'OH, EARLY VANISHED FROM A PARENTS EYE': 'Childness' and child memorialisation in the South Australian cemetery, 1836-2018 CE

By

Stephen Wayne Muller

B. Arch (Hons), B. A (Hons), B. Soc. Admin

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the memorialisation of children in the Western cemetery from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day using the idea of childness as a measure. The importance of children as part of archaeological study has been recognised and developed since the 1980s, establishing the archaeology of childhood. As part of this approach research has looked at ways of determining the agency of children in the archaeological record, and the ways in which conceptualisations of children and childhood are represented through material culture created by adults. Following a multi-disciplinary review of the literature concerning Western ideas of children and childhood, and cemetery studies concerning the memorialisation of children in the Western cemetery, this thesis proceeds to the study of five cemetery sites in Adelaide, South Australia. The primary interpretative method used is the concept of childness, the qualities a culture associates with both being a child and that labels someone as a child. The measure of childness arising from the family's memorialisation choices represents the degree of child identity inferable by the observer. Childness sits within the broader processes of socialisation and structuration that informs and replicates these characteristics to varying degrees depending on variables such as status, class, gender and prevailing social views specific to the time of the child's death.

Analysis of the archaeological sample identified the expression of childness through six main characteristics: smallness, innocence, domesticity, play, temporality and emotion, indicated by age and influenced to varying degree by status, class and for older children, gender. The varying combinations arising from the interaction of these concepts determined the degree of identity differentiation observable, which could range from virtually no difference with only age indicating a child, to a heightened level of childness involving inscription and motif, or as exampled in the Victorian era, the size and height of the child's grave marker itself. The mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s and again following the creation of particular child-only spaces in the 1980s represented a more individualistic cemetery ethos, with the memorialisation of children trending to a more expressive childness. Both periods employed a wider range of child-specific references in inscription and motif, or adapted more general choices such as religious references to symbolise a greater association with children. By comparison, the intervening period from the 1920s to the 1980s generally adopted a more uniform and subdued approach to memorialisation that saw a lower degree of childness in favour of a more un-differentiated family identity. However, the social role of the child as memorialised retained a marked continuity across the chronology regarding the expectation of a loving and caring relationship between parent and child, the importance of the family structure and the grief of loss. The use of Childness varied in accordance with age, but rarely in relation to sex or gender, with those aspects more closely associated with infants and young children becoming less pronounced for children who in age were moving further from childhood and towards adulthood.

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.

Signed Stephen Muller

Date 14th October 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION: 'OH EARLY VANISHED FROM A PARENTS EYE'

"Far from being fundamental to any discipline seeking to understand human societies, the study of childhood is usually at best marginalised or, at worst, overlooked completely (Crawford and Lewis 2009:5-6)."

"Burial assemblages associated with a deceased child are the attempts of those left behind to make sense of a shortened life and premature death" (Baxter 2013:114)."

Weep for me my parents dear,

I am not dead but sleeping here,

Dry up your tears you shed in vain,

You cannot call me back again.

Horseman family grave marker, c.1882, Hindmarsh Cemetery, South Australia

In accordance with HDR thesis rules, I declare that this chapter references information previously published in my co-authored article (Muller et al. 2019). My contribution to the article was: research and design 80%, data collection and analysis 60% and writing and editing 70%. My co-authors have signed approval for use of their work to be included in this thesis on the Co-authors Approvals for Higher Degree by Research Thesis for Examination form.

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the memorialisation of children in the Western cemetery landscape over the last 180 years. A statistical analysis of five cemeteries in Adelaide, South Australia, is used to consider the way children were remembered and differentiated from adults through material culture from 1836 to 2018, and what such representations can tell us about their visibility, status and role in society over this period. In seeking to explore these issues, the cemetery provides a rich and mostly untapped potential. As a reflection of its multiple creators over time, it provides a repository of social and ideological trends expressed through the materialised thoughts and feelings of past lives, relationships and world views (Baugher and Veit 2014:2; Jones 1979: iv; Rugg 2000:264). This makes such landscapes particularly suitable for longitudinal study, "since archaeological material can often represent, frequently in a quantifiable way, gradual changes and enduring structures" (Tarlow 1999:5). In turn, the grave plot with both its private and public roles, meant that the resulting tableau was subject to unintentional phenomenological change as the cemetery evolved around it and visitors over time experienced the space in different ways (Muller 2006, 2015:19). Baxter observes,

> Children's headstones offer a rich data set from to explore the social and symbolic importance of children and enable analyses that parallel archaeological study of children in a variety of mortuary and cultural contexts (Baxter 2015:1).

Since the late medieval period, Western society has consistently seen children as different from adults. This difference, as the product of documented social and cultural views, both public and private, was subject to change within its historical context.

The chronological period of this study allows ample potential for both national and international comparison of the memorialisation of children. The nineteenth century saw the continuing expansion of European capitalism and its accompanying geo-political influence on a global scale. The colonial societies that resulted naturally reflected the culture of origin. Consequently, the European colonisation of Australia by predominantly British and Irish immigrants is reflected in the development and appearance of the Australian western cemetery, allowing for comparison with burial and commemoration practices in Britain and Ireland, as well as other countries of British colonial origin such as the United States (Mytum 2014:2; Mytum and Burgess 2018). The colonisation of South Australia occurred in 1836, just one year before the commencement of the Victorian era (so labelled by English speaking countries to signify the reign of the British Queen Victoria from 20 June 1837 to 22 January 1901), and the new colony was naturally influenced by its initial cultural ties to Britain. Consequently, observed similarities and variations in memorialisation choices between the Anglophone countries is instructive in identifying the transnational spread of social ideals, trends in the manufacture of material forms and styles to express them, and the development of local choices and variation. Such globalisation increased exponentially over the course of the twentieth century. Greater economic interconnection and cultural exchange between nations' introduced new

possibilities concerning appropriate forms and styles of material culture and social expression. As a result, developments beyond the Anglosphere are also discussed in relation to the Australian practices identified, and how each reflects broader social ideas about children and childhood in western culture.

The characteristics that make children different from adults I term childness representing, "the multiple conceptions of being, and being labelled, a child" (Muller et al. 2019:1). First used by Degner (2007), childness, "is an explicit measure of the variation that exists between the entities of 'child' and 'childhood'" (Muller et al. 2019:6). This includes between children of the same age and culture where differences in childness may be subtle and harder to discern. Childness within a culture may at first seem universalist in nature, representing what a child should be and how childhood should be lived (Degner 2007:6-7), however in practice, as a process of identity construction it is subject to social and cultural variation, for example when does childhood begin or when does a society view an individual as no longer a child? As part of this measure the effect of other factors on this process such as class, age, gender and culture can be identified and examined. Within the cemetery, childness provides an interpretive method of understanding the way, "in which childlike characteristics are conceptualised and attributed to the deceased using material culture" (Muller et al. 2019:6). Its application is particularly suited to this setting, as the focus is not limited to actual children per se but the 'identities' created for them by adults through the memorialisation process. This approach allows for a nuanced understanding of the reasons for differences and variations in such representations of the 'child' and 'childhood' within the cemetery space, driven by both the personal relationship between children and their families, and the structural influences of society at that time.

1.1.1 Background to child mortality and memorialisation

The representation of child death evokes a sense of grief and loss whose context is very different from that of an adult. Such an event is characterised as chronologically premature (Baxter 2013: 114; Jones 2015:291), heightening the sense of disorder experienced by the bereaved. It is not just the emotional response to the absence of the deceased, but also the cessation of their potential, and the hopes and dreams invested by the parents in that anticipated futurity (Sørenson 2010, 2011). So, the different complexities involved in the memorialisation of children, particularly infants, perinatal and stillborn children (for whom the establishment of identity are the most challenging), should be acknowledged (Cannon and Cook 2015:402; Smith 1987:91). This sentiment of 'futurity' can be evidenced by expressions on children's grave markers such as "Oh, what hopes lie buried here" (Baxter 2015:8). It is within this context of emotional tumult and fracture, ranging from despair to rage and even guilt, that the family (usually the parents) are expected to decide the narrative they wish to express for their child's loss, and the identity they wish to create for them through memorialisation.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, parents laboured under the very real fear that they would lose an infant or child due to infectious disease, with many both sustained and burdened by the religious

perspective that such an event constituted a trial sent by God requiring their stoic forbearance, or worse, a punishment arising from their own sinful failings (Jalland 2002:70-71). It was not uncommon for families to face the loss of several or all of their children over the course of a few days, weeks, or months. For others the loss of a child could become an almost annual ordeal. Jalland (1996:120) notes that the newborn infant faced a deadly variety of illnesses in their first year of life, such as diarrhoea, pneumonia and bronchitis, with measles, whooping cough and scarlet fever lurking for those who reached two to five-years. Deaths also occurred, as always, from abuse, neglect, and accidents. Death in childbirth also remained a high concern. Torney (2005:69) cites a child mortality rate across all Australian colonies prior to 1890 of 100 to 130 children (under one year) per 1000 births, a rate of 10 to 13% and sets out the following survival figures for the 1880s: 90% to 12 months; 82% to 5 years and 78% to adulthood.

The characteristics of innocence, purity and imagination that we today commonly associate with children and childhood, had gained full ascendency by the mid-nineteenth century, having gathered momentum from the secular musings of the Enlightenment movement in the latter decades of the previous century (deMause 1974:408; James et al 1998:13-15; Kociumbas 1997: xiv; Snyder 1992:13). The highly valued child, both socially and emotionally, accordingly required protection from the dangers of the adult world (Arnold 2006:184; Snyder 1992:11). Middle- and upper-class Victorian parents in the United Kingdom (UK) and the British colonies had access to a growing body of child-rearing manuals and literature. These emphasised the mother's primary caring role and domestic responsibility (Cunningham 2005:64-65). In this sphere the father was secondary but held ultimate worldly authority within the patriarchal social structure. In turn, childhood was conceptualised as a temporary place of existence that parents strived to create, not just as a protective boundary, but also as a sacred present in which the child could best attain emotional and experiential growth in preparation for their future. It was this middle-class ideology of domesticity that began to be seen in memorialisation choices for children.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the juxtaposition of childhood and death had become an uncomfortable and socially constrained subject (Paris 2003). Although illustrations of child death were rare, those used in the pictorial press, child rescue, and temperance pamphlets served an instructional purpose. They emphasised parental responsibility and the need for morally respectable behaviour to ensure a child's safety from the potential threats of the world. Such images clearly showed the fatal results arising from neglect, such as a young child drowned due to her father's drunken inattention (Paris 2003 Image 1). As a British colony, such literature was widely received in Australia and accordingly influenced Australian parents (Torney 2005:60). It is interesting to note that this discomfort occurred at the height of the Victorian era's beautification of death, a period associated with a more general openness towards the subject of mortality, and elaborate funeral practices and cemetery landscapes (Curl 2000; Jalland 1996; Morley 1971; Rainville 1999). This discomfort speaks to the contradictory nature of child death during this period, as an event both inevitable yet premature.

Mortality rates for infants and children showed significant decline from 1900, increasingly trending lower over the course of the twentieth century (Sacks 2013:7; Taylor et al 1998:30; Torney 2005:69-70), with old age replacing infancy as the most likely time of death (Jalland 2006:4; McCalman 2009:25-26). This was the result of improvements in and access to medical care and treatment, with a greater understanding of disease transmission, nutrition, sanitation (to reduce the risk of infection) and the development of anti-biotics which gradually became publicly available (Jalland 1996:5, 2006:193; McCalman 2009: 26-28; Stearns 2006:60). In turn, developments in social policy (Dickey 1984:96-140) saw a move from a charity-based welfare model to state-led universal support as governments increasingly took an interest in both children's welfare and education. This resulted in an ever-growing legislative blanket of protection for children and influenced parenting standards and behaviour (Dickey 1984:127-132). However, in a colonial society, such interventions were operated by and based on the ideology of the colonists. The results for Indigenous children, particularly of mixed racial parentage or ancestry, often meant removal from family and culture. Not only were such actions immediately counterproductive to the child's best interests, they also produced a legacy of intergenerational psychological damage amongst Aboriginal families and communities that impacts to this day (e.g., Healey 2001, Reynolds 2005, Terszak 2008).

The conceptualisation of children and childhood has grown well beyond the previous confines of the family home. Cunningham (2005:204) comments," A romantic view of childhood as a special time of life has both sunk deep into and had a remarkable tenacity in western societies". Since the Second World War, children and childhood have attained a global profile, with the ratification of their legal rights as citizens by the United Nations (UN General Assembly 1989) and the creation of bodies such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), causing some to see the twentieth century as the century of childhood (James et al. 1998:57). Today, continuous improvements in paediatric care, combined with socially advocated parenting standards and legislated state oversight has seen infant and child mortality decline in Western society to a point where the death of a child is very much an exception. Consequently, for today's parents such an event is an unthinkable scenario and therefore not usually psychologically prepared for, unlike the families of the nineteenth century. As Stearns (2006:102) observes, a social position had been reached that "children should not die, and industrial societies poured massive resources into keeping children alive". But some children still die, and parents and families are faced with the difficult task of their memorialisation.

1.2 Research aim and questions

Although the archaeological study of below ground child burial (either individually or as part of a larger burial site) is well established (e.g. Crawford et al. 2018; Huskinson 2018; Murphy 2011; Donnelly and Murphy 2018), over the last three decades a small number of multi-disciplinary studies have specifically focussed on the above ground archaeology of children's grave markers and the commemorative choices

employed in their creation (Baxter 2013, 2015; Charrier and Clavandier 2019; Degner 2007; Haveman 1999; McKerr et al. 2009; Nolin 2018; Snyder 1992; Smith 1987; Sørenson 2011, see CHAPTER 3). These studies primarily focus on either the nineteenth century or the late twentieth/early twenty-first centuries. A comparison of child memorialisation that includes the intervening period would address both this chronological gap in the research and allow for a broader understanding of how the memorialisation of children in the cemetery may have changed over the last 180 years.

This study asks the following questions:

1. How is childness observable in the material culture of the Western cemetery, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, and how does it differentiate children from adults and other children?
2. Does the measure of childness change over time, and if so for what reasons, e.g. social status, class, age or gender?
3. What do these observations of childness tell us about children's value, role and status in society?

1.3   Project Significance

This research contributes to both the archaeology of death and burial, and the archaeology of childhood. Although the multi-disciplinary study of historic cemeteries has grown considerably since the pioneering work of Deetz and Dethlefsen on grave seriation (1965; 1967; 1971), archaeological focus on children's grave markers has been limited. A review of the literature found that no long-term comparative investigation of children's memorialisation in the cemetery landscape had been undertaken to date (see CHAPTER 3). As with other areas of archaeology, a primarily adult focus has accompanied the study of death and burial, and otherwise comprehensive overviews of the historical development of cemeteries lack any specific attention to children's burial and memorialisation (e.g. Baugher and Veit 2014). The neglect of children in such research is problematic, as any understanding of human societies is incomplete without them.

The study develops the concept of childness (introduced in Section 1.1) as an alternative interpretative measure in identifying and understanding representations of child identity in the cemetery. This allows for comparison of the material culture with historical observations of changing social attitudes towards children and death, and the degree to which such creations actually reflected the social realities of children beyond the cemetery (Griffin 1982; Jalland 2002, 2006: Kellehear 2000: Singleton 2016). If we are to truly value the role and effect of children on society then we must fully investigate all aspects of their lives, as we do with adults, including their death and the effect of that death upon family and society. Such mortuary narratives, as they pertain to children, are informative of the wider framework of social relations

that mediate the functioning of society and represent paradoxically an opportunity for families and communities to affirm such 'truths' even in the face of loss. As Crawford et al (2018:26) note,

> When a child dies, however, it is a direct challenge to the process of memory, a lost opportunity to pass on knowledge and beliefs to the next generation; but that death might also be harnessed to supply an image that encapsulated a range of social priorities.

In addition, unlike many cemetery studies which focus entirely on the grave marker, this research also considers the spatial elements that make up the grave plot, such as its dimensions and materials to see to what extent these factors may also reflect childness and the phenomenological effect this may engender. The results obtained will have application to the broader Australian cemetery context, comparative potential with child memorialisation in other Western cemeteries, and suggest the application of childness to other archaeological contexts involving children.

The study also uses a large archaeological sample with broad chronological depth to identify reliable statistical trends and to track both change and continuity in memorialisation practices. The beguiling nature of the nineteenth century cemetery landscape, with its spatial and stylistic diversity, has overshadowed its more orderly and uniform twentieth century successor. This later period has often been characterised as one in which the violent effects of the First World War saw a cultural repression concerning the open discussion of death in Western society from which we are now slowly emerging (Jalland 2006:13; Mallios and Caterino 2011:430). Such a hypothesis is increasingly being challenged (Tradii and Robert 2019; Robert and Tradii 2019), and is worth investigating archaeologically to see what these changes say about how families coped with child death and memorialised their children in this period (Cannon and Cook 2015:404). This identified chronological gap in the literature is addressed, by undertaking an extensive statistical analysis of over 2000 children's grave markers, burial plots, and their associated grave furniture dating from the 1840s to 2018.

1.4   Scope of research

The study is situated within the greater metropolitan area of the city of Adelaide, the capital of the state of South Australia (Figure 1-1). The chronological scope of this thesis commences from the arrival of British settlers to the newly realised colony of South Australia in 1836 through to 2018.

