early nineteenth century as a way to notify people of a death and a funeral. Between 1841 and 1921 they were typically brief, factual and formal (Jalland 2002:123) and stated the same information about the deceased: time and place of death, age, relationship of the deceased to others, sometimes their cause of death and the details of the funeral. They also included small phrases such as 'at rest' or 'deeply regretted'. This style of death notice varied little until the 1990s (Jalland 2002:123).

Obituaries and In Memoriams developed in the mid to late nineteenth century when Victorian funerals and mourning rituals were in decline (Jalland 2002:305). In Memoriam notices emphasised the comforts of memory, with secondary themes of grief and eulogy. Unlike most mourning and funeral rituals, In Memoriam notices developed earlier and differently in Australia compared to Britain. English notices developed mainly in response to WWI and were fewer, simpler and more formal than Australian notices, despite changes that occurred in mourning practices following WWI (Jalland 2002:123, 173). In Australia, however, In Memoriam notices first appeared in the 1880s, a time of increasing religious doubt. They were a public and largely secular form of commemoration and particularly appealed to the working classes, who had lost contact with, and become disillusioned by, institutionalised religion (Jalland 2006:10). The first South Australian In Memoriam notices appeared in the *Adelaide Advertiser* in 1883, followed shortly after by newspapers in Sydney and Melbourne (Jalland 2002:173).

Obituaries, unlike death notices and In Memoriams, were written by journalists and reserved for the deaths of people who were deemed newsworthy – the important and the infamous. Before obituaries became a regular feature of the *Advertiser* in the 1880s they were sometimes included in reports of crime, executions and traumatic accidents or in stories of failed expeditions (Starck 2004:91). The tone of these pieces was eulogistic, a tribute full of sentiment and elaborate language. They were biographical portraits of the individual, including anecdotes of their life and the circumstances of their death, and were written about landowners, political and military leaders, prominent clergy, scientists, inventors, explorers and editors of newspapers (Starck 2004:92–93). The frequency and length of obituaries in the *Advertiser* declined in the early twentieth century, although they continued well into the twentieth century (Starck 2004:123, 172).

3.5 Conclusion

South Australia was a middle class enterprise that offered the middle class the opportunity to free themselves from the restrictions to upward social mobility and religious practices that they faced in Britain (Moss 1985:9). The British class system, however, was transported to South Australia through offering free passage to the working classes and restricting land ownership by increasing prices (Moss 1985:9; Wanna 1981:11). Once in South Australia, social classes separated themselves by creating boundaries, only associating with those they deemed 'suitable' or similar

to themselves (Bottero 2005:57; Bottero et al. 2009:143; Bourdieu 1984:56, 468; Prandy 1990:630; Stone 2010:115). These boundaries were governed by the ideologies of gentility and respectability which determined a person's status (McCalman 1982:90; Thompson 1988:198). These divisions also translated into mortuary practices. The middle class were free to commemorate their dead in elaborate and individual ways, embracing Victorian mortuary fashions and ideals, such as the good Christian death (Jalland 2002:52–53), while the middling and working classes focused on maintaining their respectability by giving their relatives a decent burial (Thompson 1988:200). These divisions were also present in newspaper notices, with the middle class celebrated in obituaries, while the other classes embraced In Memoriam notices (Jalland 2006:10; Starck 2004:92–93).

4 Methods

4.1 Introduction

To understand the relationship between social class and death and mourning, information on monuments in the cemetery were recorded and biographical information about the occupants of the graves collected.

4.2 Data Collection

4.2.1 Site Selection

West Terrace Cemetery was chosen as the site for this study due to its proximity to Adelaide, the urban capital of South Australia. The inhabitants of Adelaide were highly socially stratified, including very wealthy gentry and middle classes, as well as working and middling classes (Broomhill 1978:15; Hammond 2003:5; 2007:39; Richards 1986:123; Sumerling 1992:30). West Terrace Cemetery, as the cemetery that served Adelaide since its foundation, was, therefore, most likely to contain people from different levels of South Australian society (Nicol 1994:4). The cemetery, still in-use today, also allows for a comparison of class and death across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Griffin and Tobin 1982:24; Jalland 2002:305).

4.2.2 Headstone Recording

The first stage of data collection was to record and photograph headstones. Due to the size of the cemetery and the constraints of this thesis, the sample was limited to 150 headstones dating from 1870 to 1940. This range covers times of heightened class consciousness, including the establishment of trade unions and the eight-hour day movement in the late nineteenth century, as well as the high levels of unemployment caused by the Great Depression in the 1930s (Broomhill 1978:11; Moss 1985:94–95). It also covers a period of changing funeral and mortuary rituals and attitudes, from the Victorian nineteenth century to those of the twentieth century following WWI (Jalland 2002:305; 2006:18).

The goal of the fieldwork was to record the written (inscription) and stylistic (design and motif) information, as well as the dimensions and material of the headstones. Photographs were taken of

each monument for future reference. This fieldwork was carried out by nine archaeology students and graduates from Flinders University from the 9th to 13th of November, 2015.

The sample was divided into six sections of 25 to sample different areas and time periods of the cemetery. The samples taken from the cemetery surveyed were: Sample 1 (Road 1 North, rows 1E, 1, 4), Sample 2 (Road 1 South, rows 25, 28, 31), Sample 3 (Road 2, rows 8 and 11), Sample 4 (Road 3, rows 7 and 10), Sample 5 (Eyre North, rows 6N and 9N) and Sample 6 (Barker section, rows 2 and 5) (figure 4.1). Samples 1, 2, 3 and 4 are all within the original nineteenth century oval boundary of West Terrace Cemetery (figure 4.1 and figure 4.2). Sample 4 was also under the administration of the Church of England from 1849 until they relinquished control of their section in 1862 to the government (figure 4.1 and figure 4.2) (Nicol 1994:65). The sections of the cemetery that comprised both Samples 5 and 6 were added to the cemetery in 1904, representing a twentieth century section of the cemetery (figure 4.1 and figure 4.2) (Nicol 1994:203).

Figure 4.1: Sample Areas of West Terrace Cemetery. Map courtesy of Adelaide Cemetery Authority (http://www.aca.sa.gov.au/Portals/0/PDFs/Cemetery%20Maps/WTCMAP.pdf)
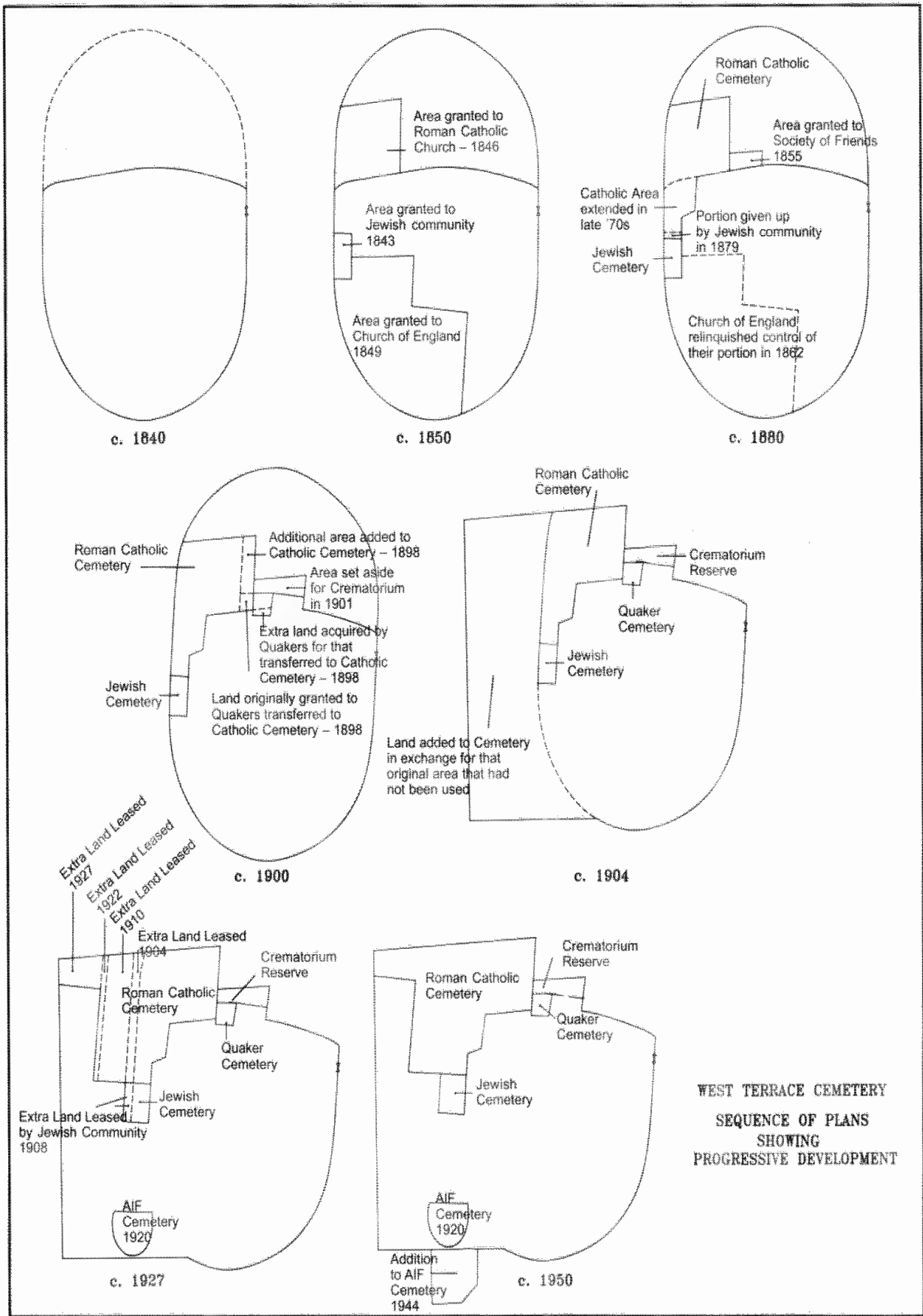
Figure 4.2: Development of West Terrace Cemetery over time (Nicol 1994:85)

In each section rows were selected for recording; these were spread out by only recording every third row. This was to ensure that the sample was not too closely clustered together. Twenty-five headstones within the date range of 1870 to 1940 were recorded in each section. Where there was more than one person interred in the grave, the date of the headstone was based on the first male or primary burial due to headstones often only being erected after the patriarch of the family died (Mytum 2000:54). The age of the person who was the primary burial was also limited to those aged 20 and over to ensure that they had an occupation that could be traced through historical records (see section 4.3).

Volunteer recorders worked in pairs to reduce individual bias and were encouraged to consult with others if they needed help. Each pair was provided with an instruction sheet on how to record and measure headstones (appendix 1), a reference guide to motifs (appendix 2), and a guide to identifying monument forms (appendix 3). These ensured that graves were measured and recorded consistently. The volunteers were also given Flinders University cemetery recording forms to ensure that the same information was recorded for each monument (appendix 4).

Using the recording form, volunteers first assigned the grave a reference number. This was made up of the cemetery section name, e.g. Road 2, the row number and a number assigned to the grave in the order that it was recorded. This was a way to identify the grave and its location. The religious denomination section of the form was left blank, as all of the areas recorded were in the general section of the cemetery which does not have denominational sections. The orientation was taken with a compass facing the same direction as the monument. Measurements of the monument were taken using a five-metre measuring tape. The total height was taken from the ground to the highest point of the monument. Plinth height was measured from the ground to the highest point on the plinth. Plinth depth was measured from the front of the plinth to the back. The headstone/monument height was taken from the top of the plinth to the highest point of the overall monument. The width was measured between the headstone's two widest points. Depth measured at the same location, perpendicular to width, from the front of the headstone to the back. The fence/border height was from the ground to its highest point. The inscription was recorded exactly as it was written down, key words relating to death or emotion were noted down (based on the list on the form, appendix 4) and any keywords at the beginning or end of the inscription that were not on the form, such as 'peace, perfect peace', were noted under 'Other'. The theme of the inscription was based on the style of language and its content. It was marked as

emotive if emotive words and phrases were used, such as 'beloved' and 'In loving memory of'. If there was information about their life, such as an occupation, it was marked as biographical and if there were any references to god, heaven or biblical quotes it was marked as religious. Inscriptions with no embellishment and only names and dates of death were marked as factual.

Where monuments were too tall to be measured with a tape measure, a clinometer was used to measure height. This was done by taking the percentage reading from the clinometer, the height the instrument was from the ground and the distance the measurer was from the monument. The height was then calculated using the following equation: height = percent reading/100 x distance from object in metres. To this the clinometer's height from the ground was added.

After the graves were recorded they were photographed with a digital SLR camera, using a measuring rod for scale. Close up shots were also taken of any motifs for future reference. The photo numbers were then noted on the headstone recording form. The recording forms were then collected at the end of each day and any mistakes corrected. All of the information on the cemetery recording forms were then collated into an excel spreadsheet for data analysis.

4.2.3 Archival Research

4.2.3.1 Death Certificates

The second stage of data collection was to go to the Genealogy South Australia Research Library to look at death certificates and marriage certificates for the people interred in the graves. Through death and marriage certificates their occupation, rank or profession and therefore an approximate measure of their social class could be identified.

From the 150 graves that were recorded there were 277 individuals over the age of 20. Due to the constraints of this thesis this number needed to be reduced. This was done by limiting the number of people researched per grave to two. If there were more than two people interred in a plot only the main married couple were researched. If there were multiple generations in the plot the oldest married couple within the date range were chosen. By doing so the number of people was reduced from 277 to 226.

Women's occupations could not be researched due to the fact that most of their death certificates only listed their marital status or the occupation of their husband. Due to this the social class of the grave was based on the husband's occupation. If this could not be found and if it was a group plot, the occupation of the next male buried in the grave was used. If there was no other male,

and if the female's death certificate did not list an occupation, the grave had to be excluded from the study. Where a death certificate did not list a person's occupation, or if their death certificate was lost, their marriage certificate was used instead. The marriage certificate would, however, list an earlier occupation, so for seven of the graves the assumption had to be made that they did not shift much in their class position across their lifetime. If they did not marry and their occupation was not listed in a death notice, In Memoriam or obituary, they were left out of this study.

4.2.3.2 Death Notices, In Memoriams and Obituaries

The third stage of data collection was to search through South Australian newspapers on Trove for marriage notices, death notices, In Memoriams and obituaries. This information allowed religion to be identified and the relationship between class, newspaper death notices and grave monuments to be explored.

Trove contains digitised copies of all of the major Adelaide newspapers, such as *The Observer* and *The Register*, *The Chronicle* and *The Advertiser*, as well as regional newspapers from across South Australia. Digital copies of *The Observer* and *The Register* are available from their establishment in 1839 and 1843 until 1931 when they were both bought by *The Advertiser*. *The Chronicle* and *The Advertiser* are available on Trove from their establishment in 1858 until 1954. The name of the person was used to search Trove with their residence, initials, date of death and names of their family members used to confirm their identify. Where search terms did not produce a result, the family notices section of newspapers were searched on the date of their death. If this did not find a result they were marked as having no notice.

Death notices and In Memoriams were recorded using a standardised recording form (appendix 5). This was to ensure that the same information was recorded for each. The grave reference number and the name of the person was used to identify them and their grave. The type of notice was then recorded, as was the length of the notice in terms of the number of lines. The language used was recorded using the same criteria as headstone inscriptions, with the style of language and key wording being noted.

These criteria, however, did not apply to obituaries which required a different set of criteria. A checklist of possible content in obituaries was used as a way to evaluate which information was or was not included (appendix 6). This list includes sections on the types of accomplishments that were listed and what information was included in the obituary, such as where they were born,

occupation, references to family, how they arrived in South Australia and how they died. The number of lines were counted to measure the length of the obituary.

4.2.3.3   Identifying Religious Adherence

The religious differences between headstones needed to be understood since the general section of West Terrace Cemetery was not divided according to religion, although there was a section of the general cemetery given to the Anglican church in 1849 (figure 4.1) (Nicol 1994:65). Identifying the religion of the graves' occupants was achieved by identifying the minister who conducted the service at their wedding or funeral. This was found through their marriage notice in newspapers or mention in their obituary of the name of the religious figure who performed their funeral service. The religion of the minister was then found through researching their name in Trove to find articles which included the church they belonged to, such as religious news articles or their obituary.

4.3 Class Groupings

The class groupings for the graves recorded at West Terrace Cemetery (appendix 7) were based on the rank, profession or occupation listed on death or marriage certificates of the primary burial, as well as any additional information that could be gained through obituaries, death notices and newspaper articles about the occupants of the graves.

The use of occupations to study the socioeconomic stratification of society has a long history dating back to the origins of sociology in the mid nineteenth century (Jones and McMillan 2001:539). Occupations have been, and continue to be, widely used in the social sciences to study past and present society (Bottero et al. 2009:147; Jones and McMillan 2001:539; Prandy and Bottero 1998:7). These studies have used a person's occupation to place them into a social class and hierarchy, to track patterns of social mobility and to map patterns of social interaction and space (Bottero et al. 2009:143; Prandy and Bottero 2000:265; Wright 1980:177). For instance, sociologists at the University of Cambridge base their occupation scale on patterns of social interaction, using occupation as a tag to identify a person's social location and who they interacted with in social space (Bottero 2005:57; Bottero et al. 2009:143; Prandy 1990:630; Prandy and Bottero 1998:2; Prandy and Bottero 2000:265). Using this method, they have studied social mobility and interaction in Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Prandy and Bottero 2000:265). Analysing the occupations of marriage partners' families, Prandy and

Bottero found that the majority of people choose to marry people in a similar social position to themselves (Prandy and Bottero 1998:14; Prandy and Bottero 2000:266–267). Levels of social mobility were also found to be relatively stable throughout people's lifetimes and cross-generationally, with children heavily influenced by their parents' occupations and maintaining the social positon of their parents (Prandy and Bottero 1998:14; Prandy and Bottero 2000:276–277). These results, and the widespread use of occupation as an indicator of social class, demonstrate the social meaning of an occupation and the relationship between occupations and social class (Jones and McMillan 2001:539).

The general class structure of nineteenth and twentieth century Adelaide has been reconstructed from occupations using a combination of Marx's means of production and Bourdieu's concept of capital, as well as a range of primary and secondary sources (Broomhill 1978; Donovan 1992; Hammond 2007; Hirst 1973; Moss 1985; Stone 2010; Thornton 1992; van Dissel 1986). The type of occupation and the level of skill, or cultural capital, that was required to perform it was considered; for example, white collar jobs were of a higher status and more respectable than blue collar jobs, while trades, such as carpentry or masonry, that required more training were regarded more highly than people who were labourers (Broomhill 1978:24; Watt 2006:779). The ideologies of gentility and respectability also needed to be understood in conjunction with these class categories, since these were the key to upward social mobility. Those who conformed were accepted by society and accredited with a higher status than those who did not (Briggs 2006:2; Karskens 1998:229; Young 2003:60). Using these sources, four class categories were identified: middle class, middling class, skilled working class and unskilled working class.

The middle class were the owners of the means of production, such as business owners, and people with high amounts of capital, such as artists and intellectuals who held large amounts of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984:125; van Dissel 1986:339–359; Young 2003:57–58). This class also includes professional occupations, such as doctors and lawyers. Farmers who also lived in Adelaide were classified as middle class due to their ownership of land and the possession of sufficient wealth or economic capital to live in Adelaide away from their property.

The middling class included workers with more power and authority, such as managers, and those who ran small businesses, such as the owners of stores, shops and hotels who lived and worked out of the same establishment (Ferry 1999:98).

The skilled working class owned no means of production, but learned a trade or did further education, such as an apprenticeship, and included carpenters, masons and blacksmiths. Occupations such as clerks, a respectable white collar job with little authority and some cultural capital, were also included in this class.

The unskilled working class were people who neither owned the means of production nor had any cultural capital. This class was made up of low skilled workers who performed manual work, such as labourers and factory workers. They were also at a higher risk of unemployment and losing their respectability than the skilled working class (Broomhill 1978: 19–20, 24; Wanna and Broomhill 1981:103).

These are, however, generalisations of what the class structure was across this time period. They are broad categories that do not capture the variability that would have existed in the way that people identified and thought of themselves and their position within society. It has, however, been constructed to be as nuanced as possible given the available data and sources.

4.4 Statistical Analysis

Statistical tests were carried out on the death notice data to test whether or not differences between emotive and factual themes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were statistically significant. A likelihood ratio was chosen to test the results due to the small sample size, which was unsuitable for a chi square test.

4.5 Limitations

Due to the nature of the historical record and site formation processes, this study had a number of limitations.

The site formation processes of West Terrace Cemetery and the way certain headstone materials weathered impacted which headstones could be included in the study. The headstones needed to be relatively intact, with their inscription complete and legible. This meant that monuments that were too badly weathered or broken could not be included, creating a bias towards monuments that were made of more durable materials, such as marble.

There is also a bias towards the twentieth century due to fewer nineteenth century graves surviving in the sample areas. From the areas that were sampled twenty-three graves dating from

the nineteenth century were recorded compared to the 122 graves from the twentieth century. This means that any comparison between social classes across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be limited by the small sample from each class in the nineteenth century. However, of the twentieth century graves, 27 predate WWI and the changes to attitudes to death that followed it. Adding these graves to the nineteenth century sample increases it to 50, reducing the twentieth century sample to 95 and reducing some of this bias.

The nature of the historical record also caused problems. Five graves had to be left out of the study because an occupation could not be found for them, reducing the total sample from 150 to 145. There were also limitations in the search for newspaper notices. No notices could be found for 18 individuals. This means that only the information from their headstone was included in this study. However, in total, 295 death notices, in Memoriams and obituaries were found for 189 people who were interred in the 145 graves included in this study.

The lack of marriage notices in newspapers was also a limitation. Religion could only be identified for 70 graves through marriage notices and obituaries—just under half of the 145 headstone sample. The West Terrace Cemetery burial register was also consulted, but this only contained basic information about the people interred in each grave, such as name and date of death. Without at least some indication of religion it was impossible to search church records. This means that some of the differences between grave monuments could potentially be due to religious differences instead of social class. However, the graves whose religion has been identified can be compared to studies in Britain that have examined the differences between Anglican and Nonconformist grave monuments (Mytum 2002; Sayer 2011). This will allow for an understanding of which differences between monuments are likely to be due to religion and which are not.

5 Results: Headstone Data

5.1 Introduction

The graphs and tables in this chapter outline the headstone data that were collected for each social class from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

5.2 Social Class in West Terrace Cemetery

Headstones in West Terrace Cemetery from the nineteenth century are predominantly those of the middle class (46%) (figure 5.1). The unskilled working class, skilled working class and middling class each represented 18% of the sample (figure 5.1). These frequencies changed in the twentieth century as the skilled working class became dominant (40%) (figure 5.2). The proportion of middle and middling class graves decreased from the nineteenth to twentieth century, while the proportion of unskilled working class graves increased (figure 5.1 and figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1: Nineteenth Century West Terrace Cemetery Class Groups

Figure 5.2: Twentieth Century West Terrace Cemetery Class Groups
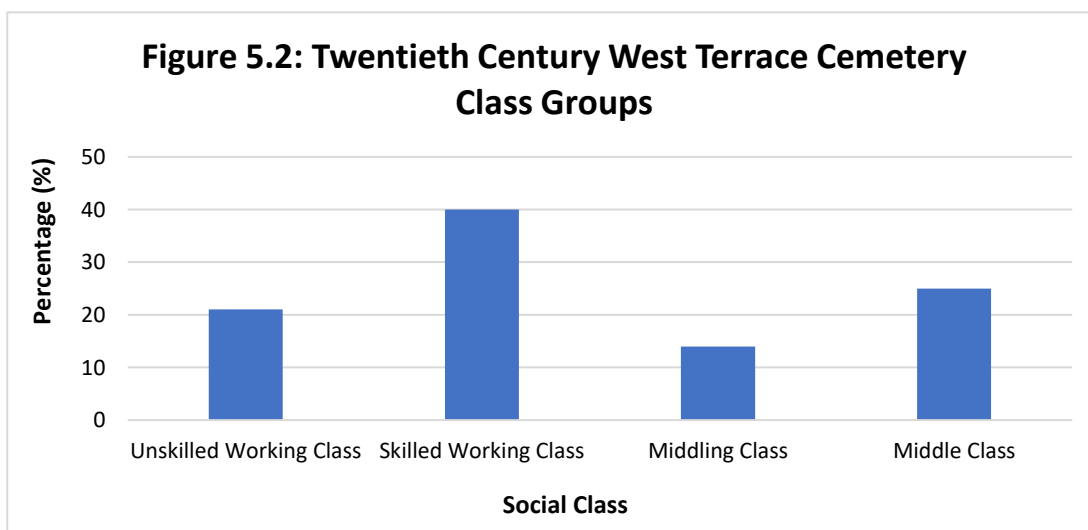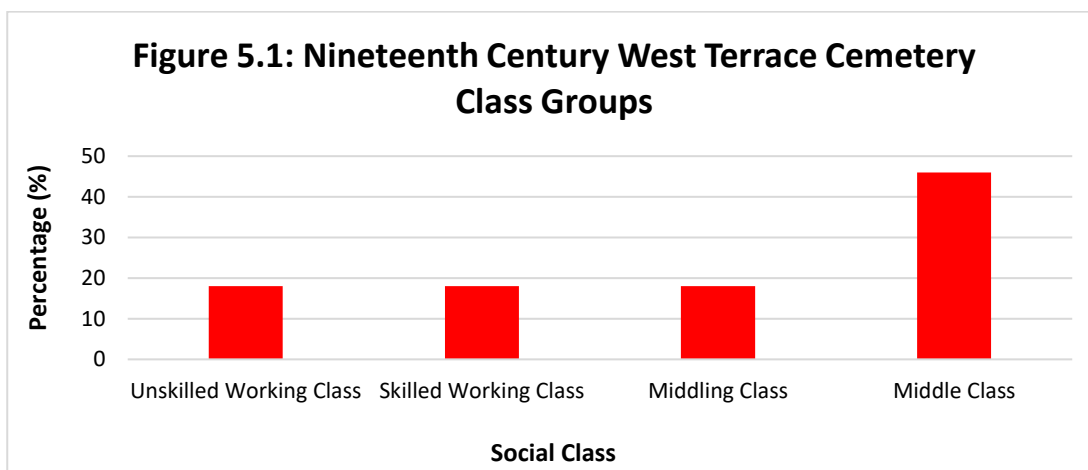
5.3 Headstones and Monuments

5.3.1 Burial Plot Type

5.3.1.1 Unskilled Working Class

The unskilled working class in the nineteenth century were predominantly buried in double (44%) and individual plots (33%). This trend continued into the twentieth century, with Individual and double burial plots each representing 45% and 40% (figure 5.3). Group plots were less common, representing 22% of the nineteenth century and 15% of the twentieth century sample (figure 5.3). The number of interments in these plots also decreased from four to six individuals in the nineteenth century to three in the twentieth century. The unskilled working class were the only class to have a high number of individual plots in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figures 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6).

Figure 5.3: Unskilled Working Class Plot Type
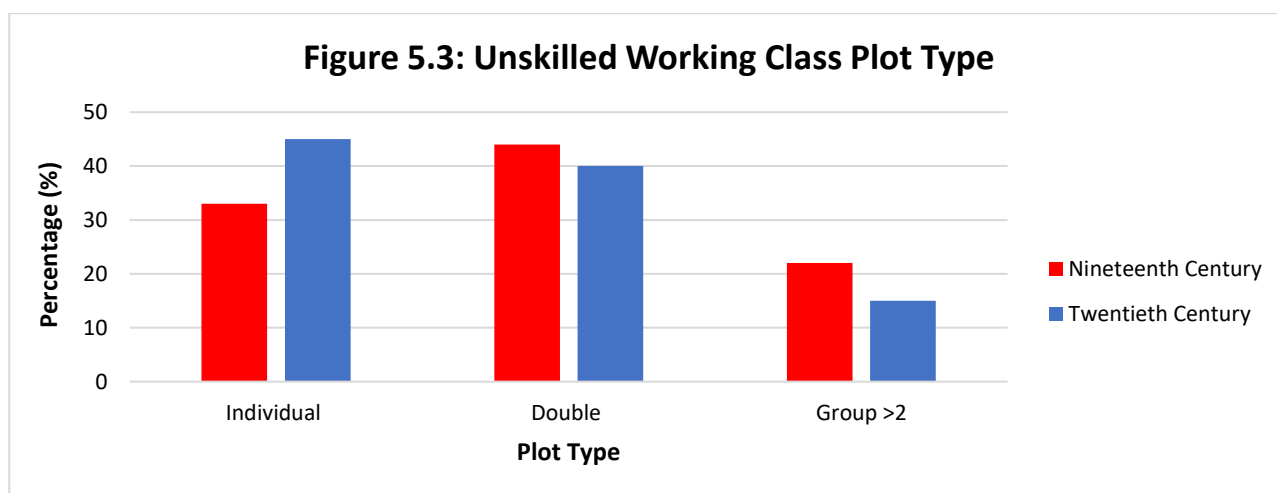
5.3.1.2 Skilled Working Class

The skilled working class in the nineteenth century were predominantly buried in double plots (55%) (figure 5.4). These commonly commemorated a married couple on a single headstone. Group plots were less common (33%). These were family plots with one monument and four to six interments. Individual plots only made up 11%, significantly lower than the 33% of individual plots amongst the unskilled working class (figure 5.3 and 5.4). The twentieth century skilled working class graves followed a similar pattern, with double plots continuing to be the dominant type (47%), while group plots remained relatively the same (32%). Individual plots, however, increased by 10% (figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Skilled Working Class Plot Type
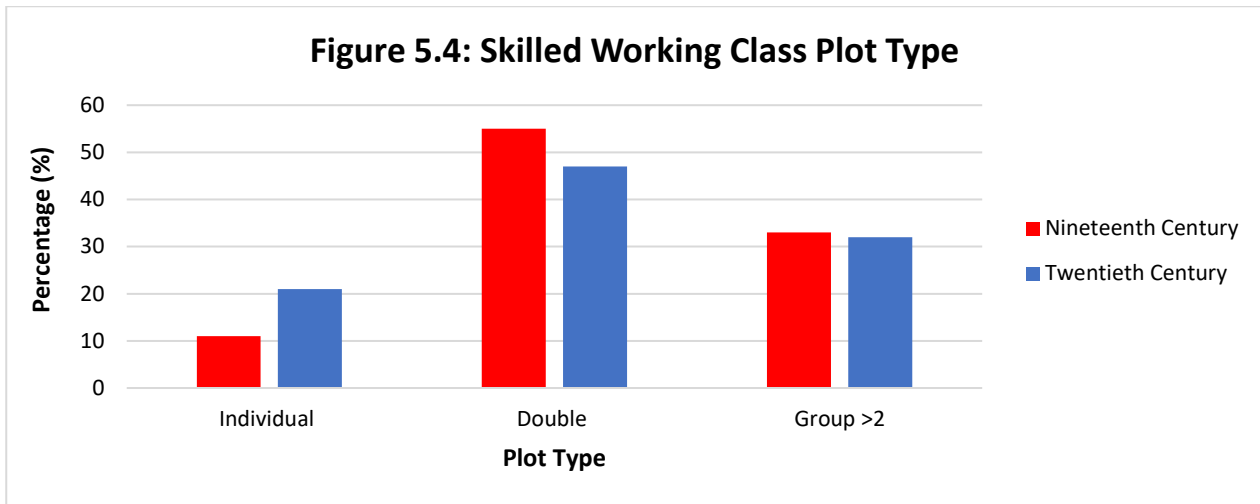
5.3.1.3 Middling Class

The nineteenth century middling class sample, like the unskilled and skilled working class (figure 5.3 and figure 5.4), was predominantly made up of double plots (56%). These each contained four to six people memorialised on one monument. In the twentieth century, group plots became the dominant type (46%) (figure 5.5), making the middling class the only group to have a majority of group plots in the twentieth century (figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.6). These were mainly plots with three interments (67%) (table 5.1), usually parents with an unmarried or young child. Double plots were the second largest group (39%). Individual plots represented a lower percentage than the unskilled and skilled working classes in the twentieth century (15%) (figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5), as middling class families chose to be buried together in double or group plots.

Figure 5.5: Middling Class Plot Type
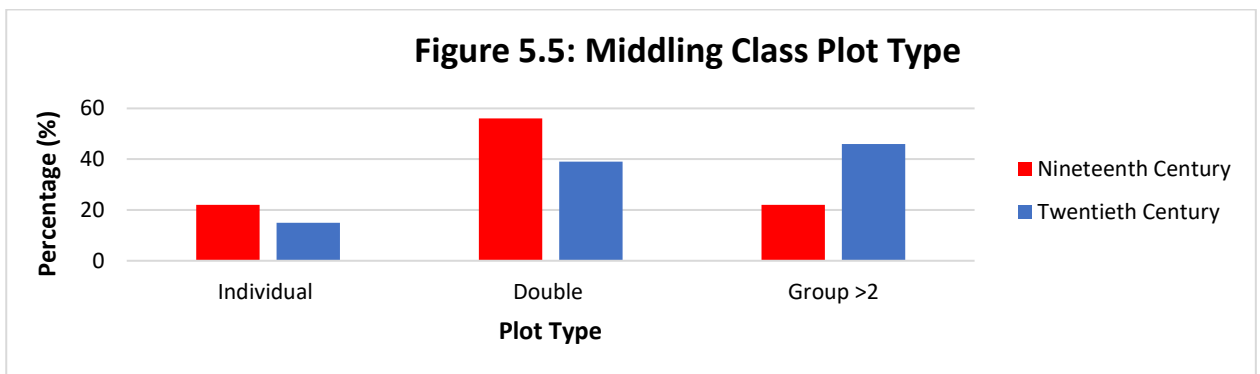
Number of Interments	Number (%)	Number of Monuments	Number (%)
3	67	1	33
4 to 6	33	2	50
6 to 8	0	3	0
8 to 10	0	4	17

Table 5.1: Twentieth century middling class number of interments and monuments

5.3.1.4 Middle Class

The middle class nineteenth century sample, unlike the other classes (figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5), was predominantly made up of group plots (69%) (figure 5.6). These were mainly family plots with one monument (69%) (table 5.2), sometimes representing multiple generations of the same family, with the number of interments as high as 13 people (12%) (table 5.2). However, the majority of group plots contained four to six people (44%) (table 5.2). In the twentieth century the number of group plots decreased (29%) as the middle class changed their preference to double plots (54%) (figure 5.6). Middle class group plots, however, continued to have a high number of interments on one monument, with 57% containing between six to ten people (table 5.3).

Figure 5.6: Middle Class Plot Type
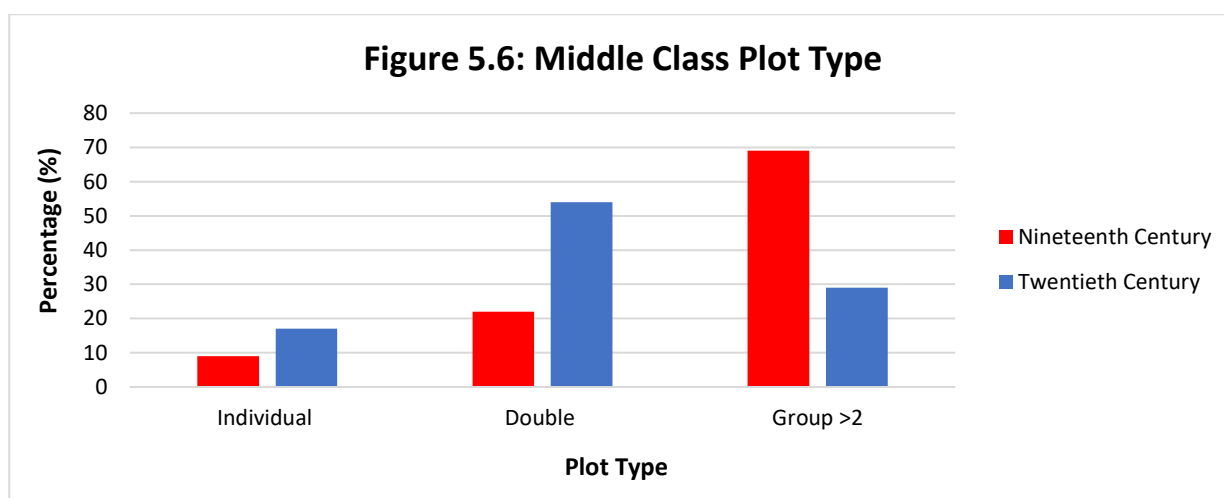
Number of interments	Number (%)	Number of Monuments	Number (%)
3	25	1	62
4 to 6	44	2	0
8 to 10	19	3	19
over 10	12	4	19

Table 5.2: Nineteenth century middle class group plot number of interments and monuments

Number of Interments	Number (%)	Number of Monuments	Number (%)
3	43	1	57
4 to 6	0	2	14
6 to 8	14	3	0
8 to 10	43	4	29

Table 5.3: Twentieth century middle class group plot number of interments and monuments

5.3.2 Material

The monuments in West Terrace Cemetery are predominantly made of marble (Muller 2006:58). This is reflected by the fact that across both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries marble was the dominant material choice (table 5.4 and table 5.5). Granite begins to appear in the twentieth century, but, it was still in the minority (table 5.5). The middle class were the only class to combine different materials in the same monument (table 5.5).

Social Class	Monument Material				
	Marble (%)	Granite (%)	Slate (%)	Sandstone (%)	Combination (%)
Unskilled Working Class	89		11		
Skilled Working Class	100				
Middling Class	89			11	
Middle Class	96		4		

Table 5.4: Nineteenth century headstone/ monument materials

Social Class	Monument Material				
	Marble (%)	Granite (%)	Slate (%)	Sandstone (%)	Combination (%)
Unskilled Working Class	100				
Skilled Working Class	82	18			
Middling Class	85	15			
Middle Class	75	17			8

Table 5.5: Twentieth century headstone/ monument materials

5.3.3 Height

5.3.3.1 Unskilled Working Class

Monument heights for the unskilled working class in the nineteenth century were mostly between 100 to 150 cm (44%) (figure 5.7). In the twentieth century there was increased variation and a reduction in height, with 35% of monuments between 80 to 100 cm and 30% between 20 to 50 cm (figure 5.7).

Compared to other class groups (figures 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10) the unskilled working class erected smaller monuments in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with few being over 150 cm tall (figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Unskilled Working Class Total Monument Height
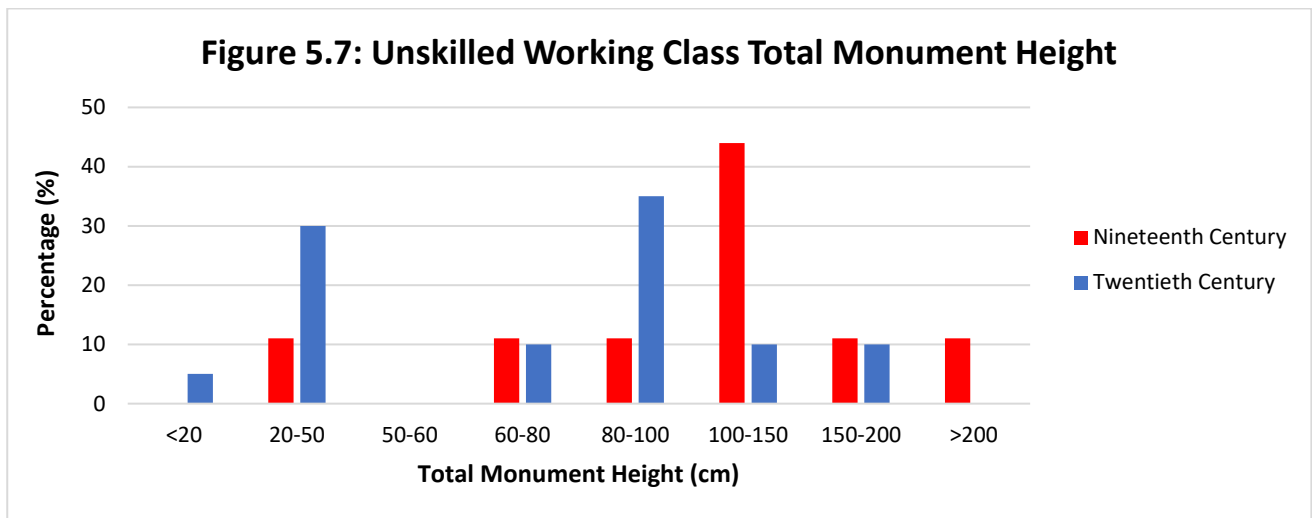
5.3.3.2 Skilled Working Class

The skilled working class monuments in the nineteenth century were relatively uniform, with 67% between 150 and 200 cm in height (figure 5.8). In the twentieth century there was a reduction in height, with monuments between 20 and 50 cm in height the most common (29%). However, there was also increased variation in height, with 36% of monuments between a metre and two metres tall (figure 5.8).

The skilled working class erected larger monuments in the nineteenth century than both the unskilled working class (figure 5.7) and the middling class (figure 5.9), with the majority of their monuments over a metre tall (figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Skilled Working Class Total Monument Height
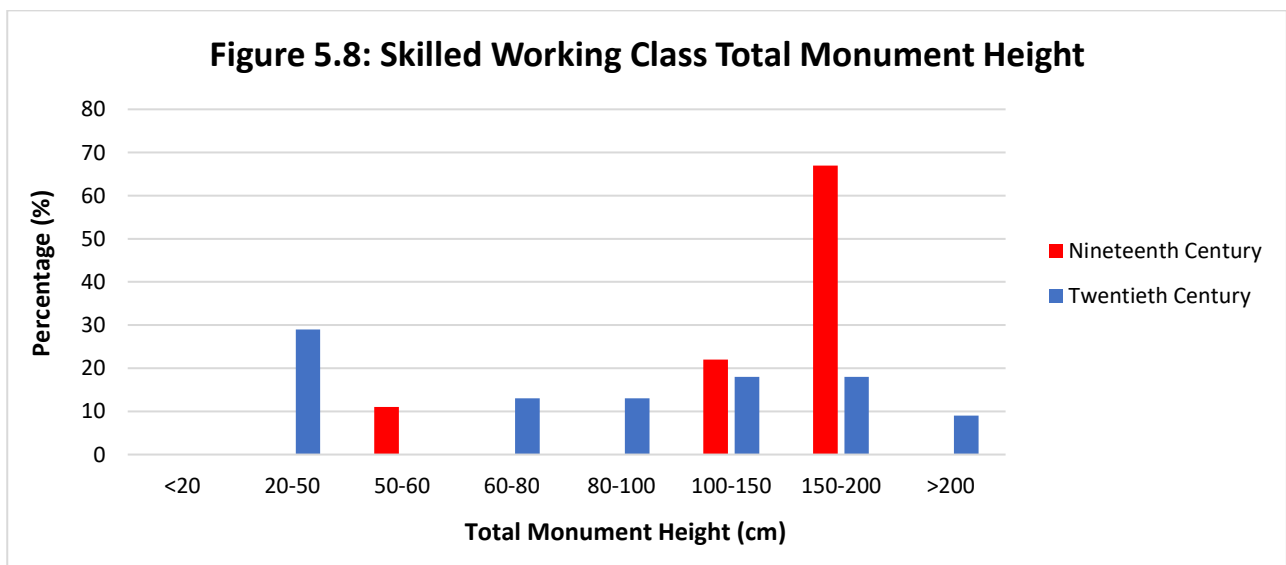
5.3.3.3 Middling Class

The monuments of the middling class in the nineteenth century were mostly between 100 to 150 cm and 150 to 200 cm in height, with each representing 44% (figure 5.9). In the twentieth century there was more variation in height, as monuments between 20 to 50 cm tall began to appear, although, monuments 100 to 150 cm continued to be dominant amongst the middling class (figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Middling Class Total Monument Height
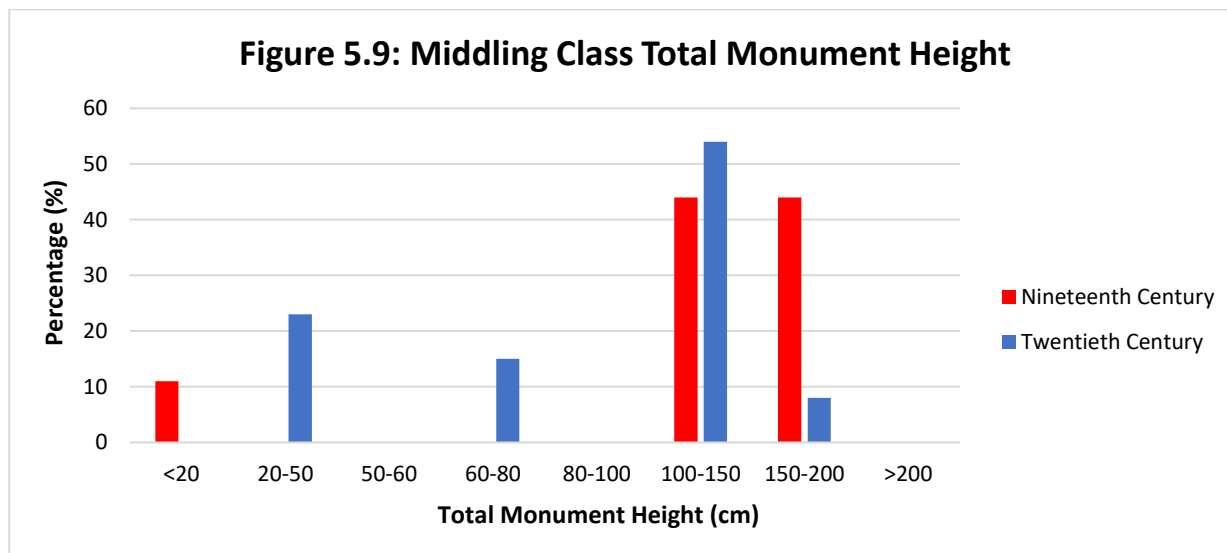
5.3.3.4 Middle Class

Middle class monuments were mostly between a metre and two metres in height in the nineteenth century, although there was also a significant proportion of middle class monuments over two metres in height (22%), the largest of which was nearly four metres tall (figure 5.10). In the twentieth century the middle class continued to erect tall monuments over a metre in height, with monuments over two metres representing 21% of the sample (figure 5.10). Monuments of this height were rare in other social class samples. Smaller monuments under a metre in height, relatively rare in the nineteenth century, became more common in the twentieth (figures 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Middle Class Total Monument Height
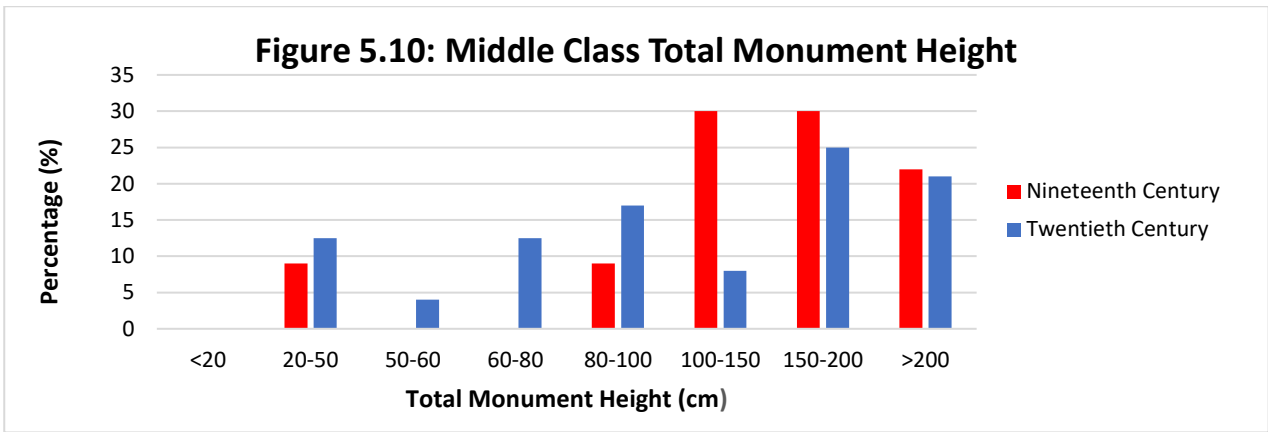
5.3.4 Monument Form

5.3.4.1 Unskilled Working Class

The monuments of the unskilled working class in the nineteenth century were predominantly tablets (56%), followed by block/pedestal forms (22%) (figure 5.11). The style of tablet varied, but they were mainly semicircular in shape (figure 5.12). This changed in the twentieth century as scroll styled monuments became dominant (40%), although tablets continued to be popular, making up the majority of the rest of the sample (30%) (figure 5.11). These were mainly cambered tablets (50%) (figure 5.12).

Figure 5.11: Unskilled Working Class Monument Form
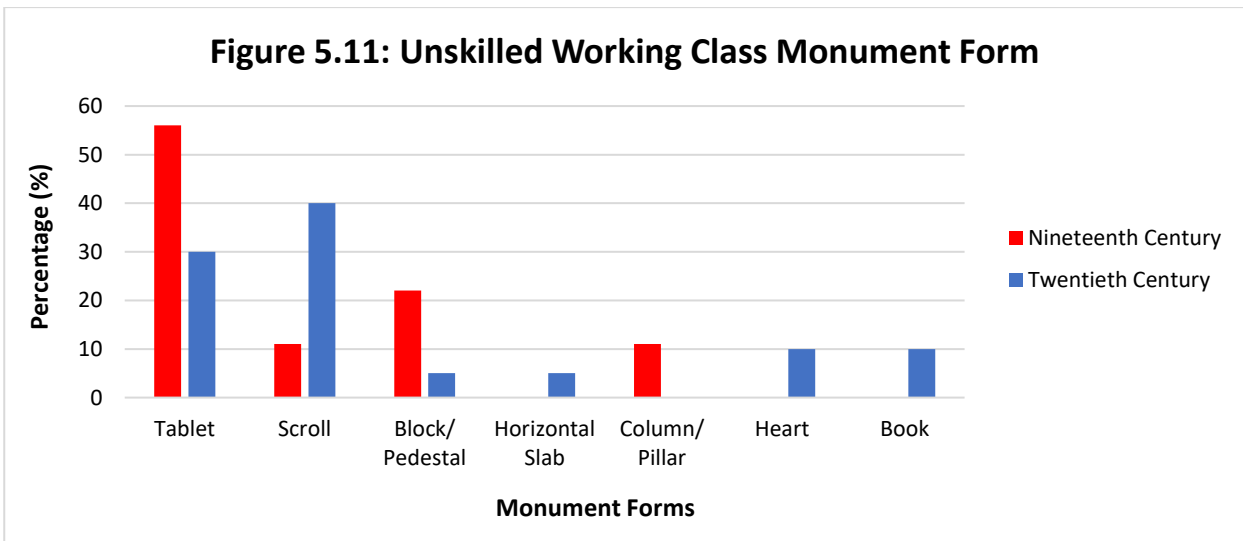
Figure 5.12: Unskilled Working Class Tablet Form
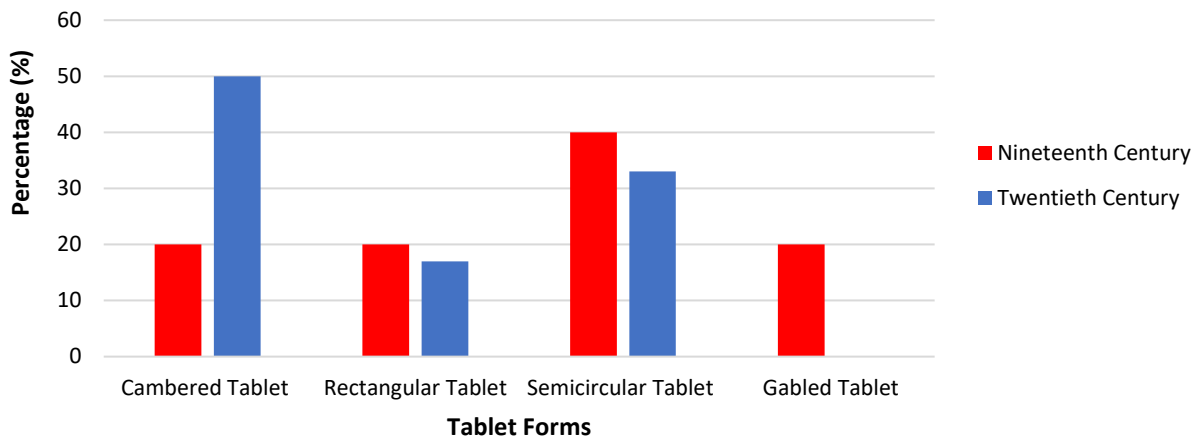
5.3.4.2 Skilled Working Class

Tablet forms dominated the skilled working class in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, representing 89% and 40% of each sample (figure 5.13). The tablet forms of the skilled working class also followed the monument choices of the unskilled working class, with semicircular tablets dominant in the nineteenth century and cambered tablets in the twentieth (figure 5.12 and figure 5.13). The twentieth century also saw the appearance of more monument forms. Block monuments equaled scroll monuments in popularity, each representing 18% (figure 5.12).

Figure 5.13: Skilled Working Class Monument Form
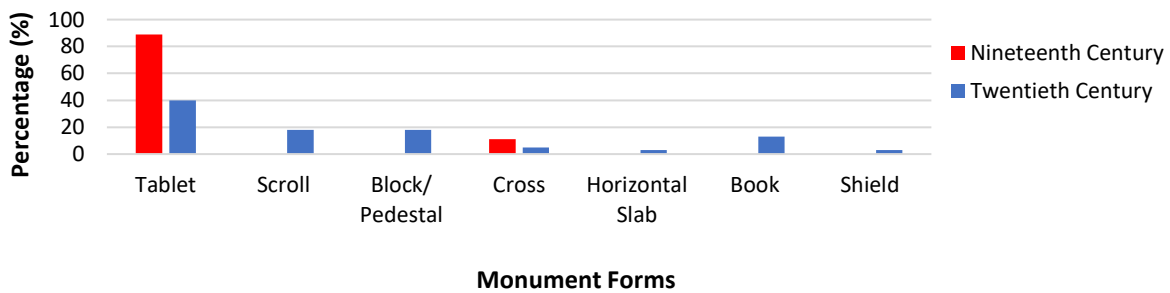
Figure 5.14: Skilled Working Class Tablet Form
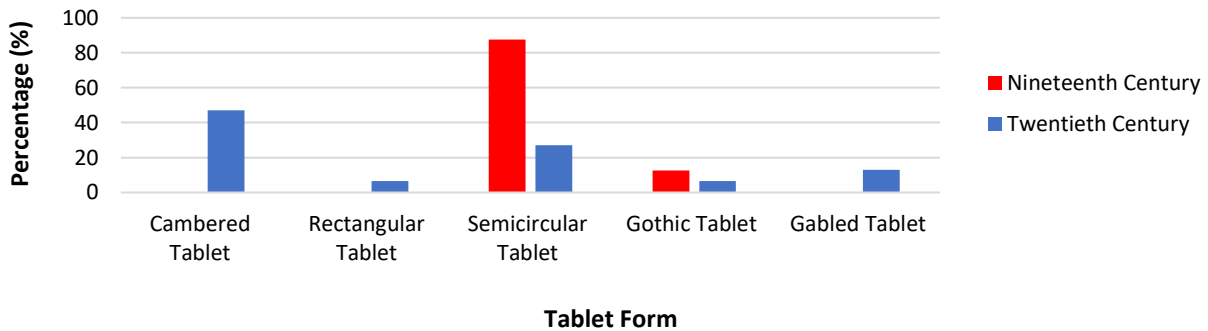
5.3.4.3   Middling Class

The middling class mainly erected tablet monuments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, representing 56% and 46% of each sample (figure 5.15). Nineteenth century tablets were predominantly semicircular and gothic in style, each representing 40% (figure 5.16). In the twentieth century semicircular tablets were the most common (50%). Cambered tablets, the dominant tablet form of the unskilled and skilled working classes in the twentieth century (figure 5.12 and figure 5.14), only made up 33% of the middling class sample (figure 5.16). Cross monuments, rarely chosen by the skilled working class (figure 5.13) and absent from the unskilled working class sample (figure 5.11), made up 22% of the nineteenth century middling class sample (figure 5.15).

Figure 5.15: Middling Class Monument Form

Figure 5.16: Middling Class Tablet Form
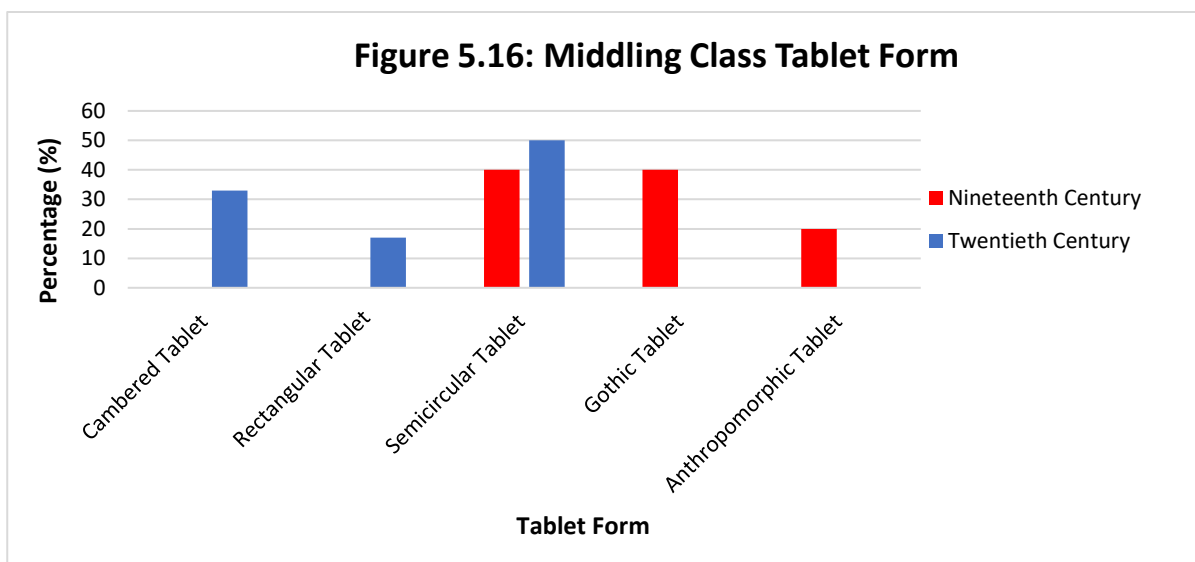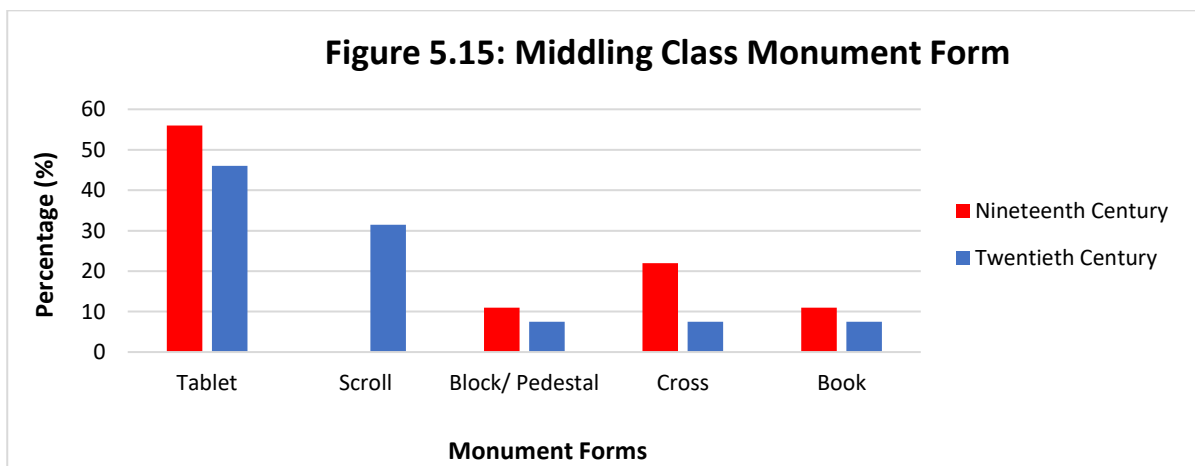
5.3.4.4 Middle Class

The middle class had the greatest variation in monument forms in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figures 5.11, 5.13, 5.15 and 5.17). These included more elaborate forms, such as altars, tall column monuments and combination forms (figure 5.17). For example, the monument of the Delbridge family plot was a block monument with a scroll, topped with a sculpture of an angel placing a wreath on a cross (figure 5.19). Although a minority, these monuments were highly visible features within the cemetery landscape.

The dominant monument form for the middle class in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, like the skilled working class and middling class (figure 5.13 and figure 5.15), was the tablet. However, cambered tablets, dominant amongst the other social classes in the twentieth century (figures 5.11, 5.13 and 5.15), were completely absent from the middle class sample (figure 5.18). The middle class tablet forms were dominated by semicircular tablets in the nineteenth century and rectangular tablets in the twentieth century.

Cross and block/pedestal monuments were also popular choices in the nineteenth century (figure 5.17). Cross monuments were varied in their design, with Latin, Celtic and gothic revival crosses present. Block monuments also varied in form, as half were topped with draped urns. Like the other social classes, scroll styled monuments grew in popularity in the twentieth century, nearly equaling tablets and equating to 25% of the sample (figure 5.17).

Figure 5.17: Middle Class Monument Form

Figure 5.18: Middle Class Tablet Form
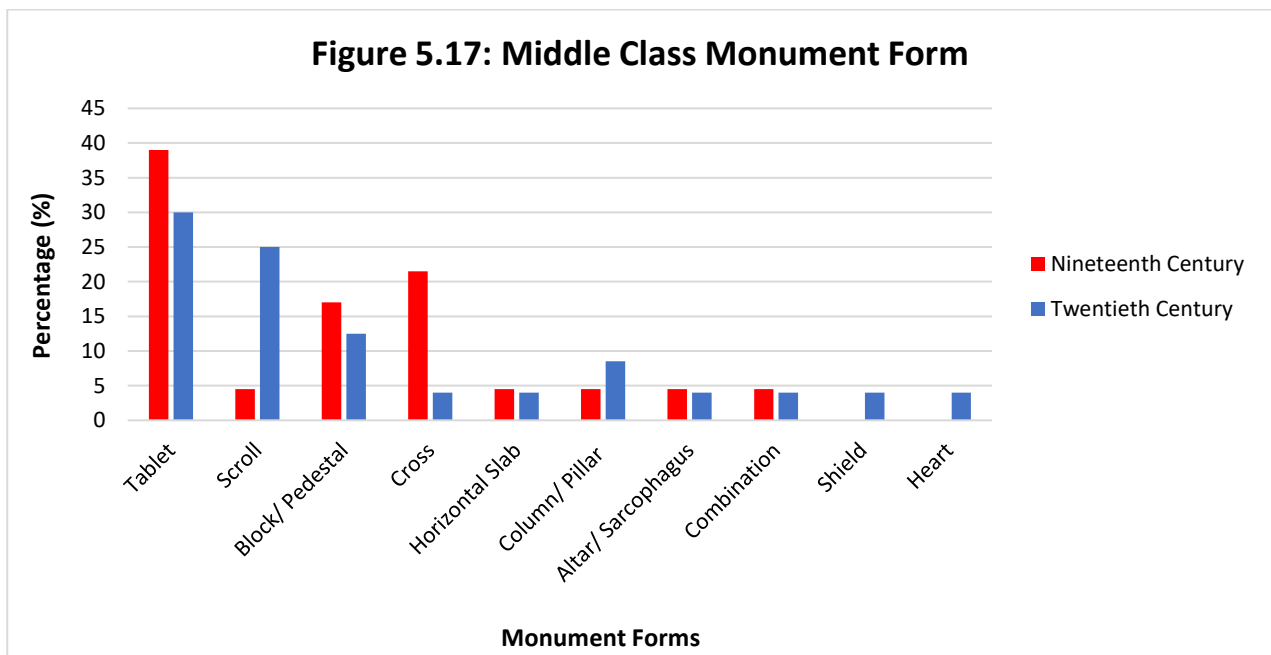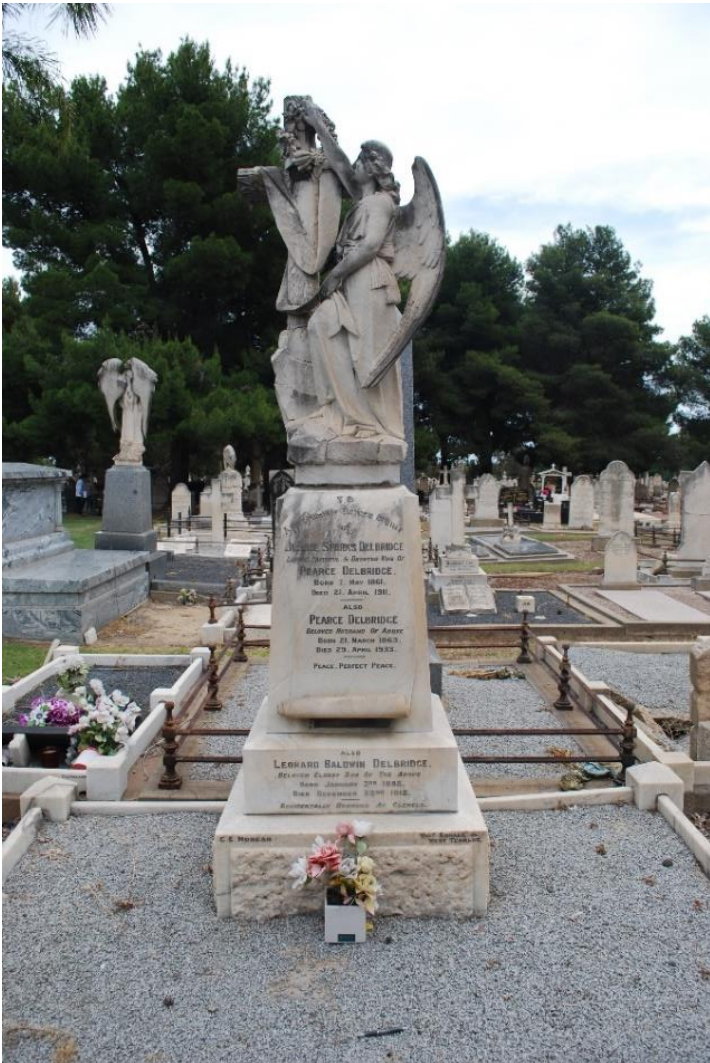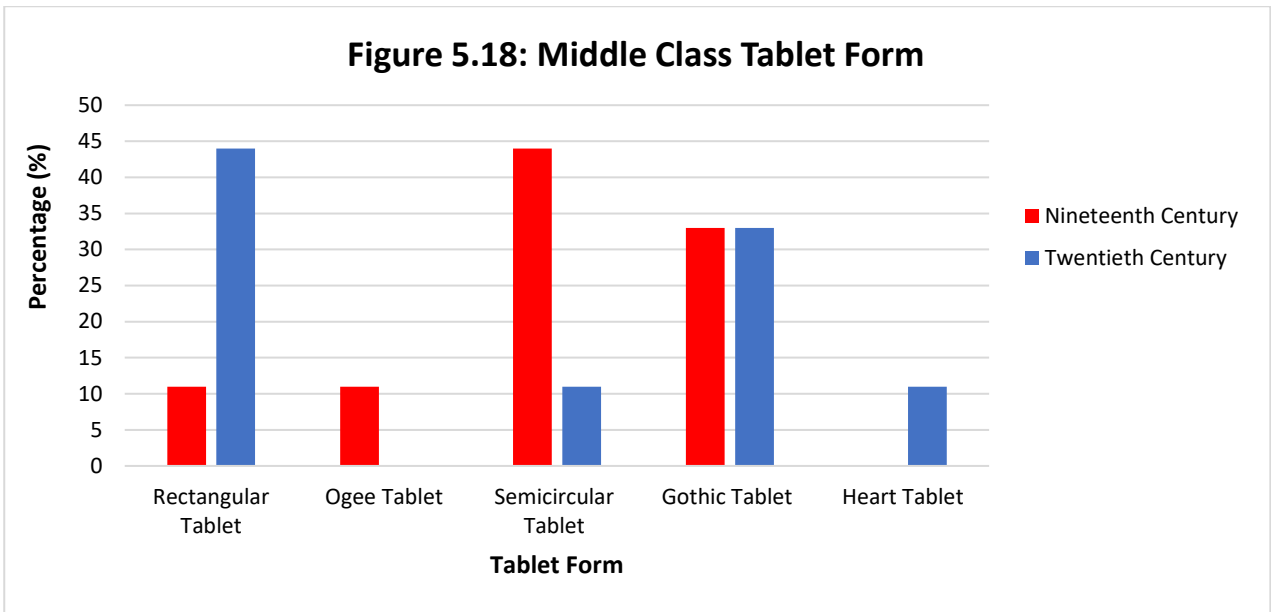
Figure 5.19: Delbridge family plot (grave reference: Road 1N, E1. 11)

5.3.5 Motifs

5.3.5.1 Unskilled Working Class

The majority of unskilled working class monuments in the nineteenth century had no motif (78%) (figure 5.20). Motifs used on the remainder included flowers, ivy, a chain and an urn (figure 5.21). A variety of flowers were recorded, including roses, poppies and lilies. In the twentieth century motifs became more common, with the majority including one motif (55%). The number of monuments without any motifs fell to 25%, as unskilled working class monuments became more decorative (figure 5.20). The variety of motifs also increased. Scroll, rock and book motifs became more common as monument forms became more symbolic (figure 5.11 and figure 5.21). Flowers maintained their popularity (15.4%) (figure 5.21), including poppies, lilies and daffodils.

Figure 5.20: Unskilled Working Class Number of Motifs Per Monument

Figure 5.21: Unskilled Working Class Motif Type
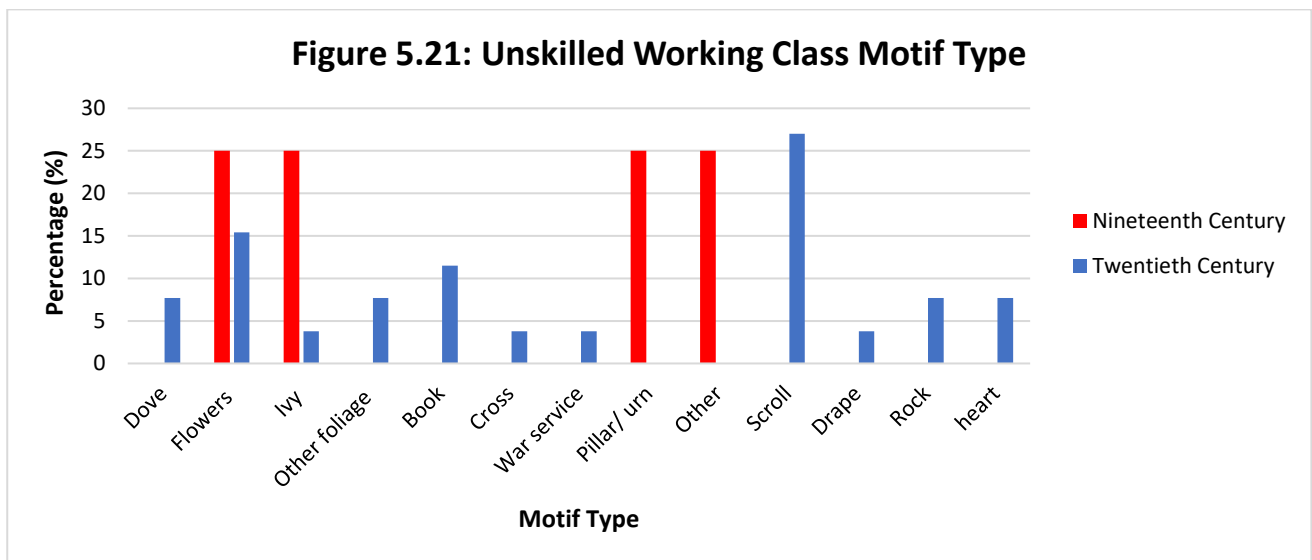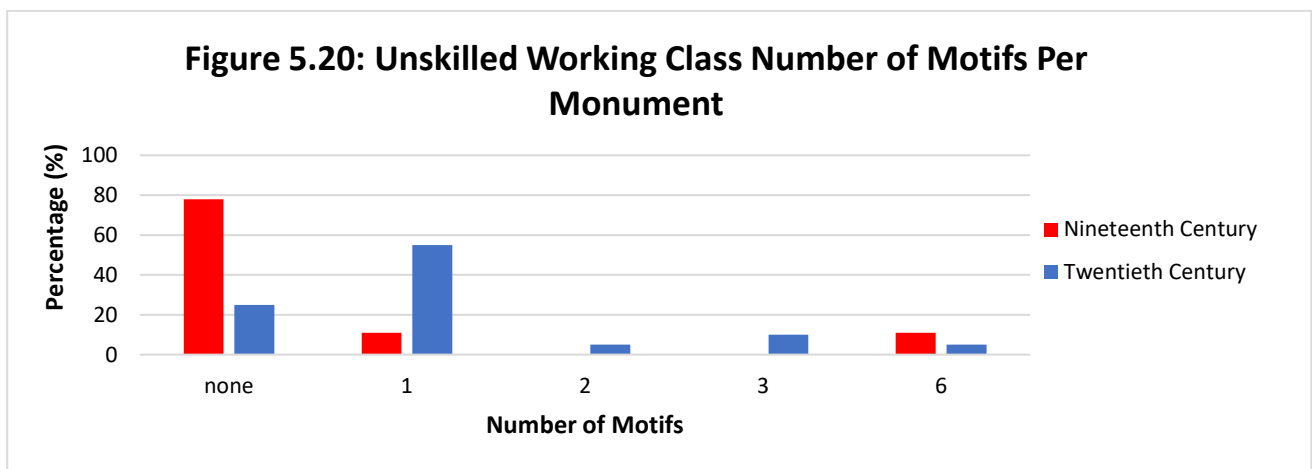
5.3.5.2 Skilled Working Class

The skilled working class, unlike the unskilled working class (figure 5.20), had a majority of monuments with motifs in the nineteenth century. These motifs were often used in combination with each other, as monuments with three (22%) or four motifs (34%) were the most common

(figure 5.22). Flowers were the most common choice (43.75%) and included roses, buttercups, poppies, daffodils, tulips and a passion flower. Other foliage (18.75%), such as oak leaves, was also common (figure 5.23). The twentieth century saw a decline in the number of monuments with multiple motifs (47%) (figure 5.22). Of these, ivy became the most common (20.8%). This was followed by crosses (14.7%) and book motifs (12.5%) (figure 5.23). Flowers, on the other hand, decreased to 8.4%, as other motifs rose in popularity in the twentieth century (figure 5.23).

Figure 5.22: Skilled Working Class Number of Motifs Per Monument

Figure 5.23: Skilled Working Class Motif Type
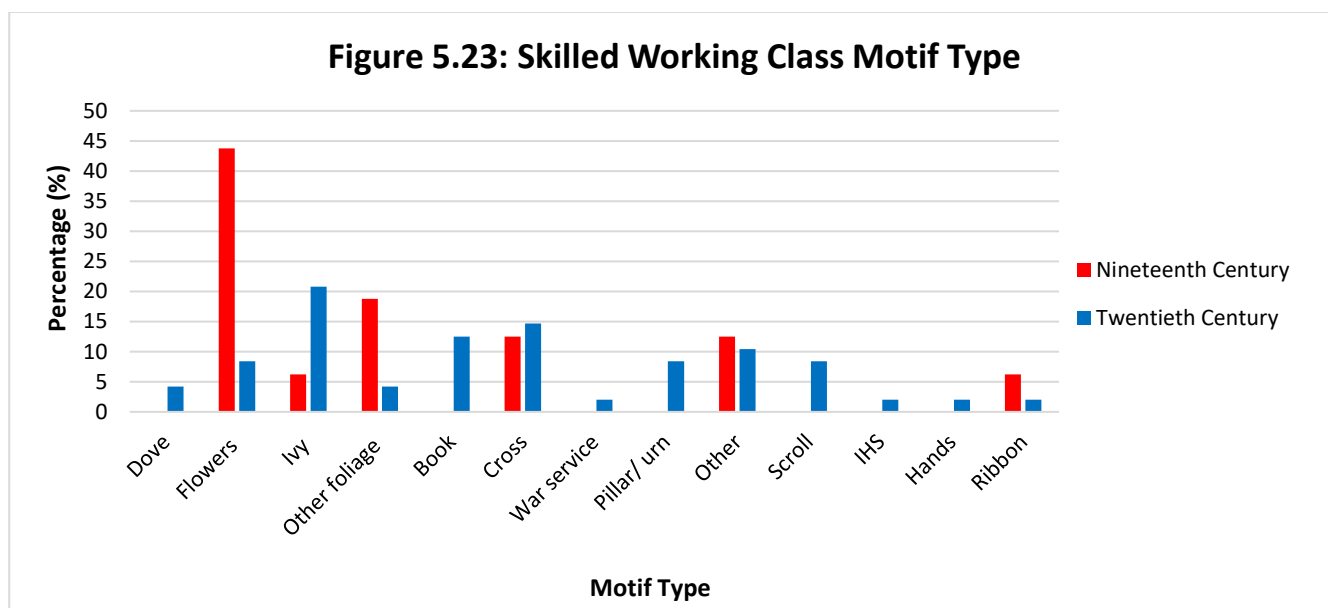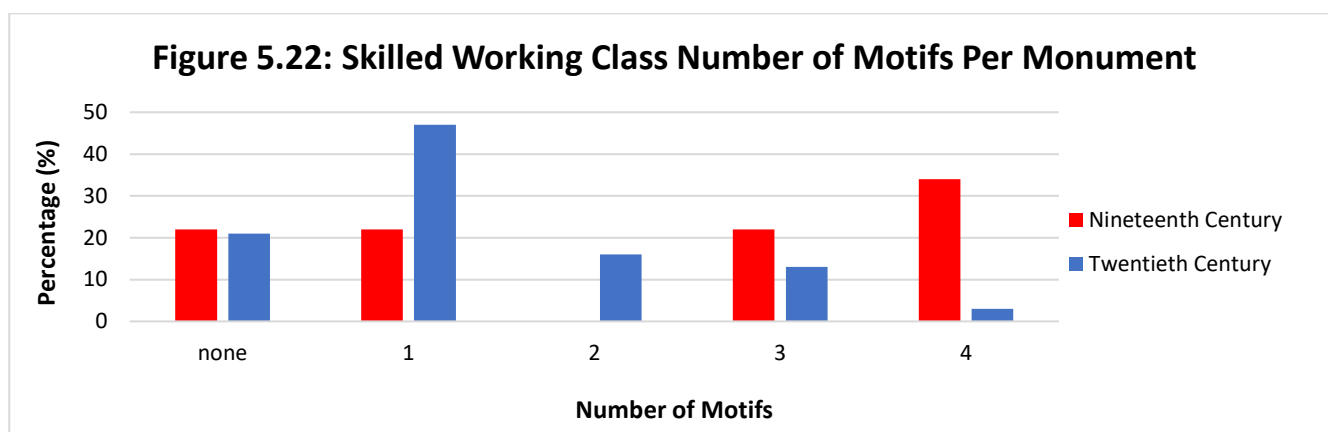
5.3.5.3 Middling Class

Unlike the skilled and unskilled working class (figure 5.22 and figure 5.20), the middling class mostly erected monuments with one motif in the nineteenth century (45%), although monuments with three motifs were also common (33%) (figure 5.24). These motifs mostly consisted of crosses, ivy and flowers (figure 5.25). However, there was not as much variation in flower species as amongst the skilled working class, with only roses and daffodils present. In the twentieth century monuments with no or one motif were the most common, each representing 31%. Monuments

with two or three motifs, however, still represented a significant proportion of the sample (figure 5.24). Scroll motifs became dominant in the twentieth century (18.75%). However, flower and cross motifs continued in popularity, as well as other motifs, such as books and rocks (figure 5.25).