The archaeological sample was recorded at five suburban locations; Cheltenham Cemetery, the Children's Garden at Enfield Memorial Park, Hindmarsh Cemetery, St Jude's Cemetery (Brighton), and the Walkerville Wesleyan Cemetery (Figure 1-2). A brief history of each archaeological site and its spatial layout, including available maps, is provided in CHAPTER 4, and the rationale for the selection of these sites is discussed in CHAPTER 5.
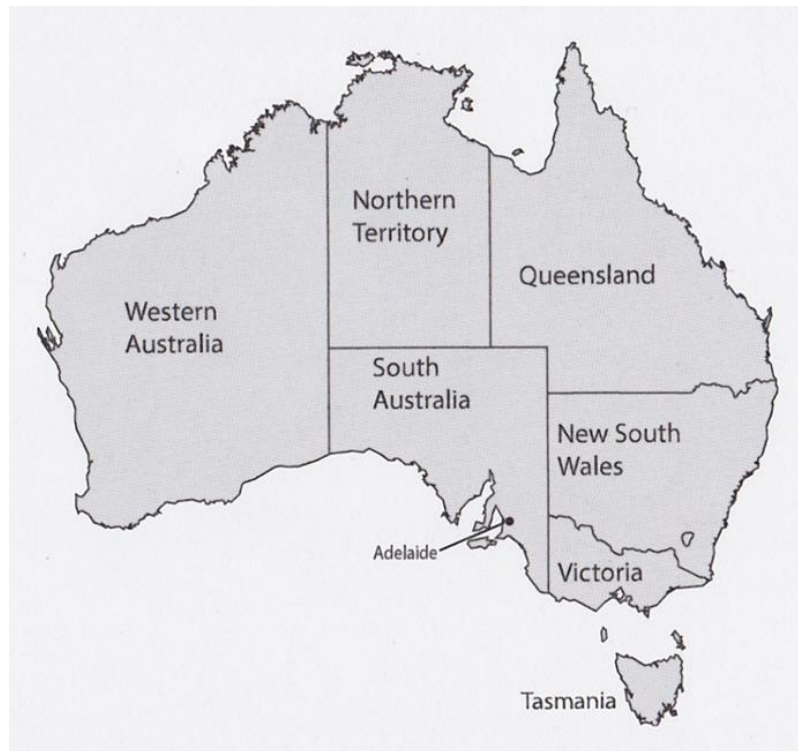
Figure 1-1. Map of Australia showing location of Adelaide, South Australia

(By Lokal_Profil - Map outlines from Image:Australia Locator Map.svg by User:Papayoung.Modified and cleaned up by Lokal_Profil, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2340699 with place names added by C. Wight).

1.5 Considering the process of child memorialisation

Having already introduced childness as the primary interpretative concept for this study in Section 1.1, it is important to situate it within the broader model of cultural and social production to which it contributes. The following sections look at the interrelated ideas of socialisation and structuration and bring these together with childness to discuss an interpretative model of child memorialisation applicable to this thesis. The idea of presence and indirect agency, whilst included in the model as a potential effect from the creation of the grave marker and plot, is a different reflective process. As such, it is discussed as part of a broader look at child agency in Section 2.7.

1.5.1 Socialisation

The idea of socialisation has gained strong currency in the archaeology of childhood (Baxter 2005:29, 2008:171; Vlahos 2014:2) to understand the transfer of cultural and social knowledge to children. Importantly, this process reflects, and must always be seen within, its specific cultural and historical context (James and Prout 2008:241; Morrow 2011:4). It is not a universal or natural process and is subject to cultural variables such as status, class, gender, and ethnicity (Crawford and Lewis 2007:8). There is a tendency to see socialisation as unidirectional: the transmission of cultural knowledge from the parent and society to the child. Instead, we should see this process as interactive, acknowledging the potential for

8

individual child agency (Section 2.5), rather than falling back to historical ideas of child development, such as Locke's 'passive receptacles' (Pollack 1983:12; Torney 2005:56).

Although an important interpretive idea, socialisation has its criticisms. Sofaer Derevenski (1997:194) has suggested that, "the notion of socialization may itself be culturally specific, existing in some cultures, but not in others." Although she does not supply an example of such a culture, her comment raises the issue of the extent of overt or sub-conscious socialisation at play in each cultural context and the level of influence exerted upon children in specific cultural and historical circumstances. Sofaer Derevenski (2000:8-9) also sees the idea of a total cultural construction as reductive and ignorant of other influences, such as physicality, in what she describes as a 'bio-cultural interface'. However, socialisation need not be seen in isolation and as a process is complementary to other human interactions and experiences. As a process, children receive cultural information, but also, given their agency, experience their physical surroundings on their own terms, as well as through social and cultural inputs. In this sense the socialisation process is two-pronged, both a cultural and experiential process, knitted together by the ebb and flow of cultural and environmental elements but weighted towards the wisdom of experience and therefore adult agency.

1.5.2   Structuration

The theory of structuration, as developed by the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1984), has been identified and promoted by both archaeologists (Baxter 2013, 2015; Pader 1982; Scott 1999) and sociologists (Haveman 1999), as a productive mechanism for understanding how families memorialise their children. This is because the memorialisation process is both the product of personal agency and social influence. Giddens saw structuration to address this duality of structure, the interrelationship rather than separateness between agency (the individual) and structure (society) that drives the historical process. He explains,

> To understand what is going on no explanatory variables are needed other than those which explain why individuals are motivated to engage in regularised social practices across time and space, and what consequences ensue. (Giddens 1984:14)

This process can be envisaged as a feedback loop in which the agent, motivated to achieve an outcome, exerts action to that end (Figure 1-3), bringing with them an acknowledgement of the conditions of their existence as products of socialisation, such as their cultural beliefs and social practices. In this sense, socialisation, and structuration form parts of the same process. The consequences resulting from individual or collective agency can both socially reproduce or change the political, social, and economic structure in which they are situated. In turn though, these broader systems exert influence and constraint upon the individual agent (James and Prout 2008:27). As Giddens notes,

> One of the main propositions of structuration theory is that the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (Giddens 1984:19).
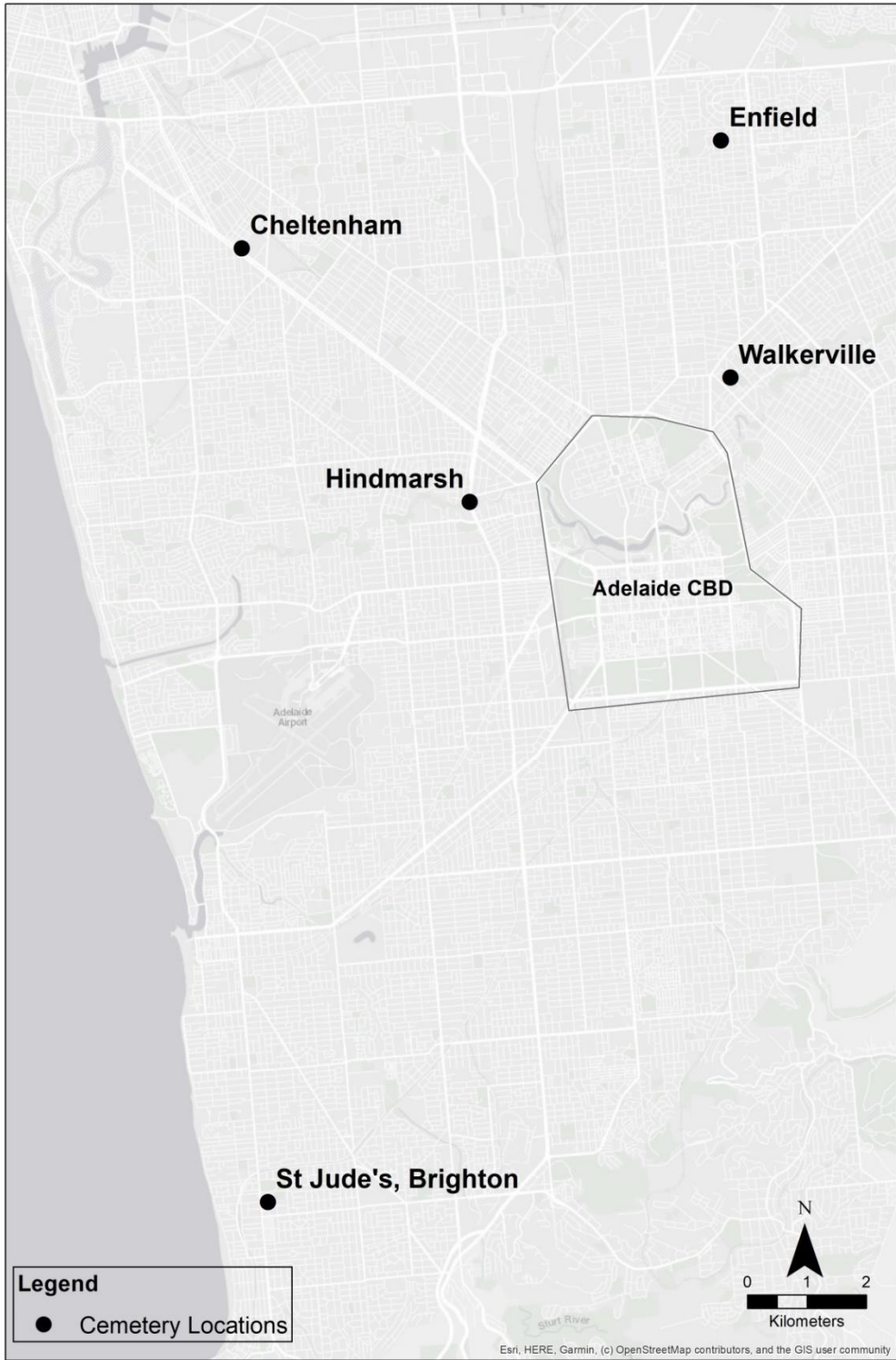
Figure 1-2. Cemetery locations map (Map by Chantal Wight using ArcGis).

This can be seen in what Giddens terms the '*durée*' of our daily lives, the practices we undertake by habit, conforming to learned meanings and cultural norms, influenced by our social and political institutions, whose rules influence the medium through which our actions reproduce individual and collective social practices. Giddens breaks structuration into three dimensions: signification, domination, and legitimation. Signification forms the codes of discourse, including symbolic communication; domination speaks to the control and allocation of resources through institutional power, and legitimation sets out the idea of normative relations, including legal frameworks (Giddens 1984:31). The respective influence of each dimension is weighted by the nature of the social context. In class-based societies for example, unequal agency (power) gears the production and reproduction of structure to primarily maintain vested interests by masking the conditions of society more broadly to legitimate structures that constrain the agency of those less powerful.

This process of reproduction can also produce unintended consequences because, by exerting agency, the participant reproduces both ideas (beliefs) and habitually learned behaviour, some of which is intended (conscious) and some of which is not (subconscious). For example, writing in English is an intentional act, but the fact that this action contributes to the perpetuation of the English language is unintentional (Giddens 1984:8), although there is the potential for different actors to foresee both intended and potentially unintended consequences and to plan accordingly. The model is not without its criticisms. Bryant and Jory (2001:14) have commented on Giddens' lack of discussion about the degree to which both individual and collective agents can actually initiate structural social change rather than simply reproduce the status quo, and Oswell (2013:46) queries whether such capacity is in fact overstated. Structuration, as a dynamic process, is subject to the realities of the socio-cultural and economic context in which it operates, so the nature of the society in question will clearly impact on the extent to which change is possible. The more open the society the greater the potential for individuals to advocate change, the more closed, the more likely a coerced population is to replicate oppressive structures from a point of protective self-interest. All of which suggests that structuration as with socialisation must be viewed contextually to understand the varying degree to which agency and structure interact to sustain or alter social practices and beliefs.

The sociologist Melissa Haveman (1999:268) promoted structuration to address what she saw as a general deficiency in cemetery studies, although her comments appear to overlook previous work involving both aspects (e.g. Cannon 1989; Parker Pearson 1982; Snyder 1987) or that looked at structuration within the broader mortuary context (Pader 1982). She felt that attention was often divided between individual agency regarding the memorialisation choices made and the structural constraints acting upon such choices (i.e. economic affordability), rather than looking at the relationship between the two. In her own study she adopted structuration theory to achieve a more holistic analysis of the interrelationships between

individual choice, available grave marker styles, technological capabilities, the emergent funeral industry, economics, cultural values, and ideologies.

Structuration theory has subsequently been championed in the practice of the archaeology of childhood, particularly as it relates to the interpretation of children's graves by Baxter (2013:107; 2015:4) who comments,

> Structuration is a particularly useful concept in this regard as it explicitly seeks explanations that balance the actions of individual agents and the social structures that are produced by, and inform and constrain, those actions. (Baxter 2013:108)

As with Haveman she notes that this approach allows for multiple scales of understanding to be achieved, rather than artificial divisions, providing insight into both the choices actioned by parents, and the underlying social structures that informed, constrained, and replicated those decisions. Baxter asks,

> Is a small headstone with a single word 'baby' symbolic of parental detachment, or a lack of wealth to purchase a more 'status rich' memorial? Is an elaborate child's grave simply an extreme expression of sentimentality in the wake of a loss and desire for consolation, or is it also the product of a family's ability to afford a large, sumptuous monument to display that loss and desire? (Baxter 2013:118).

Baxter (2013:119) identified four areas which she believed allowed for the application of this theoretical approach. These were that an individual's death requires the enacting of ritual practice beyond that of 'everyday expression', although variable by context.; that the deceased's age is a significant variable in the commemoration process; "that the death of a child is always 'exceptional'" regardless of mortality rates, as it does not fit the natural and cultural expectations of society and, that status and sentimentality constituted major aspects of the commemorative ritual. She argued that by integrating the latter two aspects into the one intellectual space a more detailed picture of how children simultaneously possess importance both within their families and communities, and as individuals possessing "particular social identities, roles and statuses", could be realised (Baxter 2013:120). Structuration theory suggests a useful application in the interpretation of archaeological contexts, providing a theoretical framework within which the variables produced can be made explicit and analysed through the interrelationship between agency and structure.

1.5.3   An Interpretative model of child memorialisation

As Baxter's model specifically looks at the context of memorialisation, the primary agency is that of the adult parent (Figure 1-3). Families are subject to an endless flow of cultural and social information through socialisation. This process both informs and restrains social action to acceptable community norms, with the degree of deviation dependent on the political (and therefore ideological) framework and how this plays out within actual relationships at the practical level. In the case of memorialisation this includes familial interaction with the undertaker and mason (Mytum 2018). For parents, faced with the death of

their child, this socialised information is drawn on by tapping into their conceptualisation and understandings of the quality of being a child; childness. Emotion is also a major influence in memorialisation and displays both universal and cultural attributes. This is because emotional responses whilst on one hand psychobiological (and therefore not always predictable) are also informed by social context and expectation, expressing social relationships (Tarlow 1999:5). From these factors the grave plot and marker are realised.

The resulting memorialisation strives to provide both psychological healing to the family and to reassert the prevailing social structure more broadly through structuration. The degree to which each aspect is attended to depends on prevailing historical attitudes to death and burial, and the additional weight given to variables such as status, class, age and gender. At the same time the grave plot and marker can, depending on the psychological view of parents and family, represent the symbolic presence of the deceased (Stott 2019), and exert a form of agency upon the visitor. In this sense the child could continue to affect the life of the parent. Just as memorialisation can re-affirm broader social structures, these in turn can affect the grave marker in ways that bypass the parent, for example, the regulation of grave plots by a cemetery authority imposes an external influence over the memorialisation process that diminishes parental choice (Rugg 2013). Unintended consequences can also occur, such as the unforeseen increase in grave furniture used in contemporary child-specific sections; sites originally intended as orderly, uncluttered lawned areas. In general though, the resulting reaffirmation of social structure through the memorialisation process serves to reinforce the ideology of the society and culture of which it is an inseparable part.
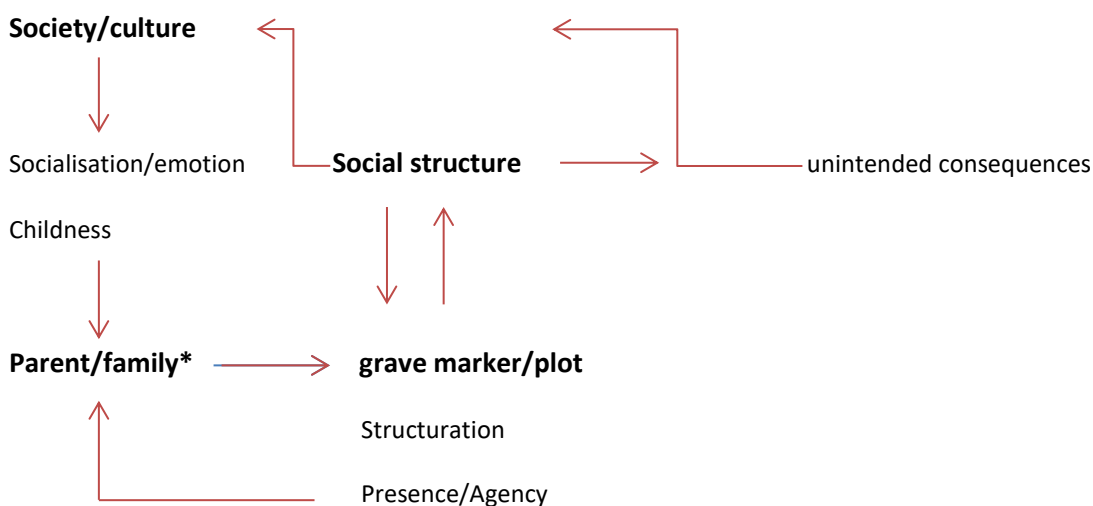
Figure 1-3. Theoretical model illustrating the flow of processes that both create the grave marker and plot and through this reinforce prevailing social and cultural values at both the familial and socio-cultural level.
*Parental/family choices may also be influenced by additional contextual factors such as the undertaker/mason, cemetery landscape and existing children's grave markers.

1.6 Class and the cemetery

Following on from this theoretical approach is to consider the degree to which class expression and social status is visible in the cemetery landscape, and how these factors may affect the memorialisation of children. The concept of class is complex and nuanced, and as social and economic relationships change, dynamic (Connell and Irving 1986; Baxter et al 1991; Bottero 2012; Paternoster 2018). In cemetery studies, considerations of memorialisation have recognised that the interpretation of class expression is not necessarily straightforward. This has been a post-processual response to archaeologists in the early 1970s, such as Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970), who theorised that mortuary practices, and their associated material remains were a clear reflection of the society and the social identity of the deceased, albeit not without tensions over the choices of representation afforded by death (O'Shea 1984:10). Subsequently, mortuary representation has been re-appraised (Lull 2000; McGuire 1988; Parker-Pearson 1982) to consider how such expression may display a distorted rather than actual social reality, through the ideological manipulation of memorialisation and the multiple influences that may seek to mask social identity in this process. As Lull (2000:579) notes, "A corpse cannot carry out its own burial". The grave plot is the result of the efforts of others and therefore the commemoration is inevitably their view. The interpretation of identity may or may not reflect the social reality of the deceased. This concept has clear relevance to the investigation of childness in this study.