Figure 5.24: Middling Class Number of Motifs Per Monument

Figure 5.25: Middling Class Motif Type
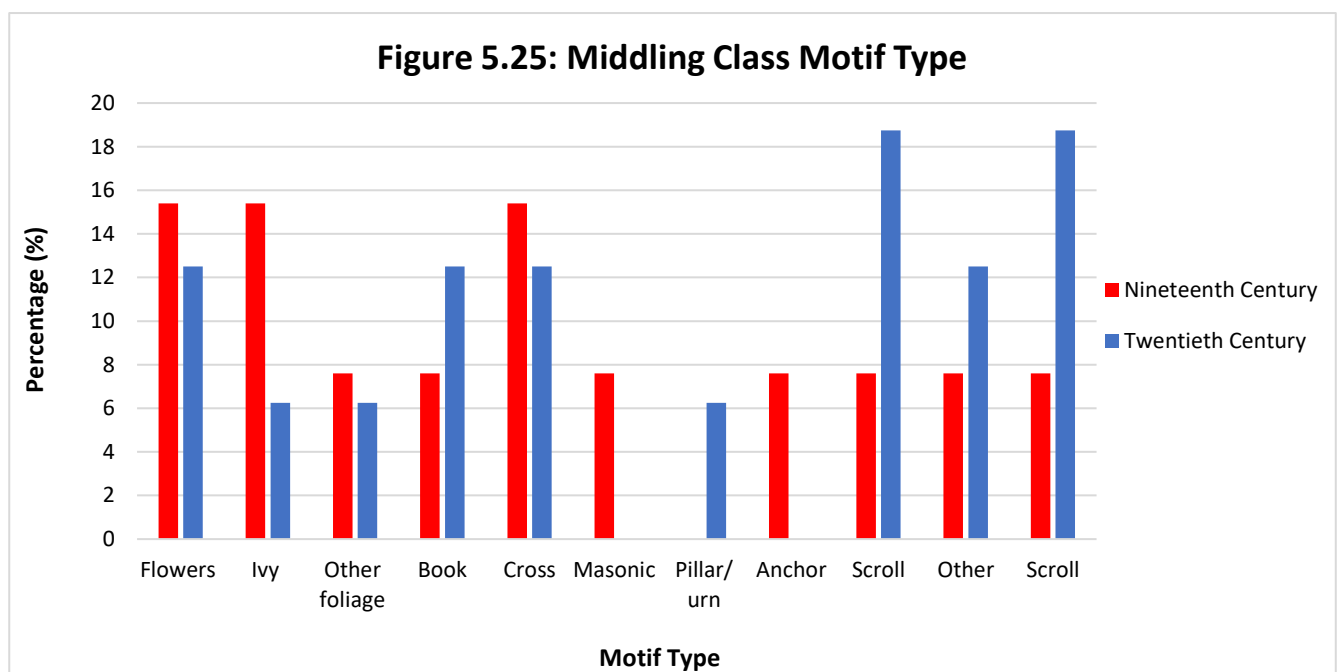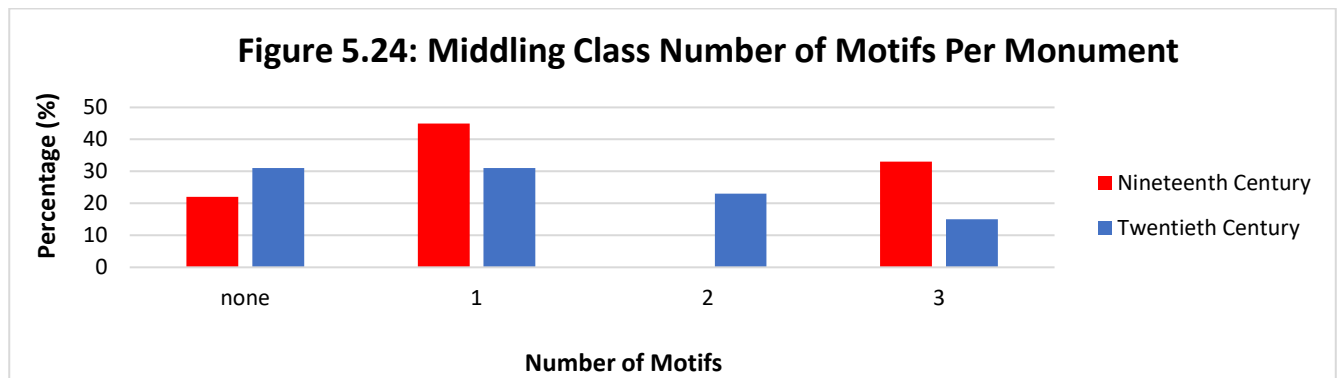
5.3.5.4 Middle Class

The majority (35%) of monuments amongst the middle class in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, unlike other class groups (figures 5.20, 5.22 and 5.24), contained no motifs. Of the monuments that did have motifs in the nineteenth century, most only had one or two (figure 5.26). These were mainly flower (22.6%) and cross motifs (19.35%). The flowers used in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the middle class included a greater variety of species than the middling and unskilled working classes, including chrysanthemums, passion flowers and marigolds, as well as flower buds and fleur-de-lis. The skilled working class were the only other group to include as many varieties. Cross motifs were mostly Latin crosses, but Celtic and gothic

revival crosses were also present. Other foliage, urns and other motifs, such as coats of arms, were also used by the middle class (figure 5.27).

The number of motifs increased in the twentieth century, as monuments with two or three motifs became more common, each representing 21% (figure 5.26). Unlike the other classes (figures 5.21, 5.23 and 5.25), the motifs used by the middle class in the twentieth century were predominantly foliage (21.62%), such as oak and laurel leaves, while flowers continued to be common (18.92%). The scroll motif grew in popularity in the twentieth century, rising to 13.52% (figure 5.27). Book motifs, common amongst the other classes in the twentieth century (figures 5.21, 5.23 and 5.25), only represented 2.7% of the middle class sample, while angel and wreath motifs only appeared in the middle class sample (figure 5.27).

Figure 5.26: Middle Class Number of Motifs Per Monument

Figure 5.27: Middle Class Motif Type
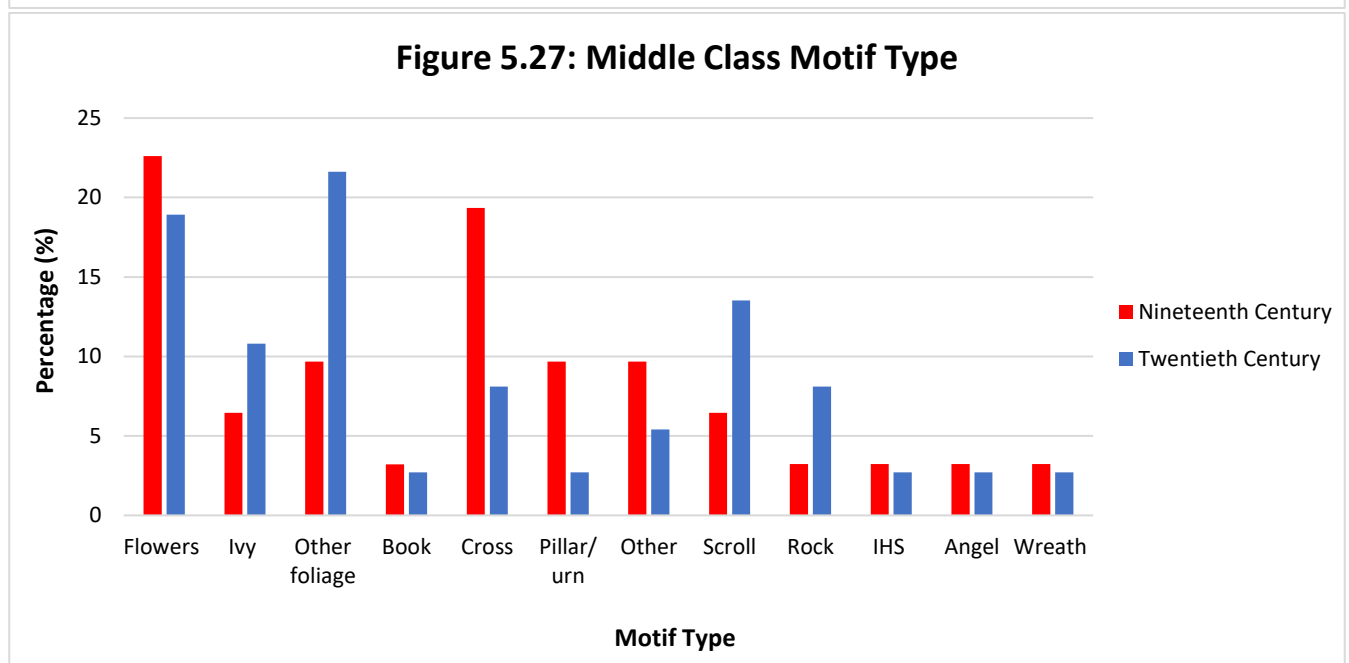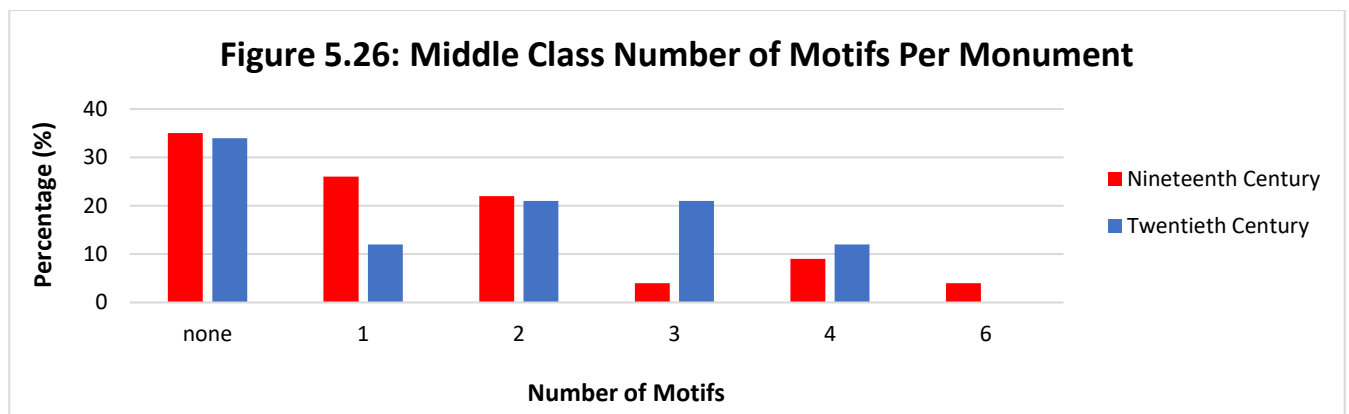
5.3.6 Inscription

5.3.6.1 Unskilled Working Class

Unskilled working class inscriptions were primarily emotive in both the nineteenth (47%) and twentieth centuries (72%). Religious references were the next most common theme in the nineteenth century, representing 35%, although these declined to 8% in the twentieth century (figure 5.28). These inscriptions primarily listed people in the order in which they died and the role they played in the family unit, while the importance of the family patriarch diminished in the twentieth century, as the roles of the family unit became more significant (figure 5.29). The most common phrase used in these inscriptions was 'in loving memory of', although, it was commonly used in combination with 'beloved' and 'resting', with most monuments using three key words in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figure 5.30 and figure 5.31). Resting or sleeping were the most common metaphors for death, particularly in the twentieth century when religious references declined (figure 5.31).

Figure 5.28: Unskilled Working Class Inscription Theme

Figure 5.29: Unskilled Working Class Burials Described in Relation to
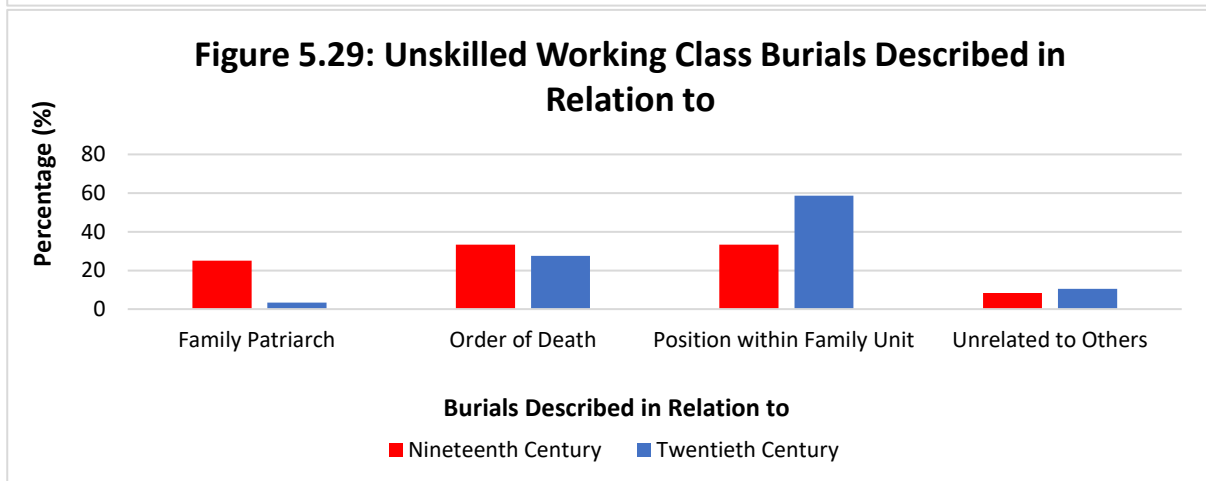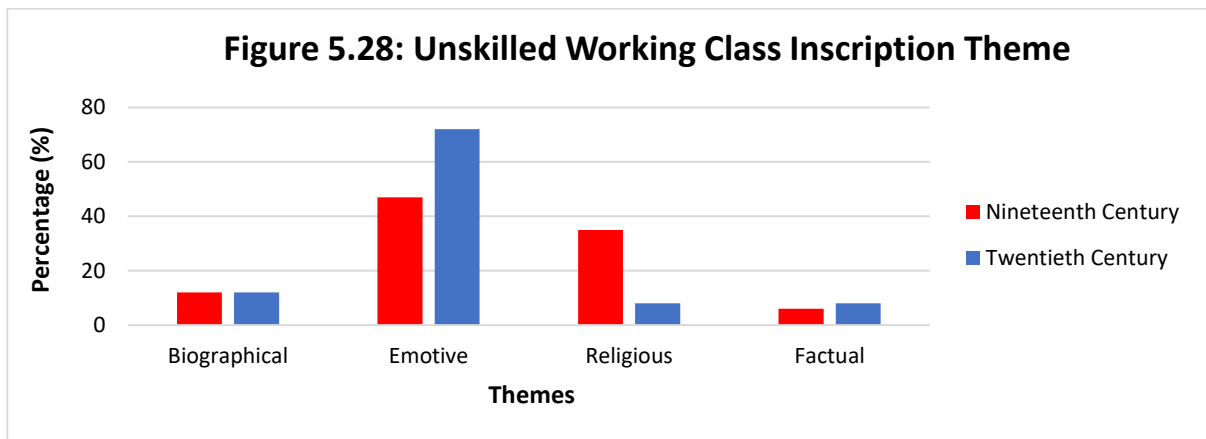
Figure 5.30: Unskilled Working Class Number of Key Words Per Monument
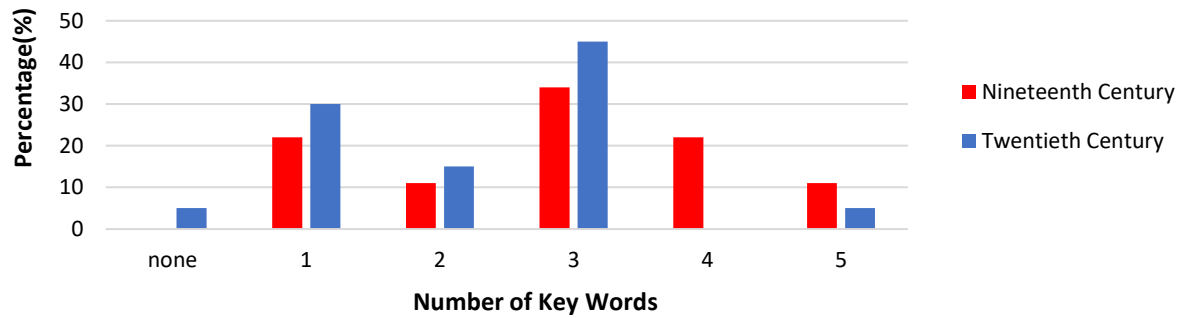
Figure 5.31: Unskilled Working Class Headstone Key Wording
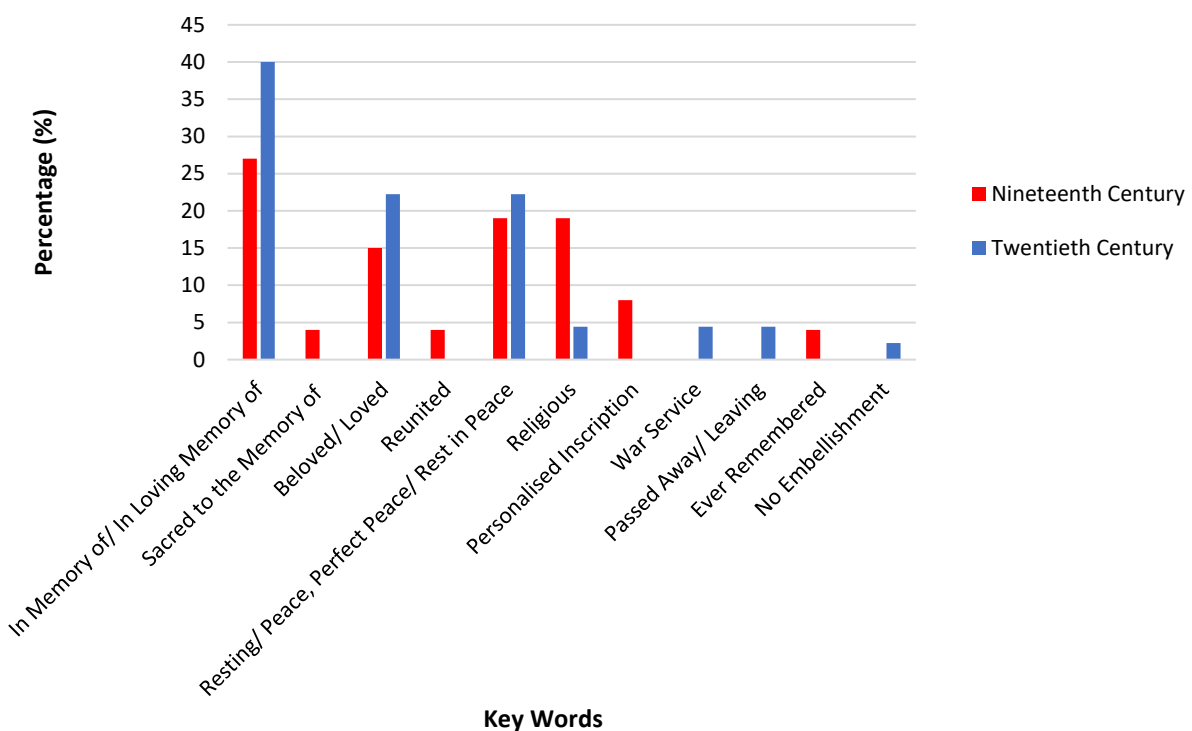
5.3.6.2 Skilled Working Class

Like the unskilled working class, the inscriptions of the skilled working class were primarily emotive (figure 5.32). However, religious themes, more common amongst the unskilled working class in the nineteenth century (figure 5.28), were rarely used (figure 5.32). The skilled working class described deaths in relation to their position in the family unit and the order of their death in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the family patriarch rarely put above family members who died before them (figure 5.33). They were also expressive in their inscriptions, with the majority of monuments using a combination of key words (figure 5.34). Emotive key words 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved' were primarily used in inscriptions (figure 5.35) and

resting/sleeping metaphors for death and personalised inscriptions were also favoured (figure 5.35). These inscriptions included epitaphs such as 'O for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still' (Grave ref: Barker 2.22) and personalised messages, for example 'Dear old pal, you have well-earned your rest' (Grave ref: Road 2 8.1).

Figure 5.32: Skilled Working Class Inscription Theme

Figure 5.33: Skilled Working Class Burials Described in Relation to

Figure 5.34: Skilled Working Class Number of Key Words Per Monument
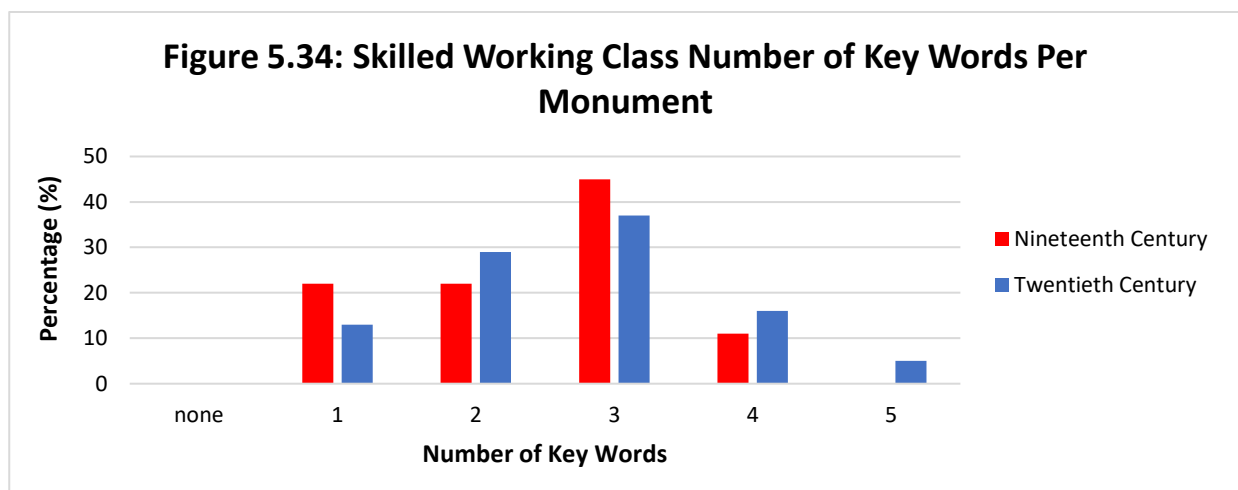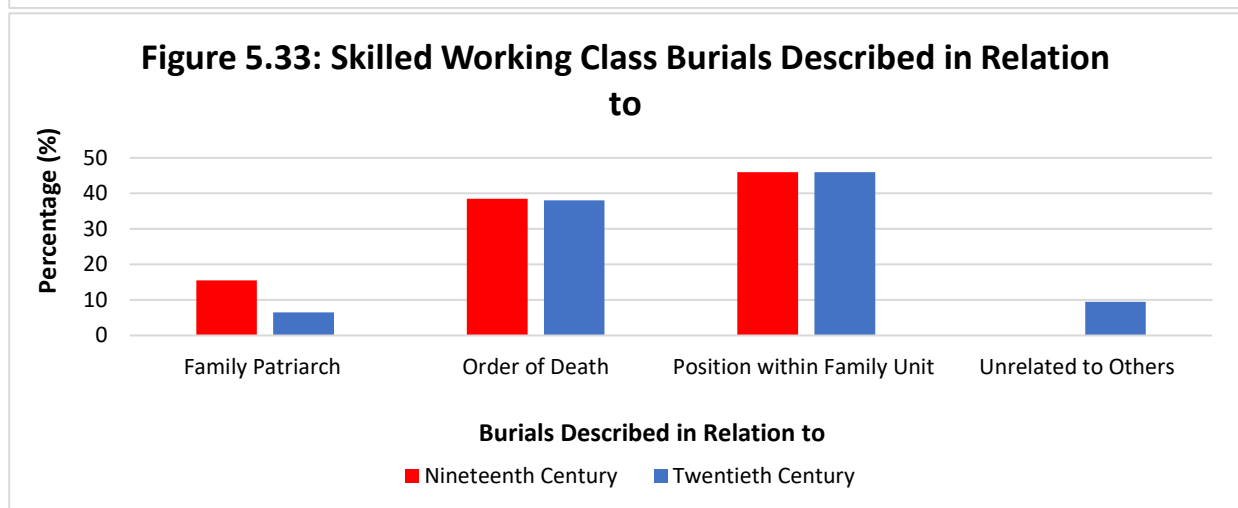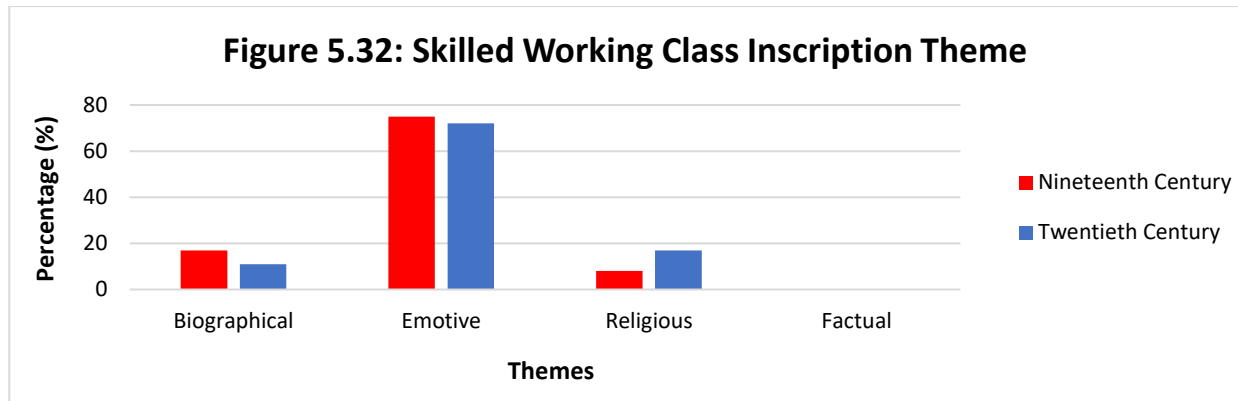
Figure 5.35: Skilled Working Class Headstone Key Wording
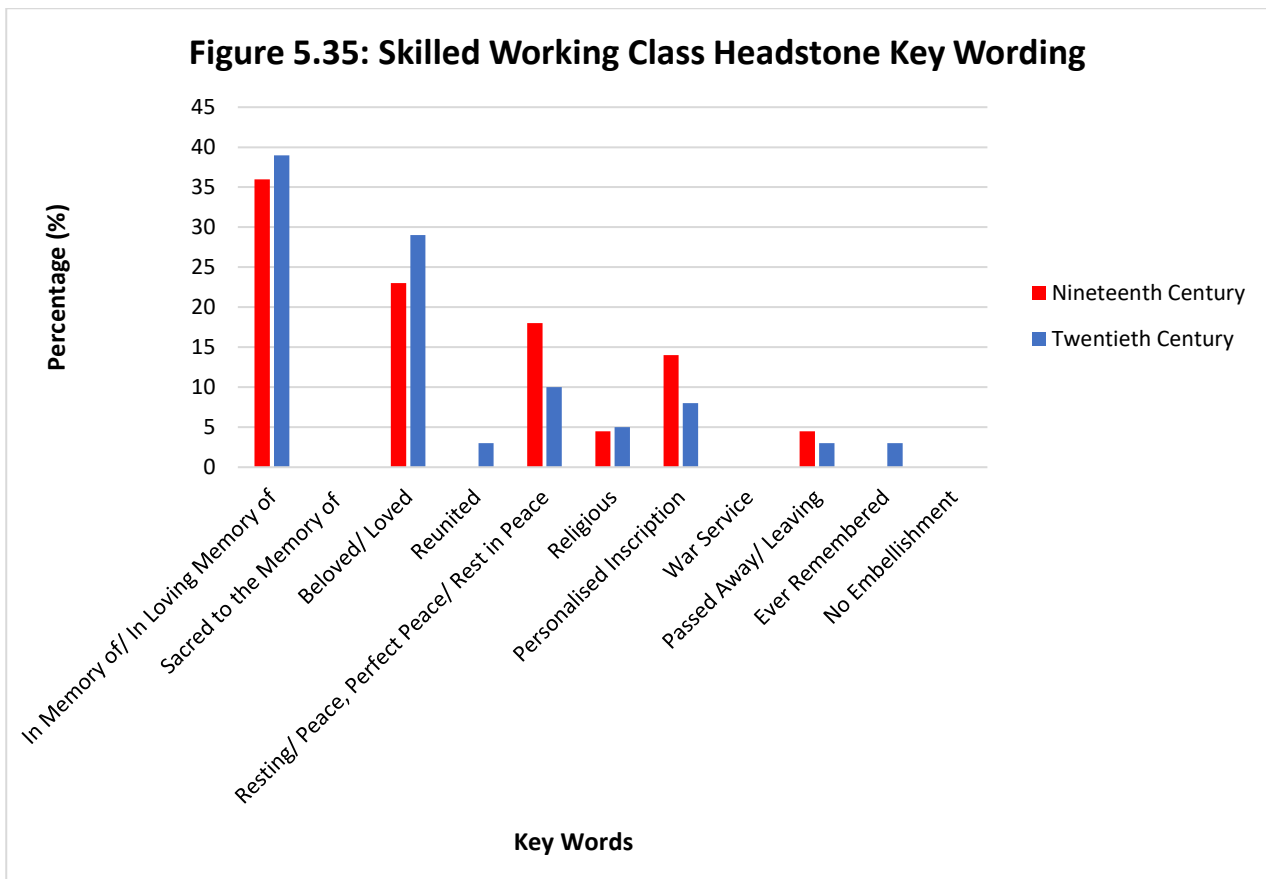
5.3.6.3 Middling Class

Middling class inscriptions in the nineteenth century were primarily emotive (57%). Religious themes were also common (29%) (figure 5.36). The inscriptions primarily described people in terms of their position within the family unit (50%), either in the order in which they died (28.6%) or their relation to the family patriarch (21.4%) (figure 5.37). Key words were mostly used in combination with each other, usually a combination of 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved'. In cases where there were three key words, religious references were commonly added. Other key words, such as 'resting' or 'leaving', were rarely used in the nineteenth century (figure 5.38 and figure 5.39).

In the twentieth century emotive inscriptions were still dominant (65%) (figure 5.36). Unlike the nineteenth century, the family patriarch was not put above other family members in the twentieth century, with people listed in the order in which they died and in terms of their position within the family unit (figure 5.37). The number of key words increased, with the majority of monuments using three (62%) (figure 5.38). These usually combined 'in loving memory of' with 'beloved' and 'resting'. Religious references and personalised inscriptions were also common (figure 5.39).

61

Figure 5.36: Middling Class Inscription Theme
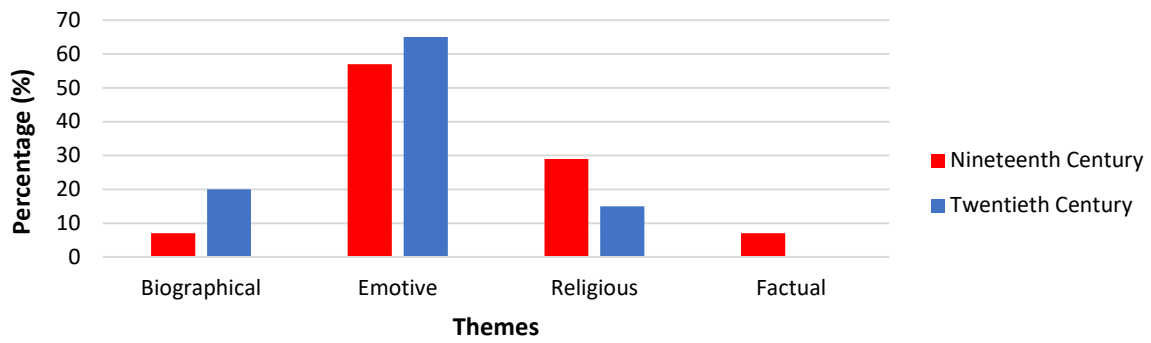
Figure 5.37: Middling Class Burials Described in Relation to
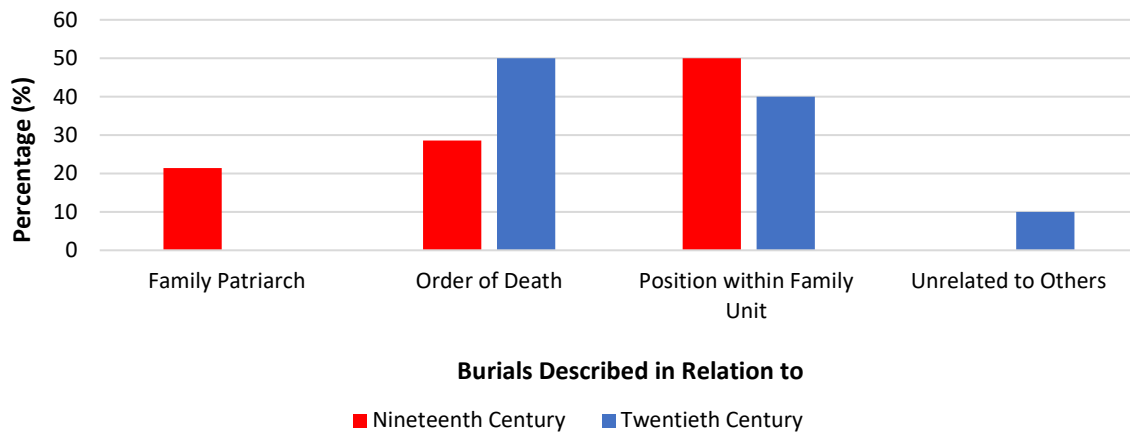
Figure 5.38: Middling Class Number of Key Words Per Monument

Figure 5.39: Middling Class Headstone Key Wording

A bar chart titled "Figure 5.39: Middling Class Headstone Key Wording". The y-axis is labelled "Percentage (%)" ranging from 0 to 50. The x-axis is labelled "Key Words" with categories: In Memory of/ In Loving Memory of, Sacred to the Memory of, Beloved/ Loved, Reunited, Resting/ Peace, Perfect Peace/ Rest in..., Religious, Personalised Inscription, War Service, Passed Away/ Leaving, Ever Remembered, No Embellishment. Two series are shown: Nineteenth Century (red) and Twentieth Century (blue).

5.3.6.4 Middle Class

The middle class primarily used emotive inscriptions in the nineteenth century (figure 5.40). These mainly described people in relation to their position within the family unit (43.4%) and in the order in which they died (30.4%). The family patriarch was also commonly listed first above other family members (21.8%) (figure 5.41). The majority of middle class inscriptions used two key words (35%), however other inscriptions were more expressive, with some using up to six key words (figure 5.42). These combinations usually included 'in loving memory of', 'beloved', 'resting', religious key words and personalised inscriptions (figure 5.43). Middle class personalised inscriptions included short epitaphs, such as 'Thou knowest that I love thee' (Grave ref: Road 2 8.6), as well as longer inscriptions, such as the inscription from the Dreyer family plot (Grave ref: Road 2 11.2):

> Forget thee? Never! To the latest breath we shall remember thy calm bed of death; what humble trust! What holy hope! What joy! 'mid dying pangs could every thought employ! Yes; in that moment thou didst seem to be at peace with god, and god at peace with thee!

These personalised epitaphs and key words represented 10% of the nineteenth century sample (figure 5.43).

In the twentieth century the percentage of emotive inscriptions increased, while biographical and religious themes decreased (figure 5.40). People were listed in the order that they died and in relation to their position within the family unit. Graves that described family members in relation to the family patriarch declined to 8% (figure 5.41). The number of key words per monument also decreased, with the majority of monuments using one key word (34%) (figure 5.42). These all used 'in loving memory of', while monuments with two key words (29%) combined 'beloved' with 'in loving memory of'. Key words 'resting' and 'sleeping' were less common and were mainly used on monuments with three key words (25%) (figure 5.42). Personalised inscriptions decreased to only two per cent (figure 5.43).

Figure 5.40: Middle Class Inscription Theme
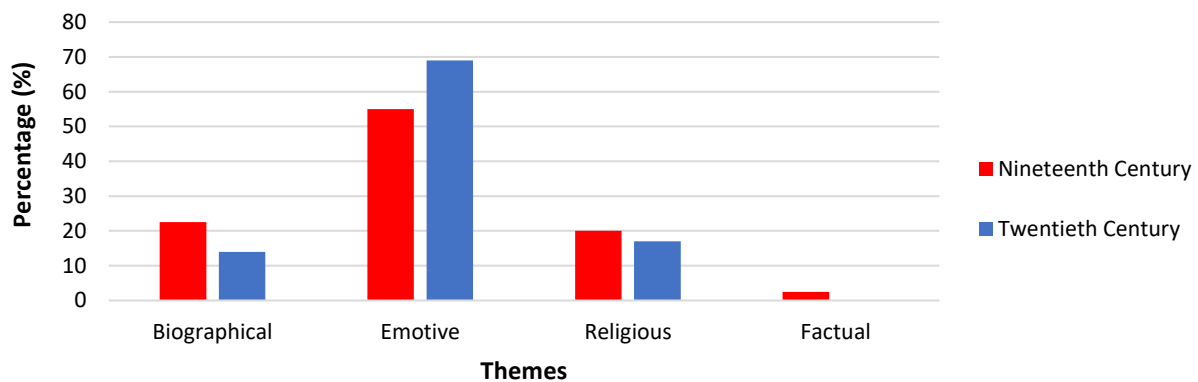
Figure 5.41: Middle Class Burials Described in Relation to
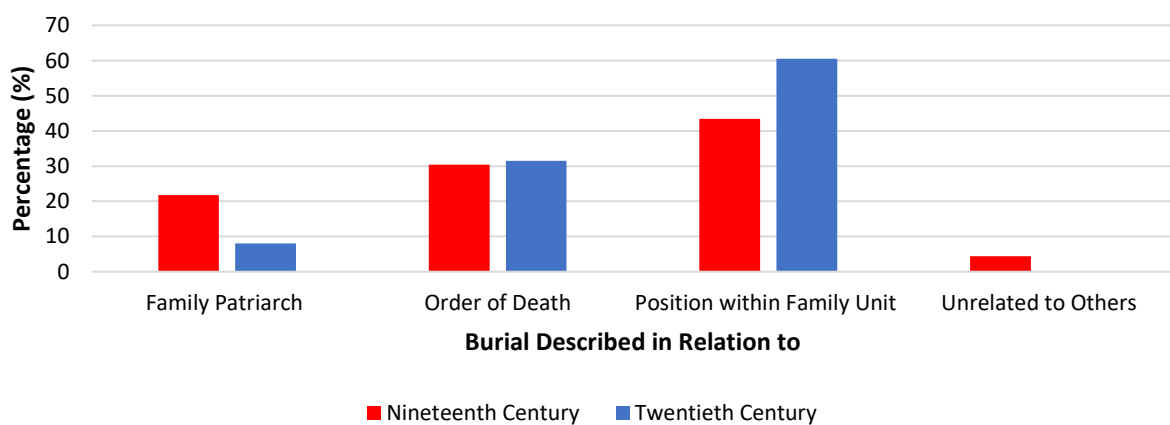
Figure 5.42: Middle Class Number of Key Words Per Monument
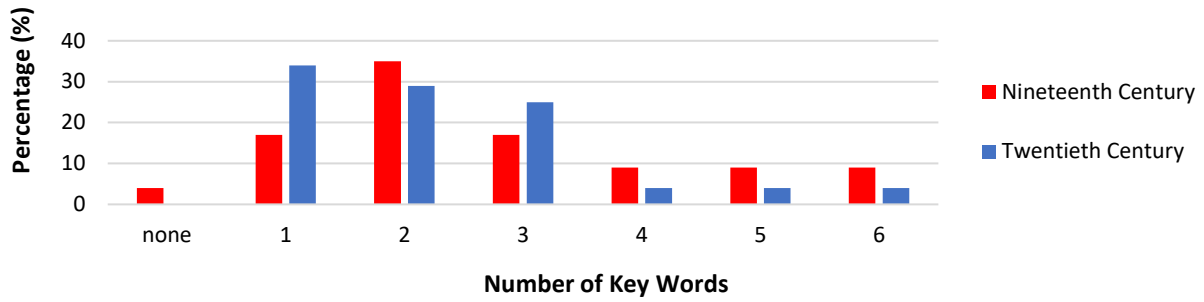
Figure 5.43: Middle Class Headstone Key Wording
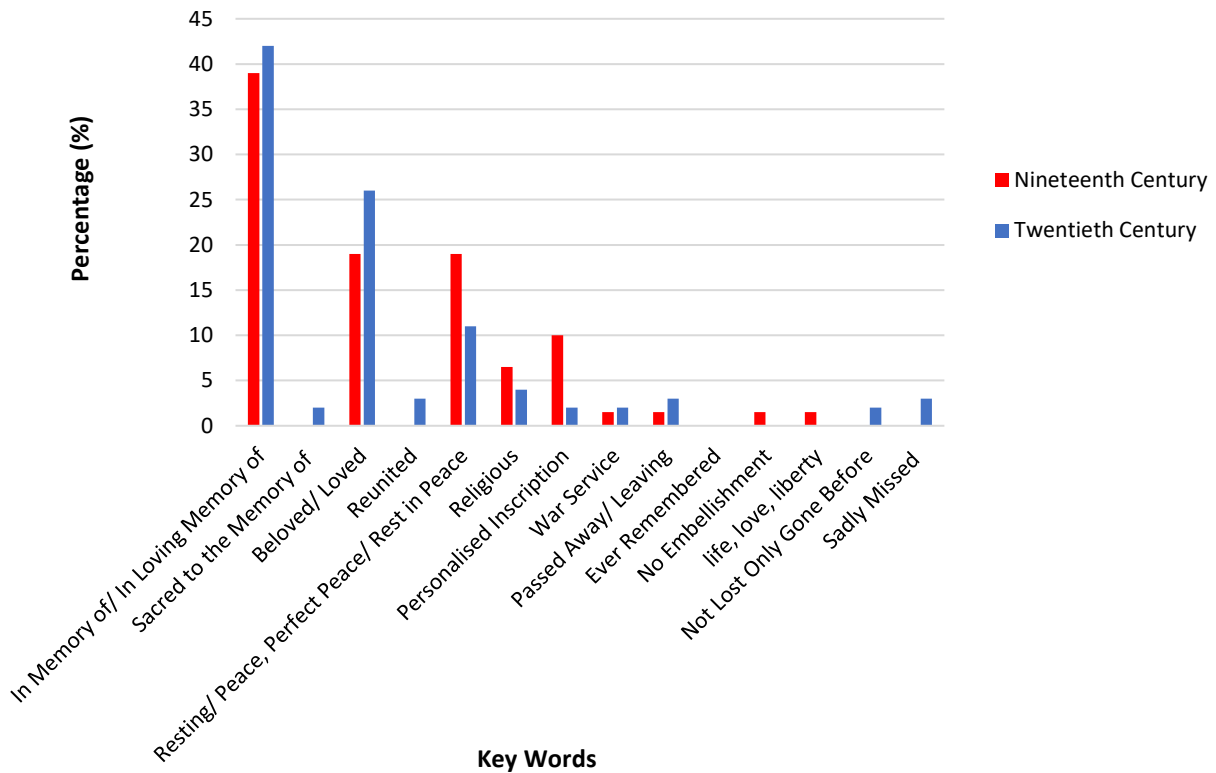
5.3.7 Fence/ Border

5.3.7.1 Unskilled Working Class

Unskilled working class graves were predominantly enclosed with marble borders (20 and 40 centimetres in height) in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The number of these marble borders increased in the twentieth century (figure 5.43 and figure 5.44). Cast iron fences, which constituted 22% of the nineteenth century sample, became less common in the twentieth century (figure 5.44).

Figure 5.44: Unskilled Working Class Fence/ Border Type
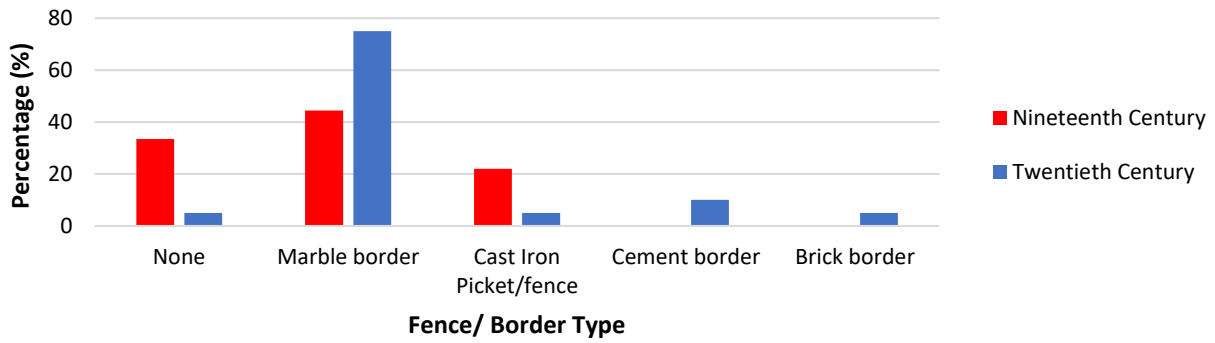
Figure 5.45: Unskilled Working Class Fence/ Border Height
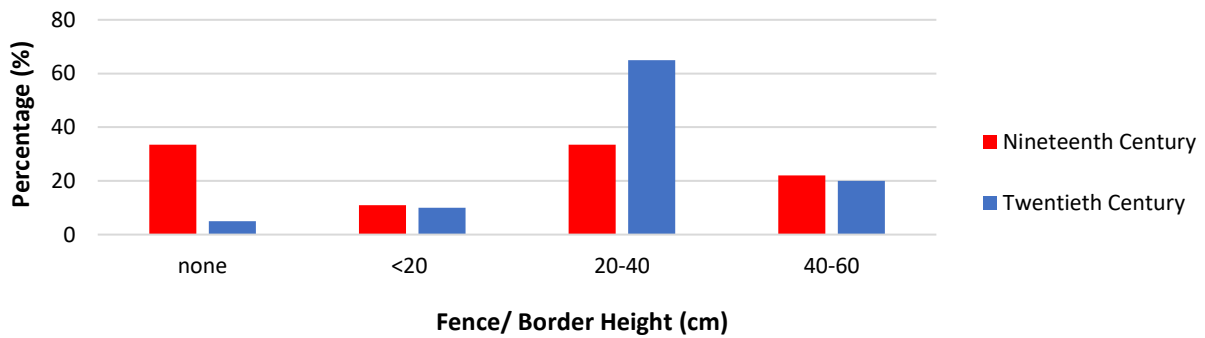
5.3.7.2 Skilled Working Class

The skilled working class in the nineteenth century erected a greater variety of border types compared to the unskilled working class (figure 5.44 and figure 5.46). These included cast iron picket fences, lower iron railing and marble borders. These were all 20 to 60 centimetres in height (figure 5.46 and figure 5.47). In the twentieth century, marble borders became the dominant type (figure 5.46). Borders also decreased in height, with the majority between 20 to 40 centimetres (figure 5.47).

FIgure 5.46: Skilled Working Class Fence/ Border Type
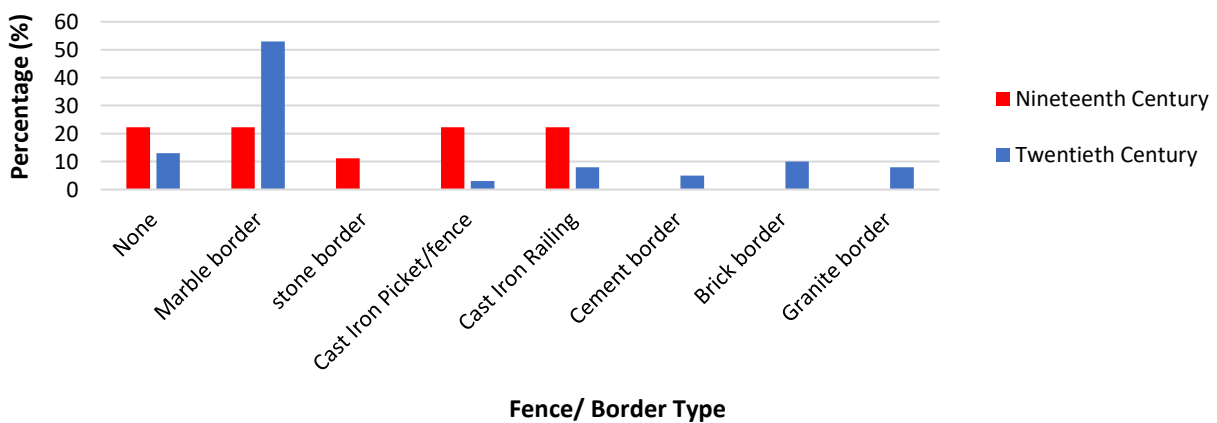
Figure 5.47: Skilled Working Class Fence/ Border Height
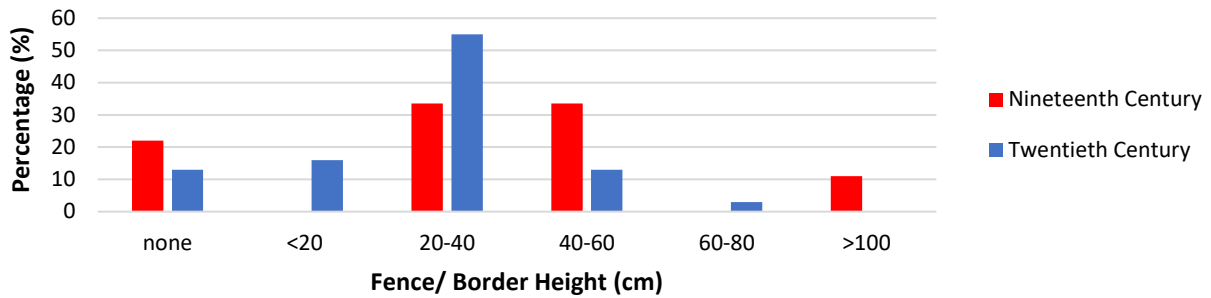
5.3.7.3 Middling Class

The middling class, unlike the other classes (figures 5.44, 5.46 and 5.50), predominantly erected cast iron railing fences in the nineteenth century (figure 5.48). These were taller than those of both the unskilled and skilled working classes (figure 5.45 and figure 5.47), standing between 60 and 80 centimetres in height (figure 5.49). In the twentieth century, the middling class shifted their preference to smaller marble borders, between 20 and 40 centimetres tall (figure 5.48 and figure 5.49).

Figure 5.48: Middling Class Fence/ Border Type
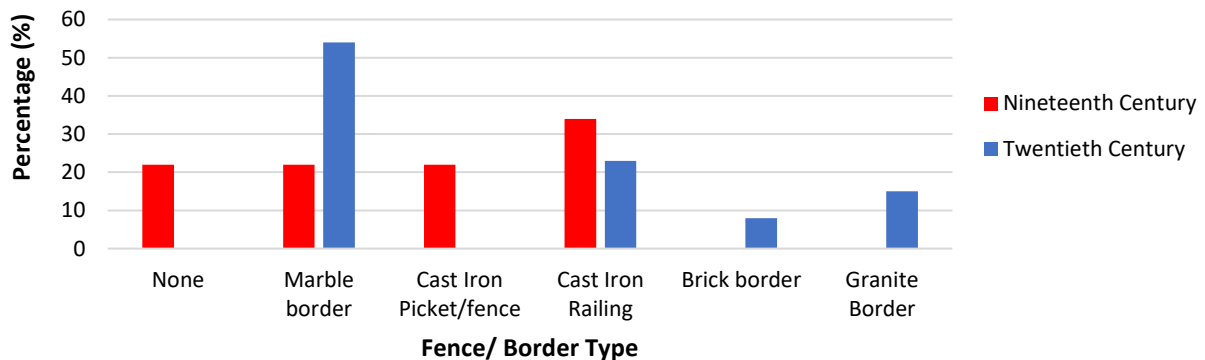
Figure 5.49: Middling Class Fence/ Border Height
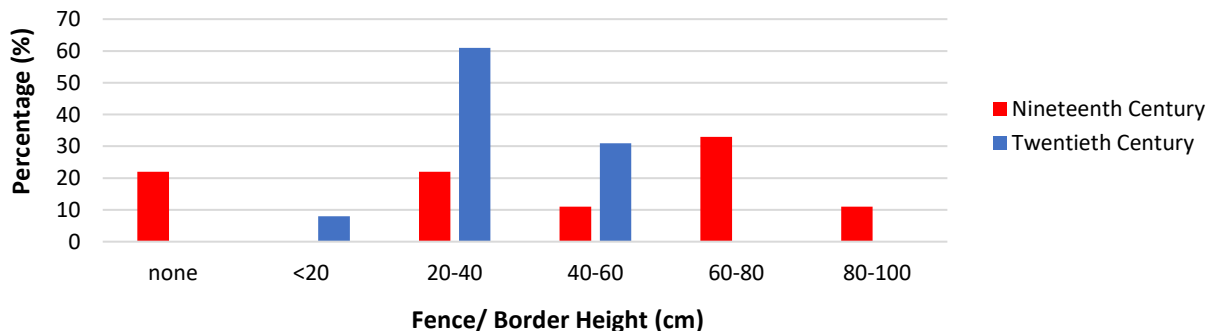
5.3.7.4 Middle Class

The middle class predominantly erected borders around their graves in the nineteenth century (figure 5.50), consisting of marble borders and cast iron picket fences that were between 20 and 60 centimetres tall (figure 5.51). However, the middle class also erected a greater percentage of taller fences, over 80 centimetres in height, than other groups (figures 5.45, 5.47, 5.49 and 5.51). In the twentieth century marble borders became smaller and more standardised, ranging between 20 and 40 centimetres (figure 5.50 and figure 5.51). However, the middle class continued to erect tall fences, over 80 centimetres in height, into the twentieth century (figure 5.51). Fences of this height were completely absent from other class groups in the twentieth century (figures 5.45, 5.47 and 5.49).

Figure 5.50: Middle Class Fence/ Border Type

Figure 5.51: Middle Class Fence/ Border Height
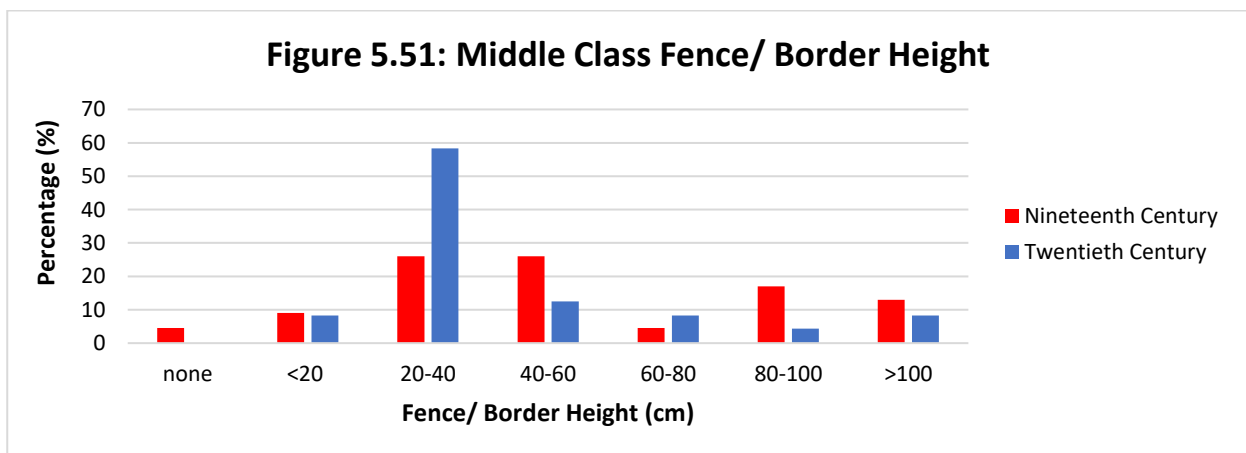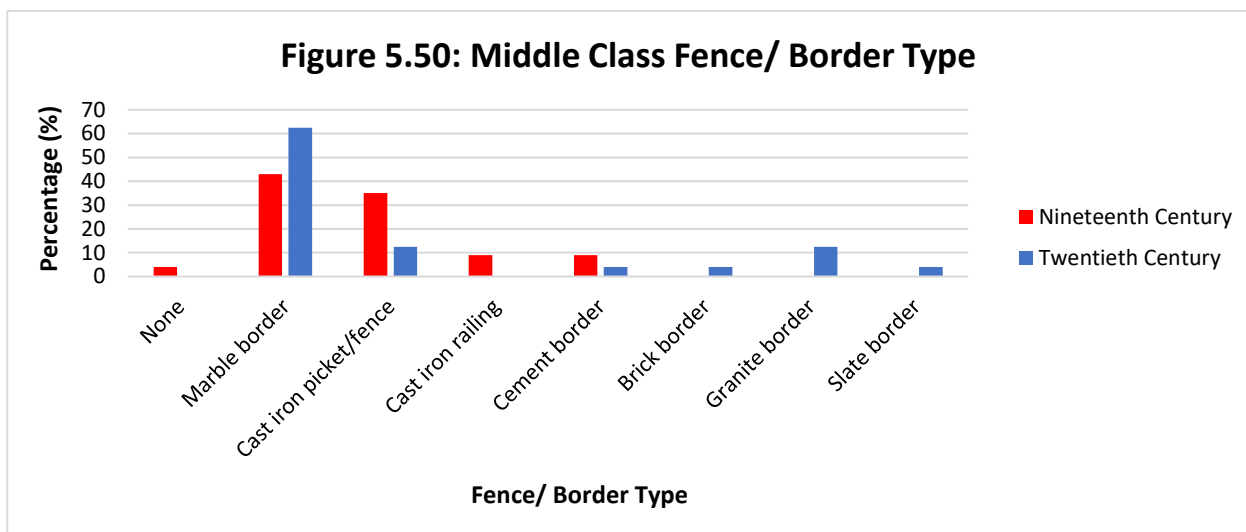
6 Results: Newspaper Data

6.1 Introduction

The graphs and tables in this chapter outline the newspaper data that were collected for each social class from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

6.2 Newspaper Notice Type

6.2.1 Unskilled Working Class

The unskilled working class for both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries mainly posted death notices, with only a minority combining death notices with In Memoriams (figure 6.1). The number of people who placed no notice in the newspaper was highest amongst the unskilled working class in the nineteenth century (36.5%), but declined noticeably in the twentieth century (7%) (figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4).

Figure 6.1: Unskilled Working Class Newspaper Notice Type
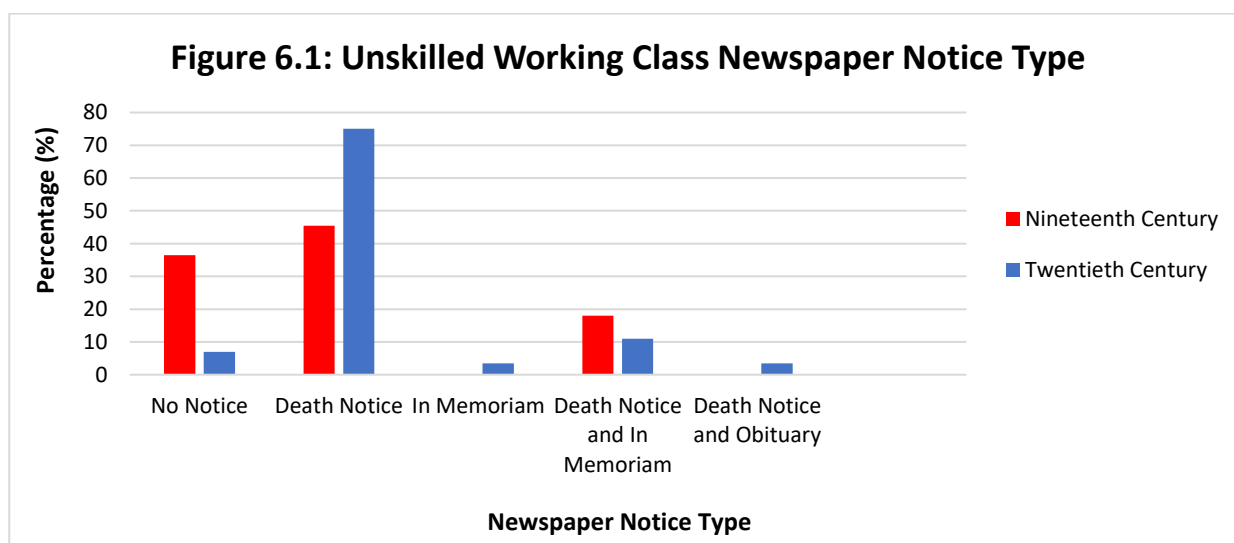
6.2.2 Skilled Working Class

The skilled working class predominantly used death notices, with few people combining them with In Memoriams (figure 6.2). The number of skilled working class people with no notice of any type in the nineteenth century was significantly lower than amongst the unskilled working class (figure 6.1 and figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Skilled Working Class Newspaper Notice Type
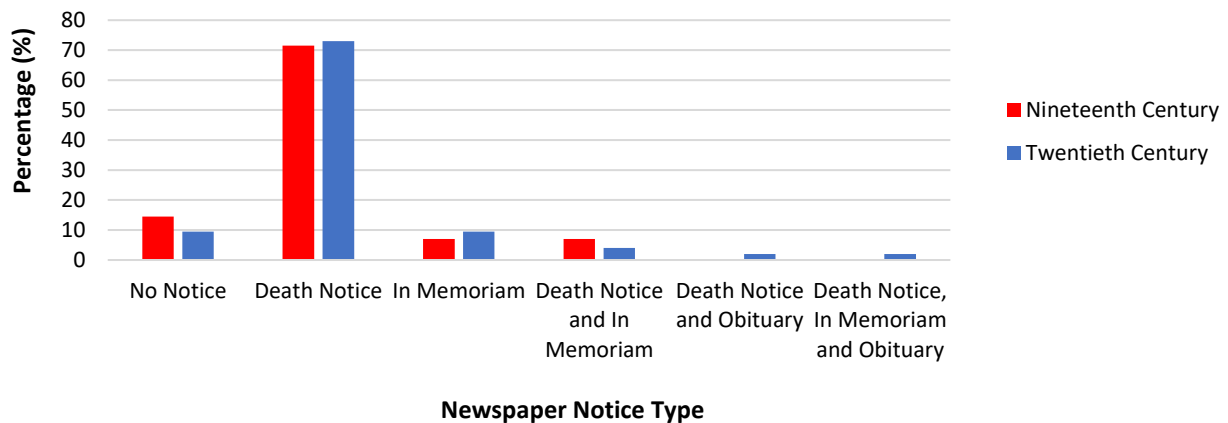
6.2.3 Middling Class

The middling class also predominantly used death notices, rarely combining or replacing them with In Memoriams (figure 6.3). Although there were fewer people without any notice, the middling class results were largely similar to those of the unskilled and skilled working classes (figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Middling Class Newspaper Notice Type
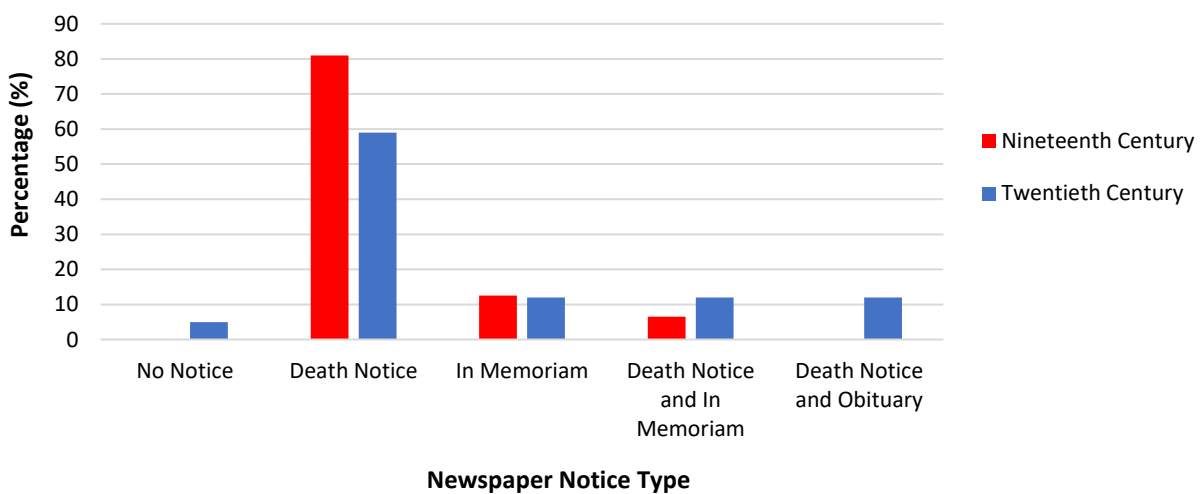
6.2.4 Middle Class

The middle class had a significant proportion of people with obituaries (figure 6.4) (Starck 2004:91). However, like the other classes, the middle class mainly posted death notices, particularly in the nineteenth century (figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Middle Class Newspaper Notice Type

Percentage (%) — y-axis: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70

Legend:
- Nineteenth Century
- Twentieth Century

Newspaper Notice Type — x-axis categories: No Notice, Death Notice, In Memoriam, Obituary, Death Notice and In Memoriam, Death Notice and Obituary, Death Notice, In Memoriam and Obituary, In Memoriam and Obituary
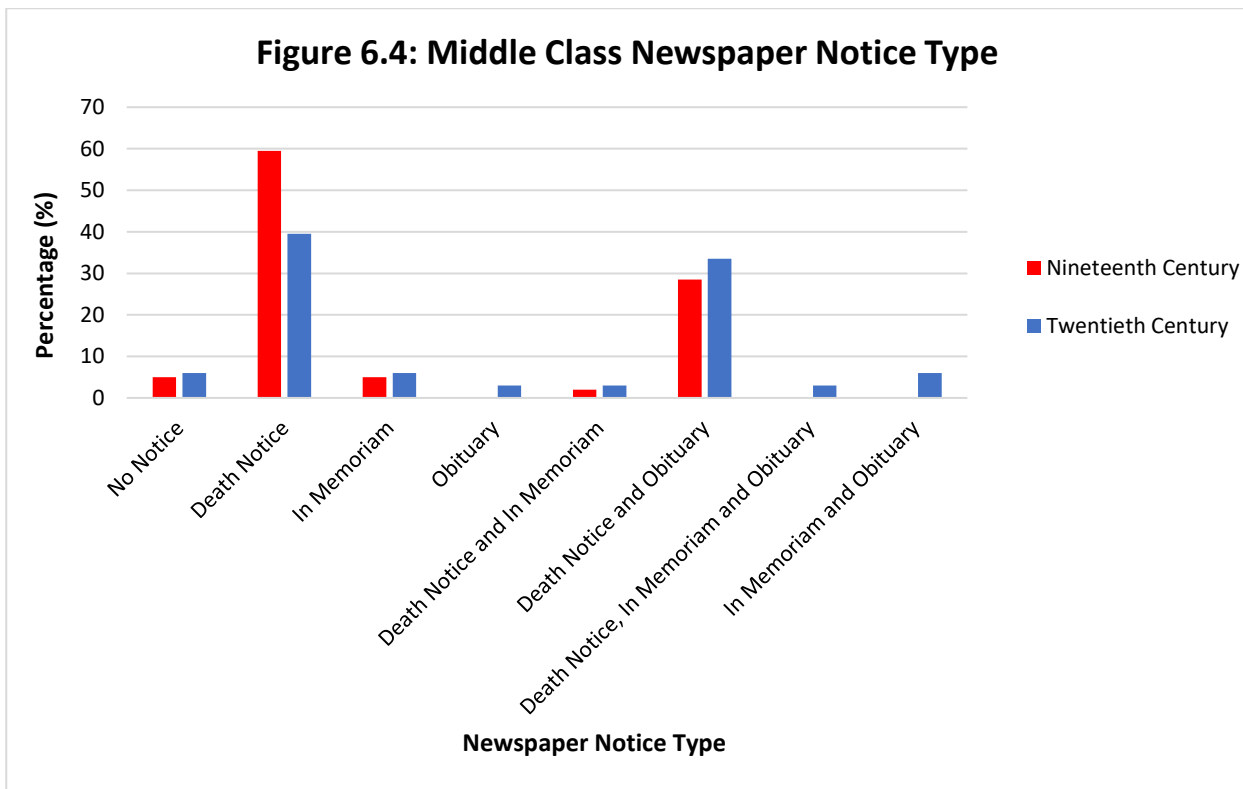
6.3 Death Notices

6.3.1 Unskilled Working Class

Unskilled working class death notices were between four to six lines in length (figure 6.6), and included information such as place and date of death, names of immediate family members, age of death and sometimes how the person died. These were predominantly emotive in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with key words such as 'beloved', 'dear' or 'loved', as well as 'mourn their loss', used to emphasise the connection between the deceased and relatives (figure 6.5 and figure 6.7). In the twentieth century, they increased in length, with some death notices eight lines in length (figure 6.6). These continued to be emotive, with 'beloved' variations still the dominant key words used, however, 'mourn their loss' was replaced by 'resting' in the twentieth century (figure 6.7).

Figure 6.5: Unskilled Working Class Death Notice Theme
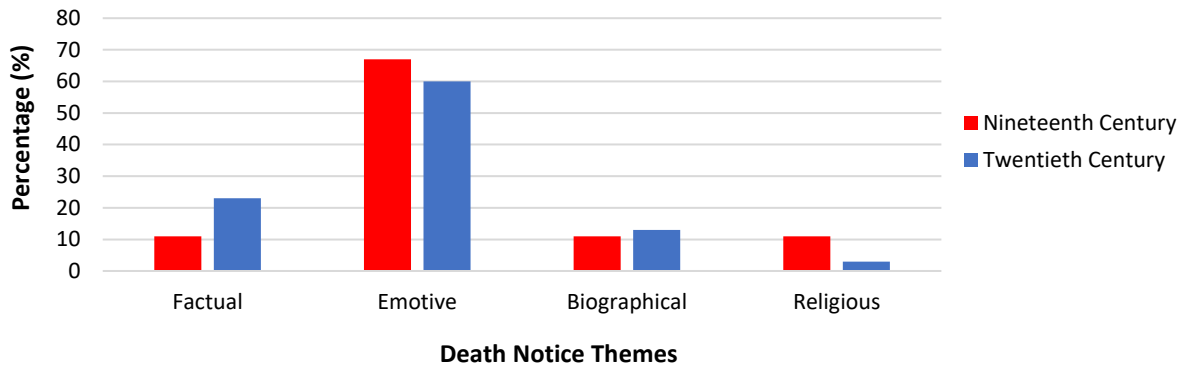
Figure 6.6: Unskilled Working Class Death Notice Length
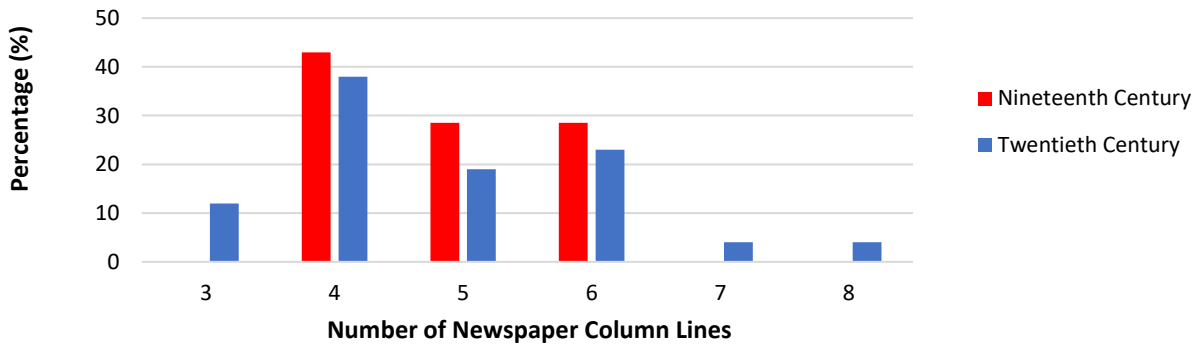
Figure 6.7: Unskilled Working Class Death Notice Key Words
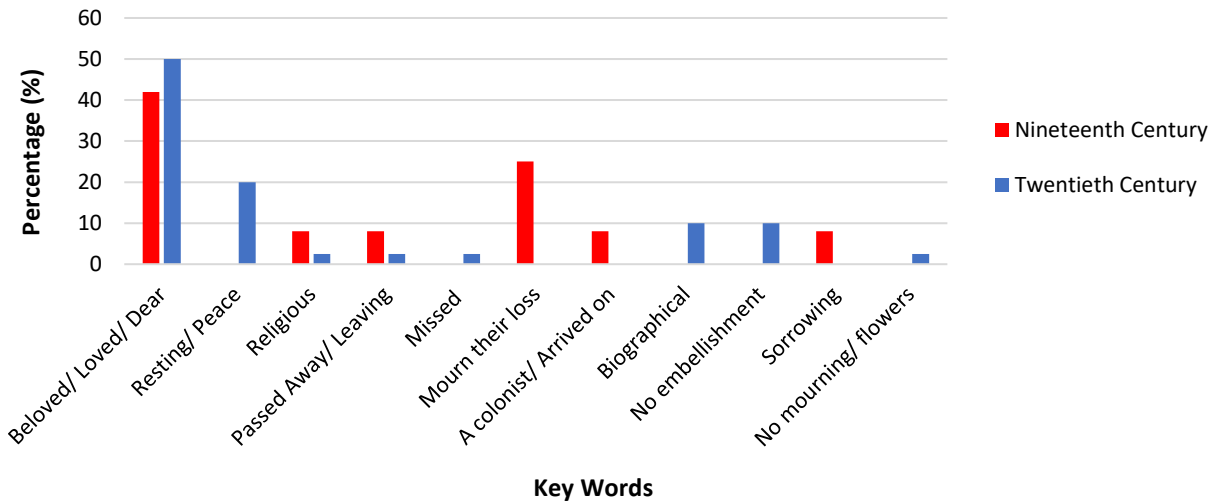
6.3.2 Skilled Working Class

Skilled working class death notices were mainly emotive, with words such as 'beloved' very common. Unlike the unskilled working class, they also had a significant proportion of factual death notices, which were short with little embellishment. This is reflected by the fact that most notices

were three lines long and listed only the date, place of death and age (figures 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10). Skilled working class death notices increased in length in the twentieth century, with most between four to six lines. They also became increasingly emotive, with 'beloved' variations increasingly used (figures 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10). These emotive themes replaced religious and biographical references in the twentieth century (figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8: Skilled Working Class Death Notice Theme

Figure 6.9: Skilled Working Class Death Notice Length

Figure 6.10: Skilled Working Class Death Notice Key Words
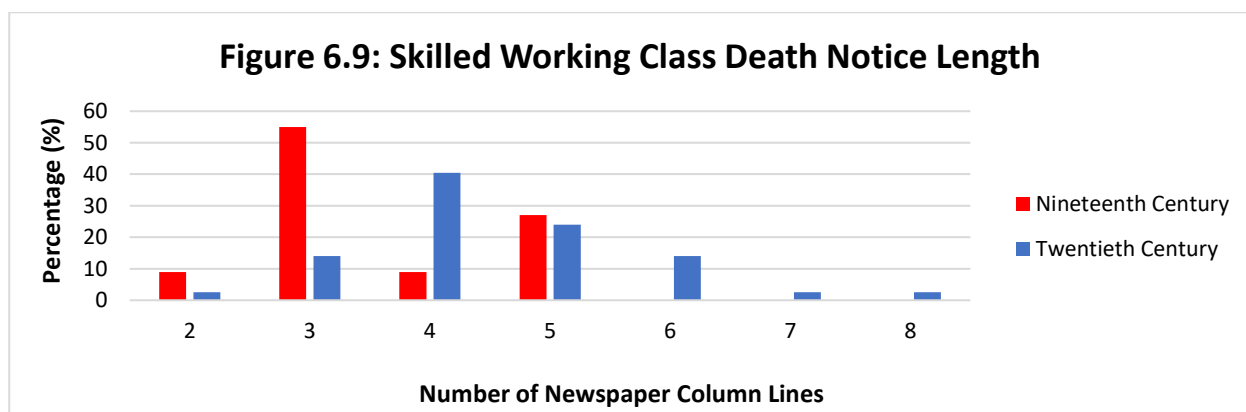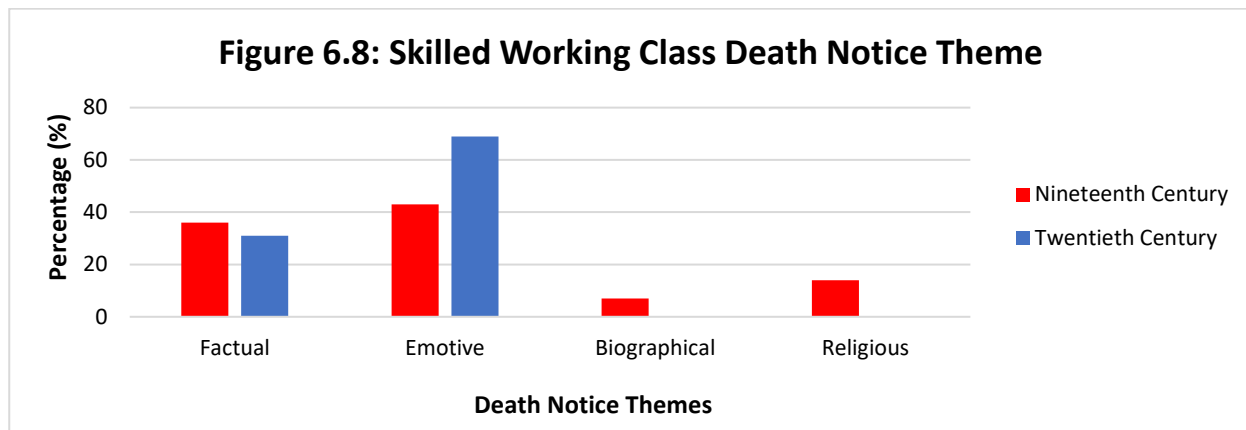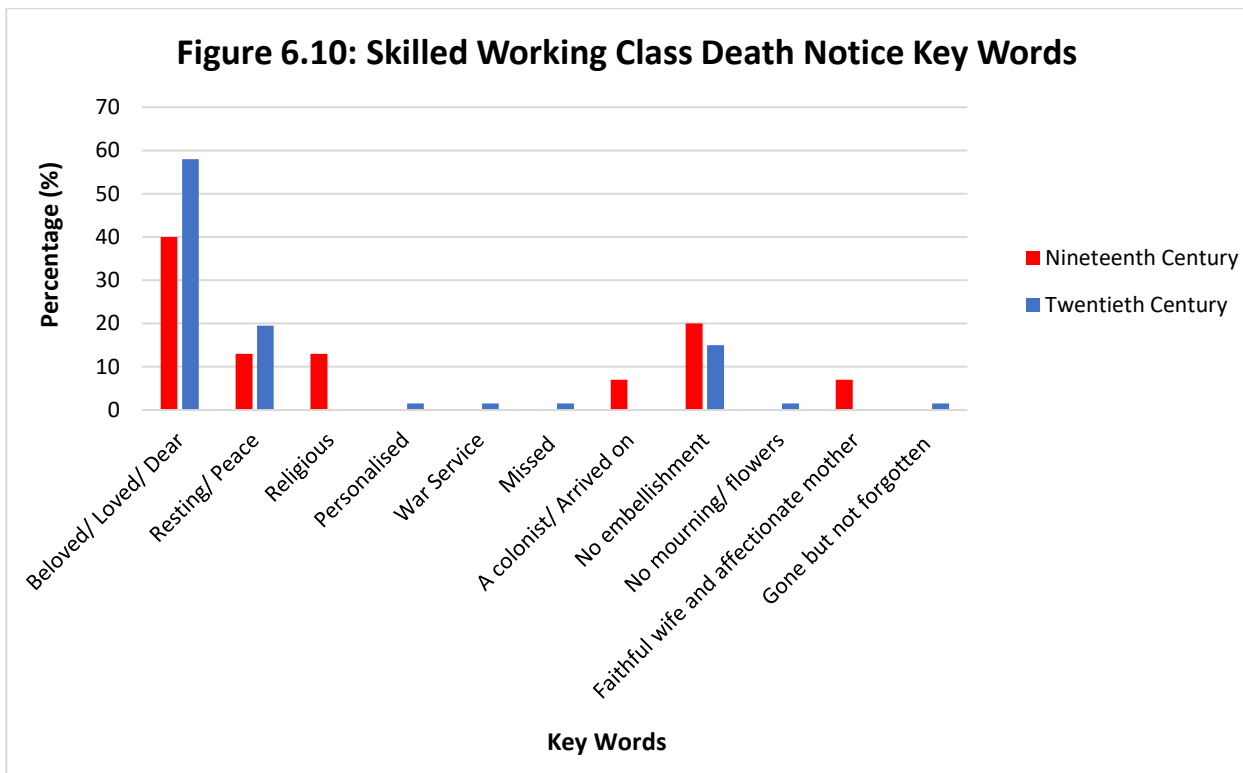
6.3.3 Middling Class

The middling class mainly had emotive death notices in the nineteenth century, but, like the skilled working class, they also had a significant proportion of factual death notices (figure 6.8 and figure 6.11). These had little or no embellishment, listing only date, place of death, age and sometimes ending with 'at rest'. However, like the unskilled and skilled working classes, variations of 'beloved' were still the most common choice amongst the middling class in the nineteenth century (figures 6.7, 6.10 and 6.13). In the twentieth century, middling class death notices became more emotive and longer, as factual notices declined and emotive connections were increasingly emphasised.