Marxist or class based approaches to the investigation of cemetery landscapes have theorised the process of memorialisation as a form of conscious social advertisement that objectifies and reinforces dominant social ideologies of class and power (Parker Pearson 1982:110), with the emulation of higher class expression by the middle and lower classes (Cannon 1989). The realisation and arrangement of material culture on the grave plot produced an ideological dialogue with the visitor designed to project concepts of death, family, and gender relations within the class structure (McGuire 1988:436). Importantly though, such power centred models acknowledge that class alone cannot explain the range of variation observed in the cemetery (McGuire 1988:437). The development of the nineteenth century cemetery also reflected and encouraged capitalist market principles, with its economic competition with traditional churchyard burial, along with later legislative burial reforms, ending the clergy's monopoly over the disposal of the dead (Laqueur 1993). Public cemeteries also provided the opportunity for working-class families to own a burial plot, giving them the economic advantages associated with land ownership that few could aspire to outside the cemetery gates. Such ownership bestowed a certain respectability, as well as an economic resource, as plots could be sold on, bequeathed to, or shared with kin, and importantly avoided the social stigma associated with a pauper's burial (Rosenow 2015:48; Strange 2002:143; 2003).

It is easy to assume a connection between the economic outlay, both in cost, resources, and labour, expended on the materiality of the memorialisation process and the deceased's class background and

social status (Kellehear 2000:83). However, with the standardisation of gravestone design in Australia in the 1850s, the increased availability of locally sourced materials and the mass production of monuments, the capacity to afford a gravestone was greatly increased (Jalland 2002:122; Tillett 1994:1; Young 1997:1). Furthermore, wealth alone cannot be taken as an indicator of class status. Mytum (2004:122-123) found that some expensively built mausoleums may have been more an indicator of the deceased's financial wealth, "…and could be used to help create the aura of an established social position which may not have been accurate". So, funeral expenditure does not always correlate to the bereaved family's class position in society (Cannon and Cook 2015; McGuire 1988; Mytum 2004:123; Parker Pearson 1982:102-103). Even within the same society personal and social perceptions of class can vary, and as Connell and Irving (1986:3) note, class relations are not always obvious depending on the social context, the cemetery being a case in point. The method used to examine this issue is detailed in Section 5.8.2.

1.7   Defining an age range for children

Given this study involves 180 years of memorialisation practices it is understandable that the use of such seemingly apparent terms as 'infant', 'child', and 'children' require clarification. This study chose an age range extending from miscarried, stillborn, and perinatal infants through to individuals aged up to 20 years. Infants refer to children aged one year or younger; young children from two to 12 years and older children from 13 to 20 years. The reasons for these inclusions and groupings are twofold. Firstly, there has been significant contemporary re-evaluation, arising from second wave feminism (Section 2.1), of the emotional value and social identity of children who died in prenatal and perinatal circumstances. This is reflected by both private and public trends in their memorialisation (Cannon and Cook 2015:411; Faro 2014; Peelen 2009). The inclusion of stillborn and perinates in the sample recognises the importance of such social change in the conceptualisation of children and childhood.

Secondly, an upper age range of 20 years reflects an awareness of historically changing social definitions of when childhood ends and when adulthood, and its associated status and rights begin. From a contemporary standpoint many of the attributes commonly associated with Western childhood and the activities and spaces that inform this perception seem essentialist and monolithic in tradition. This assumed continuity can be seen in today's cemeteries, where artefacts commonly associated with childhood, such as toys, are placed upon historical children's gravesites. This conscious act, whether by relative or stranger, appears to re-assert the deceased's membership in a timeless world of childhood, characterised by the ownership of toys and the innocence of play; an activity that separates the child from the adult world of work. However, the time scale of this study means that we cannot neatly define the end of childhood as taking place at a specific age, since historical research would suggest that no single age would fit the entire sample. As Kociumbas notes in her history of Australian childhood, "Definitions of childhood and adolescence are historical constructions, varying across time" (1997: ix; see also James and Prout

2008:244). For example, the term adolescence was only applied in the modern sense as an age-based life stage in 1904 (Morrow 2011:12). Similarly, the term teenager was only invented in the 1950s and the age range attached to such terms still varies markedly (Bahr 2017:25).

Kociumbas used 14 years of age as her limit for children, with 15 to 19-year old's defined as adolescents (1997: ix). However, terms such as infant, child, youth, teenager, and adolescent all carry loaded meanings, so their use must be explicitly contextualised to reflect the archaeological and historical evidence supporting their relevance. Degner (2007:5, 12-14), in her study of nineteenth century children's graves in South Australia, included what she described as, "all possible candidates for 'child'" to cast the widest net. She researched South Australian census data, legislation, and ships' passenger lists to investigate definitions of childhood by age. What she found was a degree of vagueness and variation over the latter half of the nineteenth century, opting for an 'arbitrary' upper age limit of 21 years of age, arguing, "This decision was based on an age that, according to most contemporary understandings, would encompass all facets of childhood" (Degner 2007:5).

This study stops short of 21 years, as this age is seen as having a defined cultural and ritualistic power that is only meaningful in a modern context. Using 20 years as a cap provides adequate flexibility to encompass and explore changing definitions and boundaries of childhood and adulthood across nearly two centuries of memorialisation. This is done with the full acknowledgement that such thresholds move, change and at times blur, reflecting the prevailing social and cultural influences of their temporal settings, and even variation between the individuals themselves (Fahlander 2011:14), as evidenced by the reality that marriageable age changed radically over the course of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, young men enlisted, fought, and died in wars before attaining 21 years of age. Both circumstances appear in the sample and these individuals, having undergone such actions, are afforded an adult status unrelated to their actual chronological age.

Informed historical understanding of such variation in the journey to adult status is important to avoid both confusion (Crawford and Lewis 2009:7; Murphy and Le Roy 2017:10) and generalisations that can again lead to the universalising of childhood (Baxter 2005:20; Crawford et al 2018:4). Indeed, even the use of a life-course framework (albeit historically contextualised), as promulgated in the study of child development by sociology and psychology (McCartney and Phillips 2006: XIV-XV; Newman and Newman 1975; Peterson 2014), must be mindful of the implicit or explicit ways this 'separation' between childhood and adulthood can reinforce entrenched biases concerning the meaningfulness of adult agency versus the 'growing' potentialities of child action (Crawford et al 2018:10). Finally, and importantly, given the context of this research, I reiterate a distinction between children as active individuals in the world and the ideological construct of the world of children as envisaged by adults: 'childhood' (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:5).

This is not to say that children do not also create their own individual 'childhoods', but it is the adult response to their child's death and burial that concerns us here.

1.8   Thesis Overview

This section provides a brief overview for each of the following thesis chapters.

Chapter 2: Children, archaeology, and the historical debate over childhood

Chapter 2 reviews the literature concerning the multi-disciplinary debate concerning the conceptualisation of children and childhood in the past arising from Phillipe Ariès' (1960) publication *Centuries of Childhood*. Particularly pertinent to this thesis were the conclusions that arose from this regarding the parental (and social) response to child death in a time of high mortality rates. The influence of this debate on archaeology is then considered in relation to a previously perceived lack of archaeological interest in children, as pointed out by Lillehammer (1989) in her article 'A Child is born', outlining the reasons for this problem and the archaeology of childhood that grew as a response. The chapter concludes with a discussion of child agency including indirect agency in the mortuary context.

Chapter 3 Cemetery studies and the memorialisation of children

Chapter 3 reviews the literature relating to previous research undertaken concerning the interment and memorialisation of children in cemeteries. It commences with discussion of the potential for cemetery studies, within the archaeology of childhood, to explore representations of child identity through childness. A series of historical and sociological examinations of children's grave markers in the United States of America (USA) is reviewed, followed by both historical and contemporary discussion of the creation of specific children's spaces in the cemetery in Sweden and France. Next, international archaeological work concerning children's memorialisation from Denmark, Ireland, England, and the USA are examined. Finally, the state of cemetery studies in Australia is presented and two South Australian studies by Farrell (2003) and Degner (2007) are summarised to highlight their implications for this thesis.

Chapter 4 Historical background to the archaeological sites

Chapter 4 introduces the South Australian historical context followed by a brief historical overview of each cemetery surveyed. This includes the historical development of each area in which the site is situated, the establishment of the cemetery and its first burials, socio-economic context, site layout, use history and present status. Archaeological comment is made on the level of site preservation, and site maps and photos are provided for reference.

Chapter 5 Archaeological methods

Chapter 5 outlines the archaeological methods used for this study. It commences with an outline of the sample criteria, site selection and survey planning. Next, the cemetery recording process is described, including the conducting of site surveys, the grave marker terminology used, what was recorded, extent of fieldwork, and how the primary death date was identified. Then, the construction of the database is explained to illustrate the data entry and its analysis by descriptive and inferential statistics to address the research questions. The chapter concludes with a look at the surveys limitations due to site preservation, issues concerning the clear identification of denominational and class identities, the approach to monumental masons, and cemetery regulations.

Chapter 6 Results Part One: Chronological range, types of plots and their arrangements, sex, age, grave marker forms and styles, and social position

Chapter 6 presents the archaeological results for the following categories using tables and figures generated by the IBM SPSS database analysis: chronological distribution of the sample; the types of grave plot and orientation; sex; age; the grave marker material, dimensions, colour and height; fences and borders; grave marker forms and styles (Tablets, crosses, pillars and sculptures, horizontal slabs and plaques; miscellaneous) and the association of work occupations to families to consider what this may say about their social status and class. Tables are used to show statistical frequencies (count and percent) and figures to show chronological distribution (percent) and height (mean). Where applicable, categories are also examined in relation to child-only versus family plots, sex, and age.

Chapter 7 Results Part Two: Grave marker inscriptions, motifs, and grave furniture

Chapter 7 presents the archaeological results for the following categories using tables and figures generated by the IBM SPSS database analysis: The style, arrangement of individuals and assumed authorship for the inscription; remembrance introductions; inscription style (emotive, familial, temporal, personalised, biographical, religious and mortality references); motifs (religious, funerary, floral, figural, photographs and Insignia, monograms and crests) and grave furniture (floral, toys, religious and other). Tables are used to show statistical frequencies (count and percent) and figures to show chronological distribution (percent). Where applicable, categories are also examined in relation to child-only versus family plots, sex, and age.

Chapter 8 Discussion: Childness in memorialisation

Chapter 8 discusses the results presented in the previous two chapters as they pertain to childness. The statistically significant results for each section, as well as any strong patterns observed in the descriptive statistics are evaluated and interpreted within their historical context to explore the types of childness

realised, and to understand the degree of variation observed in the use of these different qualities in the attribution of a child identity to the deceased. This is done thematically using the categories of smallness, innocence, domesticity, play, temporality and emotion.

Chapter 9 Conclusion: The rise of the valued child

Chapter 9 addresses how status and class may influence, and age indicate, childness as part of the memorialisation process. Then a comparison of childness as observed over the three historical periods of cemetery development that make up the sample is undertaken to show how the measure of its characteristics has changed over time and why. This includes consideration of differences in childness between contemporaries, and in response to broader social changes in the management of death. The chapter concludes with a summation of what the memorialisation of children says about social perceptions of their value, role and status in society, and suggests other possibilities regarding the future use of childness in archaeology.

CHAPTER 2
CHILDREN, ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE HISTORICAL DEBATE OVER CHILDHOOD

2.1   Children and archaeology

The archaeology of childhood continues to grow as a field of interest, having gained significant momentum over the past four decades (Baxter 2005:15, 2008:160; Crawford and Lewis 2008:9, Crawford et al. 2018:7; Kamp 2001:1; Thomas 2005:41; Vlahos 2014:1). Its origins can be traced to the position advocated by Grete Lillehammer (1989) in her influential article, *A Child is Born*. Speaking from her own research interest in the prehistoric child she observed that the child's world had mostly been left out of archaeological research stating, "Few archaeologists have looked into the subject or given it attention, less ever thought of it as the main field of interest" (Lillehammer 1989:89). This was not to say that no archaeological work involving children had previously been undertaken. Indeed, Lillehammer cited examples from Scandinavian archaeology involving child burials and artefacts that, through association, size and use wear, were thought to be toys, but argued that such analysis mostly arose from projects primarily focussed on the adult world (Lillehammer 1989:96-98).

The emerging debate around the importance of discerning children and their actions from the archaeological record was influenced by an already established historical interest in children and childhood within other disciplines. This can be traced to Phillipe Ariès' (1973:125) controversial thesis in *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (first published in 1960 and translated into English in 1962 as *Centuries of Childhood*) that in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist, with children thought of and treated as mini-adults (see Baxter 2005:28; Buchli and Lucas 2000:131; Crawford and Lewis 2008:8; Crawford et al 2018:3; Kerr et al 2009:111; Lillehammer 1989:91; Murphy and Le Roy 2017: 4). Ariès' historical research into the conceptualisation of the child and childhood, and examination of the nature of parent-child relations since the late-medieval period has attracted the attention of not just historians but also psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and geographers, with each discipline bringing its own theoretical and methodological approaches to the discussion (Cunningham 2005:3-6; Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013: xvi; deMause 1974; Fox and Quitt 1980: 270; Hendrick 1997 11; Jalland 2002:73; James and James 2004: 12-13; McCalman 2009; Montgomery 2009:51; Morrow 2011: 4; Pollock 1983: 1-2; Oswell 2013:9-34; Qvortrup 1985: 133; Shorter 1977: 171; Stearns 2006: 43; Stone 1977; Zelizer 1985:8).

In particular, psychology as one of the main social sciences involved in childhood research (James and Prout 2008:69), has been influential in the conceptualisation of age-based stages predicated on cognitive development and social attachment (Qvortrup 1985:131-132; Crawford and Lewis 2008:7; Morrow 2011:12; Newman and Newman 1975). This approach, best known through the work of Jean Piaget and his

four stages of childhood, commencing with infancy (Peterson 2014:54; Piaget and Inhelder 1972; Wileman 2005:162) has had significant impact on the provision of Western human services for children and families. However, such age-based categorisations have been criticised by social anthropologists and sociologists as value-laden and reflective of 'western privileged cultures' (James et al. 1998: 172-174; James and Prout 2008:237-238; Morrow 2011:12-13). Such biologically based schemas, they argue, fail to consider the cultural determinants that socialise children (James and James 2004:6) and create varied images of children and childhood within specific cultural contexts, rather than a monolithic universal archetype.

Further, the period of second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s (Lake 1999, Summers 1994) with its attendant examination of gender as a cultural construct (Oakley 1972; Lips 2013) sought not only to re-define female-male power relations but also brought an additional focus upon the historically strong association between mother and child. Consequently, it was no surprise that as feminists grappled with issues of reproductive control (Kevin 2005) and the right to childcare (to pursue and continue careers) that such structural re-evaluation of society would expand to consider the circumstances of children as well (Lillehammer 1989:89; 2010:17).

2.2 Ariès thesis concerning Western childhood

Ariès was concerned with what he perceived to be a decline and growing decadence in the structure of the Western family due to rising divorce rates and the undermining of parental authority by the influence of liberal and individualistic tendencies (Ariès 1973:8). In seeing the family as the ancient foundational basis of society he wished to understand how the present situation had emerged. Tellingly he noted that, "it is not so much the family as a reality that is our subject here as the family as an idea" (Ariès 1973:7). Ariès saw a clear connection between this idea and the concept of childhood, in that the conditions of the former influenced the conception of the latter. From historical study he arrived at his view, as mentioned above, of the absence of childhood as a concept in medieval society, leaving him to ask "How did we come from that ignorance of childhood to the centring of the family around the child in the nineteenth century?" (Ariès 1973:8-9, 130). Ariès argued that childhood was in fact a relatively modern idea, developing in tandem with the concept of the 'private' family as we essentially understand it today, with familial relationships predicated upon age and their associated standing within this smaller unit. He believed this change commenced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and reached fruition in the seventeenth as a new idea of childhood took hold (Ariès 1973:126, 341).

Although seeing the family as unknown to the medieval period, Ariès did acknowledge that some form of 'family' life was at play (Ariès 1973:341). Infants, with their dependence on the parent, could not be viewed as mini-adults and occupied a different social category influenced by theology. Newborns were conceptualised as "inherently unclean" (Wileman 2005:16) due to being born into a state of original sin and required baptism and proper moral instruction to assume personhood (Shorter 1977:171; Thomas 2005:42;

Wileman 2005:16). Such a view of sinful "otherness" started to change, influenced by the intellectual movement of the Enlightenment. In particular, John Locke (1632-1704) provided a more secular framework for children (and childhood), conceptualising them instead as blank slates and empty vessels open to improvement through a balanced combination of instruction and discipline (Illick 1980:284-285,297; Pollock 1983:12; Stearns 2006:52).

In comparison to Locke's more pragmatic view, Jean-Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778) reconceived the idea of children's nature as unformed and animal-like. He saw the child as possessing an idealised naturalism and innocence derived from their innate moral goodness, as well as the potential for reasoned learning. Conceptualised thus, children could contribute value and insight to society. This reverential view, espoused in his influential and controversial treatise on child education, *Émile* (1762), combined with a renewed focus on the role of motherhood, elevated childhood to a special time to be celebrated before falling into the moral complexities of adulthood (deMause 1974:410; Ochiltree 1990:48; Thomas 2005:42; Torney 2005:56). This view of childhood has remained strong in Western societies to the present. Ironically, though, Rousseau's lofty discourse was not matched by his treatment of his own five children, all of whom he placed into a public orphanage (O'Hagan 1999:2; Wokler 1995:4).

Ariès, drawing on portraiture as a major part of his evidence, saw this changing approach to the perception of children and the nature of child-adult relations, with its emphasis on education, as a moralising force in their maturation to adulthood from the imperfection of childhood (Ariès 1973:243). Reflected initially amongst the upper classes (Ariès 1973:128-130; Crawford and Lewis 2008:8; Cunningham 2005:4), he argued that these changes were first evident in the treatment of boys, then later girls, although the time frame is debated (Shorter 1977:171). These views had gradually disseminated into middle- and lower-class families by the latter nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, against a backdrop of increasing capitalist industrialisation and resultant urbanisation (Ariès 1973:48-59; Morrow 2011:4). Such class differences notwithstanding, Ariès saw the child's journey to their central position within the family as complete by the eighteenth-century, and the resulting familial unit as progressively holding society at a distance ever since (Ariès 1973:130, 385). Cunningham (2005:58) described this re-evaluation as one that saw children, "…transformed from being corrupt and innately evil to being angels, messengers from God to a tired adult world." This trajectory saw children as intrinsically valued individuals within the family.

In turn, children also became a subject of growing social interest and concern to wider society, which sought to safeguard them from the risks lurking outside the safety of the home, whilst ensuring at least a rudimentary education as a moral foundation for their future development (Cunningham 2005:6; Stearns 2006:57). By the early part of the twentieth century, increased mechanisation of production also acted to push working class children out of the waged economy, allowing them to also seek access to some degree of this childhood ideal (Stearns 2006:57). In effect, this produced two conceptions of childhood: one private

and situated within the domesticity of the family, and the other public, forming part of the social fabric and embodying the future of the community. Increasingly as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth these two spheres became entangled, as reflected by child-specific legislation regarding heath, protection and compulsory schooling (deMause 1974:426-428; McCalman 2009:29; Ochiltree 1990:40-41; Torney 2005:55; Wileman 2005:55).

Ariès' contribution matters to this thesis in two important ways. Firstly, he spoke to the idea that childhood is a socially constructed concept as opposed to a universal state of existence. Therefore, childhood is different over time, both within and between cultures in response to prevailing social ideologies and their perception of children (Ariès 1973:126; Crawford and Lewis 2008:8; deMause 1974:422; James and James 2004:18-21; James and Prout 2008: xi-xii; Morrow 2011:1). These different 'childhoods', socio-cultural rather than biological constructs, were conceptualised, communicated and reinforced by adults through the process of socialisation and the resulting reflexive structuration of society (Section 1.5). To this must be added the phenomenological experience of children themselves, what we might term their "personal" childhood, in which both the ideal and the reality co-exist in proportion to the child's individual circumstances. Secondly, and relevant to the investigation of child memorialisation, Ariès argued that an emotionally detached style of parenting was dominant throughout the medieval to late medieval period (Ariès 1973:37). In part, Ariès believed that parents, faced with a period of high infant and child mortality rates, responded by adopting an accompanying indifference to their offspring as a form of psychological defence against the likelihood of their early demise. This view has since been heavily challenged (Pollock 1983:25, 127), and is addressed in Section 2.4.

2.3   The influence of Ariès

Subsequently, several scholars further explored Ariès' thesis, notably the historian's deMause (1974), Shorter (1977) and Stone (1977). In opposition to Ariès, deMause did see childhood existing as a separate state in the late medieval world, but where Ariès saw parental indifference deMause generalised a system of brutality and exploitation in the treatment of children. He famously opened *The History of Childhood* (1974) by describing past children's lives,

> as a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken. The further back in history one goes, the lower the level of childcare and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized and sexually abused (de Mause 1974:1)

For deMause, this arose not as a reaction to high child mortality rates, but from the parents' own psychological deficit. He explains, "It is, of course, not love which the parent of the past lacked, but rather the emotional maturity needed to see the child as a person separate from himself" (deMause 1974:17), and in that lack of empathy lay the seeds for their potential mistreatment of their own children. Also note that

despite the gendered wording used, a reading of his argument makes clear that deMause attributes such behaviour to both parents.

DeMause argues that the primary historical change agent in parenting was the psychogenic evolution in the parent's personality, rather than economic and technological factors. Originally, the pre-modern parent vacillated between two parenting positions that deMause called the double image. The first was the projective state, which saw the child become a receptacle for negative elements of the parent's unconscious, such as their fears or negative feelings about themselves. The second was the reversal state which saw the child become the substitute adult and from whom the parent sought love and care as if they were the dependent child. Both states emphasised the parent's needs over those of the child. De Mause theorised that as the psychological personas of adults changed through their interactions with, and re-conceptualisation of, their children over successive generations, the third empathic approach, in which the child's needs were understood, prioritised and satisfied by the parents became dominant (deMause 1974:3). The evolution of such psychogenic change varied he argued based on class, location and the individual psycho-social nature of each parent and family, who could progress from or be stuck in these different parenting states. In his view, the general adoption of the empathic stage was not achieved until the nineteenth century (deMause 1974:51-52). Even by deMause's (1974:2) own admission the historical evidence to support this psychogenic process was lacking, although there is certainly evidence for the mistreatment of children that he speaks to. As such his hypothesis has not been widely supported (Cunningham 2005: 7-8).

Shorter (1977:12) strongly subscribed to Ariès' idea of the modern nuclear family having increasingly separated itself from extended kin and community by the second half of the twentieth century. He also saw this development as arising from an emotional mentality influenced by prevailing social and economic change. Shorter believed that parenting attitudes prior to this transition lacked emotional insight (with some similarity to deMause's empathy stage) and demonstrated a sense of indifference and detachment to offspring in the face of high mortality rates. In the case of infants and young children, this was further bolstered by the traditional perceptions of them as 'creatures' in the process of becoming 'people' as raised above. Shorter (1977:171-173), particularly highlights such emotional detachment in relation to mothers from medieval times to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when changes commenced in the upper and emerging middle classes querying, "If they bore the loss of their children with equanimity, how much affection could those traditional mothers have felt?

As evidence, Shorter described commonly practiced child-rearing methods of the late-medieval to early modern period that he saw as potentially harmful to the child. Yet at the same time he seems to weaken his own argument. Firstly, by acknowledging that psychological detachment alone was not sufficient to fully explain what he perceived as a more general lack of parental care, and secondly, providing explanations for

such practices in accordance with class and economic circumstances. Their common adoption then seems less a case of emotional indifference and more a product of cultural practice and subsistence necessity. For one example, he focusses on wet nursing, in which infants were sent away after baptism to be breast fed and cared for by another woman during infancy. The standard of care provided by wet nurses in what was an economically driven transaction could indeed vary greatly and has been associated with high mortality rates historically (O'Shea 1984:82). However, the extent of this practice varied between European countries and social classes, primarily due to affordability (the landed peasantry could not afford to wet nurse and retained their infants care) and could be driven by a variety of reasons including the poor health of the mother rather than a lack of care and feeling toward the child (Fox and Quitt 1980:254; Shorter 1977:176-178).

Figure 2-1. Swaddled doll: Papier-mâché, c.1906, from St. Petersburg, Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh, Scotland (Photo by author).

Another example used is the swaddling of infants (Figure 2-1). This practice was thought to keep the child's limbs straight whilst also serving as a form of care restraint. For mothers in the lower classes whose labour was still needed in the fields or for other essential domestic duties as well as child rearing, a swaddled child could be carried on the mother's back whilst she tended to her duties, which at least allowed for parental oversight. This method also meant the swaddled child could not move independently and therefore be left alone for periods while the mother was otherwise occupied. Of course, such actions were not without risk, with reports of unattended children burnt when left by the hearth or attacked by barnyard animals (Shorter 1977:172).

However, that these practices continue in the world today, particularly but not exclusively in non-western cultures suggests that economic and cultural factors rather than parental detachment have always been the more likely drivers. Other historical examples of difference referenced to support his argument, such as the boarding out, employing or apprenticing of young children and the infanticide and abandonment of infants and children (foundlings) also suggest a primarily economic rationale, although clearly not always driven by a child focussed outcome. Still, in these practices Shorter saw such 'poor mothering' as continuing well into the eighteenth century for working class families, although he gave less mention to the fathering role (Shorter 1977:171).

Shorter (1977:12) attributed the change towards 'the modern world family' as the result of the rise of sentiment in family relationships, characterised by the prioritisation of more individual emotional needs rather than communal obligations. This included the ideal of romantic love (rather than arranged marriage), and the centralising influence of a more empathic mother-infant relationship (Shorter 1977:14, 24, 250). The resulting family household this produced was more private and intimate. This changed ethos saw a decline in the traditional practices mentioned above, as for example more mothers chose home-based breast feeding over wet nursing. In time, improving material conditions and incomes saw changes in family gender roles in all classes, meaning, "women could exchange the grim pressures of production for the work of infant care" (Cunningham 2005:9).

Finally, Stone's (1977) analysis of English family life from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries also spoke to ideas of parental detachment and neglect (particularly maternal) and the use of harsh and abusive discipline towards children. He placed emphasis on the effect of social and economic change upon relationships rather than the psychogenic process championed by deMause. Stone saw the evolution of the modern family occurring in three distinct stages. The first, in the early sixteenth century, was of open lineage, characterised by a sense of loyalty to both extended kin and familial ancestors and therefore more receptive to communal influence than individual desire (Stone 1979:4). This view structured social relations, as Stone (1979:5) observed, "The expectation of life was so low that it was highly imprudent to become too emotionally dependent upon any other human being". In such circumstances communal support mitigated the impact of individual loss, and marriage was primarily a choice of economic and political necessity rather than romantic love (Stone 1977:117).

From the mid-sixteenth century, Stone saw a second family type slowly replacing the first, primarily in the upper to middle classes (Cunningham 2005:9; Stone 1977: 7). This more restrictive and patriarchal nuclear family saw the focus move away from extended kin and local and historical obligation towards more individualistic family goals and the broader influence of national institutions. Stone (1977:258) argued that the authoritarian nature of the state and the Protestant emphasis on household morality and emotional control was a response to this change; an attempt to steer what Stone terms 'affective individualism' into

acceptable social behaviour and action. To this goal, patriarchal social control was exerted by both church and state and further realised by the strengthening of the family patriarch as a microcosm of society (Stone 1977: 7, 150).

But this increasing sense of the individual, further changed social relations to create a third stage, that of the 'closed domesticated nuclear family'. The uniqueness attributed to each family member heightened the emotional aspect of family relations and the expressive context of their loss. Stone spoke to a personality change by the family within the broader social forces at play, although he admitted its cause was unclear (Stone 1977:8). However, he suggested that the capacity to pursue individual goals and the greater openness to emotional expression (what Shorter saw as the rise of sentiment) helped to establish this change, the effect of which could be seen in the altered status of the child as, "More and more time, energy, money, and love of both parents were devoted to the upbringing of the children, whose wills it was no longer thought necessary to crush by force at an early age" (Stone 1977:268).

2.4   A critique of Ariès

Ariès and the resulting analyses put forward by deMause, Shorter and Stone have come in for significant re-evaluation and criticism by historians since the 1980s (Cunningham 2005; Fox and Quitt 1980; Hendrick 1997; Pollock 1983; Qvortrup 1985; Stearns 2006). Whilst the limitations of the historical record are acknowledged, such as the class-based bias inherent in much documentation and the general absence of many records produced directly by children themselves, critiques have focussed on the sources selected by Ariès and company to support their respective arguments.

Pollock (1983:22), considered Ariès conclusions flawed due to his selective use of mostly secondary sources (treatises on morality and medicine, religious sermons, contemporary expert's writings, fictional literature, traveller's accounts, biographies, legislation, paintings and portraiture). She argued that primary sources, such as diaries, memoirs (autobiographies), letters and newspaper reports of child abuse, were more likely to communicate the direct thoughts and feelings of parents, kin, community, and on rare occasions, the children themselves. Pollock (1983:22-23) found such documents displayed a very different view of children and childhood to that promoted by Ariès, notwithstanding the relatively small number of working-class accounts found. Her methodological starting point was to move away from generalised assumptions about social attitudes to explain behaviour, commenting, "Many authors have assumed there is a predictable relationship between a given attitude and a behaviour" (Pollock 1983:89). For example, seizing upon Stone's depiction of Puritan parenting, she challenged the assumption that because Puritan attitudes saw children as born innately evil and that doctrinal instruction urged the application of strict discipline (including physical punishment), that Puritan children uniformly received such harsh treatment from their parents. Instead, Pollock proposed the need to find evidence in the historical record that described the actual behaviours of Puritan parents towards their children, including, if possible, the accounts of children

(Pollock 1983:89). She found such primary sources suggested variation in the parental methods used (Pollock 1983:141).

Pollock proceeded to dismantle the three key pillars espoused by Ariès and his supporters. She rejected Ariès' view that there was no concept of childhood in the past and therefore only a gradual recognition of difference between adults and children once they had left infancy, disputed the idea that there was no appreciation of the needs of children or emotional attachment to them from their family in a period of high child mortality, and criticised the impression that all children were therefore beaten, abused, and neglected by their parents (though of course some were, Pollock 1983: viii). Of course, even given Pollock's conclusions, the existence of a social idea of childhood did not mean all children could participate in it. Access was dependent on their class circumstances. For example, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries it remained commonplace for working-class children, including young children, to work in agriculture and industry, whilst upper and middle class children experienced something much closer to the idyllic, sentimental childhood reflected in literary developments of the period (Cunningham 2005:66-71). The previously moral tales of an already established children's genre, were now imbued by fantastical and imaginative themes, such as *The Water Babies* (1864) and *Alice in Wonderland* the following year, along with the development of specific magazines for boys and girls (Baxter 2019:41; Cunningham 2005:65; Sacks 2013: 59-61). In adult fiction too, children assumed prominent sentimental roles such as Charles Dickens serialised novels*, Oliver Twist* (1837-39) and his tragic Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41), who's victimised circumstances evoked a strong emotional response from readers (Morley 1971:18).

However, if upper and middle class children had the opportunity of a happy, carefree childhood revolving around the home, play and learning (Sacks 2013), working class children, if literate, might have related more closely to the Dickensian scenarios of childhood in the lower echelons of an increasingly urbanised and industrialised capitalist society. For them, the freedom to play, explore and regularly access education was restrained by the need to support their families or themselves (Fox and Quitt 1980:44-45; Kociumbas 1997:113; Sacks 2013: 32-41; Shorter 1977:191; Torney 2005:57). The death of a parent, through illness or accident, was a calamity, potentially condemning families to poverty with grave consequences for the children (McCalman 2009:28). Only in the latter half of the nineteenth century would a combination of social reform in the areas of child protection, industrial working conditions and the creation of available and eventually compulsory state based education, slowly move the working class child towards the Western ideal of childhood, and finally in the early twentieth century out of the labour force altogether (McCalman 2009:29; Sachs 2013:33; Stearns 2006:59; Torney 2005:71-75; Wileman 2005:55). Zelizer (1985:3) sees this transition as gradual, occurring from the 1870s to the 1930s, as children became, "economically "worthless" but emotionally "priceless"; a position held to the present day.

In the context of this thesis, the parental response to infant and child death in the face of high child mortality rates is of particular interest, given that the memorialised child identity found in nineteenth and early twentieth cemeteries is the result of such an encounter. Ariès' idea of a parental response of fatalistic detachment is strongly challenged by Pollock (1983:124). She found considerable documentation showing expressions of parental concern for their sick children (both fathers and mothers), the desperate provision of physical care and emotional distress at the likelihood of death. Pollock (1983:133,141) also found no significant differences between classes, sex, or religion in the levels of emotional anxiety felt by parents or the nursing provided. Rather than deadening their feelings, their anxiousness was only exacerbated by the knowledge that any initially minor illness could, in an age before antibiotics, lead to a swift death. Indeed, given this context, parents had the added burden of making their children aware of, and prepared for, their own mortality (Baxter 2019). One example amongst a body of primary documentation quotes Henry Alford, whose journal and letters, published in 1873, contemplated the loss of a child in clearly emotive terms,

> To think that those cherished ones, from whom we carefully fenced off every rough blast, whom we led by the hand in every thorny path, have by themselves gone through the dark valley (Pollock 1983:140).

Of course, such expression varied between parents and families, as did displays of public stoicism and private grief. Pollock found some difference in the level of grief expressed towards infants in comparison to older children. She detected a deeper level of loss for the latter that had begun to establish their personality in life, whereas the infant was still perceived as in the process of becoming. Overall, though, she saw a consistency in the parental response to child loss over time (Pollock 1983:141; Cunningham 2005:12). It is also interesting to consider that infant and child mortality although gradually declining was still high well into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet we do not associate the Victorian era, that encompassed much of this period, with an emotionally detached mourning culture towards children; indeed quite the opposite.

2.5   The idea of the invisible child

The perspective first raised by Lillehammer (1989) of the neglect of the child in archaeological investigation was later termed the 'invisible' (and unknowable) child by Baxter (2008:163). The reasons for this 'invisibility' were seen to be twofold. The first, as raised in Section 2.1, lay in an inherited archaeological bias, both conscious and unconscious, reflecting the androcentric origins of the discipline that influenced the direction of research. This bias perpetuated and reflexively reinforced dominant western gender stereotypes and associated social power structures, affecting much of archaeological practice until the later twentieth century (Arnold and Wicker 2001: vii; Kamp 2001:1; Wileman 2005:8). Archaeologists have commented how such male bias, as it related to children, displayed a similarity with the interpretative issues concerning the actions of woman and gender in the archaeological record, with its tendency to overlook or underestimate female agency. Such an approach led to women's relegation to defined spheres

of 'influence', such as the domestic space that has traditionally (through male eyes) been characterised as less powerful, passive and submissive (Baxter 2005:17, 2008:162; Moore and Scott 1997:2-6). Children too were associated with domesticity, the home, and the 'femininity' of such settings (Baker 1997:183; Wilkie 2000:107) and subjected to social marginalisation and disempowerment dependent on their age and sex (Pader 1982:16). At the same time, children were afforded a special sense of value predicated on adult needs (Zelizer 1985:11), although with differences in status in accordance with prevailing gender roles and expectations. Such disciplinary prejudice was hardly surprising given the long historical dominance of patriarchal control that had structured understandings of social relations and gender roles, and that to a lesser but still relevant extent continues to influence aspects of Western society today.