Figure 6.11: Middling Class Death Notice Theme
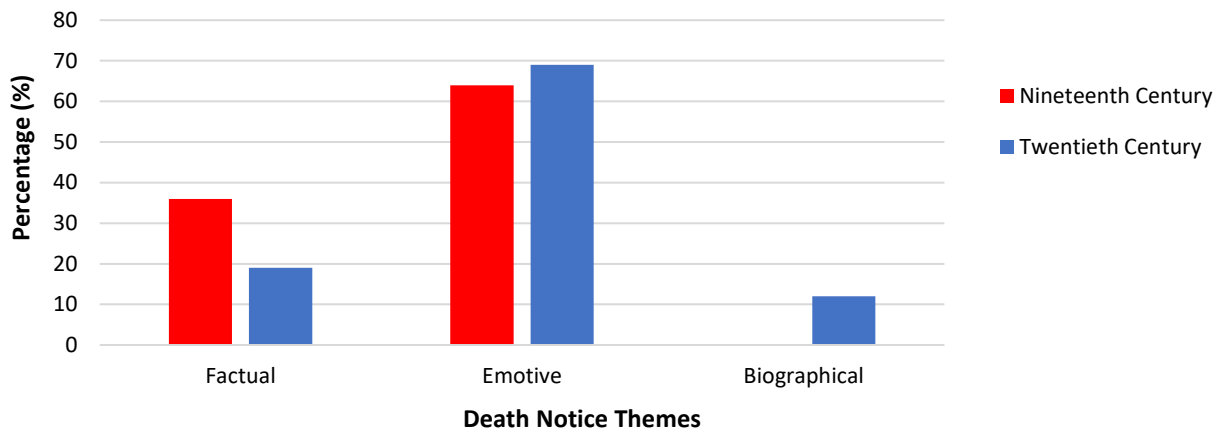
Figure 6.12: Middling Class Death Notice Length
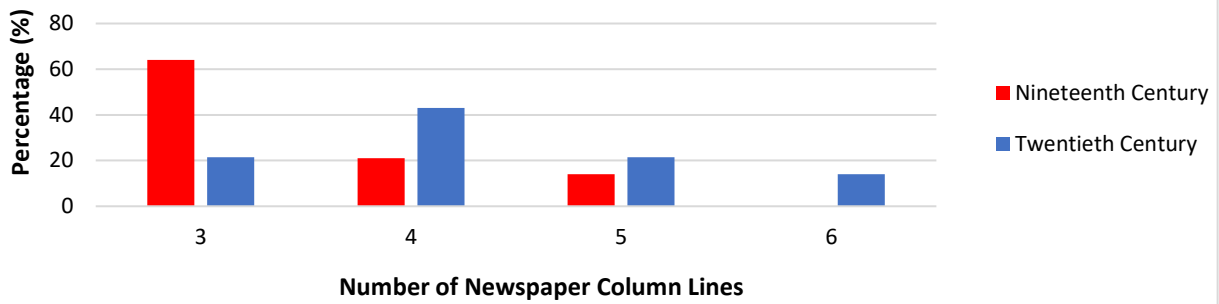
Figure 6.13: Middling Class Death Notice Key Words
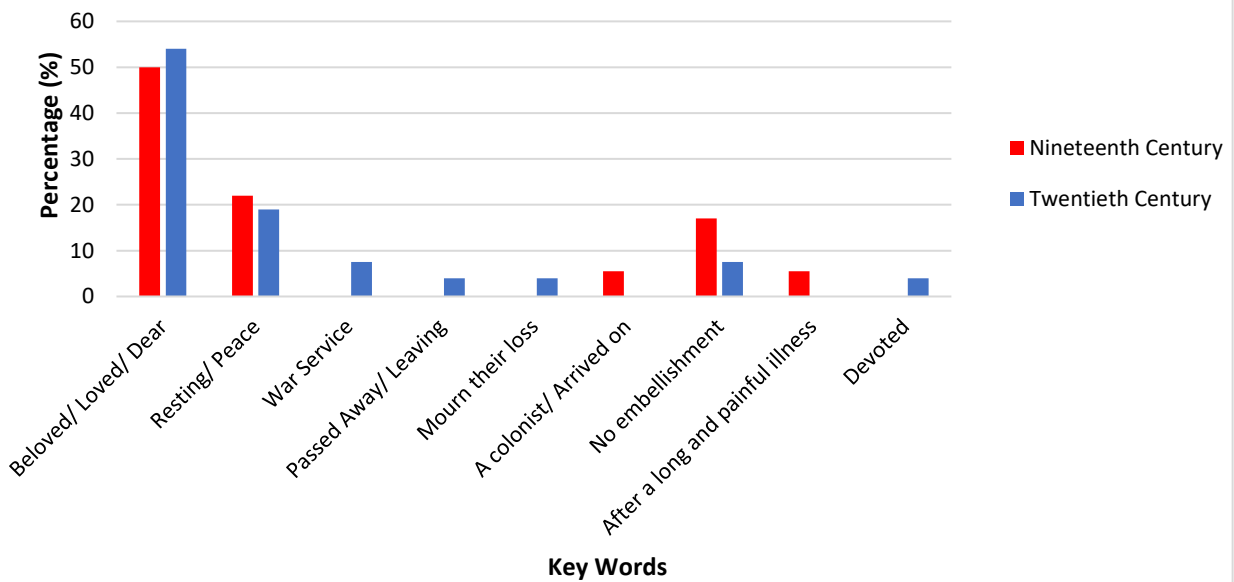
6.3.4 Middle Class

Middle class death notices were short, between three to four lines in length, and factual in the nineteenth century (figures 6.14, 6.15 and 6.16). These mostly had no embellishment, with other key words, such as 'beloved', rarely used compared to other groups (figures 6.5, 6.8, 6.11 and 6.16).

The middle class were the only ones to have a majority of factual notices, but, in the twentieth century they followed the trend of the other classes (figures 6.5, 6.8 and 6.11), with a majority of emotive death notices (figure 6.14). Like the other classes, variations of 'beloved' were used to describe the emotive connections between family members, while 'resting' was also common (figure 6.16). Middle class death notices were also longer in the twentieth century, with most up to five lines (figure 6.15).

Figure 6.14: Middle Class Death Notice Theme

Figure 6.15: Middle Class Death Notice Length

Figure 6.16: Middle Class Death Notice Key Words
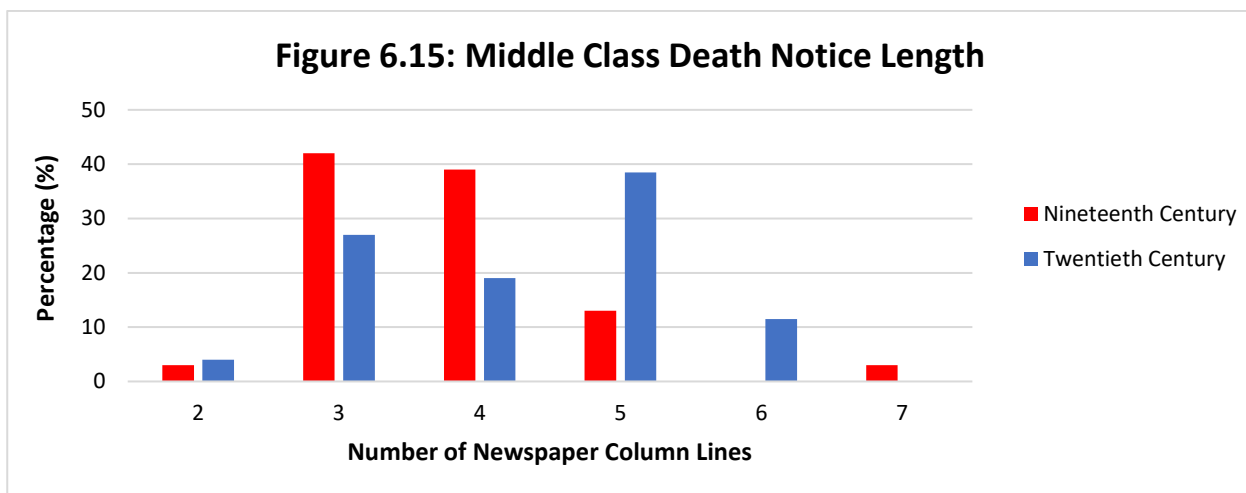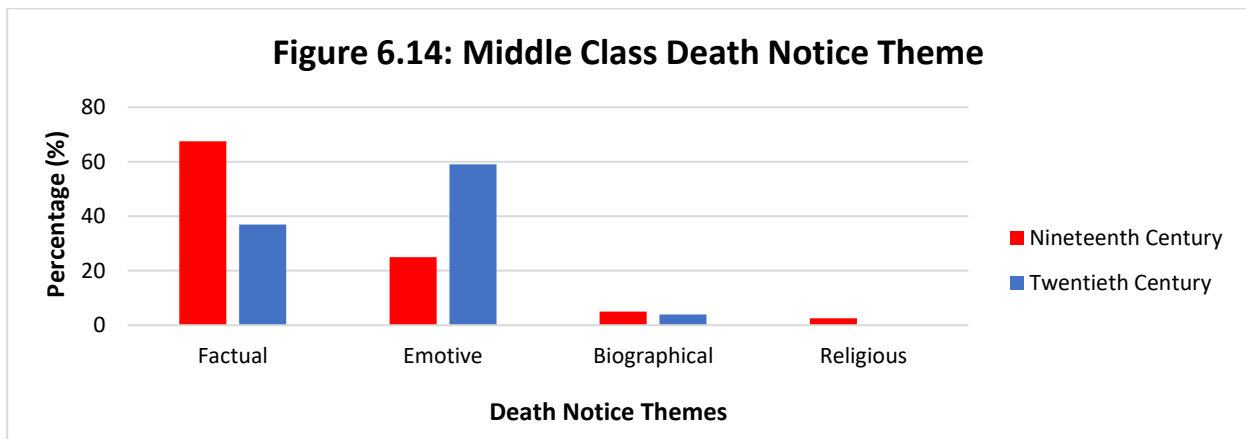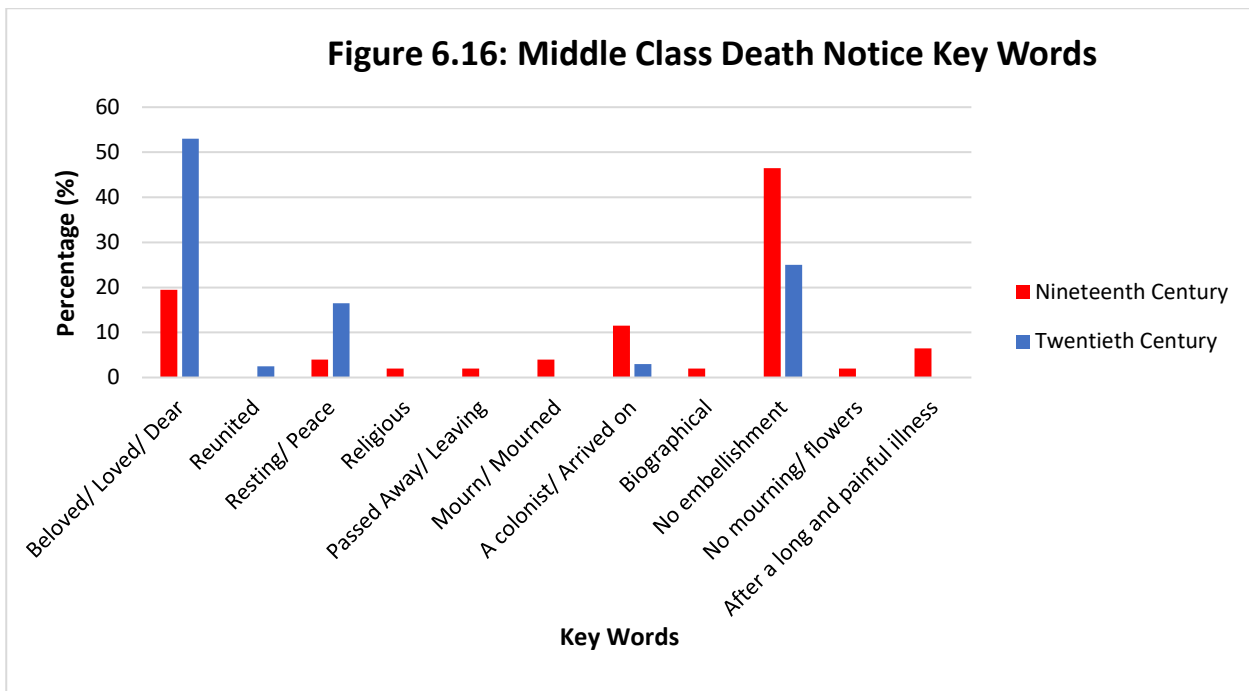
6.4 In Memoriams

In Memoriam notices were public, secular forms of commemoration that emphasised the memory of the deceased, as well as themes of grief and eulogy (Jalland 2002:173; 2006:10). They were particularly embraced by the middling class, who had the majority of In Memoriam notices in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figure 6.17). The middle class had the second highest rate of Memoriam notices in the nineteenth century, but this declined from 35% to 17% in the twentieth century. The unskilled and skilled working classes, on the other hand, had more In Memoriam notices in the twentieth century than the nineteenth (figure 6.17).
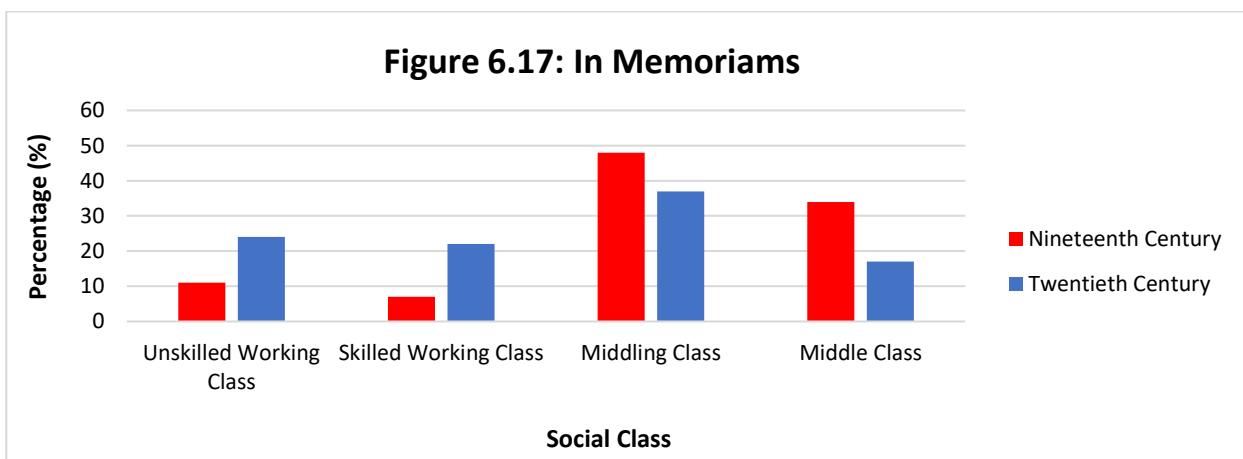
6.4.1 Unskilled Working Class

Nineteenth century unskilled working class In Memoriam notices were emotive, emphasising the connections between the deceased and their family. Emotive key words 'in loving memory of' and

'beloved' were the most common, however, religious themes were also present (figure 6.18). For example, James Farmer's In Memoriam epitaph, 'Great is the loss that I sustain, but Christ has made my loss his gain', includes religious themes while also emphasising grief. In the twentieth century In Memoriams became more emotive and personalised (figure 6.18). Variations of 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved' were still the most common, but they became more varied and personalised in the twentieth century, for example 'in fond memory of' instead of 'in loving memory of' (figure 6.18). The number of religious references declined as the comfort of memory became more prominent. This can be seen in the increased number of personalised epitaphs (figure 6.18), for example the epitaph from George Storey's In Memoriam, inserted by his wife and children in 1916:

Dear is the grave where poor George is laid.

Sweet are the memories that will never fade;

Roses may wither, leaves fade and die,

If others forget you, never will I.

These notices were public tributes usually inserted by family members, commonly multiple notices were inserted for one person by different family members and friends. For example, nine notices were inserted following the death of Claude Glanville Rix by his wife and children, siblings, nieces and nephews, in laws and friends. These were all personalised tributes which varied in length from four to ten lines (figure 6.19).


Figure 6.18: Unskilled Working Class In Memoriam Key Words

Figure 6.19: Unskilled Working Class In Memoriam Length
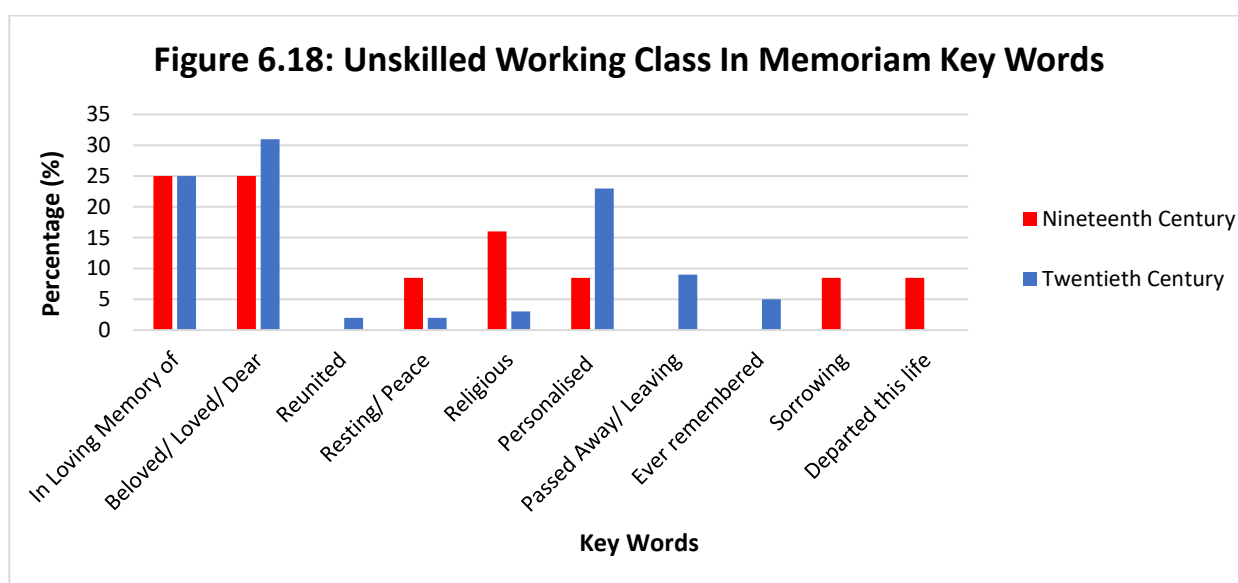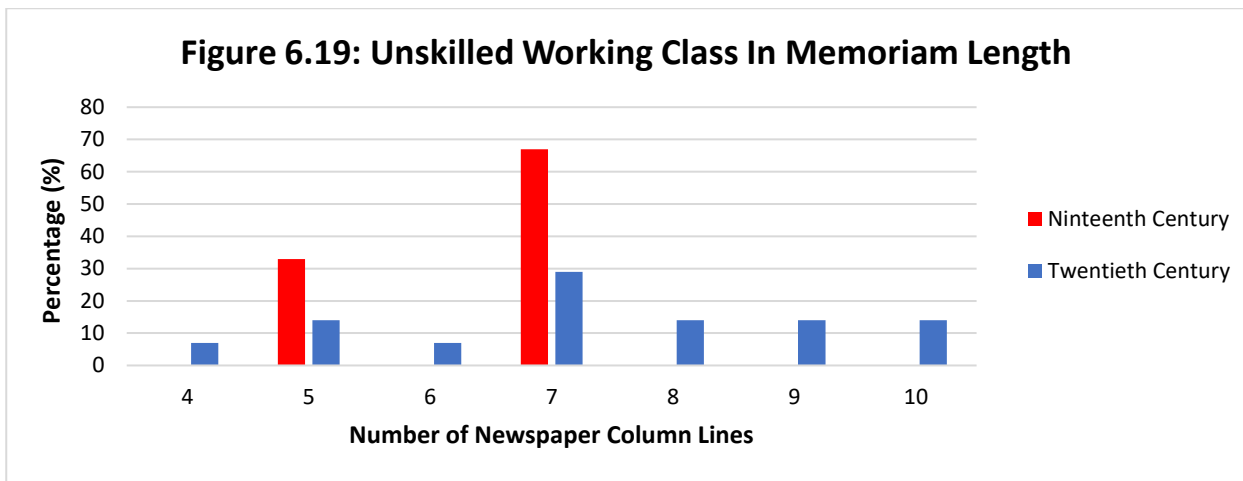
6.4.2 Skilled Working Class

Skilled working class In Memoriam notices were emotive. This is reflected by the key words used, with 'in loving remembrance of' and 'beloved' the most common (figure 6.20). These emotive key words were also combined with religious themes, such as Julia Trigg's In Memoriam, which included the religious quote 'the Eternal Father is our refuge'. These nineteenth century notices were relatively short, all four or five lines long, and were usually inserted by their spouse (figure 6.21). In the twentieth century skilled working class In Memoriams became longer, more emotive and personalised (figure 6.20 and figure 6.21). For example, the epitaph from Alfred John Mashford's In Memoriam, inserted in 1927, was longer and more embellished than nineteenth century examples:

What would I give his hand to clasp,

His dear sweet face to see;

To hear again his loving voice,

That meant so much to me

Alone in my grief the bitter tears flow,

There cometh a face of the sweet long ago.

Unknown to this world he stands by my side,

And whispers the words, death cannot divide.

Such personalised epitaphs only appeared in the twentieth century. Variations of the key words 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved' also became more prominent as use of 'in loving remembrance of' declined (figure 6.20). These twentieth century notices increased in length, with some up to

thirteen lines long (figure 6.21), and were mainly inserted by family members. However, unlike the unskilled working class, most people (57%) only had one In Memoriam.

Figure 6.20: Skilled Working Class In Memoriam Key Words

Figure 6.21: Skilled Working Class In Memoriam Length
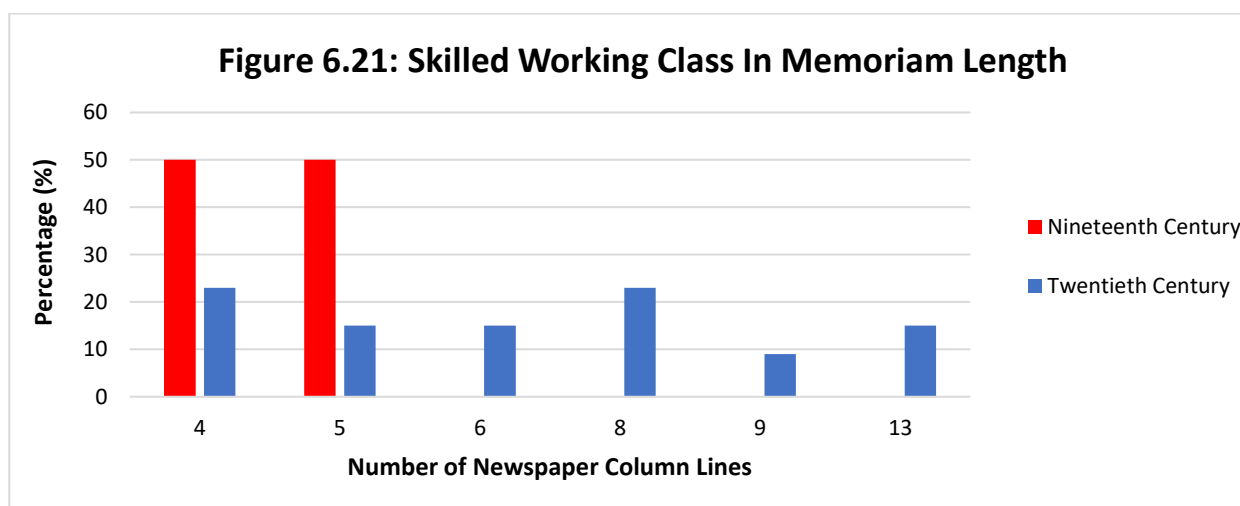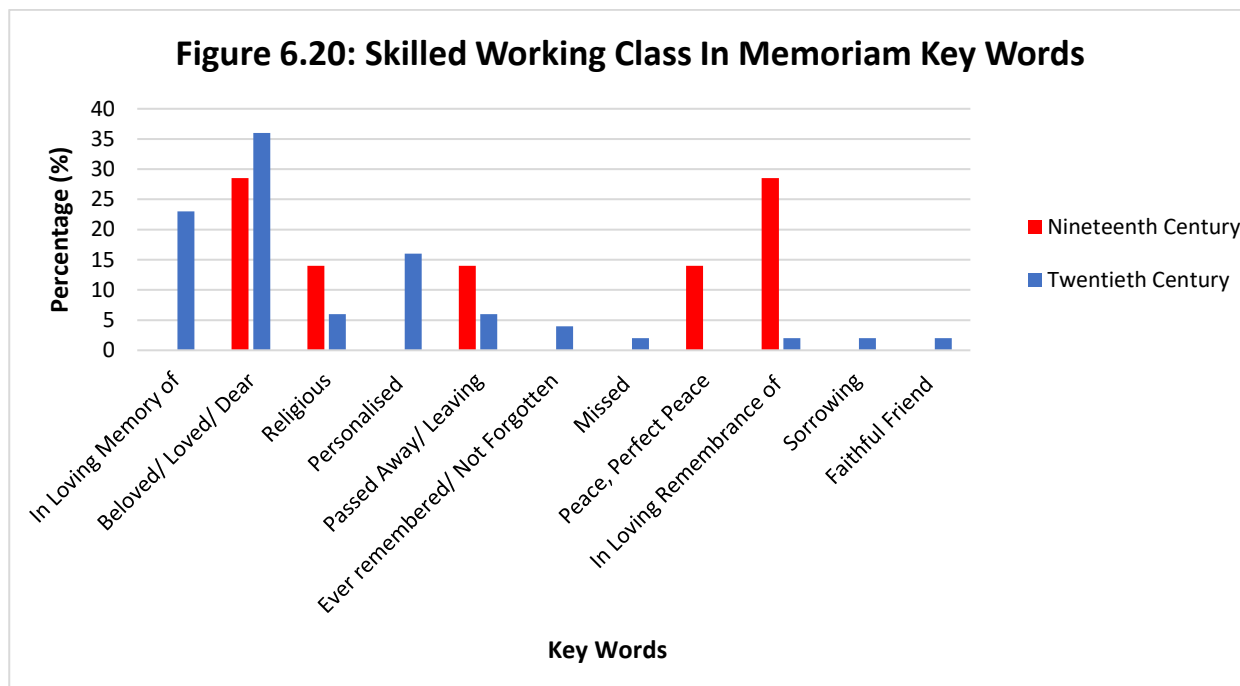
6.4.3 Middling Class

The middling class had the most, and longest, In Memoriams in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (figures 6.17, 6.19, 6.21, 6.23 and 6.25). These were highly emotive and personalised, with key words 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved' the most common. Personalised epitaphs were also commonly used (figure 6.22) which included some religious themes, such as John Hill's In Memoriam:

Farewell, dear father, your days have passed,

You loved us while your days did last;

And always strove to do your best,

And now have gone to heaven to rest.

Unlike the skilled working class, amongst the middling class different family members and friends inserted multiple notices for each person.

In the twentieth century, memory and the grief of the bereaved continued to be emphasised, with key words 'in loving memory of', 'beloved' and personalised epitaphs still the most prominent (figure 6.22). In Memoriam's also became longer, with a growing number over ten lines long (figure 6.23). For example, Evan Evans' In Memoriam, inserted by his wife in 1931, features prominent themes of grief:

Sad and sudden was the parting:

Hard and cruel was the blow:

How sadly I have missed you.

No one on earth will ever know.

I think of you in silence.

With grief that is deep and true:

There is always that sad longing.

Could I only speak to you.

Like the nineteenth century sample, these In Memoriams were posted by family members, with multiple notices for each person.

Figure 6.22: Middling Class In Memoriam Key Words
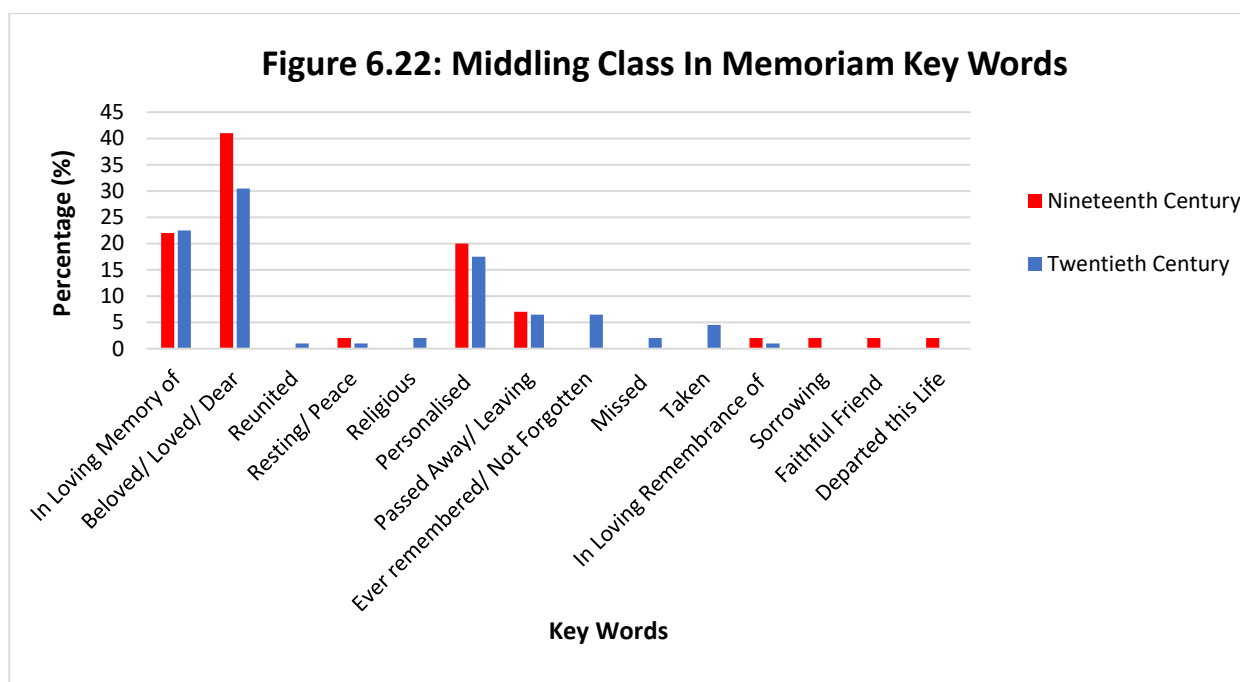
Figure 6.23: Middling Class In Memoriam Length
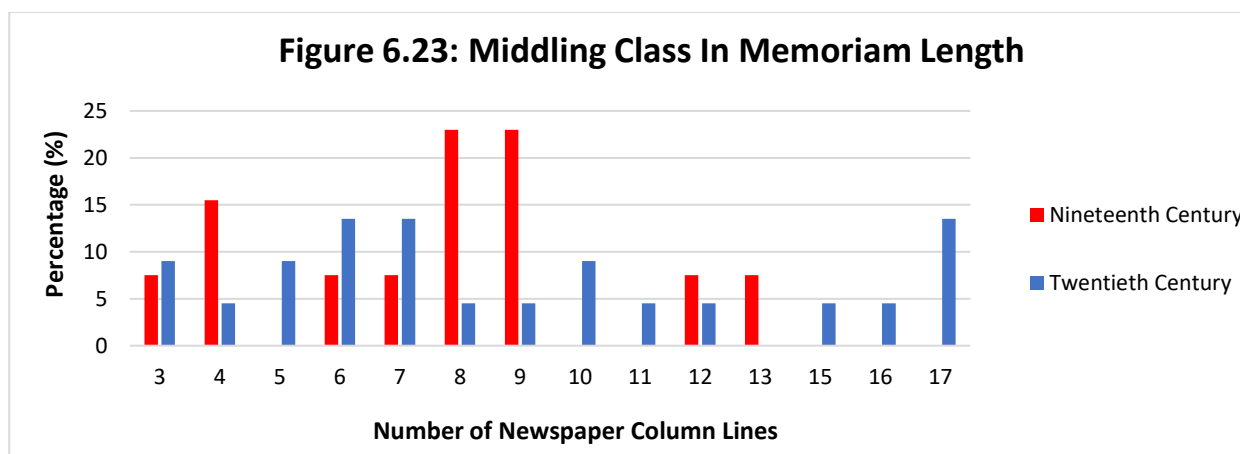
6.4.4 Middle Class

Middle class In Memoriams in the nineteenth century were emotive and personalised, using variations of the key words 'in loving memory' and 'beloved'. Personalised epitaphs were also common (figure 6.24). These epitaphs, such as 'though death us part, fond memory clings', emphasised the memory of the deceased and the grief of the bereaved. Middle class In Memoriams in the nineteenth century were shorter than those of the middling class, with the majority four lines long (figure 6.23 and figure 6.25). However, like the middling class, the middle class inserted multiple notices per individual, as family and friends posted their own tributes to the deceased.

In the twentieth century variations of 'in loving memory' and 'beloved' were still the most common (figure 6.24). Personalised epitaphs declined, but were still common. These emphasised

the grief of the bereaved and the memory of the deceased, such as that for William George Bowden from 1930:

Gone from us, his smiling face,

Those kindly, cheerful ways,

The heart that won so many friends,

In happy, bygone days.

In Memoriams also became longer in the twentieth century, with the majority twelve lines long (figure 6.25). These notices were all posted by family members, half of whom posted multiple notices.

Figure 6.24: Middle Class In Memoriam Key Words

Figure 6.25: Middle Class In Memoriam Length
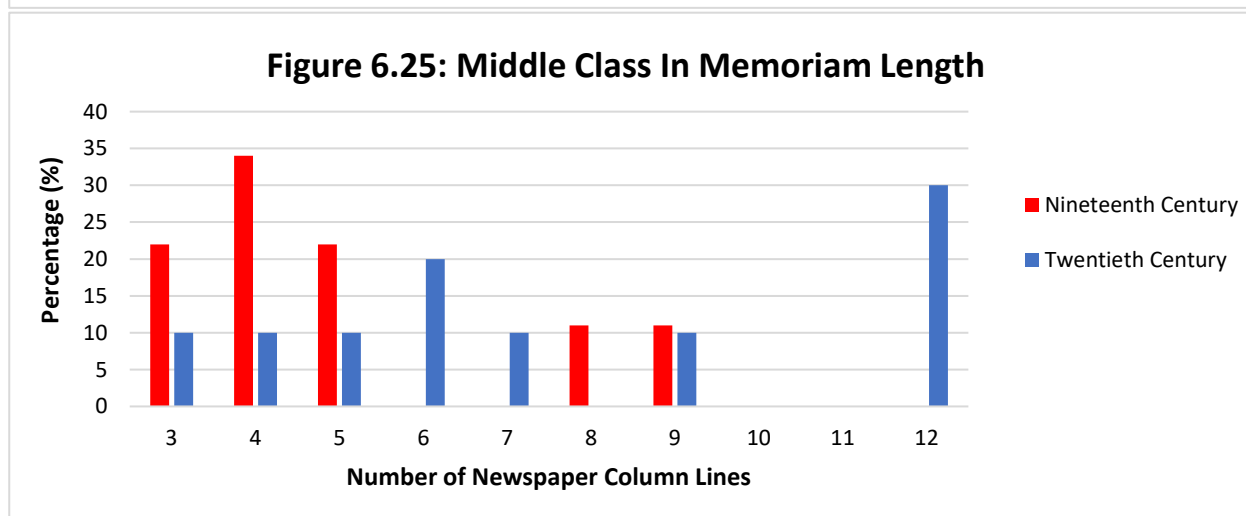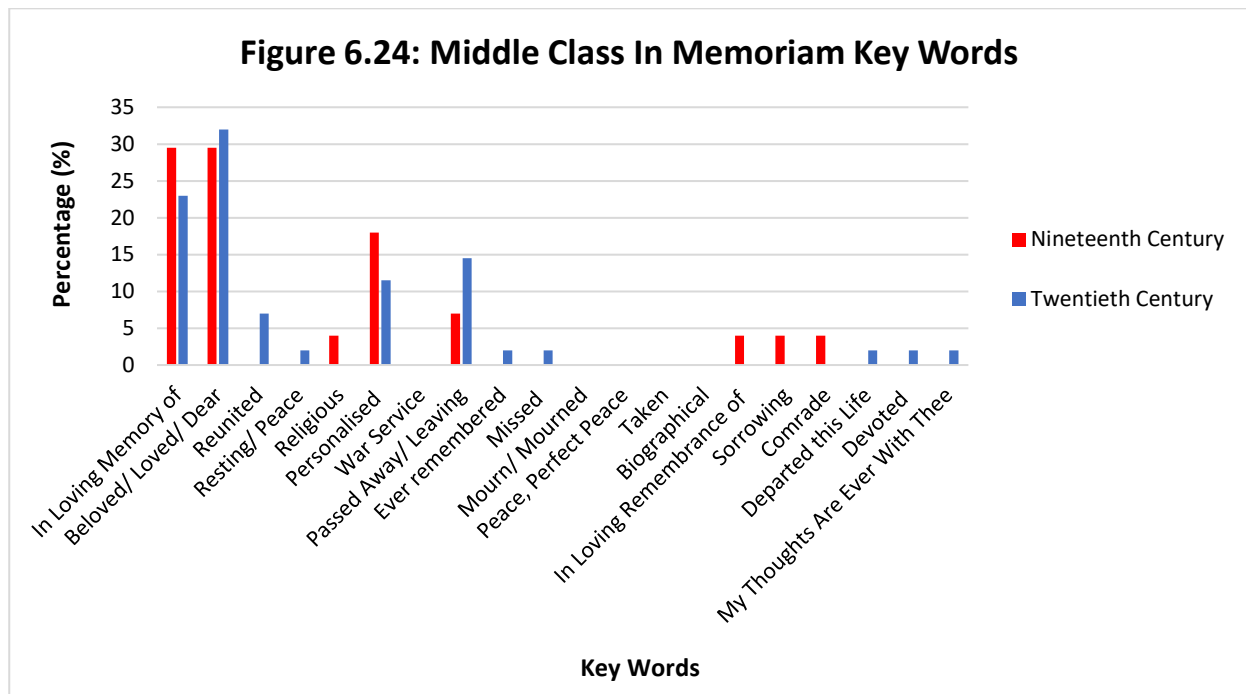
6.5 Obituaries

All of the obituaries from the nineteenth century belonged to the middle class, who also dominated such notices in the twentieth century (figure 6.26).

Figure 6.26: Twentieth Century Obituaries
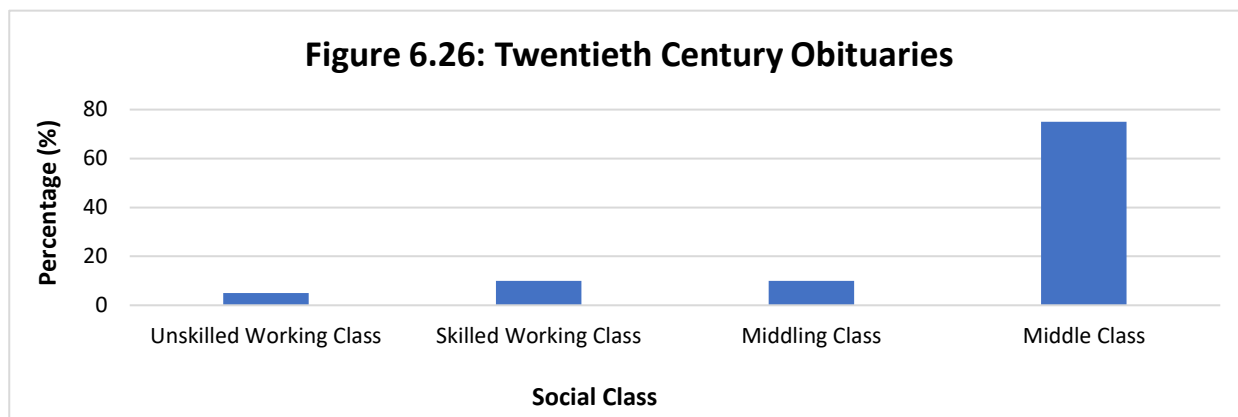
6.5.1 Unskilled Working Class

Few obituaries were written about the unskilled working class. In the twentieth century, one written about Ellen Brealey by the *Narracoorte Herald* in 1931, was based on her, and her parents', connection to the town. Its 37 lines focused on her family history, how her parents arrived in South Australia, their occupations and her children.

6.5.2 Skilled Working Class

There were two skilled working class obituaries in the twentieth century. These were both short at (23 and 16 lines long respectively). One was about a jockey who died as a result of an accident and the other about a long term resident who was also a preacher. These both provided brief biographical outlines.

6.5.3 Middling Class

There were two middling class obituaries, both from the twentieth century. One was for the president of a soccer club, while the other was for the superintendent of a church. These provided biographical outlines that varied in length from 20 lines to 65 lines.

6.5.4 Middle Class

Nineteenth century middle class obituaries were longer than those from the twentieth century, with the majority between 80 and 100 lines long (figure 6.27). Religious activities and associations were commonly included (figure 6.28 and figure 6.29), but their occupation and career were the main focus (figure 6.29).