An increasing archaeological interest in understanding children and their 'worlds' over the last three decades has seen significant scholarly progress through the establishment of a dedicated archaeology of childhood, with a global focus looking at the biological, cultural and social aspects of children and childhood (Lillehammer 2015:80-81). This sits in relation to a broader multi-disciplinary investigation into children historically bolstered by the establishment in 2007 of the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past (SSCIP). However, the perception persists that children are not consistently accorded the same importance as adults in archaeology, as well as other disciplines that seek to understand human societies (Derricourt 2018: 1; Lillehammer 2015:81-82). They often remain characterised as possessing little in the way of economic, political and social influence upon society (Baxter 2005:2, 2013:107; Crawford and Lewis 2008:5-6; Derevenski 2000:11; Kamp 2001:2; Lillehammer 2008:94, 2010:19; Mizoguchi 2000:141; Wileman 2005:180; Vlahos 2014:1).

Such assumptions of powerlessness are of course open to challenge. One need only consider, for example, the economic influence of children's wants upon the purchasing patterns of parents, in which child specific items demarcate a significant slice of the goods and services generated for sale by the market. Fundamentally though, diminishing child agency creates an artificial barrier between the worlds of children and adults, who, whilst performing different roles and responsibilities, are inherently connected. After all, today's adult was yesterday's child. Therefore, the realm of childhood is knowable to the adult by that experience and further, children and adults regularly interact through the permeable boundaries of their respective domains. So, as we seek to understand past societies (and our contemporary world), we must try and reconcile how such generational cultural engagement and transference was (and is) used to manifest, structure, perpetuate and change social identities, within the context of such child-adult relationships. This includes the resulting assemblage of material culture these relationships produce. To do otherwise is to invite allegations of pursuing a distorted or biased archaeological method, a path made all the riskier by the understanding that children constituted a significant, even dominant, proportion of historic populations. Given this, Crawford and Lewis note that, "It is a supreme irony therefore, that such a

universal experience should so often be relegated to the margins of academic consciousness" (Crawford and Lewis 2008:13).

In seeking to address this issue it is also important to avoid the trap of universalising children and childhood beyond their shared biological realm and to acknowledge the prevailing cultural context in which the child has grown and been socialised (Baxter 2005:20, 2008:160-161; James and James 2004:8; James and Prout 2008: 3-4; Montgomery 2009:236; Moore and Scott 1997:5; Morrow 2011:3; Scott 1999: 23-24; Thomas 2005:48). As James and Prout comment, it is biological immaturity rather than childhood itself that is a natural and universal feature of children and one should not confuse the two (James and Prout 2008:3). So, we must seek to understand the actions of children and the actions of adults towards children within their specific relational contexts, and how the characteristics attributed to children (childness) were used to create the idea of childhood desired for them.

2.6 Child agency

The second issue connected to the idea of the invisible child was the challenge of interpreting child agency in the archaeological record. This view interrelates with the first and at its most extreme constitutes a form of archaeological self-denial as the, "inability to distinguish child action within the archaeological record both reinforces, and is reinforced by, the modern idea that children cannot make any significant contribution to social life" (Mizoguchi 2000:141). In effect, that as children are seen to lack the capacity to influence the world around them, they will leave little that is distinguishable from the actions of adults in the archaeological record. This idea views children as passive receivers of socialisation with their lives in thrall to both parental and social control (James and James 2004:27; Lillehammer 2008:100; Scott 1997:6) until such time as they attain an age and status allowing them the opportunity to assert their agency and free will. It follows then, that the archaeologist may question the viability and therefore usefulness of such a research approach and instead apportion their resources and effort into seeking adult agency. Ironically, an alternative critique suggests that the perceived unpredictability of children's behaviour can produce the same problem of unknowability archaeologically (Baxter 2005:9; Thomas 2005). Yet does not such variation in behaviour suggest a level of independent child agency in contradiction to the passivity thesis?

To counter this perception, several archaeologists have argued that children's artefacts and spaces must always form a central part of archaeological inquiry (Baxter 2005:2-3, 2008:162; Chamberlain 1997:249; Crawford and Lewis 2008:6; Kamp 2001:1-2; Lillehammer 1989, 2008:162, 2010:17, 2015; Scott 1999: v; Thomas 2005:41; Vlahos 2014:1; Wileman 2005:7). Kamp (2001:1) sees this as a methodological issue to be met rather than a problem to be avoided. To this end proponents have re-conceptualised children as active rather than passive agents, and their 'worlds' as participating and interacting with those of their family and peers. From this dynamic position children *must* leave their imprints on places, spaces and objects experienced in their daily lives, resulting in archaeological manifestations. As Thomas (2005:42) observes,

"Once archaeologists reposition study of children's worlds around the processes that link children and adults as active social agents, we can better explore the dynamic between societal influences, and their material and behavioural expressions".

An example of this in practice is Vlahos (2014, 2015) archaeological studies of childhood experiences in Australia using the sociological theory of interpretative reproduction to understand children's use of material culture. This approach sees children (and their reproductive agency) as part of the socialisation process rather than a linear cultural input from adults to children. Another example of this repositioning with relevance to archaeology and cultural landscapes can be seen in the way some geographers have concerned themselves with the idea of children's spaces and their places of engagement within society (Morrow 2011:17-18; Rasmussen 2004). None of this discussion overlooks the fact that children do face contextual constraints upon their liberty arising from their biological immaturity and need for adult care and influence (Baxter 2005:13; Lillehammer 1989:94), however these realities should not be conflated with the idea that children are simply passive receivers who cannot influence their lives.

2.7 Indirect child agency and the mortuary context

Lillehammer (1989:90) originally outlined three cultural processes at work in the child's world with the potential to leave material traces. Firstly, the culture created by children themselves through their interaction with their surrounding environment (natural, social, cultural); secondly the transfer of culture to children by adults (socialisation) and thirdly the transfer of culture between children. In two of these three categories the child is the main agent. To these, a fourth category must be added: the indirect agency of children as materialised through the thoughts of adults. This form of psychological influence is predicated on both the parent's perception of their child as a social being (with identity) and the nature of their social and emotional relationship with them. From this dual conceptualisation, the parent can mentally manifest a sense of child 'presence' that in response to certain stimuli, may influence their thoughts, responses, and choices in certain social contexts. A parent wandering past a toy store may for example, have a sudden unplanned urge to purchase a present for their child, triggered by the child's psychological presence in their consciousness (and therefore indirect agency) in association with the relationship between childhood and the act of play. Such responses depend on the nature of the relationship imagined and felt. In the toy shop example, the result may be predicated on an awareness of the mutually satisfying emotional reward such an action would create for both parties. This idea is different to the direct influence of child agency, where the child would request or agitate for the gift themselves. Such indirect agency can also leave material traces but is of course much harder to identify.

One area that could be productive in discerning the indirect agency of children materially is in their own memorialisation process. The adult conceptualisation of the deceased child can draw upon their identity through the process of memory, creating a posthumous agency in the sense that the parents are still influenced by their emotional connection to, and thoughts of, their child. Therefore, the child's age and

status, personality, preferences in life, religious affiliation and their emotional relationship with their family are all potential influences in their parent's commemorative decisions, both at the time of establishing the plot (which can be communicated to other interested parties such as the undertaker, mason or cemetery authority), and in any subsequent material culture additions to the plot. The deposition of a toy on the grave may indeed suggest something about the relationship between parent and child, and symbolise the child's enduring presence through this material 'transaction', although it can also represent a broader cultural expectation that parents can still seek to fulfil even in the mortuary context. This indirect agency is different from simple visitation and the recall of memory. It is not just a reflexive dialogue but a process by which the deceased retains influence in the mind of the living and can affect their actions.

Factors such as the child's age at death and their commensurate life history can also exert significant influence on the design and expression of their memorialisation. Nineteenth century grave marker motifs developed a range of visual symbols that allowed for qualities of the deceased (whether actual or ideal) to be expressed in tandem with written epitaphs. For example, the deceased's personal character could be signified using the symbolic language of flower motifs (Edgetta 1992:89-90; Keister 2004:40-67; Mytum 2004:80; Weston 2012:38). Lilies could suggest innocence and purity (Keister 2004:49, Penney 2016:8). Daisies developed an association with the graves of children, due to their association in art with the adoration of the magi (Keister 2004:46). In contemporary times, technological developments have allowed for less symbolic elements to be used to draw on the child's identity such as photographs of the deceased attached to the grave marker. The deposition on the child's grave plot of personal items such as toys, has also gained in popularity.

The gravesite can also represent the tension arising from its dual private and public roles. The family was aware that the gravesite constituted both a private place to address their personal needs of grief and remembrance, but at the same time a civic space providing an act of public performance for other visitors to the cemetery, whose exposure to the memorialisation was beyond the control of the family (Tarlow 1999:200). The degree to which these two aspects were managed in the commemorative process reflects their interrelationship and varying influence historically. The ultimate result, as enacted materially, represents something of the social identity of the child, such as their status in the family, and may through word, motif, grave furniture and spatial arrangement also situate that child in the broader social context of childhood as conceptualised at that time. This is the mindscape in which the ceremony (pre-funeral and funeral), grave plot (grave marker and associated ephemera) and post-funeral visitation practices are socially constructed and acted out to meet both personal and social expectations.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and considered the Western intellectual traditions concerning children and childhood in which this thesis sits using a multi-disciplinary perspective. Rather than seeing children and

childhood as universal concepts, they are in fact culturally constructed identities subject to their historical context and social circumstances, although sharing a common biological foundation. Having considered this literature, an examination of child memorialisation sits very much within the legacy of this framework and the archaeology of childhood that has developed from it. In understanding the evolution of the Western family structure within its historical context a more nuanced approach to the familial tableaus erected in the cemetery can be undertaken. The nineteenth century family should not be uncritically viewed as the same as the twentieth century family, despite apparent similarities, and increasingly diverse family structures are the hallmark of the early twenty first century.

Secondly, the importance of child agency as raised should not be ignored because of our focus on the mortuary context. The process of indirect child agency that operates upon the parental mind in life, influencing certain parental behaviours and feelings, also persist after their child's death. Accordingly, the choices employed in memorialisation reflect to varying degrees the influence of the parent-child relationship and informs the level of childness observed in the attribution of child identity to the deceased, within the constraints of broader social norms inherent in the regulation of the cemetery space. The next chapter reviews the previous archaeological and multidisciplinary work undertaken to investigate the memorialisation of children in the Western cemetery and what this says about child identity and children's role within family and society.

CHAPTER 3
CEMETERY STUDIES AND THE MEMORIALISATION OF CHILDREN

3.1   Cemetery studies, child death and the archaeology of childhood

Archaeologists of childhood have embraced the potential of a mortuary focus as one approach to better identifying children in the archaeological record. Initially, this has seen the employment of excavation to examine burials, looking at the remains of infants and children, and their contextual association with other grave deposits and adult burials (Baxter 2005:93-106; Sofaer Derevenski 2000:8-10; Lillehammer 2000 and 2010:33; McKillop 1995; Murphy 2011; Wileman 2005), including issues surrounding the mortuary analysis of gender (Arnold and Wicker 2001: ix-xvii). Advances in bioarchaeology has further enhanced the study of children's physical remains and the varying cultural contexts in which they are found (Halcrow and Tayles 2011; Murphy and Le Roy 2017:2). By comparison, a focus on the above-ground archaeology of the children's grave has been much slower to emerge. In cemetery histories and overviews of mortuary archaeology there is a tendency to focus on adult trends, with limited or no reference to children's graves (for example see Baugher and Veit 2004:140; Veit and Nonestied 2008:127-132).

3.2   Multi-disciplinary studies of children's grave markers and burial plots

A small number of non-archaeological studies have been undertaken to look specifically at children's graves and to consider the forces at play in their conceptualisation, design, and commemorative intent. Smith (1987) investigated the consolation processes enacted through the epitaphs and symbolism of nineteenth century children's grave markers in Delaware in the United States of America (USA); Snyder (1989) conducted a more general historical analysis of American Victorian children's monuments in relation to their replication of gendered spaces and characteristics of domesticity and the home; and Haveman (1999) produced a sociological examination of child valuation and class differences through memorialisation in southern Illinois and western Michigan (USA). More recently, the development of specific child spaces within European cemetery landscapes have been addressed. Nolin (2018) considers the reasons behind the distinctive design of the historical children's burial space within Stockholm's Skogskyrkogården cemetery (Sweden), established in the early twentieth century. Charrier and Clavandier (2019) instead look at contemporary developments in the French cemetery that has seen the creation of different types of child burial spaces in contrast to the tradition of the family tomb. This development has comparisons to changes in Denmark, discussed in Section 3.3 (Sørenson 2011).

Smith (1987:85-106) recorded 905 children's grave markers dating from 1840 to 1899 in what she characterised as 18 non-urban, middle class, white cemeteries (or churchyards). Her sample included young people up to the age of 21 years based on the assumption that parents would make commemoration choices for all individuals below this age. Smith's analysis found that a slight majority (51.7%) used

epitaphs, motifs, or a combination of both to commemorate the deceased child or children, with the remainder utilising names and dates only. Observable changes suggested that prevailing social fashions in commemoration influenced these choices depending on the year of death. For example, during the period 1850-1869, most gravestones expressed the family's attitudes towards the deceased, whereas in the 1890s only factual information was being recorded (Smith 1987:89). The last quarter of the nineteenth century also saw a greater emphasis on collective family identity rather than the individual, and by the 1880s a single-family monument was preferred instead of multiple individual grave markers. She saw this trend as a desire to symbolise a collective family identity over the previously more individualistic spatial arrangement, and an emphasis on communal 'Christian joy' over a focus on personal grief (Smith 1987:89). This trend was observable in some plots where the smaller individual children's grave markers were still extant but replaced in size and scale by the later addition of a family monument on which they were often subsequently included. Smith estimated 207 grave markers were replacements.

While gender did not appear significant, Smith found that the age of the child influenced the level of communication employed. Older children and young adults were more likely to have an inscribed message than infants, with children aged two to six years the next most likely to acquire such embellishment. Smith speculated that this difference, particularly in regard to infant burial, may reflect a fatalistic response to high infant mortality (tapping into the traditional historical view of parental detachment and/or indifference [see Section 2.2 and 2.3]) or, simply that their short lives left a less established presence and personality to memorialise.

Having set out these trends, Smith than investigates the inscription content and symbolism employed. She argues that the primary focus falls back upon the mourner, with 83.5% of the sample seeking to provide consolation to the parent through epitaph and motif. She notes that, "children's gravestones are artefacts created by adults for adult needs – the very human need to find peace during a traumatic time" (Smith 1987:102). Smith further suggests that four interrelated types of consolation can be interpreted from the grave marker choices (1987:92-93). The first rationalises that the deceased child, within a context of religious belief in an afterlife, is better off removed from the corrupt and sinful influences of the world, with their innate purity of spirit preserved eternally by their 'escape'. Secondly, the funereal tableau could take on an emotionally educative aspect through which the grief of the bereaved could be productively re-aligned with the Victorian focus on moral improvement and social uplift. One's behaviour in life was influenced by the promise of both a heavenly home and the capacity for re-union with equally virtuous family members, so the cemetery landscape needed to reflect and advertise this ideal. To this end, cemetery design sought to create, "a park-like setting and artistic monuments were meant to control taste and emotions" (Smith 1987:92). Thirdly, the child's loss represented the will of God, whose intent, whilst unclear or difficult to fathom, allowed the bereaved to find comfort in the belief that the child's death formed part of some greater plan rather than a random Earthly event.

Smith saw the fourth thread of consolation as the most extreme, as it suggested a form of death denial. Using metaphor and euphemism this involved the substitution of a sleeping state for death. On some grave markers this took the form of sculptures of sleeping infants and children in cradles, beds, and shells. Whilst employed mostly for younger children, such imagery was also used for young adults (17 to 21 years). Epitaphs substituted terms such as 'sleeping' and 'resting' for 'died'. Smith concluded that the combination of pictorial messages and epitaphs created for the commemoration of children in the Victorian cemetery was primarily intended to address the pain of grief and to provide consolation for those left behind, but also indicated the growing social status of children in Western society.

Snyder (1992) also focussed on children's graves of the Victorian era. Here she saw two gendered spheres of influence arising in Western society driven by capitalist industrialisation and the resulting urbanisation of a previously heavily agrarian population (see also Kociumbas 1997:91-92; Qvortrup 1985:133-134; Zelizer 1985:8-9). Snyder notes that, "The thriving city marketplace was frequently depicted in sentimental Victorian literature as greedy, immoral, impersonal, and opportunistic", what she terms the 'worldly world' (Snyder1992:11). It was from this characteristically masculine setting that children, attributed with an inherent innocence and purity, were to be protected until old enough to make their way in it. Their haven was the home, the province of the feminine sphere with its 'civilising effect' and refuge from the 'worldly world' (notwithstanding the patriarchs overall familial power). Within the home, the child's bedroom or nursery formed its own distinct space, and as already raised the imagery of the innocent sleeper would find its way into child memorialisation in the cemetery (Snyder 1992:13-16). Of course childhood was not restricted to the home, particularly with the growth of public education, but Snyder (1992:13) envisaged the dwelling as the "cosmos of the child" and an environment that replicated the moral instruction of religion as a bulwark against the changing and dangerous world outside.

Snyder found that these social and ideological themes also manifested in the cemetery landscape. Christian belief during this period saw the afterlife; under the watchful protection of God assume the domestic imagery of the family home. This meant that parents could seek consolation through the belief that, "Dead children were safe children; ultimately and wholly pure and innocent" (Snyder 1992:14; see also Smith 1987). Death preserved and shielded their status, and religious belief spoke to the certainty of eventual re-union. Snyder found a range of expressions in grave marker designs used to commemorate children in this period, of which the most common were plain headstones on which epitaphs expressed associations with childhood. Secondly, symbols were also employed that, whilst not exclusive to children's graves, were often associated with childlike qualities, such as innocence and purity. These included lambs, doves, flowers and other child-specific imagery. For example, the broken flower bud was a popular symbolic motif of fragility, premature loss and had a strong association with children's graves (Keister 2004:43; Snyder 1992:23).