In the twentieth century, the length of obituaries declined, with the majority between 20 to 40 lines (figure 6.27). Their focus also shifted, with more emphasis placed on work and family, while religious associations appeared less often (figure 6.28 and figure 6.30). How people arrived in South Australia also became less common in twentieth century obituaries, although it was still frequently included (figure 6.30).
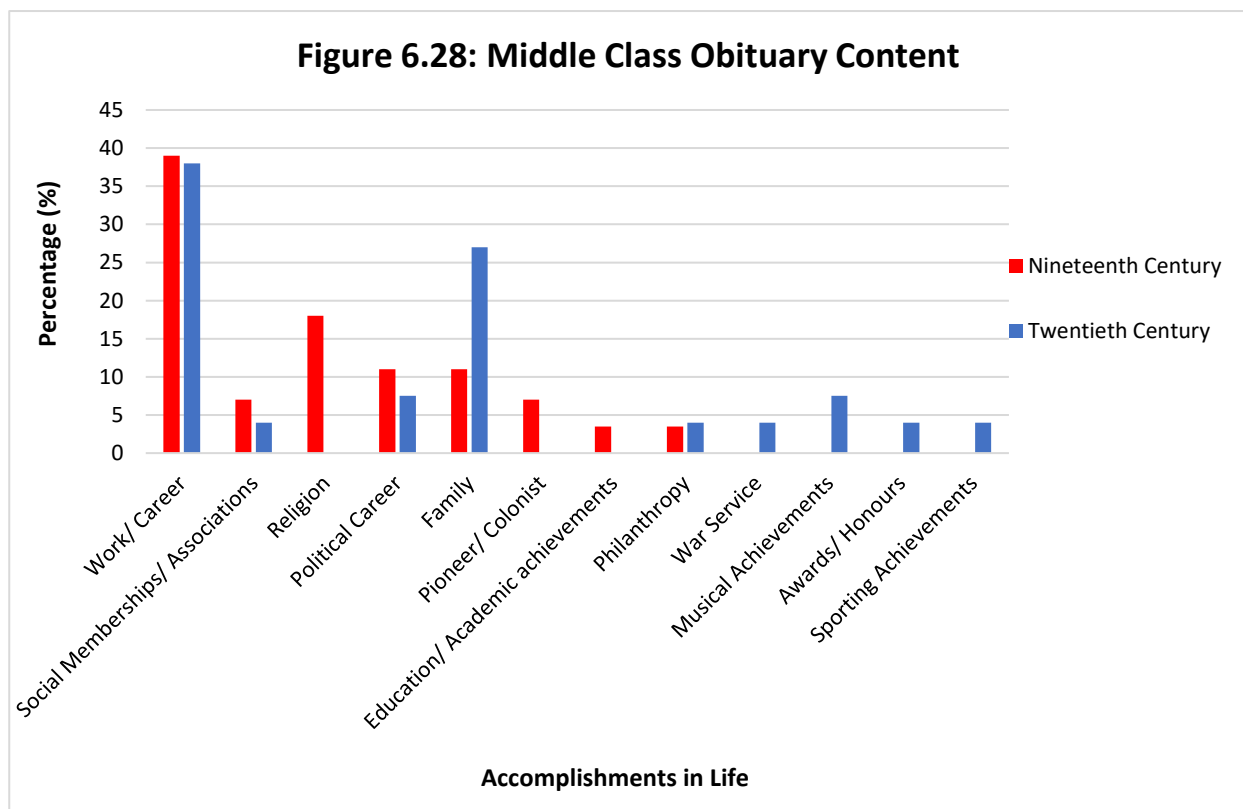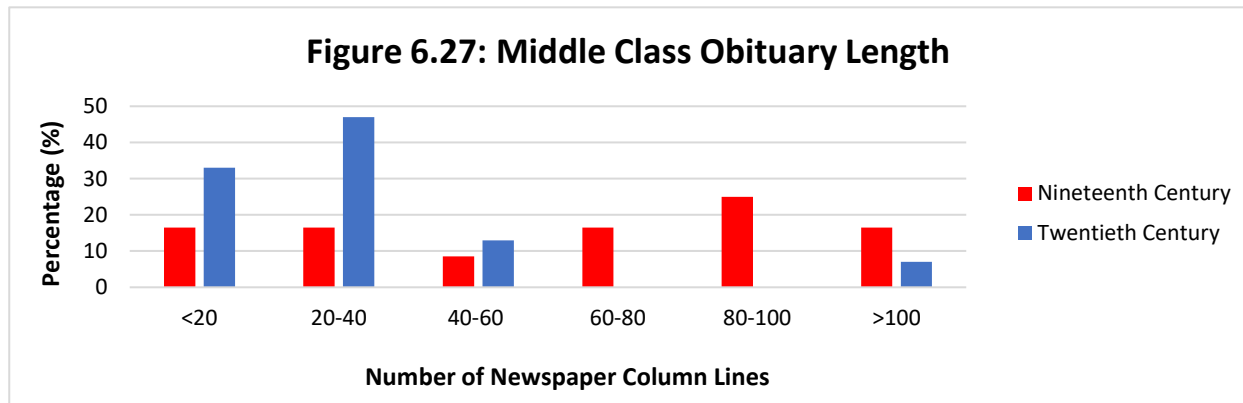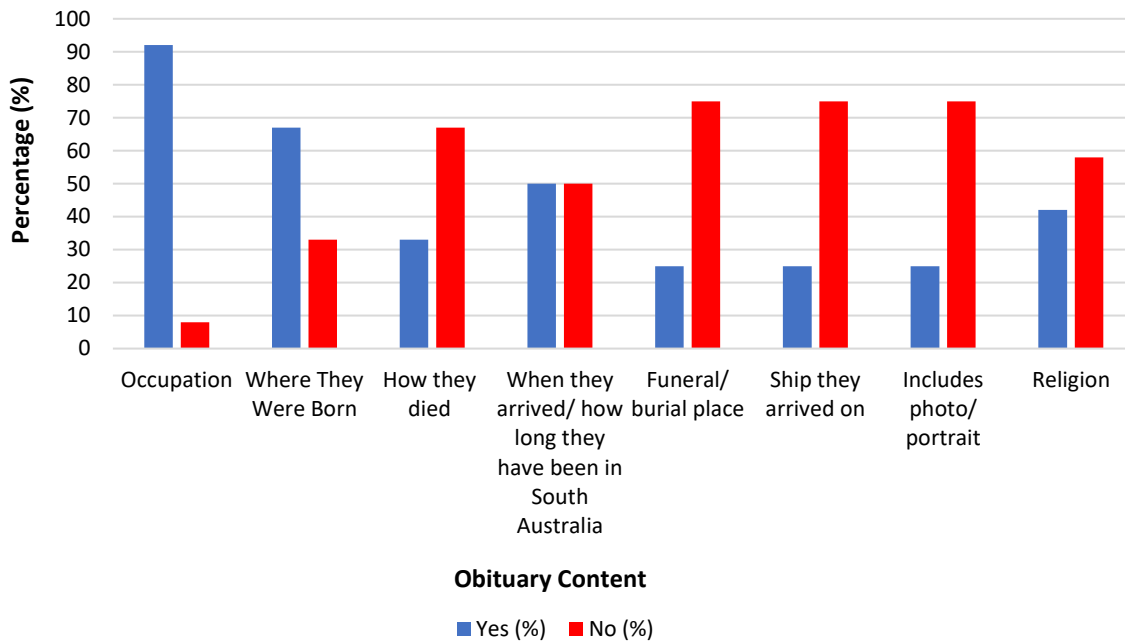

Figure 6.27: Middle Class Obituary Length

Figure 6.28: Middle Class Obituary Content

Figure 6.29: Nineteenth Century Middle Class Obituary Content

Figure 6.30: Twentieth Century Middle Class Obituary Content
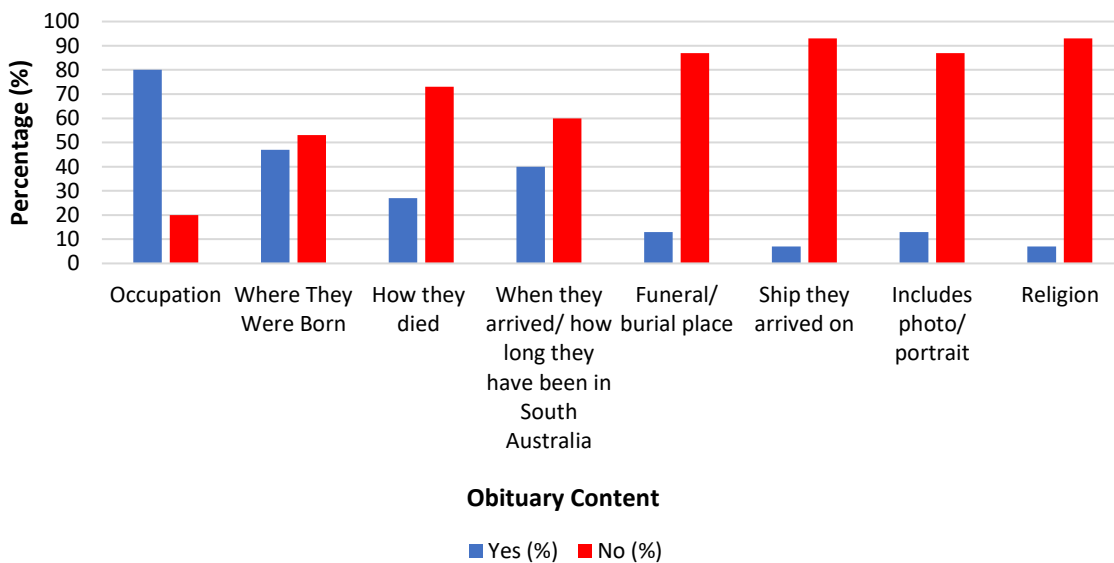
7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand how different social classes expressed themselves through their monuments, how this relates to death notices, In Memoriams and obituaries and what this says about power relations in Adelaide.

7.2 Nineteenth Century (1870-1913)

7.2.1 1870-1892

The middle class were the dominant class in South Australia (van Dissel 1986:337). As such, they had the freedom to celebrate their success and express themselves as they wished (Bourdieu 1984:177). Their success was then solidified through ideologies of gentility and individualism that naturalised class differences by basing success on the genteel character of the individual (Leone 1999:211–213; McGuire 1988:460–461). This was reflected in the cemetery through the use of family plots and high levels of variation in monuments and motifs that materially distinguished the middle class from the middling and working classes.

From 1870 the middle class were buried in family plots (5 to 9 interments) that were surrounded by ~1m high cast iron picket fences (figure 7.1). These were erected by 'gentlemen' and members of the Adelaide Club, such as the Bagot and Peacock families, to distinguish and separate themselves, while also recreating a highly visible private domestic sphere within the cemetery (McGuire 1988:463; Young 2003:77). The success and individuality of the family was then expressed through their monument, with the majority of plots containing one central family monument. These were mainly tablets, demonstrating the dominance of the sleeping metaphor. However, the middle class also had a high level of variation in their monuments, including in height (one to two metres) (figure 7.2) and form (semicircular and gothic tablets to more elaborate sarcophagus and column monuments). This demonstrates the freedom that they had to express themselves, with some identifying more with the ideals of respectability, eschewing conspicuous consumption and preferring a more modest grave, while others embraced the consumerism of gentility, expressing themselves through large elaborate monuments. For
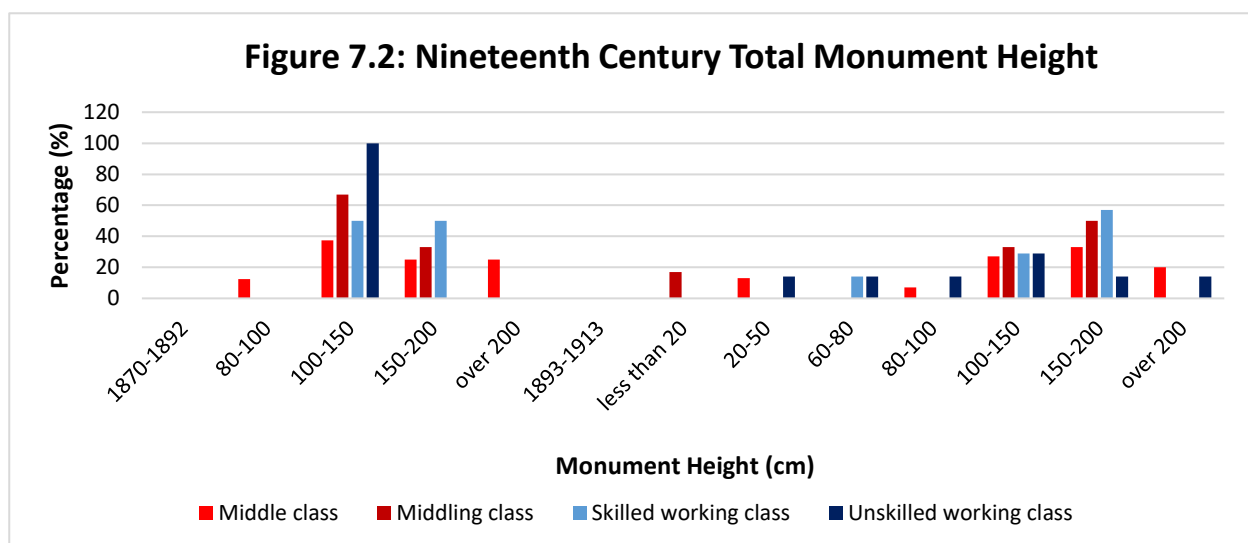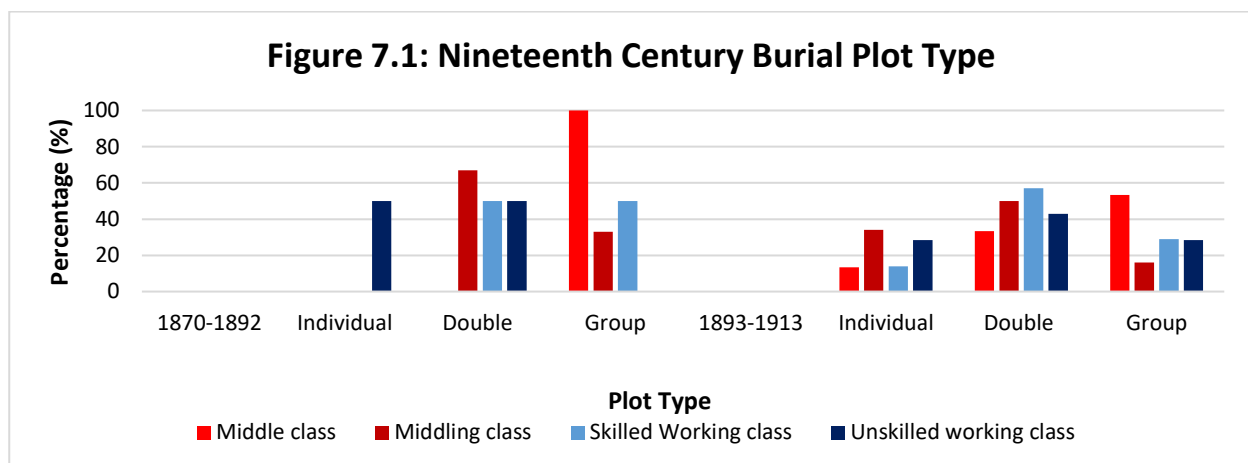
example, Dr Sylvanus Magarey, member of the Adelaide Club and leading figure in the Church of Christ and temperance movement, was commemorated with a plain marble scroll monument (*The Advertiser* 1901:5; van Dissel 1986:351). The Peacock family monument, on the other hand, was an elaborate sarcophagus with nine interments, including the remains of Adelaide Club members William Peacock (politician and owner of Peacock and Son tannery and wool-scouring business) and his son Caleb (Mayor of Adelaide) (*South Australian Register* 1874:7; *The Advertiser* 1896:4; van Dissel 1986:348).

The middle class also included a significant proportion of monuments over two metres in height (22%) (figure 7.2). These predominantly belonged to wealthy Nonconformist families who celebrated their newly found social position and religious freedoms by embracing conspicuous consumption and erecting large, expressive monuments (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195; Young 2003:88–89). For example, the graves of the Presbyterian Ferguson and Dreyer families had tall column and pedestalled monuments topped with urns. This form, characteristic of Nonconformist graves and graveyards (Mytum 2002:194), acted as a proud statement that was visible across the cemetery. Middle class Anglicans, such as Blanche Bonython and Ulysses North Bagot, on the other hand, were commemorated with cross monuments, a form associated with Anglican graveyards and the High Church (Mytum 2002:222).

The tastes of the middle class were then emulated by the middling and working classes from 1878, with some buried in group plots surrounded by iron fences (figure 7.1). These classes competed amongst each other as each tried to differentiate themselves from those whom they saw as less respectable, with the middling and skilled working classes distinguishing themselves from the smaller, plain 115 cm tall monuments of the unskilled working class through the use of taller monuments and motifs which distinguished and individualised their graves (figure 7.2).

Motifs, as well as demonstrating success through conspicuous consumption, were another form of expression for the middling and skilled working classes, with different meanings attached to each. For example, the Pappin family headstone featured a poppy and oak leaves wrapped around a Latin cross. This expressed sentiments of eternal sleep through the poppy, faith and endurance through the oak leaves, and Anglicanism through the cross (McDougall and Vines 2004:40; Mytum 2002:194).

However, the middling and working classes also differentiated themselves from the middle class through their use of spouse plots that celebrated the close emotional bond shared between couples (figure 7.1). These smaller, more personal monuments contrasted with the large family plots of the middle class, which celebrated the success and individuality of the family patriarch. This rejection of the middle class material expression of familial roles coincided with a time of increasing class consciousness and solidarity as workers formed unions, craft societies and went on strike to improve their wages and conditions in the 1880s, most notable of which was the campaign for an eight-hour day (Moss 1985:183; Wanna 1981:20–21).

Figure 7.1: Nineteenth Century Burial Plot Type

Figure 7.2: Nineteenth Century Total Monument Height

Newspaper notices were also used by classes to express their individuality and respectability. Death notices were the main type used by all classes in the nineteenth century. The middle and middling classes from 1870 posted short, factual notices that were typically three lines long with no embellishment (figure 7.3). These were subsequently adopted by the skilled working class in

1878. However, the middling and skilled working classes also began to embrace death notices as a means to express their grief after 1878 with emotive notices written by husbands for their wives (figure 7.3).

The unskilled working class, on the other hand, used no notices between 1870 and 1892, reflecting a focus on their monument to achieve respectability.

Figure 7.3: Proportion of Emotive and Factual Death Notices between classes in the Nineteenth Century
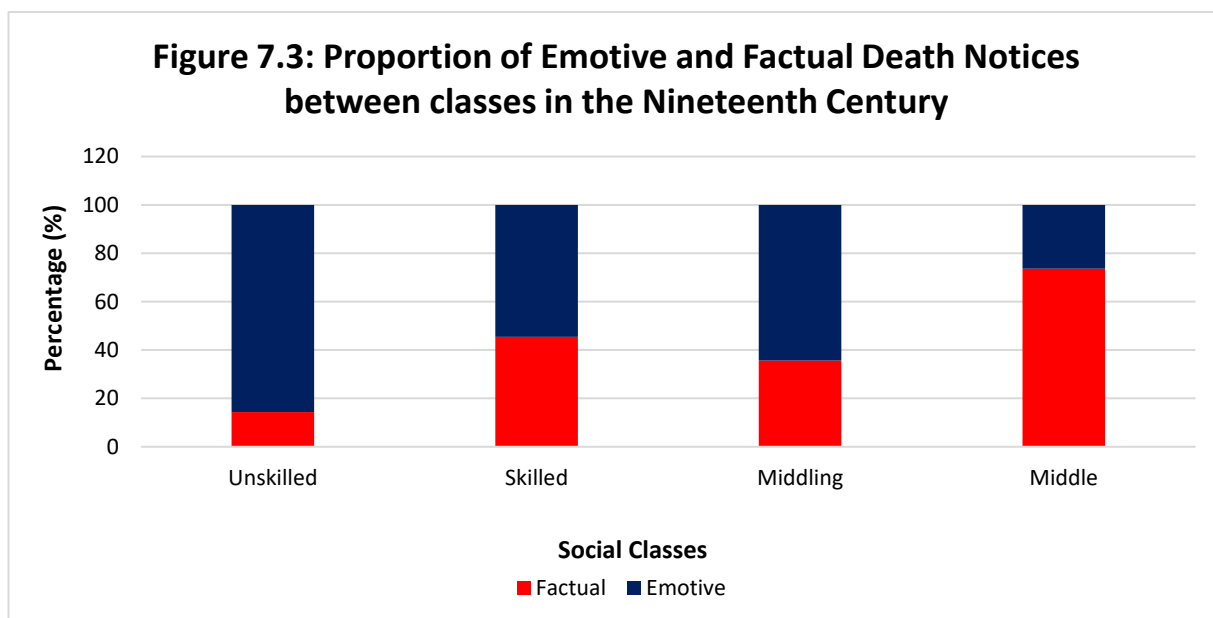
7.2.2 1893-1913

This was a time of increased unemployment, economic downturns, class tensions and changing mortuary customs (Broomhill 1978:1; Jalland 2002:305). The middle class, however, continued to assert their gentility by predominantly being buried in family plots (54%) and by erecting the tallest monuments (figure 7.1 and figure 7.2). The number of interments in each plot declined to 3-5 individuals and the metre-tall iron fences that dominated between 1870 and 1892 were replaced with marble borders. The middle class also began to emulate the spouse plots of other classes, as they started to place more significance on personal relationships of affection, such as marriage, instead of on the power of the family unit. This lessened the material differences between them and other classes and coincided with a period of increased class consciousness and conflict during the worker strikes of the 1890s (Wanna 1981:58–59). The middle class, as in the cemetery, sought to ease class tensions. They gave some concessions to workers through reforms, such as the *Factories Act* of 1894 which regulated the safety of workers and the working conditions of women and children (Wanna 1981:59).

The middling and skilled working classes continued to emulate the middle class and distinguish themselves from the unskilled working class through erecting taller monuments decorated with motifs that allowed them to celebrate the uniqueness and success of individuals and their personal relationships. For example, John Hill's monument featured the epitaph 'rest dear father thy work is over thy loving hands shall toil no more', with an anchor motif, symbolising his occupation as a master mariner. This inscription and motif demonstrated his hard working character and success in manipulating the public sphere to provide for his family.

The unskilled working class were hardest hit by the economic crisis, unemployment and factory conditions and erected smaller (<1m high), plain monuments, with no motifs (figure 7.2). This reflected the importance the unskilled working class placed on proving their economic independence and maintaining their respectability, as well as their dislike of elaborate monuments, motifs and the genteel expression of taste through conspicuous consumption.

Death notices were increasingly embraced by some classes as a means to express grief, resulting in a statistically significant difference between the notices of different classes ($p = 0.007$). The majority of notices used by the unskilled working class were emotive (85.7%), while the middle class continued to use factual notices with no embellishment (73.7%) (figure 7.3). The middling and skilled working classes, on the other hand, had a mixture of emotive and factual notices as they were divided by those who emulated the factual notices of the middle class and those, like the unskilled working class, who embraced newspapers as an alternative means of emotional expression.

From 1904 In Memoriam notices were also used in cases where the memorial and death notice did not adequately express the strong feelings of grief felt by the bereaved. Most (67%) unskilled working class In Memoriams were longer than death notices (seven lines versus four) (figure 7.4). In Memoriams emphasised grief and emotive connections to the deceased through key words such as 'in loving memory of' and 'beloved', while also taking comfort in the belief of the afterlife and heavenly reunion through phrases like 'great is the loss that I sustain, but Christ has made my loss his gain.' These notices were cheaper than a headstone and allowed the unskilled working class to express their strong feelings of grief. For instance, Joseph Lloyd's In Memoriam included the epitaph 'in life we dearly loved him; in death we do the same. Sadly missed.', while his headstone only included the phrase 'remembered by their family', with no other embellishment.

Skilled working class In Memoriam notices in the nineteenth century were shorter than those of the unskilled working class. These were typically only four lines (figure 7.4) and usually featured a short phrase, such as 'peace, perfect peace' or 'the eternal father is our refuge'. Unlike the unskilled working class, the skilled working class could afford to express their grief through more permanent means, such as motifs and inscriptions on monuments.

The middling class, on the other hand, particularly embraced In Memoriam notices, reflecting their strong belief in independence and the ideology of individualism that intensified personal relationships (Ferry 1999:99–103). It was the middling class who had the longest notices, with the majority up to eight or nine lines (figure 7.4). Furthermore, multiple notices were posted for each person. For instance, William Haddow had six In Memoriam notices written by friends, brothers, sisters, his mother and wife and child. The need for each of the bereaved to put their own personalised messages of commemoration in newspapers demonstrates the intense feelings of grief that were felt by each. Unlike the middle class, who could afford more expressive monuments, the middling class could not adequately express the uniqueness and importance of the deceased on their headstone, instead turning to In Memoriam notices.

Some members of the middle class who were not the subject of obituaries emulated the expressive notices of the middling and working classes, beginning to post emotive death notices (26.3%) from 1896 and In Memoriam notices from 1908 (figure 7.3). Instead, different family members turned to In Memoriam notices to express personal grief and emotive connections to the deceased.

Figure 7.4: Nineteenth Century In Memoriam Length
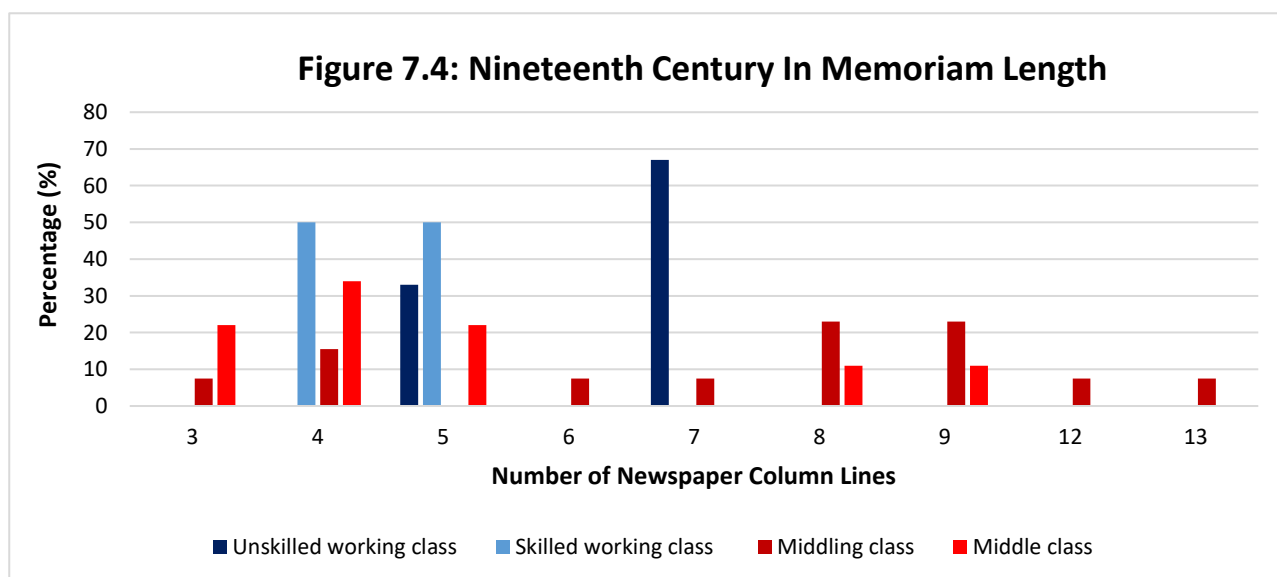
Obituaries distinguished members of the middle class in the nineteenth century, as 28.5% of the middle class had both a death notice and an obituary. Obituaries were written about the successful, the powerful and the genteel, including members of the Adelaide Club, politicians, pastoralists and composers (Starck 2004:92–93). The achievements of a person during their career were the main focus of male obituaries. For females, however, the focus was on their achievements in raising a family in the private domestic sphere or on their husband's or father's career. Religious associations were also commonly included for both women and men. These themes reflected the central pillars of gentility: work, family and religion (Young 2003:18). There was also an emphasis on the character and mind of the individual, as the essence of masculinity changed from physical prowess to strength of the mind and character (Ferry 1999:134; Young 2003:18). For example, City Treasurer Thomas Fabian was celebrated for his character and career, being remembered for his 'goodness of heart and sweetness of disposition, and of his whole-souled loyalty to the Corporation for which he had worked so long' (*Chronicle* 1898:22). The middle class ideal of the good Christian death was also evident in some obituaries (33%) that noted how the person conducted themselves in their final hours. For example, William Peacock's stated that he 'retained consciousness up to nearly the close of his life' (*South Australian Register* 1874:7). The longest obituaries were reserved for the most important and genteel. For instance, the obituaries of William and Caleb Peacock, William Ferguson, Sylvanus Magarey and Thomas Fabian were all over 80 newspaper column lines long, with Fabian's obituary the longest at 240 lines. The celebration of the dominant middle class culture and ideology in newspaper obituaries popularised and legitimised middle class values as the values that all classes should aspire to (Bourdieu 1984:26, 386; Young 2003:60, 77).

7.3 Twentieth Century (1914-1940)

7.3.1 1914-1929

The First World War (WWI) caused a shift from the Victorian glorification of death to a culture that avoided and compartmentalised death, removing it from the world of the living (Jalland 2006:18). This reflected the trauma and unprecedented loss of life of WWI and the hardships that followed during the Great Depression, which made individual civilian deaths seem insignificant and extravagant displays of mourning wasteful, self-indulgent and morbid (Broomhill 1978:24; Jalland 2002:305; Murray 2008:94; Tarlow 1997:110).

The period following the war saw increased industrialisation in Adelaide, with a growth of heavy industries, industrial technology and larger factories. As these industries grew so, too, did the working class population (Broomhill 1978:6). This post war boom, however, did not last, with unemployment beginning to rise in 1925 and the failure of John Gunn's Labor Government to act on behalf of workers heralding in a period of high unemployment and class tensions that dramatically worsened with the Great Depression in 1929 (Broomhill 1978:6; Moss 1985:270–271). These tensions were reflected in the cemetery as the unskilled working class decreased their investment in monuments, rejecting the taller and more elaborate monuments of the other classes and choosing smaller monuments below a metre in height (87.5%) (figure 7.5). These headstones, commemorated individuals and couples (figure 7.6) with little embellishment, often only including a brief inscription with the phrase 'in loving memory of'. The monument forms, however, became more symbolic, such as hearts or scrolls that symbolised emotive bonds and the twentieth century focus on life (McDougall and Vines 2004:40). These were private and personal expressions of grief intended for an intimate audience of close family and friends (McGuire 1988:466).

The skilled working class were buried in respectable spouse and family plots (figure 7.6), but also decreased the size of their monuments, with an increasing proportion below a metre in height (44.4%). More of the skilled working class, however, continued to erect larger monuments over a metre in height (55.6%) (figure 7.5). This variation represents the pressures faced by the skilled working class as they increasingly faced the threat of unemployment in the late 1920s. Some of the skilled working class continued to emulate the middle class and used monuments as an important form of expression, individualism and marker of respectability, while others identified more closely with the smaller, understated and more personal monuments of the unskilled working class (Broomhill 1978:24).

The middling class, on the other hand, were predominantly buried in family plots with three interments (figure 7.6), often including young or unwed children, distinguishing them from the working classes by maintaining and recreating the family unit within the cemetery (McGuire 1988:463). The monuments on these plots were predominantly cambered tablet or scroll designs over a metre tall (71.4%) (figure 7.5) with emotive inscriptions. This use of family plots and taller monuments demonstrates the middling class's use of monuments as an opportunity to display and

assert independence, success and respectability, separating them from those they deemed less respectable (Ferry 1999:202; McGuire 1988:454–455).

The changing culture of death in the twentieth century, however, began impacting on the commemorative practices of the middling class. Monuments decreased in absolute size and the use of motifs declined. The motifs used also changed from the nineteenth century focus on flowers to scroll designs in the twentieth century, signifying a shift from the glorification of death to a focus on life (McDougall and Vines 2004:40).

The crisis of WWI and worsening economic conditions towards the end of the 1920s created confusion amongst the middle class, which split between those who continued to erect tall and elaborate monuments and those who emulated the plain and understated monuments of the working classes (Wanna and Broomhill 1981:100–101). Some continued to be buried in family plots with elaborate monuments, such as urn-topped block monuments and tall obelisks (27%) that celebrated the success of the family and naturalised class differences, while others chose to emulate the spouse and individual plots (36.4% and 27%) and preferred the plainer scroll monuments (36.4%) of the working classes, denying class differences (figure 7.6).

Figure 7.5: Twentieth Century Total Monument Height
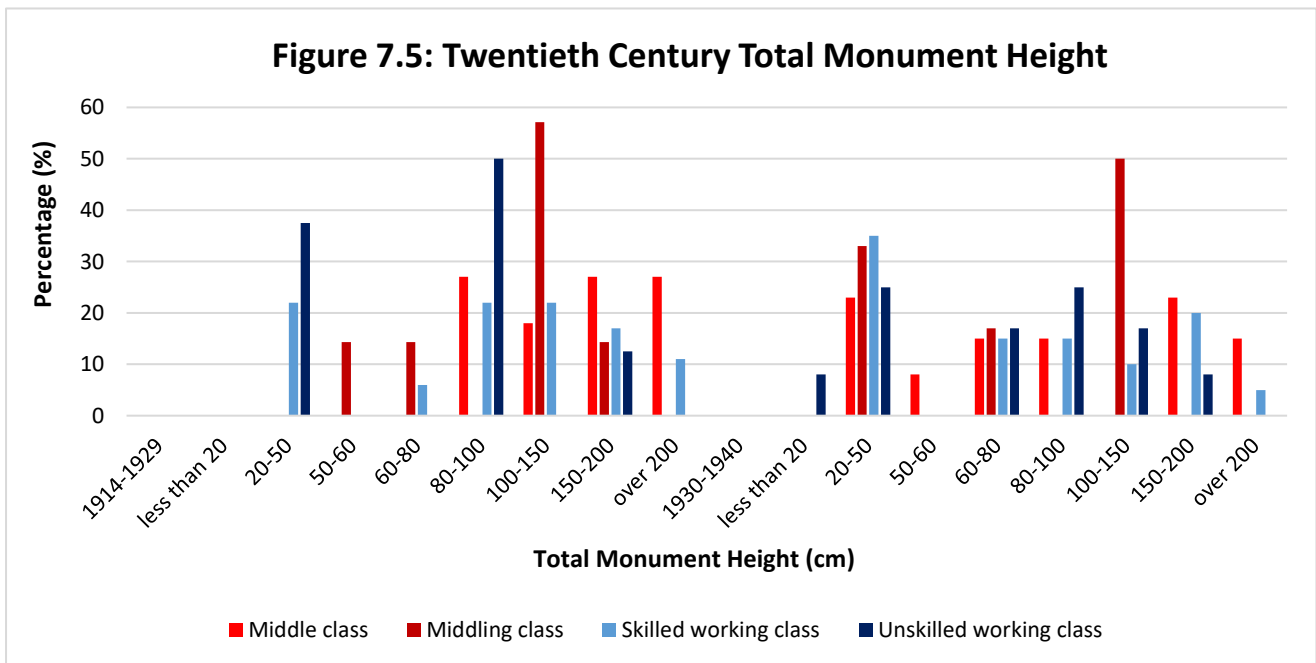
Figure 7.6: Twentieth Century Burial Plot Type
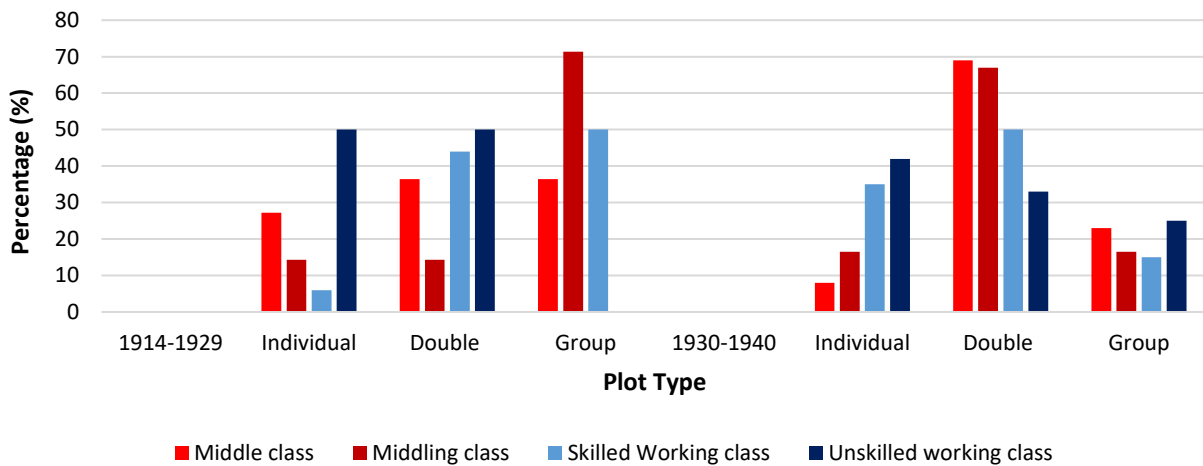
Figure 7.7: Proportion of Emotive and Factual Death Notices between classes in the twentieth century
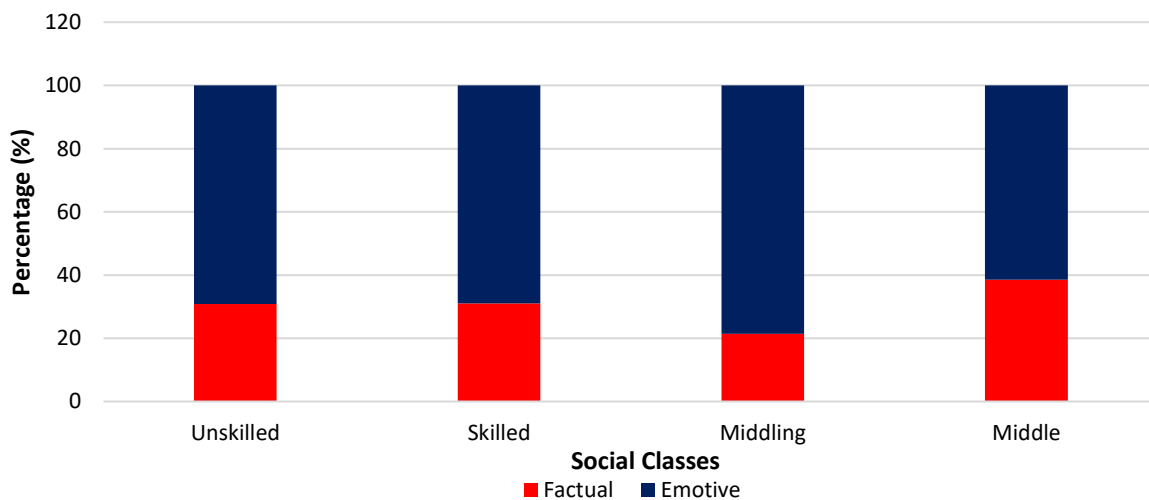
Differences between death notices also decreased following WWI, as they became uniformly emotive. The statistically significant difference in death notices between classes that existed in the nineteenth century (p = 0.007) disappeared in the twentieth century as the middle class emulated the emotive notices of the working classes (p = 0.760). These emotive notices, dominant amongst all classes (figure 7.7), expressed emotive connections through variations of 'beloved' and 'dear'. The factual, unembellished death notices, especially common in the nineteenth century amongst the middle class, declined (figure 7.7).

In Memoriam notices peaked in popularity during WWI as a way for grieving families to publicly express their loss, despite nationalist ideologies which attempted to silence civilian grief by glorifying the glorious war dead and their sacrifice (Jalland 2014:73; Larsson 2009:79). These ideologies saw individual civilian deaths as insignificant and suppressed traditional Victorian expressions of grief that contradicted a more stoical response to grief (Jalland 2006:98). The devaluing of civilian deaths caused their grief to become disenfranchised, as they could not openly express their loss, forcing them to instead turn to alternative forms of commemoration, such as In Memoriams, to express their grief and to keep the deceased's memory alive (Larsson 2009:82).

The unskilled and skilled working classes increasingly embraced In Memoriam notices as they became more personalised, with multiple notices inserted per person. Different variations of key words, such as 'a tribute to the memory of', and personalised epitaphs were used to differentiate and individualise each notice. These served as an alternative, more meaningful, form of commemoration compared to the headstone, which became more conventionalised and inadequate to express the feelings of the bereaved.