Snyder also found a third category of more costly and rarer commemorations that used sculptures of children with domestic artefacts. These were more likely to appear in larger urban cemeteries than small churchyards. The most common effigy was that of the sleeping infant or child. Unlike Smith's focus on their use in the cemetery, Snyder noted that such sculptures could also be found in the domestic parlour. Their use in both settings reinforced the underlying domestic feeling and symbolism that such images invoked of a child safely in bed, secure and untainted. She also noted their asexual depiction on grave markers, "in only the barest form of dress" (Snyder 1992:20-21), and felt such openness suggested their unsullied nature and separated them from the status and gender connotations of Victorian clothing fashion. Other domestic symbols employed were unfilled beds, furniture, shoes, and toys, such as rattles. These all possessed a powerful symbolism of emptiness and therefore absence, recognisable to the onlooker (Snyder 1992:20). By attempting to replicate such a place and space in the cemetery, parents were still in a sense seeking to protect their children by providing symbolic assertions of a perfect afterlife, their child safe and asleep until they could re-join them. Snyder (1992:25) concludes, "The small forms, who slept in the cemetery as if they were still home, visually defied the progression of age". This imagery aligns with Smith's description of such graves in Brooklyn's Greenwood cemetery (New York, USA) that presented as, "a vast and exquisitely beautiful dormitory" (Smith 1987:96).

Haveman (1999) conducted a sociohistorical analysis of 14 cemeteries, looking at both nineteenth and twentieth century graves. She argued that children's grave markers presented an alternate and underused resource (as opposed to diaries and letters) in the study of past child-adult relationships. She sought to understand whether attitudes towards children and the value assigned to them by family and society had changed during the period 1860 to 1997. Notably, 13 of the sites were non-regulated, meaning that there were no restrictions on the type, colour, and height of the grave markers, nor was there a need for formal approval prior to their erection. In 1994 one site, Washington Memorial Gardens, introduced a spatial restriction (4 x 4-inch flat markers) in its 'Baby land' section, but children could still be buried elsewhere within the cemetery where the choice of memorial remained open. Her sample consisted of 395 children's graves.

Haveman (1999:266) hypothesised that just as adult grave markers performed several functions both socially and culturally, including reflecting differences in class, race and gender, so children's grave markers would also operate in a similar way. Her method involved the photographing of grave markers, focussing on form and style, epitaph, and motif, using a series of codes for attributes that could be entered into a database. Her study was strongly influenced by the debate about childhood and the treatment of children discussed in Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. Haveman (1999:267) characterised the traditional Ariès hypothesis as linear, in that children since the late medieval period were seen as moving from a position of no value (mini-adults) to great value (children)) and compared this to the contemporary position that sees children as having always been valued by their parents and society. She concluded that, from the 1860s to the

present, families consistently valued their children based upon the frequency of expressions of attachment, loss and grief found upon their grave markers, and rejected the traditional idea of emotional detachment by parents towards their children during periods of high mortality (Haveman 1999:282-284). Haveman also found that changes in parental attitudes (and therefore practices) were detectable from the grave markers, with a more formal relationship and defined family role observed on those erected during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, transitioning to a less formal, more emotive and greater individual image of the child on more contemporary grave markers (Haveman 1999:284-285). Grave markers from the 1970s to the 1990s had consistently less generic and more personalised inscriptions, an emphasis on the use of the more personable 'Jesus' instead of the monolithic 'God', and an increase in the use of angel motifs with their symbolic connection to innocence as already raised by Smith and Snyder. Haveman saw this as evidence for the increased sacralisation of children in the latter half of the twentieth century, as previously argued by Zelizer (1985). She also believed that the primary focus was now upon the deceased child as an individual, with a resultant decline in accompanying parental and family references. This development was further emphasised by the adornment of the grave plot with possessions belonging to, or reflective of, the deceased, such as photos and toys that "…indicate that the child's identity is perhaps not as grounded in the family's identity; the child is an individual from birth with her or his own personality and identity" (Haveman 1999:284).

These relatively recent changes in child memorialisation have also led increasingly to the creation of specific spaces in the cemetery for child burial. However, the idea of a place in the Western cemetery reserved solely for children was not a new concept. It had been explored In Stockholm, Sweden as early as 1915 with the formation of a children's section within the civically run Skogskyrkogården, Woodland cemetery (Nolin 2018:38-49). Although smaller children's sections were known for rural settings in Sweden, the site at Skogskyrkogården represents an early European attempt at a different way of approaching the memorialisation of children. Nolin (2018:40-41) describes it as a small, sunken, and intimate space framed by hedges and shrubbery. Whilst easily accessible from the main cemetery area, visitors had to actively choose to enter this enclosed space by a flight of steps.

Nolin (2018:42-46) saw its development as meeting several social needs in a period when Stockholm's population was growing rapidly due to industrial expansion, attracting families to the city. The children's section provided a burial option for families who could not afford a family plot, or for orphans, but it also met the needs of women for whom their child's very existence in this period could mean shame and stigmatisation, from having conceived out of wedlock or for whom an abortion was necessary. Nolin barely touches on this aspect, but it may explain why many of the grave markers have only the child's first name and date of birth and death, creating a sense of public anonymity whilst allowing for a private grief. Nolin concluded that at a broader level the distinct design of the children's section reflected the increasing individualism of the child and their growing identity in society, "expressed through the collective, a special

children's place or cemetery within the cemetery (2018:42-46)". Although today no longer in use, toys and dolls decorate some of the graves, a modern addition in line with evolving patterns of grave furniture deposition on the graves of children, as discussed by several of the authors reviewed in this chapter (Charrier and Clavandier 2019; Haveman 1999; Scott 1999; Sørenson 2010 and 2011).

Interestingly, in the same period, Buckham (2008:170) notes the creation of a specific children's section in the York cemetery (1903) which she attributes to the raised profile of children publically in accordance with broad social developments regarding child welfare and education. In the USA, more commercial reasons influenced the establishment of Baby land in 1913 within the privately owned Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California (Schechter 2009:149). Later, Lullaby land was established for older children. Both sections were shaped as hearts. Their development influenced other cemeteries in the USA (Veit and Nonestied 2008:240). However, in the Australian context children's sections did not really gain traction until the 1980's, reflecting broader social changes concerning women's reproductive experiences and the re-conceptualisation of peri-natal and stillborn children in Western societies.

In France, Charrier and Clavandier (2019) sought to understand why children were now interred in child-specific plots and spaces as opposed to the traditional family tomb. As with other Western nations with low child mortality rates, the majority of children interred in this way were perinates, although the author's suggestion that this development in Western cemeteries is approximately 15 years old is certainly incorrect, although this may reflect the French experience (Charrier and Clavandier 2019:194). It is also worth noting for French children's sections, that while the bereaved families may have viewed the unborn child as part of the family and an individual in utero, under French law, "The vast majority of the graves in them belong to children who were not technically born and did not acquire legal personhood" (Charrier and Clavandier 2019:199). They also note that if the family does not wish to organise the interment the hospital will assume the responsibility on their behalf.

Three different types of children's specific spaces operate in the French cemetery: separate collective burial space for cremations and inhumations and following a collective farewell ceremony cremated remains can also be housed on site in a stele (Charrier and Clavandier 2019:199-203). They also looked at the way families used grave goods indicative of children to take control of these grave plots representing," allegories of the lightness and movement of childhood" (Charrier and Clavandier 2019:204). Such practice, whilst replicated in other Western cemeteries is at odds with the traditionally more formal and unchanging nature of the French grave plot. This use of different types of material culture to assemble an unofficial version of individual identity for children also suggests a broader social trend in Western memorialisation over the last four decades, with some comparison to the construction of roadside memorials at the site of accidents (Doss 2008; Silvén 2018; Welsh 2017).

3.3 International archaeological studies of children's grave markers and burial plots

Although the archaeology of childhood is now a well-established topic (Crawford et al 2018; Derricourt 2018, Lally and Moore 2011), the archaeological examination of the above ground memorialisation of children in the cemetery landscape is still in its early stages. To date only a small number of archaeological studies have specifically focussed on children's grave markers and their plots, although the intersection between children and death more generally has received increasing attention and discussion (Cannon and Cook 2015, Catalano 2015, Murphy and Le Roy 2017, Scott 1999) and some cemetery studies may touch upon children's grave markers in passing (Veit and Nonestied 2008:127-132).

Scott's (1999) work on infancy and infant death is regarded as one of the first studies to specifically focus on child burial in different cultural contexts (Murphy and Le Roy 2017:2). As part of her study, Scott looked at the spatial arrangement and decoration of infant plots in the (then) contemporary UK cemetery, within a broader framework of cultural formations of infant and peri-natal identity. She saw a change in the perception of infants in Western culture aligned to low infant mortality rates and a revaluation of the sense of persona attributed to these categories of children. Scott says,

> The image of the dead infant is particularly potent in the modern west, where the infant has become a carrier of romantic love and is given individual identity whilst still in the womb"
> (Scott 1999:31).

She argued this change had led to a growth in the formal burial of infants, who in the past had not been accorded normative burial rights (see Faro 2014, Murphy 2011, Peelen 2009). However, in the UK of the late 1990s, she perceived an ambiguity in the identities created by such memorialisation.

In part this reflected institutional intervention, with control of the burial process at that time usually taken over by the hospital for those children miscarried, stillborn or who died shortly after birth. This was based on the 'helping' assumption that at such a time of loss the parents "cannot cope," with such a responsibility (Scott 1999: 26., see also Charrier and Clavandier in the previous section). In examining such interments in Portsmouth, Scott notes the infants have been assembled communally on the spatial edge of the cemetery, well away from the main entrance and therefore unlikely to be encountered except by design. So, they were still treated as different from the general cemetery population, representing an uncomfortable truth in the modern age that children still die, and accordingly symbolically 'hidden' on the margins of the site. Here also, she observed the beginnings of what is now a common trend, the addition of multiple forms of grave furniture to children's graves (Flowers, toys, personal messages, active objects such as windmills) and seasonal offerings (Easter eggs, mini-Christmas trees). Scott concluded (1999:38) that the growth of this practice was the result of the parents desire to establish the strongest possible visual identity for their child

at the grave plot, given the short nature of the deceased's biography, fuelled by their strong emotions of loss.

McKerr et al (2009) and Murphy (2011) looked at burial practices associated with children in the north of Ireland from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. The earlier study focussed on the nature of child burial in the normative setting of four church graveyards representing both Protestant and Roman Catholic congregations, although in practice burials were not denominationally exclusive. Mc Kerr et al (2009:115-116), used an upper age limit for adolescence of 17 years, defining young adulthood as 18 to 20 years. The study looked at the proportional representation of children on grave markers in comparison to adults over time, as well as the frequency of the children's name and age being included in the inscription. Although, there was some variation between sites, in general, the study concluded that from the seventeenth century onwards, children's burials became more observable (both as child-only grave markers and inclusion on family grave markers) in accordance with broader memorialisation trends (Mc Kerr et al 2009: 128). The study recognises these grave markers likely represented those in the community who possessed sufficient economic means and literacy, and are therefore indicative of a higher-class status. Children from poor backgrounds could be buried anonymously, or if memorialised receive minimal inscription (some grave markers were literally markers with no inscription at all such as metal crosses, see McKerr et al 2009:127, Figure 8). Economic capacity also likely influenced the purchase of grave markers made from cheaper materials, such as wood, that was less likely to have survived archaeologically. Also, mass, unmarked graves would have been used in the case of epidemics, with little regard for class.

Of the 1,018 grave markers recorded, 15% included child-only or children named first, 36% had epitaphs for children, 84% named the child but contrastingly, 53.6% did not provide a specific age (Mc Kerr 2009:116). In the latter case, indications of age by phrases such as 'infant' or 'dying young' were sometimes used instead. For the much smaller number of children not named, their delayed representation on a grave marker (both with family or individually) was seen as a clear indication of their remembered status and therefore continuing importance to the family, although the reason for the absence of an inscribed name is not really addressed (McKerr et al 2009:126). The study also found that at most sites, younger children were just as likely to be memorialised as older children, casting doubt on the idea that infants and younger children were seen as less deserving of commemoration. Whilst acknowledging the preliminary nature of this initial investigation in child memorialisation, McKerr et al (2009:128-129) concluded that the proportion and frequency of child memorialisation encountered, suggested both the private meaningfulness of the child's loss to the family and the increasing desire over this period to publicly acknowledge it.

Within the Irish context, consideration has also been given to those children who were usually denied formal burial (Donnelly et al 1999; Donnelly 2008: Murphy 2011a, 2011b).This situation primarily affected

those of Roman Catholic faith, for whom canon law denied burial in consecrated ground for children unbaptised at the time of their death. The advent of the Catholic counter-reformation in seventeenth century Ireland saw this position strongly enforced, leading to the need for unofficial burial grounds (*Cillíní*) for such children. They also served as a space for other individuals denied formal burial due to their perceived deviant status (such as suicides). *Cillíní* locations, although discrete, were well known, occupying disused church graveyards, territorial boundaries, crossroads, and other marginal locations.

Murphy (2011b: 411) suggests though, that it is oversimplifying such places to view them as purely liminal, rather, they represent a parental and community response to grief and loss despite the institutional dictates of the Catholic Church. As such, *Cillíní,* rather than an exclusionary space, served as a substitute for the consecrated churchyard. They also provided women with a place to commemorate and remember their miscarried, stillborn or infant child, away from the direct social gaze of the churchyard, where the 'stigma' of failure (at losing the child) and shame (dependent on the circumstances of the child's conception) could be brought upon them. Parent's interring their child in the *Cillíní* sought to replicate to the extent possible, normative burial ritual. Children could be buried in coffins in stone lined graves, plot boundaries delineated with stones and the grave top decorated with white quartz, with its apotropaic properties, or symbolism of purity (Murphy 2011a68, 2011b:420-423). The type of grave marker's used in *Cillíní* display temporal and regional variation (Murphy 2011a:66-67). Iron crosses (some inscribed) and crosses marked on stones dating mostly to the late nineteenth century where found at a site in County Galway, while in County Kerry small unmarked stones are common. For those unmarked the child's identity was of course known to the parents (or mother), but such public anonymity may have been a further response to the social and institutional pressures that had led to burial in the Cillíní in the first place. This practice demonstrates how particular social and ideological conditions can create different cemetery landscapes for children.

Baxter, a pioneer in the development of the archaeology of childhood, has looked at children's graves and their encounters with mortality in the nineteenth century, and the need to incorporate an emotional context to such studies (Baxter 2013, 2015, 2019, 2020). She identified two distinct themes in the past interpretation of children's grave markers. The first focussed upon the population as a whole and saw the grave plot as indicative of the family's social status within it. The second concerned itself with the emotional response to grief and how such sentiment was employed for the edification of family and society (Baxter 2013:106). Baxter was concerned to understand the construction and limitations of these approaches and the impact they had upon contemporary research directions, as well as the potential for new approaches arising from such awareness. Her interest in bridging this theoretical divide between status and sentimentality using structuration theory is discussed in Section 1.5.2.

Baxter (2015) applied this approach to nineteenth century children's grave markers dated between 1867 and 1906 in two Chicago garden cemeteries. She defined a child as aged 15 years or younger, recording

those gravestones where children were commemorated as individuals rather than as part of a family plot, including those that had been relocated to a family plot established after their death (for example following the death of the family patriarch). For those sections within the date range, Baxter sampled 50% (470 grave markers). An additional six graves were identified and added from another local site, the Catholic cemetery of Calvary. She was particularly interested to undertake this study in garden cemeteries as they represented a new type of cemetery setting, influenced by the desire for open space and nature in the face of growing capitalist industrialisation and urbanisation (Baugher and Veit 2014:125-159; Baxter 2015:1; Curl 2001:25; Loudon 1843:9; Martin 2006; Morley 1971:43). Common features of the garden cemetery included a gently undulating and often lawned landscape of curved pathways, carefully selected trees, shrubs, decorative flower beds, and water features, such as lakes. The erection of artistic and tasteful monuments was also encouraged to create an educational effect not unlike the contemporary outdoor sculpture park (Baugher and Veit 2014:127-128). The garden cemetery, although evoking nature, was not wild but a carefully controlled landscape, symbolising the social order and acceptable sentiments supportive of it. It was often denoted by impressive entrance gates and boundary walls providing a bulwark against the world outside. Widely adopted in Western societies, notable nineteenth century examples include Père Lachaise (Paris, France 1804), Mt Auburn (Massachusetts, USA 1831), Kensal Green (London, England 1832) and Boroondara (Melbourne, Australia 1859).

This desire for symbolic control paralleled the mid-nineteenth century's so-called beautification of death movement and the Victorian cult of mourning, often described as an attempt to control death itself through an orchestration of sentiment and imagery surrounding the preservation of the corpse, elaborate rituals of bereavement and commemoration, and a change in the conceptualisation of death towards more euphemistic inscriptions on monuments suggestive of rest and sleep (Arnold 2006: 205-223; Cherryson, Crossland and Tarlow 2012: 19-20; Curl 2000, Tarlow 1999:194, see also Smith and Snyder above). The garden cemetery should not be confused with its 'offspring', the lawn cemetery. The latter, arising in the late nineteenth century with notable examples developed in the early twentieth century, such as Pinelawn (New York, USA 1902) and Forrest Lawn (California, USA 1907 to 1917). Although influenced by the idea of the garden cemetery, these sites had a much stronger economic rationale to their layout (Rugg 2006). Lawn cemeteries were typically designed as ordered landscaped gardens with large open lawned areas reserved for low-set uniform grave markers (usually level with the ground). Without the addition of plot kerbing or borders, such sites were seen as easier and more cost effective to maintain as the large lawned areas could be easily mown, although this functional explanation for their origins has been critiqued as simplistic and overlooking broader social reasons that saw memorialisation move towards a "modern plain" style (Mallios and Caterino 2007:64). Still, such open and orderly landscapes increasingly gained favour into the twentieth century. Lawn cemeteries are of relevance to this study, as Enfield Memorial park was heavily influenced by this trend (Nicol 1997: 52-53).

Baxter's results did not fit easily with traditionally assumed associations between grave marker expenditure (material, inscription, and motif) and the social status of the deceased and family, or of a greater symbolic elaboration associated with children's graves. For a start, a comparison of recorded child deaths against their extant grave markers showed that those children with grave markers were a small proportion overall (Baxter 2015:11). In this sense those children had already achieved a higher status in death than those unmarked, remaining visible to the living and therefore continuing to exist not just in personal but also communal memory. However, Baxter found individual children's grave markers to be mostly smaller in size, lacking decoration (such as motifs) and usually with simple epitaphs compared to the more elaborate verse found on adult grave markers, so an overt sense of class distinction was lacking. Of course, there were some elaborate exceptions, but she found, "the commemoration of children is generally much more "quiet" on the cemetery landscape" (Baxter 2015:11).

She also found that only a small number of artistic designs were distinct to children, such as the lamb with its symbolic attributes of innocence and youth, as well as its religious symbolism of Jesus Christ as the Lamb of God and Shepherd to the Christian flock. Other child specific designs observed included furniture such as beds and pillows. These only appeared on a quarter of children's grave markers in this period at both sites. Baxter also found no obvious gender differences in the choice of grave marker motifs for children regardless of age, in marked contrast to the highly elaborated gender roles found in the society of the time. Gender references mainly occurred in inscriptions denoting the child's family role such as daughter or son. She believed this uniformity reflected a message about the importance of the child to the family as part of their "collective family history" regardless of age or gender, and the need to remember the deceased's all too brief presence within them (Baxter 2015:11). This view was supported in her sample by the practice of erecting some children's grave markers many years after their death when a family plot was finally established and the relocation of existing children's grave markers into family plots. The re-memorialisation and incorporation of pre-deceased children following the erection of the family patriarchs (or matriarch's) grave marker was particularly pronounced in the Catholic cemetery, where six child-only plots were found.

From a class perspective, Baxter (2015:11-12) did see differences in expression between the two cemeteries that she felt 'perhaps' indicated a greater affluence at play at Rosehill than Oak Woods. At Rosehill the grave markers were more diverse in style suggesting less purchase of mass-produced types and inscriptions reflected broader commemorative ideals such as rest and sleep that required additional engraving. By comparison, Oak Woods used more mass-produced grave markers, briefer epitaphs and the rise of a cheaper grey marble material was evident. The complicated relationship between memorialisation expenditure and class status, particularly in relation to working class attitudes to memorialisation, continues to be analysed (Rosenow 2015; Strange 2002, 2003). She concluded that whilst children were seen as a distinct social category and their deaths viewed as different to that of adults, their primary identity in death was one of symbolic perpetuation of the family, achieving a sense of equality with other

deceased family members through similarities in the commemoration process. She also noted how this process changed over time as the effect of immigration and changing social views introduced further variability to the process of commemoration. Originally, predominantly formal, white marble gravestones were commonly used, suggestive of innocence, purity and, within the American context, a racial connotation, and these included expressive epitaphs. Subsequently, simpler, and more natural-looking monuments of granite and sandstone with smaller inscriptions and less information became popular. Baxter concluded that this reflected changes in the American conceptualisation of childhood from an idealised place of innocence to a natural point in the human lifecycle, requiring parental and social support (Baxter 2015:12).

In Denmark, Sørenson (2010 and 2011) looked at changes in children's grave plots, using the results of fieldwork undertaken in 12 cemeteries in north-western Zealand from 2003 to 2010 (with subsequent observations in suburban cemeteries in Aarhus and Copenhagen). The study focuses mainly on the grave plots of stillborn, infant, and young children. Sørenson' was interested to investigate what he saw as a trend towards the creation of a more elaborate and interactional grave plot, noting that with the reduction in infant and child mortality in Western society, "the death of a child is widely considered an unquestionable tragedy" (Sørenson 2011: 161). Previously, during the twentieth century, Danish adult commemoration was very uniform in style, both in the burial custom employed and the grave plot realised. Notably, the level of biographical information provided on the grave marker was of an extensive nature, allowing visitors to development a more detailed sense of the deceased. Within this context, children's grave plots had taken a scaled down form of the adult grave, with less biographical text but more personal expressions from family (Sørenson 2011:162-163).

Sørenson examined the 'challenge' faced by parents in the commemoration of stillborn and deceased infants due to the extremely limited nature of their life story. In such cases, traditional memorialisation practices predicated on the lived identity of the deceased as detailed in epitaphs and symbolised in motifs was more difficult to draw on. In place of this absence, an emotionally driven and experiential approach— what Sørenson describes as proscribed futurity (2010:128) influenced the construction of these child-only plots. This process involved conceptualisation by the parents (although it is possible other family members including siblings could participate), of the grave plot and marker within the context of not just future visitation, but how its arrangement will provide for an experiential interface materialised in the landscape that enables the maintenance of a dynamic rather than passive relationship with the deceased child.

At first glance this concept may seem both obvious and hardly new. The gravesite has always served as a locus for potential visitation, reflection, and connection (of the living to the dead through memory). Indeed, I have previously argued for the usefulness of a phenomenological approach to the analysis of the cemetery

landscape and its material culture, and how their holistic nature manifests a reflective and embodied experience to the visitor (Muller 2006, 2015). The difference here is that,

> The bereaved have organised the grave to be an incitement to act and to engage corporeally, rather than to constitute the traditional place of introvert commemoration or silent contemplation (Sørenson 2011:165).

This involves the initial arrangement and subsequent utilisation of material culture at the grave plot to initiate ongoing physical, rather than exclusively mental, activities that prolong in the mind of the living a relationship with the deceased. In practice, this serves to replicate to a degree what was and could have been. One young child's grave plot, for example, utilised granite paving stones as a train track upon which a movable toy train is located, carrying flowers. Having revisited the grave over a number of years Sørenson observed that the train was often moved into different positions, possibly by children visiting the grave, and in one year (2010) a note alluded to an Easter egg hunt for children with the eggs hidden around the grave plot. Such an activity allowed siblings, relatives, and friends of the deceased to engage in activities mirroring the 'proscribed futurity' of play that child would have engaged in had they lived. At the same time the children's actions during visitation played out this vision to the adults present in both a visceral and participatory way. At another child's grave plot, a small bench allowed the parents to sit and read stories to the deceased child. Unlike the general placement of seats in a cemetery, the bench was consciously put there for this purpose, defining the futurity of the relationship beyond that of memory alone, with the parents seeking a more normalised activity mirroring domestic activities in the living world (Sørenson 2011:165). Such actions suggested that parents faced with such a brief narrative for their child sought to "monumentalise the emotional experience of loss" through the creation of an alternative one, where such lost futurity could be momentarily recovered to generate new stories between parent and child through the construction of the grave as an interactive stage for their visits. The value of the proscribed futurity approach for cemetery studies and particularly the archaeology of children is its capacity to contextualise and explain changes in child memorialisation in the contemporary cemetery landscape, and to contrast it with historical experiences of child memorialisation.

3.4   Australasian cemetery studies

Cemetery studies in Australasian historical archaeology have been actively pursued for over three decades, with a substantial number of articles and unpublished theses asking a variety of questions of both the surface and sub-surface archaeology of burials, and employing different methods to answer them. The primary focus has fallen on the burial culture and landscapes produced in Australia's colonial period since the late eighteenth century, although pre-colonial European burial, following the wreck of the Dutch ship Batavia in 1629 has also received attention (Patterson and Franklin 2004).

Studies of nineteenth century cemeteries across most Australian states and territories have been undertaken to assess their research potential (Casey 1992, Keirs 1988), understand broad trends in memorialisation overtime (Heddell-Stevens 2013, Lane 2013, Marin 1998, Nicol 1987, Pitt et al. 2017; Wright 2011) and to consider the reliability of previous results (Green 2010). Examinations of class and identity have proven popular themes (Denny 1994, Haywood 2018, Hems 2016, Matic 2003, Maclean 2015). Excavation has also led to a growth in bio-archaeological investigation of human remains, burial artefacts found with the body and how to manage this sensitive area (Anson and Henneberg 2004, Donlon et al 2017, Haslem et al. 2003; McGowan 2007, McGowan and Prangnell 2011; Owen et al. 2017 Owen and Casey 2017). Alternatively, surface survey and geo-physical methods have been used to locate the remains of mortuary structures and unmarked grave sites (Moffat et al 2020; Prangnell and Howe 2014; Stanger and Roe 2007). Other areas looked at include landscape archaeology (Muller 2006, 2015), and other types of cemetery site (Janson 2015). Pate's (2006) discussion of cemetery variability between Adelaide and the Adelaide Hills provides useful general insights into the early establishment and characteristics of such sites and the materials used for grave markers in the early days of the South Australian colony.

However, those groups in society who have historically been less powerful and subject to discrimination have at best received limited attention. , The degree to which Indigenous Australians where gradually allowed to, or chose to, access such sites for burial, within the racist framework of colonial times (and perpetuated by white Australia well into the twentieth century) remains untouched. Women also rarely receive singular focus, although gender often forms part of examinations of class and power. The only study to solely focus on woman's memorialisation was Adamson's (2011) examination of whether gendered attitudes to women played out in the style and elaboration of female grave markers. Taking his sample from five Adelaide cemeteries over a 100-year period (1836 to 1936), his method included a comparison of the number of characters used for female inscriptions compared to males, and therefore the level of expenditure employed based on sex. Adamson's (2011:431-434) conclusions were mixed. On one hand he did not find a direct correlation between changes in woman's legal status and their style of memorialisation, however he did see the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries as a period when gendered characteristics and the relationships arising from them were more pronounced in commemoration, and that expenditure on grave markers between males and females was more even after previously favouring male interments. Australian's of non-Anglo-Celtic background have also received limited attention, with the notable exception of Abraham and Wegars (2003) work on historical Chinese cemeteries in Australia.

Finally, children are also underrepresented in the Australasian literature. Donlon et al (2008) conducted a bio-archaeological examination of six perinatal infants found during excavations at the Parramatta convict hospital in New South Wales (NSW). The burials were dated from between c. 1800 to c. 1840. The different locations of the interments, a double grave traditionally orientated, a storage cellar and a rubbish pit, spoke

to different burial treatments of the children. Although, all would have been unbaptised due to their age and therefore buried in un-consecrated ground, the double burial suggested a greater level of care was taken in the location and arrangement of the deceased, whereas the later burials may have reflected an increased institutional role in their disposal, with the child quickly removed and the rubbish pit seen as a convenient burial option. In relation to children's memorialisation by grave plot and grave marker, two studies are worth closer attention. Farrell's (2003) research at Mintaro and Degner's (2007) work on the Fleurieu Peninsula. Both locations are in South Australia (SA).

3.4.1   South Australia: Farrell's research at Mintaro

Farrell's (2003) study of the Mintaro General and Catholic cemeteries in rural SA, although not specifically focussed on children's graves, did uncover some interesting results concerning their memorialisation as part of her broader study. Farrell was influenced by the work of Tarlow (1999) regarding the role of emotion in cemetery memorialisation, but was also interested in the degree to which class and familial status was reflected or masked by the memorialisation process. Here she drew on the ideas of McGuire (1988:436), who saw the plot and grave marker as designed to perpetuate a 'dialogue' between the living and the deceased. Given the cost of memorialisation, the landscape created was weighted towards those classes able to afford and invest resources into the grave. Accordingly, the world view espoused in the material culture assemblage created was designed not just to reflect the family's social status in the community but promote and therefore sustain their ideological conception of society, and the social and economic relations arising from it. However, he noted that the reflective dialectic achieved rested in the minds of the living and therefore, over time, the intentions of this ideological 'discussion', "took forms and directions never intended by the deceased" (McGuire 1988:436). This idea is akin to the unintended consequences arising from Gidden's structuration theory (Section 1.5.2).

Using these two perspectives, Farrell sought to investigate how emotion was manifested through the use of symbolic and linguistic devices in the material culture of the cemetery, and to what degree this reflected ideological relationships (social, economic and religious) in the rural farming community of the Mintaro area. Farrell analysed 160 legible grave markers dating from 1850 to the present (87 in the public cemetery and 73 in the Catholic cemetery). Using historical sources and oral histories, she identified the background of those buried in the cemeteries and their relationships to each other, in an attempt to infer how such ideological and class associations might have influenced the choices made for their memorialisation, and promoted or constrained the ways in which emotion was expressed within this context (Farrell 2003:6, 19).

Farrell' defined a child as any individual aged between birth and 12 years, but also included a problematic category, which she labelled 'adolescents', that included anyone aged between 13 to 27 years (Farrell 2003:83). The upper limits of this age range appear at odds with both historical and contemporary understandings of the perceived age transition from child to adult status. For example, in the nineteenth

century it was common for women in their late adolescence and early twenties to become mothers and thereby attain an adult identity (Morrow 2011:4). In the contemporary Australian idiom, the age of 21 bestows a cultural adult identity already legally attained three years prior at 18.

Farrell found that most children were interred in family plots and commemorated on grave markers primarily erected for adult family members. This was not an uncommon practice in the nineteenth century, and she theorised this may have reflected the costs of erecting individual grave markers for children during a period of higher child mortality rates. Primary children's graves, defined by Farrell as those in which the child was the first named person on the grave marker, numbered eight (11%) in the Catholic cemetery and 15 (17%) in the Mintaro Public cemetery. She reasoned, therefore, that these examples were representative in form and style of choices made that related directly to the child (Farrell 2003:47). Grave markers where the child was added later made up 11% and 'adolescents' 13%. Overall, the percentage of infants and children commemorated at both sites was similar (*n*=24; 28% at the public cemetery and *n*=20; 27% at the Catholic cemetery). She concluded that additional text in relation to children, such as verses, generally used references to flowers, heaven, safety (in Jesus's arms) and premature loss (Farrell 2003:80), although her analysis was brief and general on this point.

'Adolescent' grave markers displayed the most frequent use of flower motifs regardless of sex (Farrell 2003:86). However, when viewed within the broader sample, Farrell found that while the use of flower motifs between 'adolescent' and adult women's grave markers was roughly comparable (10% for adult women and 18% for 'adolescent' women), there was a stronger difference between 'adolescent' and adult males (Farrell 2003:85). For adult men the most common motif was foliage, which was not found on adolescent male grave markers. In contrast, 'adolescent' men were more likely to be commemorated with flower motifs (32% compared to 11% for adult males), although adult males had a greater range of motifs overall (Farrell 2003: 94-95).

Farrell theorised that this pattern suggested a commemorative commonality between adult females and 'adolescents' of both sexes, who all occupied a socially different status in comparison to adult males, the most powerful and dominant social group, for whom the greatest choice in grave marker style and features were reserved. These results, however, need to be considered within the context of her exaggerated 'adolescent' age range.

3.4.2   South Australia: Degner's research on the Fleurieu Peninsula

Degner's (2007) study focused solely on children's graves found in 24 rural cemeteries located on the Fleurieu Peninsula, SA. The sample spans 1849 to 1901 and includes 304 children commemorated on 217 grave markers. These were further broken down into primary children's burials (listed first) on both child-only and family grave markers (*n*= 118; 39%), secondary children's burials, defined as another child inscribed on the same grave marker as a primary child (*n*=50; 16%) and those children recorded as

secondary to adults on the same grave marker (*n*=136; 45%, Degner 2007:37). The cemeteries were Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational, Anglican, Bible Christian, and Roman Catholic denominations, as well as two multi-denominational sites. Degner was critical of Farrell's use of the term adolescent for a mostly nineteenth century sample, given that its current use and attached developmental connotations are a twentieth century development, as well as the broad age range that Farrell attached to it (Degner 2007:25-27). Degner defined children as 21 years and under, based on the assumption that this age range would encompass all those likely to be affected by some aspect of a culturally constructed notion of childhood or at least a pre-adulthood status within the nineteenth century context of her sample (see Section 1.7).

Degner's starting point was to examine the idea that if childhood is socially constructed and therefore subject to cultural and class-based variation, then the ideology underpinning such a construct at any point in time may be potentially observable through the commemoration process and the material culture choices made therein. Her study was also situated within the broader framework of exploring adult social understandings of the qualities and characteristics associated with being a child, what she defined using the archaic noun, 'childness', a seventeenth century term that spoke to the quality that makes one a child. She saw this concept as strongly related to children and childhood, but different in the sense that it operated as an ideological construct, that although subject to social and cultural construction tended to be viewed as something, "fixed and 'true'…for all times and places" (Degner 2007:6). The degree of childness reflected in memorialisation therefore suggests the level of child identity and childhood attributed to the deceased (see Section 1.1). Using this approach, part of her study sought to test the findings from Mintaro.

Degner identified several interesting trends that she saw as comparable to other colonial contexts, such as the USA. Infants and young children were more likely to have their names, ages and date of death omitted on grave markers, with most unnamed infants commemorated as secondary burials to primary adults or other children. More generally, the date of death appears least important in such contexts, with 38 children inscriptions on 17 grave markers omitting this (constituting 3% of primary and 13% of secondary children's burials). Degner links this trend to the prevailing high mortality rates of the study period (Degner 2007:57-58), but is not clear why, although her intimation may be a reference to the 'traditional', albeit erroneous, view of a correspondence been high child mortality and emotional detachment by parents (Section 2.2).

The great majority of primary children's graves in Degner's sample (*n*=118) did not use any visual motifs (73%), but 65% used epitaphs, suggesting the realisation of the child through verbal expression was the dominant trend. For the one in four families who chose a visual motif, the age of the deceased played a determining role. The grave markers of children aged from 0 to two years had the highest use (12%), showing that the use of pictorial forms was favoured in the commemoration of infants (Degner 2007:90). This aligns with Smith's observations of children's graves in Delaware, USA, although the age range of her sample was larger (0 to six years). Degner noted peaks in motif use from 1860 to 1865, 1875 to 1885, and

1890, followed by a decline, but does not articulate why this occurred (Degner 2007:70-72). Smith's sample overlaps, 1850 to 1879, but the decline in motifs occurs earlier (1987:94).