In Memoriam notices, however, continued to predominantly belong to the middling class, who posted the longest notices (up to 17 lines long) (figure 7.8) and multiple notices. The number of notices per person changed depending on the circumstances of the death, however, and the significance of the person to the bereaved. For example, nine In Memoriams were inserted for Annie Rainey and her daughter who died as a result of a car accident in 1926 (*Chronicle* 1926:52). These were each inserted by different family members: parents, sisters, brothers, aunties, uncles, husband and daughter and nephew. The need for each of the bereaved to compose their own personal public expression of grief demonstrates the importance and intensity of personal relationships amongst the middling class (Ferry 1999:99–103). Middle class In Memoriam notices continued to be used mainly by those who were not the subject of obituaries. The length and level of expression of these notices increased, with most up to twelve lines long (figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: Twentieth Century In Memoriam Length

Percentage (%)

Number of Newspaper Column Lines

Legend: Unskilled working class | Skilled working class | Middling class | Middle class
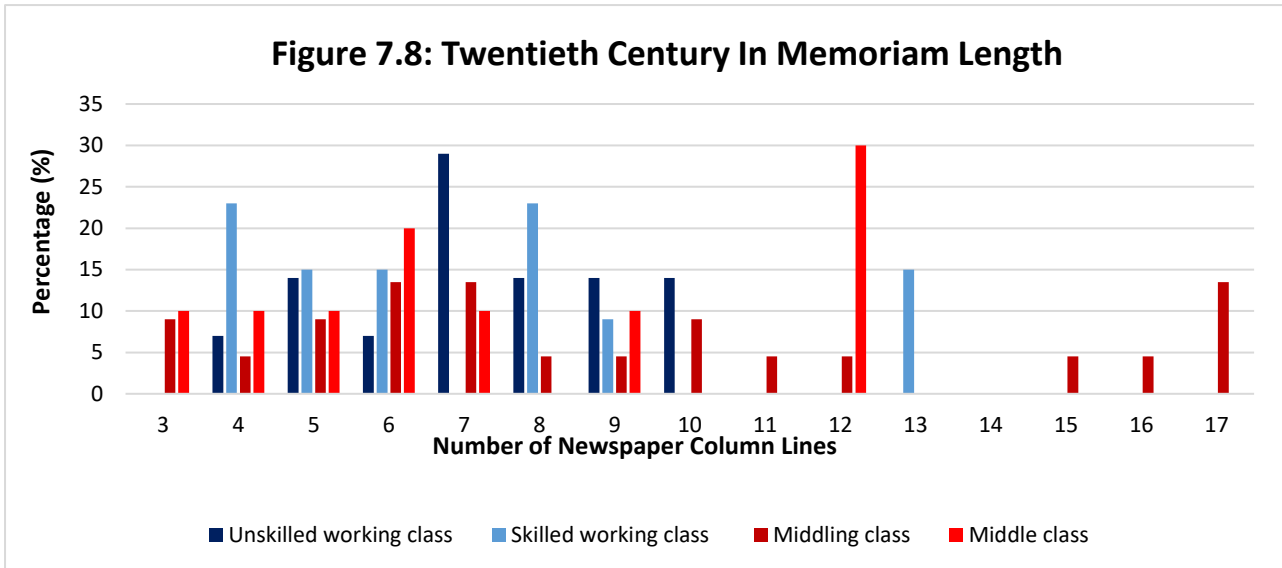
7.3.2 1930-1940

The Great Depression hit South Australia from 1929 to 1933, with unemployment remaining high until 1939 (Wanna and Broomhill 1981:99, 104–105). The working classes, who were hardest hit by these conditions, were also subjected to unrestrained dismissals and cuts to wages, welfare and social services (Wanna and Broomhill 1981:104–105; Moss 1985:309). Workers who took to direct action had their strikes and demonstrations broken up by right-wing organisations and the police. This caused a split in the labour movement between the striking workers and the moderate trade unions and Labor government who continued to push for gradual legislative reform, resulting in Labor losing the 1933 election. This left the working classes powerless and disillusioned with those who represented them (Moss 1985:309).

The working classes, divided and powerless, largely withdrew from competitive material displays, privatising their grief. The unskilled working class continued to be buried in spouse and individual plots that were commemorated on low and understated monuments less than a metre in height (75%) and without motifs. The skilled working class were also predominantly buried in spouse and individual plots commemorated on low, 20 to 50 cm tall, scroll and tablet monuments (figure 7.5 and figure 7.6).

The middling class, like the working classes, were also buried in spouse plots (figure 7.6), but, unlike the working classes, they had few individual plots, instead emphasising emotive bonds within the cemetery. Their monuments were also taller (figure 7.5). Despite this, the middling class largely emulated the monuments of the working classes and privatised their grief.

The middle class also emulated the spouse plots and lower monuments of the working classes. Spouse plots replaced large family plots and monuments 20 to 50 cm in height began to appear as the middle class sought to deny class differences. Despite the overall reduction in height, however, 15% of the middle class continued erecting monuments over two metres tall (figure 7.5). These were the wealthier and more prominent members of the middle class and included tall obelisk and block monuments topped with urns, sarcophaguses and combination monuments. Sir John Langdon Bonython, politician and owner of *The Advertiser* newspaper, for example, was buried in a large sarcophagus monument topped with an urn with elaborate swan handles. This formed the centrepiece of his highly visible family plot located next to the main entrance of the cemetery. Another large monument was erected by Dr Ruby Davy, music composer and teacher, who spent £500 on a five-metre-tall monument for her parents, featuring a large column topped with an angel (Jenkins 2002:80). The presence of such large and elaborate monuments demonstrates the freedom that prominent members of the middle class had to celebrate and commemorate their dead as they pleased.

Newspaper notices also reflected the increased uniformity of the cemetery. Death notices became dominant amongst all classes as In Memoriams declined in use, disappearing from the sample after 1930. In Memoriam notices were increasingly seen as morbid and wasteful following the hardships endured during the Great Depression and the increasing suppression and privatisation of grief in the changed death culture that followed WWI (Jalland 2006:172–173, 2014:76). The longer and more expressive In Memoriam notice was replaced by death notices that used short emotive phrases, such as 'beloved', to express emotive connections between the bereaved and the deceased (figure 7.7).

Obituaries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were predominantly fixated on the lives of the middle class, although members of the middling, unskilled and skilled working classes also began to be the subject of obituaries in the twentieth century. Their continued focus on work and family reproduced the ideals and gender roles of the dominant class that were enshrined in the cult of domesticity and ideologies of gentility and respectability (Young 2003:18). These ideologies were then further legitimised and reproduced by associating their ideals and values with success, for only the most successful and prominent of the dominant class were afforded long obituaries. For instance, Sir John Langdon Bonython's obituary was 350 lines long, covering a whole page, with further tributes from state leaders in the pages that followed (*The Advertiser*

1939:16). Such obituaries perpetuated the ideologies of social Darwinism and individualism that were used to naturalise class differences and mask barriers to success, while prescribing the characteristics, gender roles and values that the successful needed to adhere to (Bourdieu 1984:26, 386; Leone 1999:211–213; McGuire 1988:460).

7.4 Conclusion

In the nineteenth century West Terrace Cemetery played an active role in maintaining and legitimating the dominance of the middle class. It was constructed from an ideology of social Darwinism, where the differences between classes and their monuments were naturalised through the ideologies of gentility and respectability that based success on maintaining the right character and values (Bourdieu 1984:26, 386; McGuire 1988:460; Young 2003:60). These ideologies naturalised inequality and created a false consciousness that gave people a sense of freedom and choice by tying success to character, masking the reason for people's conditions of existence as well as the social determinants and barriers to success (Leone 1999:211–213; McGuire 1988:460; Tarlow 1999a:195, 1999b:189). The effect can be seen by the emulation of the genteel expression of taste through conspicuous consumption by the middling and skilled working classes, who were also buried in family plots with motifs and iron fences. However, the middling and working classes also differentiated themselves, asserting their own identities and values through couple plots that celebrated the emotive bonds between spouses. As class consciousness and tensions grew through the 1880s and 1890s, the middling and working classes increasingly turned to other forms of expression, with emotive death notices and more expressive In Memoriam notice. The middle class responded to increased class tensions by removing the tall iron fences surrounding their graves and reducing the size of their family plots. The spouse plots of the middling and working classes also began to be emulated by the middle class. These measures mirrored and reinforced the legislative reforms and concessions that were given by the middle class in the 1890s to ease class tensions and maintain the social order. The middle class, however, continued to use obituaries to celebrate the lives and success of those who best represented the ideals of gentility, reinforcing the importance and desirability of the ideals of respectability and gentility that were essential for upward social mobility and the acquisition of success (Young 2003:60).

Following WWI, West Terrace Cemetery was in a period of transition as classes responded to the war and the hardships that followed the Great Depression. This is evident in a decline of monument heights, a reduced number of motifs and an increasing focus on memory and life (Jalland 2002: 173, 326, 2006:10). The unskilled working class, hardest hit by increasing unemployment, rejected the competitive middle class material expression of taste and decreased their investment in monuments, erecting small, plain monuments intended for an audience of close family and friends (Broomhill 1978:24; McGuire 1988:466; Wanna and Broomhill 1981:103). The skilled working class became split between those who emulated the monuments of the unskilled working class and those who sought to maintain their social status and distinguish themselves from the less respectable, emulating the taller and more elaborate middle class monuments. Despite a reduction in the absolute size of their monuments, the middling class also used monuments to distinguish themselves from the less respectable. They were buried in family plots that maintained their respectability through emphasising the family unit instead of scattering it throughout the cemetery in individual plots. The increasing class tensions and crisis in mortuary expression that followed WWI caused a split in the middle class between those who emulated the smaller, understated monuments of the working classes and those who continued to erect tall, elaborate monuments.

The middling and working classes, although reducing their investment in monuments, increasingly used newspaper notices as a means to express their grief. Death notices became uniformly emotive and In Memoriams increased in length and became more individualised as the focus of grief moved away from the cemetery to alternative and more personal forms of commemoration. These were particularly embraced by those of the middling and working classes who could not adequately express the uniqueness and significance of the deceased on their monument (Tarlow 1999a:195).

The Great Depression, however, caused the further privatisation of grief and denial of class as monuments became increasingly plain and uniform. The working classes and labour movement became divided and powerless as the trade unions and Labor government clashed with striking workers. The middle class then ensured the social order was maintained by clamping down on workers' strikes and demonstrations and cutting wages and funds to social services, such as welfare (Moss 1985:309). Disillusioned, divided and powerless, the working classes increasingly privatised their grief, no longer using In Memoriam notices and erecting small, uniform

monuments. The middling class also decreased the size of their monuments. The working classes became the style leaders as the middle class increasingly emulated their monuments to deny class and continue their dominance of the social order. Only the most prominent individuals of the middle class, who were most attached to the genteel expressions of taste, continued to erect large elaborate monuments that were justified and naturalised through the ideology of gentility, as only the most genteel and successful were willing to erect such monuments.

Newspaper notices also reflected the uniformity and increased privatisation of the cemetery and grief, with emotive death notices becoming increasingly dominant as expressive and personalised In Memoriam notices fell from favour. Obituaries also declined in length as people avoided thoughts of death, although the most successful and genteel of the middle class continued to be the subject of long obituaries, reproducing the dominant culture through celebrating the lives of successful individuals. This reproduced and reinforced ideals of the dominant class through the ideologies of individualism, gentility and respectability that identified the right characteristics that were the key to success and social status, denying barriers and social determinants of success (Bourdieu 1984:386; Leone 1999:211–213; McGuire 1988:460). These ideologies maintained and reproduced the social structure, despite the crises of WWI and the Great Depression that changed mortuary practices, as adhering to ideals of respectability was still the key for individuals to gain and maintain their social status (Ferry 1999:134; Skeggs 1997:2–3; Young 2003:60).

8 Reference List

Adamson, M. 2012 Sex and Death: The Female Grave in Colonial South Australia (1836 - 1936). Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Beaud, M. 1983 *A History of Capitalism 1500-1980.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Beck, U. 1986 *Risk Society*. London: Sage.

Bottero, W. 2005 Interaction distance and the social meaning of occupations. *The Sociology Review* 53(s2):56–72.

Bottero, W., P.S. Lambert, K. Prandy and S. McTaggart 2009 Occupational structures: The stratification space of social interaction. In K. Robinson and C. Sanders (eds), *Quantifying Theory: Pierre Bourdieu,* pp.141–151. Dordrecht: Springer.

Bourdieu, P. 1984 [1979] *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. 1987 What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 32:1–17.

Bourdieu, P. 1990 *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Briggs, S. 2006 Portonian Respectability: Working-Class Attitudes to Respectability in Port Adelaide through Material Culture, 1840-1900. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Broomhill, R. 1978 *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide.* St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Brubaker, R. 1985 Rethinking classical theory: The sociological vision of Pierre Bourdieu. *Theory and Society* 14(6):745–775.

Burkitt, I. 1997 Social relationships and emotions. *Sociology* 31(1):37–55.

Cannon, A. 1989 The historical dimension in mortuary expressions of status and sentiment. *Current Anthropology* 30(4):437–458.

Chronicle 15 May 1926, Another motor fatality, p 52.

Chronicle 5 February 1898, Obituary, p 22.

Curtis, M. (ed.) 1970 *Marxism.* New York: Atherton Press.

Daenekindt, S. and H. Roose 2013 A mise-en-scene of the shattered habitus: The effect of social mobility on aesthetic dispositions towards films. *European Sociological Review* 29(1):48–59.

Deetz, J. 1996 *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Deetz, J. and E. Dethlefsen 1966 Deaths heads, cherubs and willow trees: Experimental archaeology in colonial cemeteries. *American Antiquity* 31(4):502–510.

Degner, H. 2007 'Silence of the Lambs': The Commemoration of Children in the Gravestones of 19th Century South Australia. Unpublished Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Denny, M. 1994 Tombstone Iconography and Social Class: Health and Poverty in the 19th Century. Unpublished Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Dethlefsen, E. 1981 The cemetery and culture change: Archaeological focus and ethnographic perspective. In R.A. Gould and M.B. Schiffer (eds), *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us,* pp.137–161. New York: Academic Press.

Donovan, P. 1992 Storekeepers or health professionals. In B. Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930,* pp.147–158. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians Inc.

Ewen, S. 1976 *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Farrell, Z. 2003 Sacred to the Memory: An Archaeological Investigation into Emotion and Ideology within Two Regional Cemeteries. Unpublished Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Ferry, J. 1999 *Colonial Armidale.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Foley, D.K. 1986 *Understanding Capital: Marx's Economic Theory.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Griffin, G.M. and D. Tobin 1982 *In the Midst of Life…: The Australian Response to Death.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Gunn, S. 2005 Translating Bourdieu: Cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective. *The British Journal of Sociology* 56(1):49–64.

Hammond, L. 2003 Class and control: Social reform in the West End of Adelaide in the early twentieth century. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 31:5–17.

Hammond, L. 2007 Making Place: Maps and Memories in the Creation of the West End of Adelaide. Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Communication, Information and New Media, Division of Education, Arts and Social Sciences, University of South Australia, Adelaide.

Hilliard, D. 1992 The City of Churches. In B. Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930,* pp.61–86. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians Inc.

Hilliard, D. and A.D. Hunt 1986 Religion. In E. Richards (ed.), *The Flinders Social History*, pp.194–234. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Hirst, J.B. 1973 *Adelaide and the Country 1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Jalland, P. 2002 *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History 1840-1918.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jalland, P. 2006 *Changing Ways of Death in Twentieth-Century Australia: War, Medicine and the Funeral Business.* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Jalland, P. 2014 Death and Bereavement in the First World War: The Australian Experience. *Endeavour* 38(2):70–76.

Jenkins, L.E. 2002 Ruby Davy: An atypical music teacher. In J. Rosevear and J. Callaghan (eds), *Research Matters: Linking Outcomes with Practice: Proceedings of the XXIVth Annual Conference* pp.78–85. Melbourne: AARME.

Jones, F.L. and J. McMillan 2001 Scoring occupational categories for social research: A review of current practice, with Australian examples. *Work, Employment and Society* 15(3):539–563.

Karskens, G. 1998 *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney.* Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press.

Larsson, M. 2009 A Disenfranchised grief: Post-war death and memorialisation in Australia after the First World War. *Australian Historical Studies* 40(1):79–95.

Leone, M. 1999 Ceramics from Annapolis, Maryland: A measure of time routines and work discipline. In M.P. Leone and P.B. Potter (eds), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism,* pp.195–216. New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers.

Marin, P. 1998 Gravestones and Graveyards: An Archaeological Examination of Commemoration Practices in South Australia: 1836-1979. Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Marx, K. 1933 [1847] *Wage-Labour and Capital*. New York: International Publishers.

Marx, K. and F. Engels 1978 [1846] The German Ideology: Part 1. In R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader,* pp.146–200. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Marx, K. and F. Engels 2012 [1848] *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition*. London: Verso.

Matic, A. 2003 'Here lie I because I am poor' The History and Archaeology of the St. Mary's Anglican Churchyard Pauper Cemetery. Unpublished Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

McCalman, J. 1980 Respectability and working-class politics in late-Victorian London. *Historical Studies* 19(74):108–124.

McCalman, J. 1982 Class and respectability in a working-class suburb: Richmond, Victoria, before the Great War. *Historical Studies* 20(78):90–103.

McDougall and Vines 2004 Historic South Australian Graves and Cemeteries: Conservation Guidelines. Retrieved 25 May 2016 from < http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/files/sharedassets/public/heritage/historic_graves_and_cemeteries.pdf >.

McGuire, R. 1988 Dialogues with the dead: Ideology and the cemetery. In M. Leone and P. Potter (eds), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* pp.435–480. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

McGuire, R. 2014 Working class archaeology. In S. Atalay, R. McGuire and J.R. Welch (eds), *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects* pp.115–131. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.

McGuire, R. and M. Walker 1999 Class confrontations in archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):159–183.

Moss, J. 1983 *Representatives of Discontent: History of the Communist Party in South Australia 1921-1981.* Melbourne: The Communist and Labour Movement History Group.

Moss, J. 1985 *Sound of Trumpets: History of the Labour Movement in South Australia.* Netley, S.A.: Wakefield Press.

Muller, S.W. 2006 Colonial Experiences of Death and Burial: The Landscape Archaeology of West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Unpublished Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Murray, L. 2008 Monumental changes: Headstone designs and commemorative landscapes in New South Wales, 1870-1970. In S. Gregory (ed.), *Shop Till You Drop: Essays on Consuming and Dying in Australia,* pp.87–105. Normanhurst, NSW: Southern Highlands Publishers.

Mytum, H. 2000 *Recording and Analysing Graveyards.* York: Council for British Archaeology.

Mytum, H. 2002 A comparison of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglican and Nonconformist memorials in North Pembrokeshire. *Archaeological Journal* 159(1):194–241.

Nicol, R. 1992 *The Ritual of Death in Colonial South Australia.* Adelaide: Cummins Society.

Nicol, R. 1994 *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Nobel, G. and M. Watkins 2003 So, how did Bourdieu learn to play tennis? Habitus, consciousness and habituation. *Cultural Studies* 17(3/4):520–539.

O'Lincoln, T. 2005 *United We Stand: Class Struggle in Colonial Australia.* Carlton North, Victoria: Red Rag Publications.

Oestreicher, R.J. 1986 *Solidarity and Fragmentation: Working People and Class Consciousness in Detroit 1875-1900.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Pakulski, J. and M. Waters 1996 *The Death of Class.* London: Sage.

Parker Pearson, M. 1982 Mortuary practices, society and ideology: An ethnoarchaeological study. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* pp.69–92*.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prandy, K. 1990 The revised Cambridge Scale of occupations. *Sociology* 24(4):629–655.

Prandy, K. and W. Bottero 1998 The use of marriage data to measure the social order in nineteenth-century Britain. *Sociological Research Online* 3(1):1–17.

Prandy, K. and W. Bottero 2000 Social reproduction and mobility in Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Sociology* 34:265–281.

Reay, D. 1997 Feminist theory, habitus, and social class: Disrupting notions of classlessness. *Women's Studies International Forum* 20(2):225–233.

Reay, D. 1998 Rethinking social class: Qualitative perspectives on class and gender. *Sociology* 32(2):259–275.

Reay, D. 2004 'It's all becoming a habitus': Beyond the habitual use of habitus in education research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25(4):431–444.

Reay, D., G. Crozier and J. Clayton 2009 'Strangers in paradise'? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology* 43(6):1103–1121.

Richards, E. 1986 The peopling of South Australia. In E. Richards (ed.), *The Flinders Social History,* pp.115–142. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Rosenwein, B. 2010 Problems and methods in the history of emotions. *Passions in Context* 1(1):1–32.

Russell, P. 2010 *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia.* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.

Sayer, D. 2011 Death and the Dissenter: Group identity and stylistic simplicity as witnessed in nineteenth-century Nonconformist gravestones. *Historical Archaeology* 45(4):115–134.

Skeggs, B. 1997 *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable.* London: Sage.

South Australian Register 31 January 1874, Obituary, p 7.

Spence, C.H. in *The Adelaide Observer* 3 September 1881, Leisure for the rich and for the poor, p 41.

Starck, N. 2004 Writes of Passage: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Obituary Practice in Australia, Britain and the United States. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of English, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Stone, R.M. 2010 Stately Homes the Mirror and Metaphor of Colonial South Australia. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Sumerling, P. 1992 Adelaide's West End. In B. Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930,* pp.27–41. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians Inc.

Tarlow, S. 1997 An archaeology of remembering: Death, bereavement and the First World War. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7(1):105–121.

Tarlow, S. 1998 Romancing the stones: The gravestone boom of the later eighteenth century. In M. Cox (ed.), *Grave Concerns, Life and Death in Post-Medieval England 1700–1850*, pp.33–43. York: CBA Publishing.

Tarlow, S. 1999a Wormie clay and blessed sleep: Death and disgust in later historical Britain. In S. Tarlow and S. West (eds), *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, pp.183–198. London: Routledge.

Tarlow, S. 1999b *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Tarlow, S. 2000a Emotion in archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 41(5):713–714

Tarlow, S. 2000b Landscapes of memory: The nineteenth-century garden cemetery. *European Journal of Archaeology* 3(2):217–239.

Tarlow, S. 2012 The archaeology of emotion and affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41:169–85.

The Adelaide Observer 13 June 1885, Concerning people, p.16*.*

The Adelaide Observer 14 February 1903, Obituary, p.34.

The Advertiser 18 February 1896, Mr Caleb Peacock, p.4.

The Advertiser 21 August 1906, The city of the dead: Adelaide cemetery visited, p.8.

The Advertiser 23 October 1939, Death of Sir Langdon Bonython, p.16.

The Advertiser 25 March 1901, Death of Dr. S. J. Magarey, p.5.

Thompson, F.M.L. 1988 *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Thornton, R. 1992 Altruism and Enterprise: The Greater Adelaide Abattoirs, 1898-1933. In B. Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930,* pp.159–178. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians Inc.

Trigger, B. 1989 *A History of Archaeological Thought.* London: University of Cambridge Press.

van Dissel, D. 1986 The Adelaide gentry. In E. Richards (ed.), *The Flinders Social History,* pp.333–370. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Wall, D. 1994 *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America.* New York and London: Plenum Press.

Wanna, J. 1981 *Defence not Defiance: The Development of Organised Labour in South Australia.* Adelaide: Adelaide College of the Arts and Education.

Wanna, J. and R. Broomhill 1981 Unemployment: The Great Depression and the present. In *Defence not Defiance: The Development of Organised Labour in South Australia,* pp.96–111. Adelaide: Adelaide College of the Arts and Education.

Watt, P. 2006 Respectability, roughness and 'race': Neighbourhood place images and the making of working-class social distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(4):776–97.

Webb, J., T. Schirato and G. Danaher 2002 *Understanding Bourdieu.* Crows Nest NSW: Allen and Unwin.

Weber, M. 1978 Classes, status groups and parties. In W.G. Runciman (eds), *Max Weber: Selections in translation,* pp.43–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weininger, E.B. 2005 Foundations of Pierre Bourdieu's class analysis. In E.O. Wright (ed.), *Approaches to Class Analysis,* pp.82–119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, A. 2011 Any Last Words: An Examination of Headstone Inscription Content in Adelaide, South Australia. Unpublished Master of Archaeology thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Wright, E.O. 1980 Class and occupation. *Theory and Society* 9(1):177–214.

Young, L. 2003 *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain.* Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

9 Appendices

9.1 List of appendices

1: How to Fill Out Headstone Recording Forms

2: Gravestone Iconography

3: Gravestone Terminology

4: Cemetery Recording Form

5: Newspaper Death Notices Recording Form

6: Obituary recording form

7: Social Class Groups

Appendix 1: How to Fill Out Headstone Recording Forms

Dating Headstones

The date of the headstone is based on the first male burial or primary burial (where there is more than one person interred) because the headstone was often erected only after the patriarch of the family died (Mytum 2000:54). The primary burial date needs to date between 1870 and 1940.

Grave Reference Number

Location number e.g. Road 1, initials of group, row number and grave number (order in which grave was recorded)

Headstone size using tape measure

Headstone height (ht): from the base of the headstone/monument to its highest point.

When the height of the headstone can't be reached with the tape measure use the inclinometer to measure height.

Height = percent reading (right number reading in inclinometer)/100 x distance from object metres. To this the inclinometer's height from the ground needs to be added.

Headstone width (w): across the headstone/ monument from widest point to widest point.

Headstone Depth (t): from the front of the headstone to the back

Plinth: base that the monument is sitting in.

Border/ fence height: from the ground to the top of the border

Footstone: smaller monument at the end of the grave. It should mirror the headstone.

Marker form

Refer to gravestone terminology/ monument form handout.

Associated Plots

Other graves that share the same last name.
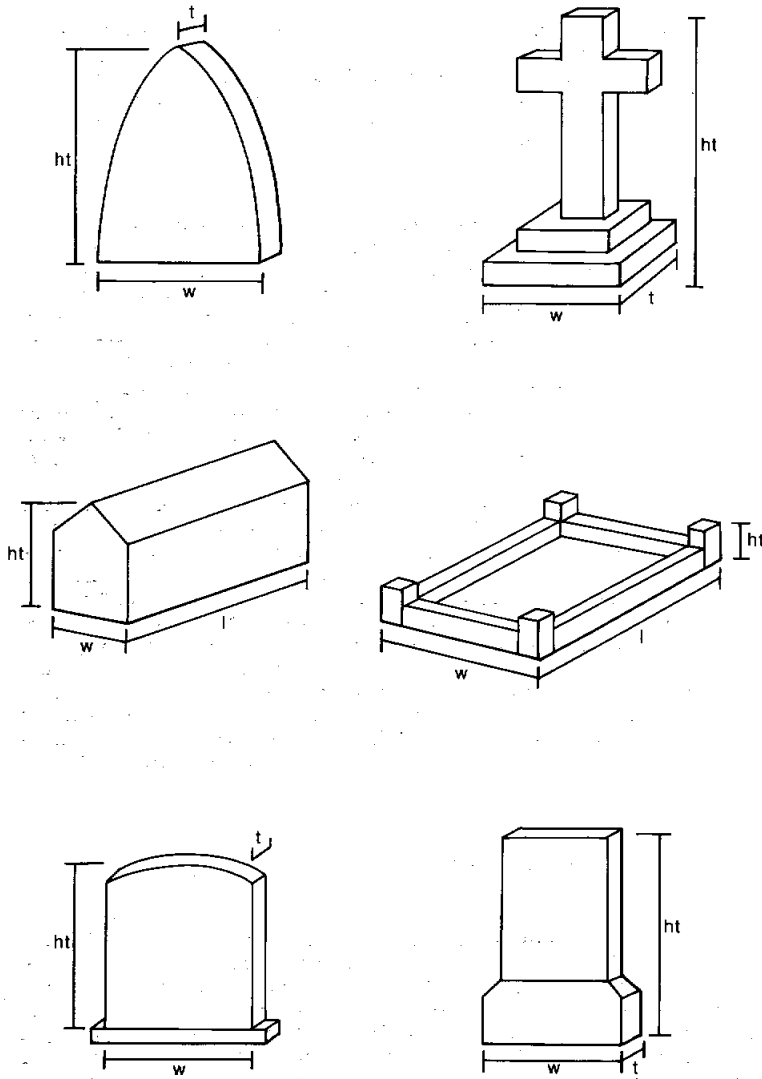
*Fig 74   Annotated diagram of monuments with measurements
indicated. (Drawing by Joanna Richardson)*

Figure 3 How to measure height (ht), width (w) and depth (t or l) of monuments.

Orientation

Point compass the same direction that the headstone is facing. It should either be east or west.

Material

Granite

Granite is a hard coarse-grained rock which takes a high polish that persists for many years. True granites are generally pink or grey.

Marble

Marble is a hard stone that is fine to coarse-grained. It can be polished to enhance its finish and varies in colour from white or cream to pink or grey. The stone is white, but minor impurities can give marble colour -- red, brown, grey or even black. All marble can be readily scratched with a knife or key, and the powder is always white.

Sandstone

Sandstones are rocks consisting of sand-sized particles (individually visible to the naked eye) held together by natural mineral cements, ranging in colour from a dull yellow to brown. They are also porous and when weathered

Slate

Slate can be identified by its smooth surface and its medium to dark grey colour. It can also be identified by the fact that it splits into thin sheets from weathering.
(From National Trust, *Guidelines for Cemetery Conservation,* pp 33–34)

Motifs

Refer to the motif handout if you are unsure of what a motif is.

Photos

Write down photo file number from camera.

Appendix 2: Gravestone Iconography

*Known to be found in South Australian cemeteries (see McDougall and Vines 2004)

ANIMALS

SYMBOL	MEANING
Ants	Christian industry.
Bees	Resurrection; risen Christ.
Bird/s in flight	These are symbolic of the 'winged soul.' The representation of the soul by a bird goes back to ancient Egypt. Some older burial art features only wings to convey the symbol of divine mission. Often denote the graves of children, eternal life.
Butterfly	The soul, Although quite rare, it is occasionally seen on graves (most often of children). It is symbolic of the resurrection of Christ. The meaning is derived from the three stages of the life of the butterfly—the caterpillar, the chrysalis, and the butterfly. The three stages are symbols of life, death and resurrection. Short-life.
Cocoon or Chrysalis	Represents the metamorphosis to the afterlife. Christian metamorphosis; resurrection.
Dog	Dogs often appear at the feet of medieval women, signifying the loyalty and inferior place of each in the chivalric order. Modern dogs only imply that the master was worth loving.
Dolphin	Portrays the idea of resurrection.
*Dove	An important symbolic animal in Christianity representing the Holy Spirit. The white dove is referred to in the story of baptism of Christ. 'And John bore record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him' (Bible, John 1:32). The descending dove is a very common motif on grave memorials. Seven doves are representative of the seven spirits of God or the Holy Spirit in its sevenfold gifts of grace. Purity, devotion, Divine Spirit. People of the Jewish faith believe the dove to symbolize peace.
Dove and Olive Branch	Peace, hope or promise. This symbol stems from Judeo-Christian culture and the biblical story of Noah and the great flood. When the dove returned to the ark with an olive branch from the Mount of Olives in its beak, it was a sign of God's forgiveness. It is now a common secular symbol.
Dragon	Dramatically different interpretation between Eastern and Western cultures. In the Orient, the dragon protects humans from evil spirits and represents joy, health and fertility. But in Western cultures, the dragon possesses the negative traits of the snake, destruction, danger, depravity, and loss of innocence. In Jewish tradition, mythical danger, depravity, and loss of innocence. In Jewish tradition, mythical beasts like the dragon are messianic creatures. Also, a dragon being defeated by St. George depicts triumph over sin.
Eagle	suggests courage and possibly a military career, symbol for Saint John.
Egg	Regeneration. An 'egg and dart' motif was a common design in classical architecture and used on the edges of tombstones or as a frieze, symbolising resurrection after death. The egg symbolised life and birth while the dart (arrow) depicted death.
Fish	Indicates faith.
Horse	Courage or generosity. An attribute of St. George, St. Martin, St. Maurice and St. Victor, all of whom are represented in Christian art on horseback. It was in honor of the crusaders.
*Lamb	This is the most common animal symbol found on a child's grave. The lamb appears throughout the ages with great regularity in Christian art and because it is a symbol of Christ: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!' (Bible, John 1:29) The use of the lamb in religious art pre-dates Christianity and appears to have been used first
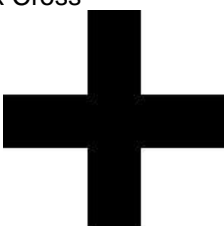
	by the Egyptians. It signifies purity and innocence. Christ in his sacrificial role and personifies: innocence, meekness, gentleness and humility.
Lion	Symbolizes the power of God and guards the tomb against evil spirits. Like other guardians, the lion's watch is as eternal as the stone of which it is depicted. The lion also recalls the courage and determination of the souls which they guard; they manifest the spirit of the departed. Resurrection.
Lion, Winged	St. Mark the Evangelist.
Peacock	Symbolized the incorruptibility of flesh, a symbol of immortality (even St. Augustine believed the peacock's flesh to have 'antiseptic qualities' and that it didn't corrupt), the peacock became a symbol of Christ and the Resurrection. Its image embellished everything from the Catacombs to everyday objects, like lamps, especially in early Romanesque and Byzantine churches. (The peacock, for obvious reasons, was also used as a symbol for pride, too).
Rooster	Awakening to resurrection. Vigilance.
Swallow	Indicates a child or motherhood.
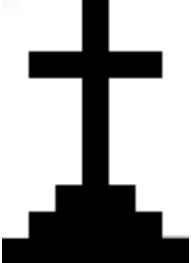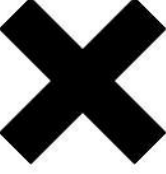
BODY PARTS
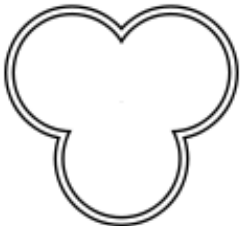
SYMBOL	MEANING
Arms outstretched	Plea for mercy.
Death's Head	On medieval monuments the death's head was used to represent Death, a reminder that death comes to everyone, as indicated by the words that later accompanied it, Momento Mori, meaning 'Remember that you must die.' Heart in the Mouth of a Death's Head means the soul emerging triumphant from death.
*Eye of God/All-Seeing Eye	Symbolizes the all-knowing and ever-present God. During the Renaissance period in Europe, it was common to illustrate the Eye of God surrounded by a triangle (the Holy Trinity). The eye within the triangle, surrounded by a circle and radiating rays of light is used to symbolize the holiness of the true God.
*Hands, general	The use of hands in some form is very common on grave memorials. Symbol of leaving.
*Hands, clasped	At first glance, these hands all seem to be in the same fashion but a number of interesting characteristics stand out. First, most of the hands illustrate the right hand in a grasp with fingers overlapping the other hand, while the left hand is open. This could be the depiction of a man holding a woman's hand and indicate marriage or a close bond between individuals, unity and affection even after death. Clasped hands are also symbolic of a farewell or last good-bye. Look at the cuff to distinguish between a man's or woman's hand (women would have a frilly cuff). The person who died first holds the other's hand, guiding the spouse to heaven. Clasped hands could be joined by a ribbon.
Hand of God plucking a link of a chain	Represents God bringing a soul unto himself.
Hands, holding	- A chain with a broken link: Symbolizes the death of a family member.
	- A heart: Symbolic of charity and is common on 19th century memorials. It is typically seen on memorials of members of the Independent Order of Odd fellows. Charity.
	- An open book: The embodiment of Faith.

Hand, pointing	- Downward: Mortality or sudden death. (Possibly a depiction of a secret Masonic handshake.)
	- Upward: The reward of the righteous, confirmation of life after death. Heavenly reward, ascension to heaven.
Hands, praying -.	Connote devotion
*Heart, general	Love, mortality, love of God, courage and intelligence.
Heart, Bleeding	Christ's suffering for our sins.
Heart, Encircled with thorns	The suffering of Christ.
Heart, Flaming	Signifies extreme religious fervor.
Heart, Sacred	Usually found in Catholic cemeteries, this heart refers to the suffering of Christ for our sins.
Skull, with a wreath	Victory of death over life.

GEOMETRIC SYMBOLS

SYMBOL	MEANING
*Circle	The circle is pre-Christian and its original symbolic meaning has been adopted by Christianity. It is universally known as the symbol of eternity and never ending existence. Extremely common on grave sites, its usual representation is a cross surrounded by circle. Two circles, one above the other, represent earth and sky. Three interconnected circles represent the Holy Trinity.
*Cross, general	Christ's redemption of humanity from sin. Faith and belief in God.
Latin Cross	Cross with a vertical axis that it longer than the horizontal. One of the oldest symbols of Christianity and the most commonly used form, it is also the simplest in design.
Greek Cross	Cross with four arms that are all equal in length. One of the earliest Christian symbols, possibly linked to older pagan representations of the four elements—earth, air, fire and water.
Celtic Cross	Cross with … The circle around the crosspiece symbolizes eternity. It's origin can be traced to the Celtic cultures of the British Isles. There is a legend of how St. Patrick when preaching to some soon to be converted heathens was shown a sacred standing stone that was marked with a circle that was symbolic of the moon goddess. Patrick made the mark of a Latin cross through the circle and blessed the stone making the first Celtic Cross.
Eastern Cross	Used in Orthodox (Russian/Greek) Christian religions, it has the addition of an upper horizontal shoulder representing the inscription over the head of Jesus, and a lower slanting shoulder representing the footrest of the crucified Jesus.
Botonee (or bottony) Cross,	Composed of either four arms of equal length (Trinity Cross), or a Latin Cross (Botonee Cross) with modified trefoil (three-lobed) ends, that represent the trinity. According to the Vatican, the structure is said to be

  or Trinity Cross 	the union of the Cross of Christ with the sign of ancient druids. The 'budded' ends are also used to represent youth.
Calvary Cross 	A Latin cross standing on three steps or blocks, it signifies faith, hope and love. Love is sometimes replaced by charity.
Fleuree Cross/Gothic Cross 	This flowered cross symbolizes the adult Christian by its more opened and flared out ends.
Presbyterian Cross 	Similar to a bottonee cross, with a circle around the crosspiece.
St Andrew's (Scottish) Cross 	A diagonal cross symbolizing the martyrdom of St Andrew, the Patron Saint of Scotland.
Star	A five-pointed star - Is symbolic of the life of Christ and may also represent the five wounds of Christ.
*Trefoil/Triquetra, or triangle	In Christianity, the equilateral triangle is the symbol of the Trinity. Other geometric shapes representing the Holy Trinity are the trefoil, the triquetra, the circle within the triangle, the triangle in circle and the triquetra and circle. To the ancient Egyptians, the triangle was an

	emblem of Godhead; to the Pythagoreans, it symbolized wisdom. Another use of the triangle is in the symbol of the eye (eye of God) surrounded by a triangle.
*Spiral	Progressive development and movement.
Triskele, triple spiral, or triskelion	The triskele, or triple spiral, a symbol closely related to the triquetra, is a tripartite symbol composed of three interlocked spirals. The spiral is an ancient Celtic symbol related to the sun, afterlife and reincarnation, often found on Neolithic 'tombs', such as Newgrange, where it is supposed by some to be a symbol of pregnancy (the sun describes a spiral in its movements every three months; a triple spiral represents nine months), an idea reinforced by the womb like nature of the structure. The symbol also suggests reincarnation- it is drawn in one continuous line, suggesting a continuous movement of time. Triskeles are one of the most common elements of Celtic art; they are found in a variety of styles in both ancient and modern Celtic art, especially in relation to depictions of the Mother Goddess. They also evoke the Celtic concept of the domains of material existence- earth, water, and sky, and their interrelations.
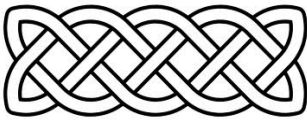
LETTERS

SYMBOL	MEANING
*Alpha and omega	The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet; symbolic of God, the beginning and the end.
*Chrisma or labarum	A cross like shape formed by a combination of two Greek letters, chi (X) and rho (P) corresponding to CH and R of the word, Christ, hence a symbol for Jesus Christ. This symbol is also known as the Monogram of Christ, Constantine's Cross, the Chrismon, the Christogram and the Chi- Rho. Since the Roman emperor Constantine I used this symbol on his shield, overcame his enemy in battle, and consequently converted to Christianity, the labarum has been a symbol of Christianity. In pre- Christian Greece it signified a good omen . It also represented the Chaldean sky god. Today the letters may be reversed as PX to represent 'pax' or 'peace'.
*I. H. S	Acronym with several meanings. Maybe represented as a monogram (see picture to left), or as a sequence of letters, 1. The 'I' stands for Ihsus or Ihcuc, the name of Jesus in Greek, with the S and C being variant forms in the Greek alphabet. When these are found on tombstones it stresses the identity of the individual with Jesus Christ. Originally a Roman Catholic, particularly Jesuit, symbol. 2. The letters have also been interpreted (with conscious intention to enrich the meaning) as 'Jesus Hominum Salvator', or'Jesus Saviour of Mankind', and 'In Hac Salus', 'In This (Cross) Salvation' (OED). 3. 'In hoc signo'. On the eve of battle, Constantine, had a vision of a banner bearing the phrase, 'In hoc signo vinces', meaning 'In this sign you will

	conquer'. Constantine won the battle and converted to Christianity. As it is used on both Protestant and Catholic gravestones, this symbol illustrates the variant meanings that can be ascribed to the one motif depending on denomination. (Mytum 2003, 140).
*I.N.R.I.	Acronym for Latin phrase, 'Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews' John 19:19
I.O.O.F.	Independent Order of Odd Fellows

OBJECTS

SYMBOL	MEANING
*Altar	Sacrifice, worship, thanksgiving and remembrance
*Anchor	Early Christians used the anchor as a disguised cross, and as a marker to guide the way to secret meeting places. A Christian symbol of hope, it is found as funerary symbolism in the art of the catacombs. Often set amongst rocks. It can also be an occupational symbol in sea-faring areas or the attribute of Saint Nicholas, patron saint of seamen, symbolized hope and steadfastness. An anchor with a broken chain stands for the cessation of life.
*Arch	Victory of life; or triumph over death.
*Arrow, or archer	Denotes mortality.
*Angels	The agent of God, often pointing towards heaven; guardians of the dead, symbolizing spirituality. Angels are shown in all types of poses with different symbolism.
Angel, blowing a trumpet (or even two trumpets)	Representing the day of judgement, and 'Call to the Resurrection'.
Angel, carrying the departed soul	As a child in their arms, or as a Guardian embracing the dead. The 'messengers of god' are often shown escorting the deceased to heaven.
Angel, flying	Rebirth.
Angel, weeping	Grief, or mourning an untimely death.
Anthemion (an THEE mee on) Plural: anthemia. Alternate name: Honeysuckle ornament	A classical ornament featuring honeysuckle or palmettes with foliage below; used singly on antefixes (ornamental blocks concealing tile-ends at the edges of a roof), or as a running ornament on friezes. Greek: 'anthemion' - a flower. One type of ancient Greek palmette resembles honeysuckle flowers, another is more like a palm leaf. Both were used in bands of anthemion ornament.
Banner	Victory, triumph.
Bed	At rest.
Bells	Call to worship.
Bell, Deid	This was rung to give notice of funerals, and at the funeral itself; a small handbell, it was a favorite emblem north of the Tay, Scotland.
*Bible	Connotes a religious lay person or a cleric.
Black and white tiles	Checkered pattern or similar, represents good and evil.
*Book	Faith, learning to read and write, a scholar. A prayer, knowledge or memory. It may represent the Book of Life and is often shown as a bible. A popular form is the book as a double page spread, particularly in married couple burials.
Branch	Severed mortality.
Bridge	Since antiquity, bridges have symbolized linking; between the earthly and heavenly realms, between the physical and the spiritual, or between life and death. In modern psychoanalytic terms, bridges symbolize the transition from

	one state of being to another and the opportunity for change. The bridge's near side represents the past, its opposite side the future, and water flowing underneath, the chaos of the unconscious mind.
*Chains	Medieval thinkers sometimes held that a golden chain bound the soul to the body. Broken links on a headstone can mean the severance and subsequent release of the spirit from the body. Chains are also the insignia of the International Order of Odd Fellows, so called because of their dedication to giving the poor decent burials. This latter association can be clinched by the observation of the letters IOOF or FLT (Friendship, Love, Truth) either inside or near the chain.
*Chain, broken	Death breaking the links with a family member
*Cherubs	The graves of children.
Cherub's Head, with or without wings	The soul.
*Circle	Eternity or Earth.
*Circle, broken	Life has ended, or the family circle is broken.
*Circle, with wings	Immortality
*Clouds	Atmospheric veil concealing God from his worshipers.
*Column	Mortality. A draped or broken column represents the break in earthly to heavenly life. The drapery also symbolizes mourning (see below).
Cross and Anchor	Another early Christian symbol referring to Christ as 'hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sincere and steadfast' (Hebrews 6:19).
Crown on a cross	Sovereignty of the Lord.
Draperies/Curtains	In the days when the body lay in state in the parlor, it was the custom to cover everything in black. Draperies, with their fancy frills and tassels, are more elaborate than a simple shroud. They allow the expression of mourning to linger long after the body has been taken out the front door and the accoutrements have been stowed for the next death in the family. Curtains can also set the stage. Parted, they reveal a telling excerpt. What is important in such displays is the main actor or central object of the stone.
Garlands	Victory in death.
Heart with anchor & cross	Faith, hope & charity.
Keys	Keys stand for spiritual knowledge or, if held in the hands of an angel or saint, the means to enter heaven.
Interlaced Celtic knot (any shape)	Resurrection and life everlasting.
Ladder	Passion, Jacob, aspiration.
Lamp	Knowledge, love of learning, immortality of the Spirit.
Masonic Compass and Set-square	Freemasons combine religious and construction and architectural forms in their symbols. Viewing God as the

	architect and builder of the universe, Freemasonry intends to build the temple of humanity through self-improvement with stone-masonry work. The compass, used in geometric calculations, symbolizes creation and the spirit. The set-square draws perfect right angles, so represents uprightness and lawfulness. The compass and the square measure things, so they symbolize judgment. They also represent geometry, and the union of the sky (the compass's circle) and the earth (the square). The letter 'G' in this symbol represents God, geometry and geomancy.
Rope	Eternity, Binding and Connection. In Egyptian hieroglyphics, a knotted cord signifies a man's name, a symbol of an individual's existence. In Vedic teaching, the silver cord expresses the sacred, inner path which binds the outer consciousness (intellect) with spiritual essence.
Scroll	Symbol of life and time. Both ends rolled up indicate a life that is unfolding like a scroll of uncertain length, with the past and future hidden. If held by a hand, this represents life being recorded by angels. Can also suggest honor and commemoration.
*Shell	The use of shell in burials is pre-Christian in practice and predates even Egyptian burial practices. Shell is symbolic of fertility, resurrection and pilgrimage. Shells, coins and small stones are the traditional objects left at grave sites. There are several meanings given to this act. It may be a symbolic referral to the ancient custom of burying the dead under a cairn of rocks to protect the body from scavenging animals, or a reminder that the individual is not forgotten.
Skull	Death; sin; with crossbones – mortality.
Star	Stars stand for the spirit, piercing the darkness in triumph against the overwhelming odds of oblivion. Five pointed stars represent the spirit rising to heaven.
Steps	A common symbol around the world, steps generally mean Ascension, Stages or Levels. The number of steps brings the meaning of numbers into the interpretation as does the symbolism of any objects that surround or are a part of the steps. In Romanesque art, steps represent the relationship between worlds. In many religions steps, or a ladder, are seen as the path to god. For alchemists of the Middle Ages, steps were associated with the transmutation process.
*Urn	Greek symbol of mourning, the body as a vessel of the soul, originating as a repository for the ashes of the dead in ancient times - a popular symbol of mourning. Most represent an ossuary. In several examples an Angel is looking inside it as if to inspect the contents. A flame is sometimes shown coming from the Urn. They are often draped with a cloth or festooned with a wreath or garland. This fashion of persisted well into the 1850's at least.
Urn, draped	Connotes death, often of an older person.
Winged skull	Flight of the soul from mortal man.

Woman with or without Bible pointing upward	Faith.
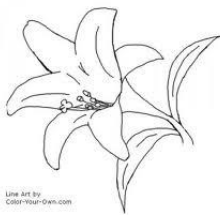
FLOWERS, TREES, PLANTS

Flowers convey love, grief, happiness and other emotions. These symbolic connections of flowers with emotion are cross-cultural and their origins are unknown. During the 1800s, the use of floral symbolism became so popular that almost every flower known had a symbolic gesture attached to it. The following are some symbolic references to common plants and flowers.

SYMBOL	MEANING
*Acanthus	Heavenly garden. One of the oldest cemetery motifs, acanthus is associated with the rocky ground where most ancient Greek cemeteries were placed. It is the most common motif found on memorials. In architecture the acanthus leaf is used to decorate the capital of the Corinthian order.
*Acorn	As the seed of the oak, the acorn is a symbol of potential. In Norse and Celtic culture, acorns symbolized life, fertility and immortality. Druids ate acorns, believing them to have prophetic qualities, and acorns were sacred to the god Thor whose Tree of Life was the oak. 'Acorns and oak leaves form one of the circular 'hex' signs used by the Amish and Mennonite communities of southern Pennsylvania, the various signs believed to bestow favors such as protection or natural abundance'.
*Aloe	Affliction, or grief
*Apple	Forbidden fruit, fruit of salvation and sweetness in love.
Birch	The ancient Celts covered their dead with birch branches, perhaps to infuse them with the stuff necessary for a successful afterlife.
Buds	Renewal of life.
Buttercup	Cheerfulness.

Calla lily	Symbolizes marriage.
Cinquefoil	A five-lobed circle, symbolizing maternal affection, or a beloved daughter.
Clover or Shamrock	Irish, or for luck in a gambler. It is one of the oldest Celtic symbols. The shamrock is a native species of clover in Ireland. A Catholic legend holds that St. Patrick used its three lobes as a device for teaching the Holy trinity. In Celtic folklore, the shamrock is a charm against evil, a belief that has carried over in the modern belief in the four leafed clover as a good luck charm.
*Convolvulus	Small flowering creeper similar to a morning glory. Means extinguished hopes or eternal sleep.
Crocus	Youthful gladness.
*Cypress	Designates hope or deep mourning. The cross of the crucifixion was allegedly constructed in part of Cypress. Once felled, a cypress never grows again.
Daffodil	Death of youth, desire, art, grace, beauty, deep regard.

*Daisy	The innocence of children, Jesus the Infant, youth, the Son of righteousness, gentleness, purity of thought.
Dead leaves	Sadness, melancholy.
Easter Lily	Modern symbol of the resurrection. Also symbolizes purity and chastity.
Evergreens	Immortality.
*Fern	Sincerity, sorrow.
*Fleur-de-lis	Flame, passion, ardor, mother.
Flower/s, general	Frailty of life.
Flower/s, broken	Life cut short; mortality.
*Forget-me-not	Remembrance.
*Geranium	Melancholy
*Grapes	Represent Christ.
*Grapes and Leaves	Christian faith.
Hawthorn	Hope, merriness, springtime.

Holly	Foresight. People used to believe that holly bushes protected tombs and other monuments from lightning strikes.
*Honeysuckle	Bonds of love, generosity and devoted affection.
*Laurel, or bay	Special achievement, distinction, success, triumph. I change not in death.
*Ivy	Memory, immortality, friendship, fidelity, faithfulness, undying affection, eternal life.
*Lily	Majesty, innocence, purity, and resurrection. Often associated with the Virgin Mary and resurrection. Often used on women's graves. The use of lilies at funerals symbolizes the restored innocence of the soul at death.
Lily of the Valley	Return of happiness, purity, humility.

*Marigold	Grief or despair.
*Mistletoe	Protection, veneration and healing power
*Morning Glory	Because morning glory flowers don't last for long (usually only 24 hours), it symbolizes resurrection, mourning, youth, farewell, the brevity of life, departure, mortality.
*Oak tree or oak leaf	Hospitality, stability, strength, honor, eternity, endurance, liberty. It is believed to have been the tree from which Jesus Christ's cross was made. In smaller pioneer cemeteries, it is common to place children's graves near oak trees. The oak tree was the tree of life in pre-Christian times. The Druids worshipped the oak. The oak, oak leaves and acorn can stand for power, authority or victory. Often seen on military tombs.
*Olive	Peace; healing faith.
*Palm	Spiritual victory, success, eternal peace, a symbol of Christ's victory of death as associated with Easter.
*Pansy	Symbolizes remembrance and humility. Also a symbol of thought (French = 'pensee').
Passion flower	The elements of the passion of Christ: the lacy crown—the crown of thorns; the five stamens—the five wounds; the 10 petals—the 10 faithful Apostles.
Pine	Fertility, regeneration, fidelity.
Pineapple	Hospitality, good host.
Poinsettia	A death occurring near Christmas.

Poplar	Where other cemetery trees promise immortality, the poplar grants us only memories and the sorrows that accompany them.
*Poppy	Peace, rest, sleep, eternal sleep, consolation.
*Rose	Love, beauty, hope, unfailing love, associated with the Virgin Mary, the 'rose without thorns'. A red rose symbolizes martyrdom and a white rose symbolizes purity and virginity. Whether the rose is a bud, flower or somewhere in between indicates how old the person was at the time of death.
Rose, bud	Normally a child 12 or under.
Rose, partial bloom	Normally a teenager.
Rose, full bloom	Normally in early/mid twenties. The deceased died in the prime of life.
Rose, double set on one twig	The death of two people. Usually a bud with the rose means the loss of a mother with a baby.
*Rosemary	As Ophelia said, 'Rosemary, that's for remembrance'. In former days, it was put in coffins and given to mourners as a favor.
*Sun Flower	Life fulfilled. Symbolic of gratitude and affectionate remembrance. The flower turns towards the sun, indicating brightness.
*Thistle	Earthly sorrow, Christ's crown of thorns, Scotland as country of origin. A hard life.
Tree	The all-covering love of Christ. Life, The Tree of Life.
Tree Felled	Mortality.
Tree/Severed branch	Mortality.

Tree Sprouting	Life everlasting.
Tree Stump w/Ivy	Head of Family; Immortality.
*Vine	The sacraments, God's blood, God, Christian faith.
*Violet	Faithfulness
*Weeping Willow	Nature's lament, a symbol of sorrow and mourning.
*Wheat	Resurrection, bread and wine (Christian), fertility.
Wreath or Garland	The use of garlands, wreaths and festoons dates back to ancient Greek times and it was adopted into the Christian religion as a symbol of the victory of the redemption. The laurel wreath is usually associated with someone who has attained distinction in the arts, literature, athletics or the military. The ivy wreath is symbolic of conviviality (gaiety or joviality). The wreath and festoon together symbolize memory.
Wreath of Maiden's Garland	A garland of white paper or linen, embellished with streamers and a single white glove, which was carried at the funerals of unmarried women of blameless reputation. The garlands were hung in the church after the funeral and allowed to decay. Then the pieces would be buried in the graveyard.
*Yew tree	Sadness, eternal life.

Sources

Anonymous. nd. Gravestone Symbolism nd. http://www.graveaddiction.com/symbol.html. Date accessed: 8/5/07

Anonymous 2001. Australian Historic Cemeteries Gravesite Symbols and Customs.
        http://members.iinet.com.au/~perthdps/graves/symbols.htm. Date accessed: 17/7/07.
Hawkins, Susan nd. Cemetery iconography.
        http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~txcemeteries/symbol.htm. Date accessed: 8/5/07.
McDougall and Vines 2004. Historic South Australian Graves and Cemeteries, available on line at:
        http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/heritage/pdfs/historic_graves_and_cemeteries.pdf.
Mytum, Harold 2003. *Mortuary Monument and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period.* Kluwer, New York.
Smith-Bearden, Dusty nd. Gravestone Symbolism. http://www.thecemeteryclub.com/symbols.html. Date
        accessed: 8/5/07.

Appendix 3: Gravestone Terminology

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

Appendix 4. Gravestone terminology

SUGGESTED TERMINOLOGY FOR GRAVESTONE STYLES

A. UPRIGHT SLABS/STELAE
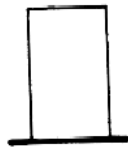
1. Rectangular
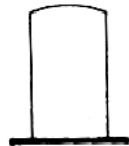
2. Cambered
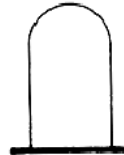
3. Semicircular
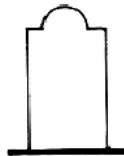
4. Semicircular with shoulders
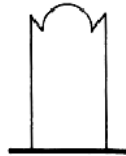
5. Semicircular with acroteria

6. Semicircular with cut away shoulders
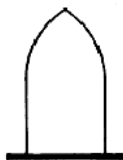
7. Gothic
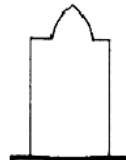
8. Gothic with shoulders
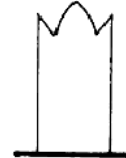
9. Gothic with acroteria
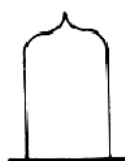
10. Ogee
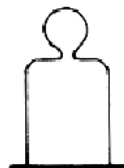
11. Anthropomorphic
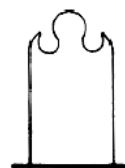
12. Anthropomorphic with peaked shoulders

130

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

13. Gabled
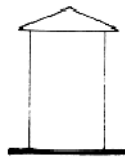
14. Pedimented
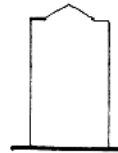
15. Gabled with shoulders
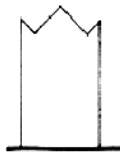
16. Gabled with peaked shoulders
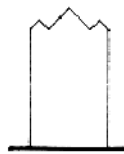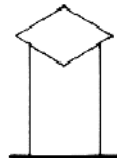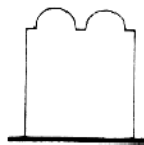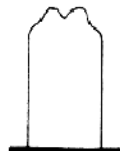
17. Stepped

18. Cruciform
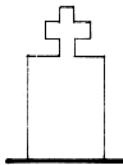
19. Cross surmount with shoulders
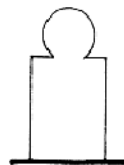
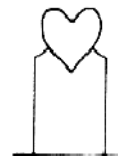20. Circular surmount with shoulders

21. Diamond

22. Double

23. Stylised double

24. Miscellaneous e.g. Heart

131

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

B. CROSSES

1. Circular Latin

2. Rustic Latin
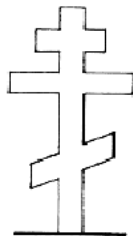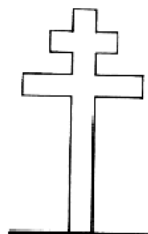
3. Roman/Latin
(with 3 steps - Calvary)

4. Celtic
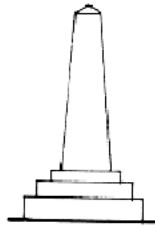
5. Saxon

6. Cornish

7. Eastern/Russian
Orthodox

8. Lorraine

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
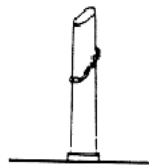## PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

C. PILLARS

1. Pedestal
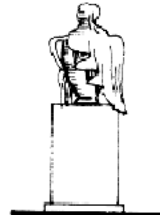   (Champhered base)

2. Obelisk
   (Stepped base)
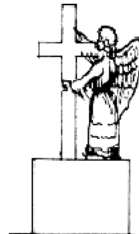
3. Column

4. Broken Column
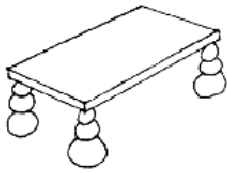
D. *SCULPTURES*

1. Urn

2. Draped Urn

3. Angel

4. Composite – Angel and Cross

133

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

E. HORIZONTAL SLABS

1. Table
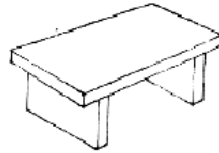
2. Table
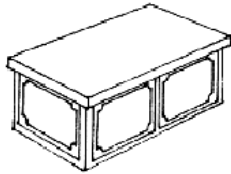
3. Altar
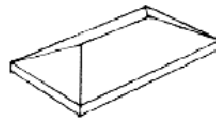
4. Sarcophagus
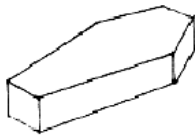
Coffin
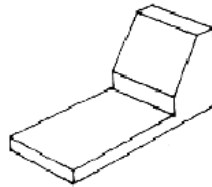
6. Slab and desk

Desk Decoration:
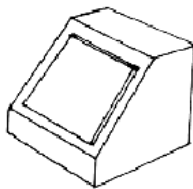
i) Tablet

ii) Book

iii) Scroll

134
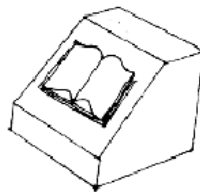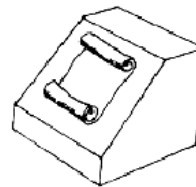
GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

F.   MISCELLANEOUS
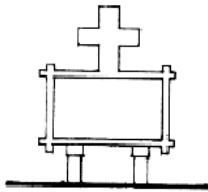
1.   Iron 'Etna'   2. Cairn   3. Rustic pedestal
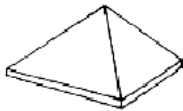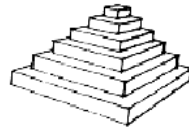
4.   Pyramid   5. Stepped Pyramid

G. SURROUNDS

These are usually distinguished by material and motif.

Examples:	Cast iron	Wood	Arrowheads
	Wrought iron	Concrete	Fler de Lys
	Stone	Brick	Floral Motif
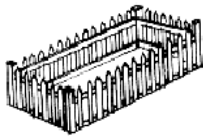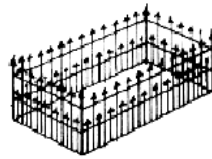
i) Timber Picket   ii) Iron Picket   iii) Stone
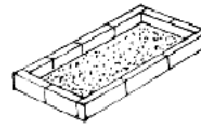
From National Trust of Australia (NSW) 2009 *Guidelines for Cemetery Conservation.* National Trust of Australia and NSW Department of planning, heritage branch.

Appendix 4: Cemetery Recording Form

CEMETERY RECORDING FORM

SITE/LOCATION:

RECORDER/S:

DATE OF RECORDING:

DENOMINATION:
- [ ] Catholic
- [ ] Uniting
- [ ] Anglican
- [ ] Jewish
- [ ] Presyt.
- [ ] Unknown
- [ ] Baptist
- [ ] Other.
- [ ] Methodist ....

GRAVE No (or REF No.):

MAIN FAMILY NAME

PLOT TYPE:	LIST OF BURIALS:	DATE OF DEATH:	MARKER FORM:	MARKER SHAPE (sketch):

PLOT TYPE:
- [ ] Individual (Single)
- [ ] Double (2 people)
- [ ] Group (>2)

Total number of interments in this plot:

Total number of headstones in this plot:

LIST OF BURIALS: 1. .... 2. .... 3. .... 4. .... 5. .... 6. .... 7. .... 8. ....

DATE OF DEATH: ....

MARKER FORM:
- [ ] Tablet (upright slab)
- [ ] Horizontal slab
- [ ] Block
- [ ] Obelisk/pillar
- [ ] Statue/sculpture
- [ ] Cross
- [ ] Combination
- [ ] Other. ....

Nat. Trust Guide No.:

OTHER ASSOC. PLOTS?
- [ ] No   Name/Ref. No:
- [ ] Yes

ORIENTATION:
- [ ] North
- [ ] South
- [ ] Northeast
- [ ] Southwest
- [ ] East
- [ ] West
- [ ] Southeast
- [ ] Northwest

MONUMENT SIZE:

TOTAL HEIGHT: _____ (cm)

Plinth: Height: (cm) _____ Depth: (cm) _____

Headstone/monument. Height: (cm) _____ Depth: (cm) _____ Width: (cm) _____

COLOUR OF HEADSTONE:
- [ ] White
- [ ] Black
- [ ] Other
- [ ] Pink
- [ ] Grey ....

MATERIAL:
- [ ] Slate
- [ ] Sandstone
- [ ] Marble
- [ ] Brick
- [ ] Granite
- [ ] Concrete/Cement
- [ ] Cast iron
- [ ] Timber
- [ ] Tile
- [ ] Other. ....

FENCE/BORDER:
- [ ] NONE
- [ ] Cast iron picket
- [ ] Timber picket
- [ ] Brick border
- [ ] Stone border
- [ ] Tile border
- [ ] Other: ....

FENCE/BORDER HEIGHT: _____ (cm)

LETTERING:
- [ ] Engraved
- [ ] Engraved & Painted
- [ ] Lead
- [ ] Painted only
- [ ] Other: ....

OTHER ITEMS ASSOCIATED WITH GRAVE:
- [ ] NONE
- [ ] Vase
- [ ] Glass covered display
- [ ] Personal items
- [ ] Photos
- [ ] Statues
- [ ] Tiles
- [ ] Shells
- [ ] Plantings
- [ ] Other: ....

INCLUDES FOOTSTONE:
- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

MOTIFS: (tick all relevant, then include details)
- [ ] NONE
- [ ] Angel
- [ ] Wreath
- [ ] Hands
- [ ] Ribbon
- [ ] Dove
- [ ] Flowers
- [ ] Tree
- [ ] Ivy
- [ ] Other foliage
- [ ] Book
- [ ] Cross
- [ ] Masonic
- [ ] War service
- [ ] Pillar/urn
- [ ] Anchor
- [ ] Other (please list): ....

Detail of motifs (i.e type of flower/leaf/cross etc): ....

INSCRIPTION (Please record exactly as it reads, i.e. line by line and in same spatial order):

STYLE OF LANGUAGE:
- [ ] Emotive
- [ ] Biographical
- [ ] Factual
- [ ] Religious

TENSE/AUTHOR:
- [ ] Written in first person ('I', 'me')
- [ ] Written in third person ('He', 'she')
- [ ] Written by spouse
- [ ] Written by children
- [ ] Written by friend/other
- [ ] War Service

BURIAL(S) DESCRIBED IN RELATION TO:
- [ ] Family patriarch
- [ ] Order of death
- [ ] Position within family unit (e.g. mother, son, wife)
- [ ] Unrelated to others

KEY WORDING (select more than one if required):
- [ ] Sacred to the memory of
- [ ] In loving memory of/ In memory of
- [ ] Beloved
- [ ] Re union/re united
- [ ] Resting/sleeping
- [ ] Religious
- [ ] Personalised inscription
- [ ] Passed away/leaving
- [ ] War Service
- [ ] No embellishment
- [ ] Other (specify)

PHOTOS:

MASON:

TOWN:

136

Appendix 5: Newspaper Death Notices Recording Form

Grave Ref no:

Name:

Year of death:

Type of notice:

Obituary □ Death notice □ In Memoriam □

Number of lines:

Style of Language:

Emotive □ Biographical □ Factual □ Religious □

KEY WORDING
(select more than one if required):

- □ Sacred to the memory of
- □ In loving memory of/ In memory of
- □ Beloved
- □ Re-union/re-united
- □ Resting/sleeping
- □ Religious
- □ Personalised inscription
- □ Passed away/leaving
- □ War Service
- □ No embellishment
- □ Other (specify):

Appendix 6: Obituary recording form

Grave ref number:

Family Name: **Given Names:**

Year of death

Title of section/ column:

Length of Obituary (number of lines):

Style of Language:

Emotive ☐   Biographical ☐   Factual ☐   Religious ☐

Content checklist:

Type of Accomplishments

Their occupation? Yes/No

Where they were born? Yes/No

Details of how they died? Yes/No

Family members mentioned in obituary?

How long they were in South Australia mentioned? Yes/No

Is how they arrived/the ship they arrived on mentioned? Yes/No

Does the obituary include a photo/ portrait? Yes/No

Their religion mentioned? Yes/No

Is their funeral/ burial place detailed? Yes/No

Appendix 7: Class Groups

Middle Class

Surname, Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
BAGOT JOHN 1870, ELIZA 1898	Solicitor	professional occupation also member of the Adelaide Club
PEACOCK WILLIAM 1874, CALEB 1896	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
WYATT GEORGE BENJAMIN WYATT 11/10/1877 son of JOHN WYATT	Engineer	professional occupation
WILLIAMS/ DREYER HENRY WILLIAMS 1879, WILLIAM Dreyer 1895, EDWARD William Dreyer 1878, ELIZA Dreyer 1897	DREYER gentleman, WILLIAMS gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
MCMILLAN JOHN 1878, JANE 1883	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
BAGOT ULYSSES NORTH BAGOT 1882, RACHEL 1884	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
HAWKES PRISCILLA 1886, HENRY 1890	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
FERGUSON WILLIAM 1892, ROSINA 1893	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
SCOTT SARAH ANN 1896, ALEX 1901	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
BOWLEY JAMES 1897, JANE 1900	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
FABIAN THOMAS 1898	City treasurer	important government occupation
MAGAREY SYLVANUS JAMES 1901	Doctor	highly skilled professional occupation
LYONS THOMAS 1904, EMMA 1913	Singing master	singing master taught people how to sing requiring significant cultural capital and economic capital to make a living from it.

BONYTHON GEORGE 1909, ANNE 1906	Storeman	member of prominent Bonython family
BONYTHON BLANCHE 1908	JOHN LAVINGTON BONYTHON Journalist	member of prominent Bonython family
POTTER HENRY 1908, MARY 1913	accountant	professional occupation requiring cultural capital
CHINNER EMMA MORCOM 1908, WILLIAM BOWEN 1915	Organist, composer and teacher of music	teacher, composer and musician requiring a large amount of cultural capital
JOHNS NANNY 1909	Farmer	owner of a farm and had enough wealth to live in Adelaide
DELBRIDGE JESSIE 1911, PEARCE 1933	company director	director of a company
MALCOLM Fanny MALCOlM 1912, married to ALEXANDER MALCOLM	aerated water manufacturer	manufacturer and owner of aerated water company
MAGAREY FRANK WILLIAM ASHLEY 1912	Doctor	highly skilled professional occupation
WOOD WILLIAM HADLEY 1913, JANE MATILDA 1922	Engineer	professional occupation
BRYSON ALFRED HENLEY 1913, ALFRED SHAW 1931	Alfred Henly Bryson examiner and paymaster of military accounts Poona India, Alfred Shaw, Builder	based on Alfred Henly Bryson occupation which required skill and was a professional occupation within army

FERGUSON JAMES 1926, HELEN 1896	Civil Servant	professional occupation
EVANS ELIZABETH 1908, JAMES 1924	Accountant, Secretary of the South Australian Gas Company	professional occupation
FERGUSON ELIZABETH (LILY) 1908, ROBERT 1938	Financier	professional occupation
HENDER RACHEL 1908, EDWARD 1926	Grazier	large scale farmer
MILLS SAMUEL 1916, ELIZABETH 1923	Station holder	owner of large farm

BAGOT CHARLES 1919, MARGARET ELEANOR 1925	Civil Servant	professional occupation
KEAST JOHN KEAST 1919, JANE KEAST 1925	farmer	owner of a farm and had enough wealth to live in Adelaide
GROOM CHARLES ARTHUR 1926	Railway Station master	manager of railway stations, higher level of authority than middling class occupation
HAZLETT FANNY ROBERTS (HAZLETT) 1926 w of ARCHIE HAZLETT	Gentleman	gentleman, wealthy enough to not have to work
HORROCKS MATILDA 1926	dairyman	owner of dairy farm
TUCKER JOHN 1928, MARY ANN 1939	civil servant, Postal Service	civil servant in postal service for 40 years, civil servants were one of the professions of people in the Adelaide Club
BOWDEN WILLIAM GEORGE 1929	Civil servant	professional occupation
DAVY WILLIAM CHARLES 1929, LOUISA JANE 1929,	Bootmaker, athlete and musician and his wife a music and elocution teacher	bootmaker but also known musician and elocutionist requiring cultural capital, had enough economic capital to send daughter, Ruby Davy, to Adelaide University, who then became the first women to get a doctorate in South Australia
HURCOMB EMILY 1929 w of GEORGE ALBERT	Dairyman	ran dairy farm
PROSSER HENRY 1929	Dairyman and ex police officer	ran own dairy farm and orchard
SYMES WILLIAM THOMAS 1929	Farmer	owner of a farm and had enough wealth to live in Gilberton near Adelaide
BOWMAN PETER 1930	sheep farmer	ran sheep farm and lived in Adelaide
CUDMORE JOHN 1930	Farmer	owner of a farm and had enough wealth to live in Eastwood near Adelaide
BOWMAN MARY 1932, JAMES BOWMAN	squatter	Squatter of land, likely large area

Surname Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
SEARCY ARTHUR 1935, EMILY 1932	civil servant	professional occupation and civil servants were one of the professions of people in the Adelaide Club
SUTHERLAND HUGH 1938	secretary	professional occupation
BONYTHON SIR JOHN LANGDON 1939, MARIE 1924	HGMS Newspaper company director	owner of the Advertiser and prominent wealthy citizen of South Australia
LOCKE ELIZA 1940	farmer	owner of a farm and had enough wealth to live in Adelaide
SOBELS TOM 1940	company director	ran a company

Middling Class

Surname Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
SCORSE SAMUEL 1870, CAROLINE 1900	Draper	draper likely running own small business/ store
TERRELL JOHANNA 1878, SAMUEL 1881	Mining Captain	more authority than working class occupation
DAVIES MARY 1891	storeman	responsible for stored goods more authority than working class occupation
SHARP PETER 1905, ALICE 1920	Commercial traveller, storekeeper	worked independently requiring more skill and having more authority than working class occupation, also ran a store a one point
Richardson SOPHIA 1906, JOSEPH 1919	hotel proprietor, Prince of Wales Hotel	owned and lived in the Prince of Wales Hotel
BUCHANAN MARGARET 1907, EDWARD 1916	storekeeper	storekeeper running own small business
HILL JOHN 1907, JANE 1918	master mariner	Captain of a boat, occupation requiring skill and training
HADDOW WILLIAM 1913	grocer	grocer running own small business/ store
FLETCHER CHARLES 1913	Chaff Merchant	merchant running own small business/ store

BICE ALBERT 1914, SERGT GR BICE 1917	Commercial traveller for Colton, Palmer and Preston	worked independently requiring more skill and having more authority than working class occupation, also ran a store at one point
TAYLOR WALTER 1921, ANNIE 1928,	Agent	skill required to be an agent
HIDSON WILL 1926	Gas water maker, prominent official in Gas Employees union and club secretary of West Torrens Soccer Club	gas water maker and official in employee's union giving him more authority than working class occupation and more social capital
RAINEY ANNIE 1926, H STANLEY	Market Gardener	ran small business/ stall at Adelaide market
MEAKER WILLIAM GEORGE 1926	Storeman	more authority than working class occupation
MCLEOD JOHN 1926	licensed victualler	landlord of public house not large enough to be middle class
BROAD ALFRED SCOTT 1929	Importer and artist	ran own importing business
EVANS EVAN 1929, SUSAN 1935	Foreman Pipe layer	foreman more authority than working class occupation
DURIEU CHARLOTTE VICTORIA 1938, ERNEST WILLIAM 1939	business manager of Seppelts winery	managerial position with more authority than someone in the working classes
BOTTCHER CONRAD ALEX EDWARD 1940	traveller, agent	worked independently requiring more skill and having more authority than working class occupation
NORMAN SAMUEL 1940	Fruiterer	retailer of fruit running own store
RITCHIE WILLIAM 1940	wood merchant	merchant likely running own small business
MCDONALD GRACE 1900, CHARLES 1920	Draper	draper likely running own small business/ store

Skilled Working Class

Surname Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
RUDDOCK JOHN 1878	Clerk of the District Council of West Torrens	professional civil service occupation
PAPPIN ELIZABETH 1887, JAMES 1901	Blacksmith	skill and training required for carpentry
PONDER SARAH 1898, JOHN 1902	carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
COCKBURN ALEXANDER 1899, PRISCILLA 1889	Plumber	skill and training required to be a plumber
CLIFFORD JOHN 1900, HENRY 1905	John Tanner, Henry blacksmith	based on blacksmith occupation
BEECH GEORGE 1904, MARY 1933	carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
WOODING JANE 1907, CHARLES 1916	shoemaker	some skill required to be a shoemaker
NIEMANN HENRY 1907, JESSIE 1934	baker	skill required to be a baker
TRIGG JULIA 1913 w of SAMUEL TRIGG	Carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
SIMPER CHARLES 1914	picklemaker	some skill required to be pickle maker
EVANS GRACE 1914, ALBERT HENRY 1917	Bootmaker	skill required to be bootmaker
HENWOOD JOHN 1914, ELLEN 1926	Blacksmith	skill and training required to be a blacksmith
MCDONALD JAMES 1914, EMILY 1926	Salesman clothing trade	some skill required to be salesman
BROADBRIDGE JOSEPH 1917, HARRIET 1926	butcher	skill required to be a butcher
RICHARDS SAMPSON 1921, CHARLOTTE 1937	clerk	professional occupation
FARNDELL WILLIAM FRANCIS 1923	Land Broker	skill required to be a broker
DALE JOHN 1924	plumber	skill required to be plumber
NORTH FREDERICK 1926	Blacksmith	skill and training needed to be a blacksmith
ALLEN EDWARD ERNEST 1926	Tailors Cutter	some skill needed to be a tailor's cutter
HAWKES JAMES 1926	carpenter	skill required to be a carpenter

GROSE JOSEPH 1926, MARY 1929	Gardener	some skill required to be a gardener
MASHFORD ALFRED JOHN 1926, MARY JANE 1940	Caretaker	little skill needed to be a caretaker, but more authority than unskilled working class occupation
OKE WILLIAM 1927	Coachbuilder	some skill required to be a coachbuilder
DAVIDSON JAMES GEORGE 1927	Saddler	some skill required to be a saddler
GRIFFITHS EDNA HEATHER 1928, w of L GRIFFITHS	Clerk	professional white collar occupation
HUSTON HARRIET 1914, GEORGE 1928	Wheelwright	skill and training required to be a wheelwright
STOBA JAMES 1929	Carpenter, joiner and contractor	skill and training required for carpentry
ALDRIDGE HARRY 1929	Jockey	skill and training required to be a jockey
SCHOLES ALFRED 1929	Bootmaker	skill and training required to be bootmaker
RANKIN CHARLOTTE J 1929 w of ALEXANDER	Coachbuilder	skill and training required to be coachbuilder
PARSONS WILLIAM E 1929	Gardener	some skill required to be a gardener
SHINNERS WILLIAM VICTOR CLAUDE 1929	Printer, Sands and McDougall	some skill and training required to be a printer
QUINN FLORENCE 1929 w of MARTIN FRANCES	Boxmaker	some skill required to be a boxmaker
DOLLING Gustav HEDLEY 1929	Carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
WELLER CLARA LOUISA 1926, GEORGE 1932	Reader	Skill and cultural capital needed to be a professional reader
BOWLEY ERN 1936	Bootmaker	skill required to be a Bootmaker
SMITH GEORGE 1936	Saddler	skill and training required to be a saddler
BICE MARY 1922, SAMUEL 1937	carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
RELF ALICE 1939	house decorator	some skill needed to be painter and decorator of houses

Surname Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
SALTER WILLIAM 1939	Wicker worker	skill and training required to be a wicker worker
BUTTERWORTH GEORGE 1939, MINNA 1940	Clerk	professional occupation
SMALE LOUISA 1940	monumental mason	skill required to be mason
NEWMAN SELMA ELIZABETH 1940	printer	skill required to be a printer
PRESS HENRY 1940	bootmaker	skill required to be bootmaker
HUDDLESTON SYDNEY STEPHEN 1940	clerk	professional occupation
CURRAN JOHN 1940	Carpenter	skill and training required for carpentry
WHITEHEAD OPHELIA 1905, GEORGE 1920	Mason	skill required to be a mason

Unskilled Working Class

Surname Given names, date of death	Occupation	Justification
GOGAN FRANCIS 1870	turncock of waterworks	little skill needed to be a turncock
BLACK JAMES 1870, CAROLINE 1907	laborer	no skill needed for labouring
DAILEY SAMUEL 1899, MARY 1916	town hall porter	little skill needed to be a porter
DALE HARRIET 1899, MATHEW 1919	driver	little skill needed to be driver
HARDWICK JOHN 1900, FRANCES 1930	railway guard	little skill needed to be a guard
KENEALLY FRANCES 1905	laborer	labourer, no skill other than their labour
FARMER JAMES 1905	railway porter	little skill required to be a porter
DAY/BOWLES LIZA DAY 1905, MIRIAM BOWLES 1930	Henry Day labourer John Bowles vegetable grower	no skill to be a labourer and little skill required to be a vegetable grower
LLOYD JOSEPH 1913, ELIZABETH 1931	miner	little skill needed to be a miner
STOREY GEORGE 1915	police constable	Constable in the police force is the lowest rank with little skill or experience

TRACEY ARTHUR ERNEST 1921	lifter of SA railway	largely manual labour job requiring little skill
TURNER JOHN S. 1926	railway employee	unspecified job within the railway, likely low level role
HICKS EMILY 1926	miner	little skill needed to be a miner
BISHOP LANCELOT 1926	labourer	no skill needed to be a labourer
CARTER WALTER CARTER 1926	laborer	no skill required to be a labourer
SINCOCK WILLIAM 1926	laborer	no skill required to be a labourer
BREALEY FRANK EDWARD 1926, ELLEN 1931	laborer	no skill needed to be a labourer
LAMBE ALICE 1929 w of JAMES	turncock of waterworks	low skill job
EARL JOE 1929	theatre fireman	low ranked fireman with little authority
MCKINNON CUTHBERT 1929	laborer	no skill required to be a labourer
DAVIDSON CHARLES 1929	motorman Municipal Tramway Trust	little skill required to operate tram
RIX CLAUDE GLANVILLE 1929	laborer	no skill required to be a labourer
CAMP RUTH 1940, ELLIOT 1933	carrier Magill House, Magill	little skill required to be a carrier
MILLERD ELIZABETH 1925, JAMES 1934	laborer	no skill required to be a labourer
IRVING BEATRICE MAY 1938	barman	little skill needed to be a barman
SNOW MARIA 1926, ARTHUR 1938	night watchman	little skill needed to be night watchman/ security guard
IVEY EMILY 1939 w of WILLIAM	miner	little skill needed to be a miner
WILLIAMS Harold 1940	labourer	no skill required to be a labourer
JAMES WILLIAM 1940	railway employee	unspecified job within the railway, likely low level role