In examining the combination of inscribed and visual symbols used on the graves of children aged 0 to 4 years, Degner thought the choice of flowers, lambs and angels suggested prevailing nineteenth century middle class ideas concerning the sweetness and innocence of children. These qualities in wording and motifs (10% of primary child burials), indicated that this age group was more closely associated with such perceptions than older children (Degner 2007:89, 92). The next highest use of motifs (10%) was found on the graves of 17 to 18-year-olds. Interestingly, the motifs favoured here were of a similar range and type as those used for the very young (Degner 2007:71, 73). Like Farrell, Degner (2007:71) found a significantly higher use and variety of motifs on male children's primary graves (66%) compared to females (31%), suggesting gender roles may have influenced such selections. Lambs, foliage, flowers, sunrays, and cherubs were only found for male children and doves for female children. Given the relatively small sample (*n*=31) and differing use by gender in other cemeteries, this may represent a highly localised rather than broader pattern, although again Degner does not provide comment.

Degner was also interested to see how variables affecting the transition from child to adult, such as gender and class, were expressed in the cemetery. She found a correlation between the type of epitaph chosen and the deceased's age, with the graves of 14 to 18-year old's more likely to reflect adult themes of a *memento mori* nature, addressing the onlooker to prepare for death and a successful transition to the afterlife. Degner found these themes on the graves of both sexes within the Anglican, Wesleyan Methodist and non-conformist denominations of her sample from 1855 to 1899, reflective of the influence of Evangelical Protestantism and its concept of the 'good death', an idealised settling of worldly affairs and heavenly preparedness when facing mortality (Jalland 1996:51). However, this occurs in only 3% of her total sample and is restricted to a geographic area (Degner 2007:93). Despite this, it may still be indicative of the view that between the ages of 14 to 18 individuals were starting to be re-conceptualised as young adults, and as such their memorialisation needed to reflect this new identity.

Degner concluded that adult perceptions of childhood were observable in the cemeteries' grave markers, particularly through epitaph use, referencing aspects commonly associated with children's character and behaviour. She believed age to be the biggest determinant, with concepts such as 'innocence' weighted towards those aged from 0 to 4 years, while *memento mori* styles of expression were more likely for those aged 14 to 15 years. Gender was also seen as a factor, with males more likely to receive a greater range of motifs and marker styles reflective of their social status (Degner 2007:94). However, Degner felt that the limitations posed by the conservative and rural nature of the study area, "...prevented wider trends from being identified" (Degner 2007:92). She suggested that a broader geographical and chronological study

could further examine and test her findings and clarify the extent to which childness is reflected in the cemetery.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed and discussed the archaeological results arising from Western scholarship concerning the memorialisation of children in the cemetery landscape over the last 200 years. In keeping with the multi-disciplinary approach of the previous chapter, historical and sociological contributions have also been included with the proviso that their methods have applicability for the archaeologist. The evidence suggests that the memorialisation of children in Western society has undergone change over this period, with an increase in the visibility of child burials and their appearance on grave markers tracking with broader social and cultural developments in the cemetery landscape from the nineteenth century onwards. As well, more contemporary re-conceptualisations of child identity for stillborn, peri-nates and infants has resulted in original trends in the use of material culture in the construction of their grave plots, especially in the use of grave furniture.

The literature raises a number of questions warranting further attention, including the nature and function of the memorialisation message presented by the grave marker; differences in the representation of children by age and plot type; the use of a domesticated funerary and religious imagery; the familial identity given to the child, and the reconciling of different influences on the ultimate choices made, such as emotion, social status and class. To address this range of variation the use of childness as an interpretive concept will be pursued and tested against the archaeological data arising from this study (CHAPTER 8). The next chapter provides an overview of the South Australian historical context and how the five cemetery sites surveyed fit within it. The historical development and layout of each site is also detailed.

CHAPTER 4
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

4.1 South Australian Historical Background

South Australia's colonial foundation coincides with the period of Victorian ideals, and the primarily Anglo-Celtic background of its colonists saw them closely identify with, and to a degree replicate, the cultures of Britain and Ireland. Where previous Australian colonies had been characterised by varying combinations of convict transportation, geopolitics and economic potential, South Australia was envisaged primarily as a business venture. Investors desired to make profits from a model society founded on capitalist free market principles and influenced by Edwin Gibbon Wakefield's systematic colonisation model. Main (1986:96-97) describes this as a "theory of regulated capitalism", essentially involving fixed price land sales, the reinvestment of profits to sponsor the immigration of free labourers (ensuring a steady supply of employees), with a degree of self-government at distance from Britain. This South Australian mindset was evidenced by the passing of the *South Australian Colonisation Act 1834* by the British Parliament. The Act explicitly prevented the settlement of convicts, although this did not stop them from travelling overland to the new settlement (Whitelock 1977:45, 166). The availability and affordability of land ownership in South Australia encouraged the growth of an opportunistic colonial middle class, both a product of, and participants in, the continuing wave of colonial capitalist expansion that characterised the century by increased urbanisation, industrialisation and global trade (Gibbs 1984:21-26; Whitelock 1977:20, 193-194). They aspired to create a socially and morally respectable community mirroring the tenor and principles of the emergent Victorian society.

The early nineteenth century was also a time of rising religious dissent against the established church in Britain. Non-conformist 'free church' denominations, such as Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists, saw the colony as an opportunity to establish religious freedoms denied them in Britain, where the Church of England exerted influence in affairs such as burial rites over non-conformist preferences. The 'voluntary principle' also sought to inhibit the dominance of any one church or denomination over another (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195-197). Despite the Anglican church still gaining a secure, if less dominant, foothold in the new colony (Whitelock 1977:190-198), non-conformist congregations enjoyed greater freedom to establish their own churches and burial grounds (such as the Wesleyans at Walkerville; Section 4.2.2). This more open religious environment also resulted in the immigration of other persecuted groups, with a significant German Lutheran community from Prussia established (Whitelock 1977:54-55), some of whose graves occur in this study. Irish immigration saw Roman Catholicism arrive in the 1840s, albeit begrudgingly from the suspicious Protestant majority. Despite their minority status (Prest 2001:96), an initially independent Roman Catholic cemetery was established adjacent to Adelaide's general cemetery on West Terrace (founded 1837) in 1845 (Nicol 1994:85). In the same decade the Anglicans were granted a substantial

section in West Terrace's general section and a smaller Jewish area was also established. Official non-conformist sections were gradually added, starting with the Quaker section in 1855 (Nicol 1994:85). Demographically, the state reflected the position of the other colonies in promoting a racially white European Australia, notwithstanding the arrival of peoples from other parts of Europe, Chinese, and other nationals during the gold rushes of the mid nineteenth century (Whitlam 1985:485).

Twentieth century immigration patterns have seen the gradual development of greater religious and cultural diversity in the Australian community. Immigrants initially arrived from southern and eastern-Europe following the devastation of the Second World War, and the resulting political and economic uncertainties faced in the post-war period. Asian immigration increased in the 1970s, and since the 1980s the introduction of the skilled immigration policy (Hugo 2014) has steadily increased arrivals from China and the Asian sub-continent. More recently over the last two decades, political and economic instability in parts of Africa has seen the growth of a diverse group of African communities. As a result, Adelaide's cemeteries have increasingly come to reflect the development of a highly diverse society, first through individual memorialisation and then the creation of distinct religious sections in cemeteries, such as Christian Orthodox, Muslim and Buddhist, amongst others.

4.2   The archaeological sites

Four of the five archaeological sites surveyed were established during the mid-nineteenth century during the early years of South Australia's European settlement. As a British colony, almost exclusively peopled by those of Anglo-Celtic origin and identity, memorialisation trends in the Australian cemetery were strongly influenced by those in the UK as well as fashions in the United States and Europe (Murray 2003:49). This British cultural sense extended well beyond the federation of the Australian colonies on the first of January 1901 to form the Commonwealth of Australia, as Australians grappled with ideas of national identity well into the war years of the second decade of the twentieth century. So, the cemetery landscape in nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia continued to reflect British and Irish influences. Locally manufactured grave markers, in an increasingly mass-produced market, rarely distinguished themselves from standardised forms found in the UK and its colonies (Mytum 2004 63).

4.2.1   Hindmarsh cemetery

Hindmarsh was originally the second town to be surveyed following the founding of Adelaide in 1836. Section 353, consisting of 134 acres, was selected by Sir John Hindmarsh, the first Governor of South Australia, in May 1838 and sold for subdivision the same month (Cockburn 1990:100-101). Subsequently, Hindmarsh's name was given to the new settlement by popular vote and formally bequeathed on the 18 July 1838. Thirty-four acres was provided to a trust for the provision of streets and public purposes. From its beginnings, Hindmarsh was intended to be a primarily working class community (Nicol 1986:3; Riddle 1986:2; Whitelock 1977:181), as its proximity to reliable fresh water (the River Torrens flows through the

district) allowed for the development of amenable industries. These included tanneries, wool-scouring, fell-mongering, flour-milling, and slaughterhouses (Branson 1977:8), with the waste produced finding its way into the river. The soil was also suitable for the farming of crops and the grazing of animals. The development of industry was further facilitated by Hindmarsh's location, placed handily adjacent to the road to the Port of Adelaide (then a rough track), providing the opportunity for the export of goods (Geyer and Donovan 1996:3). It was along the Port Road that many of Hindmarsh's institutional and administrative buildings, such as the Town Hall, and retail outlets, were subsequently situated, particularly following the establishment of the District Council of Hindmarsh in 1853. The opening of the railway between Adelaide and the port in 1856 further enhanced the town's economic prospects.

The development of low cost housing for workers in the adjoining areas of Bowden and Brompton in the 1870s, following the establishment of the gas works there in 1861 (Donovan 1986:40) saw the district became an enlarged manufacturing hub for many trades, with brick production one of the most prominent industries due to the highly suitable clay dug from local pugholes (Riddle 1986:4-7). The industrial character of Hindmarsh is still apparent today, with factories still dominating the immediate area around the cemetery. Hindmarsh was also very much a dissenter's town, catering for "Congregational, Methodist, Primitive Methodist, Church of England and Roman Catholic services" (Geyer and Donovan 1996:5). So much so, that the original site planned for the cemetery was changed so as not to be adjacent to a chapel also planned for that location (Nicol 1986:5).

The Hindmarsh Cemetery is located approximately five km from the Adelaide central business district (CBD) in the cities inner-western suburbs (Figure 1-2 and Figure 4-1). Following the establishment of Hindmarsh there was some urgency for a burial ground to prevent residents having to travel to West Terrace cemetery in Adelaide. Following some debate, it was agreed to locate the cemetery in an area adjacent to the river originally planned for a marketplace, with provision made for a non-denominational burial ground (Nicol 1994:105; Parsons 1974:32-33). The site consisted of two acres, to be enclosed and administered by a trust. The first burial was recorded on 21 April 1846. Given the strongly working-class population, the cost of a stone grave marker would have been prohibitive for many at this time (Nicol 1986:6-7). Small wooden markers allowing for a name and date were used as temporary grave markers, and remarkably two survive in situ to this day.

In 1886, concerns with the administration of the Trust led to the attempted takeover of the cemetery by the local Council; however, following a special meeting, the Trust was exonerated and retained control. The cemetery continued to be reserved for the exclusive use of Hindmarsh residents (which excluded nearby Bowden and Brompton; Parsons 1974:174-175). According to Parsons, it was not until 22 November 1926 that the Council took over the running of the site, although Nicol (1994:292) records it as the following year. The administration of the site has remained under the local council ever since.
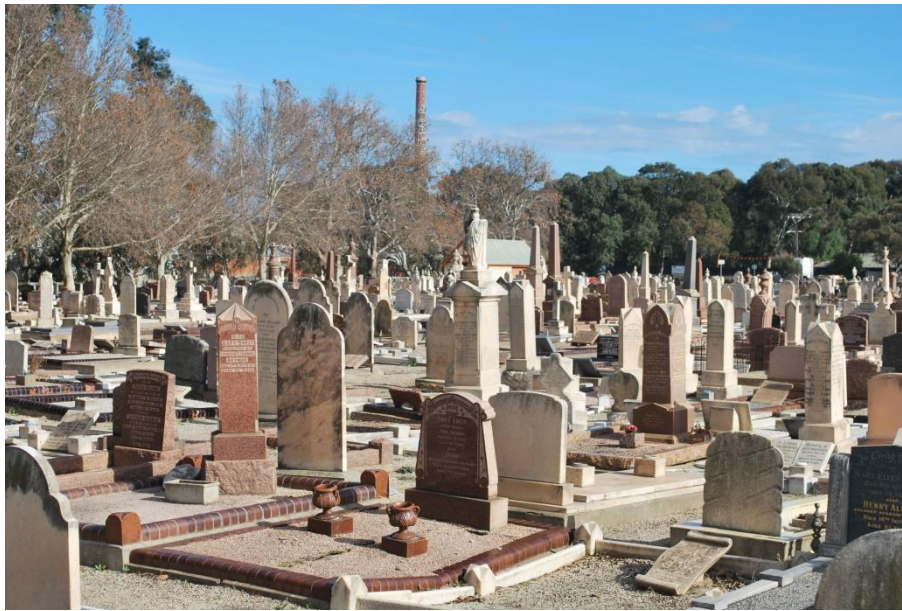
Figure 4-1. Hindmarsh cemetery: Upper Section looking west (Photo by author).

Address	**32 Adam Street, Hindmarsh, 5007, SA**
Local Government Area (LGA)	**City of Charles Sturt**
Administration	**City of Charles Sturt**
Heritage Status	**Registered as a State heritage place in the SA Heritage Register (State Heritage ID/Number: 11799/9253) on 23rd November 1989 (Hindmarsh Cemetery and Sexton's Cottage) ***

*All heritage information in this chapter obtained from the *SA Heritage Places Database*

Wedged between the river and factories, Hindmarsh Cemetery is most visible from its western border which abuts South Road, Adelaide's main north-south thoroughfare. The curved course of the River Torrens embankment progressively widens the southern border of the cemetery as it heads west, traversed by an adjacent cycling path, resulting in irregular row lengths. The northern border of the site is regular and faces onto Adam Street and the surrounding factories. The former 1884 Sexton's cottage and office (now used as a rental property), along with toilet facilities, cap the narrow eastern end. The only other building on site is the now disused 'Dead House' dating from 1854, that was historically used to store the deceased in their coffin whilst awaiting the excavation of the grave plot prior to the burial service (Nicol 1986:9, 74). The building is used today as a tool shed and a small covered shelter with seating has been added. It is in the

Lower section by a crossing pathway. With the exception of the open southern side, the site is enclosed by a chain and pipe fence, with three entry gates of the same material located at the start of the pathways and near the Sexton's cottage on Adam Street, replacing earlier wooden picket and concrete fencing (Nicol 1986:10).
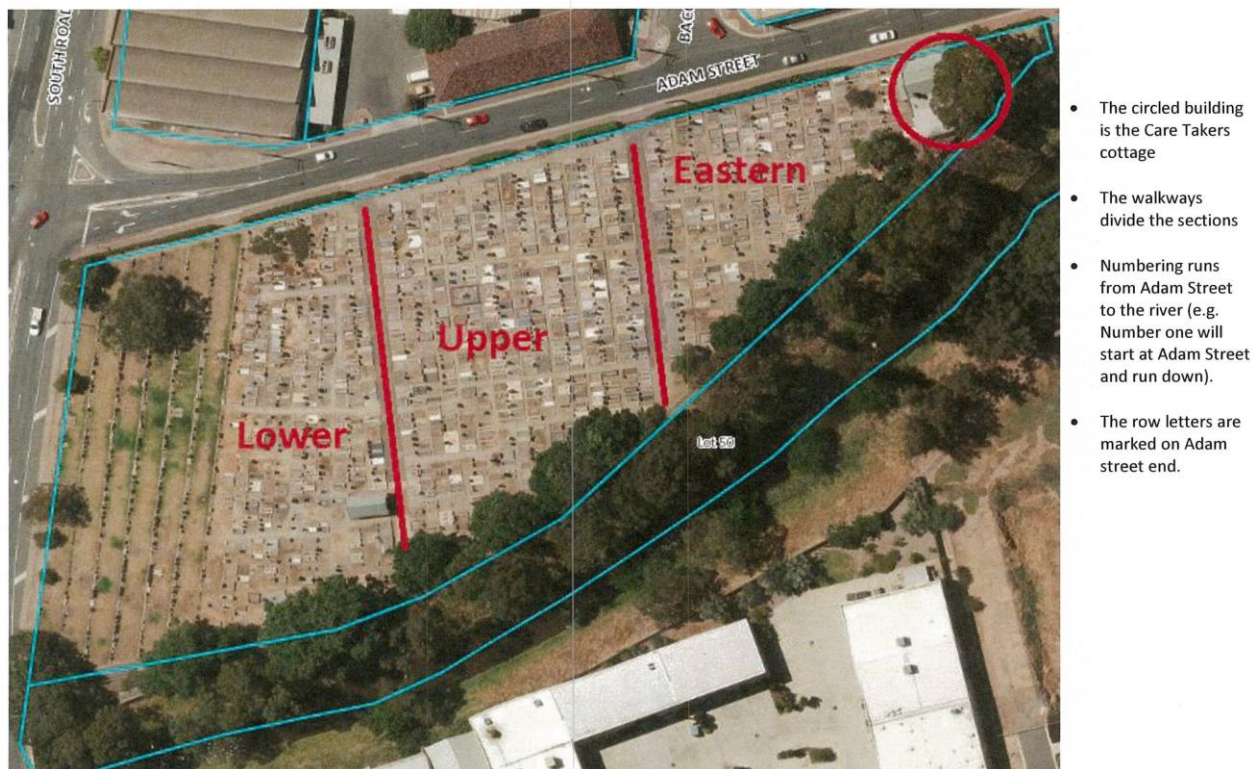
Figure 4-2. Aerial map of Hindmarsh cemetery: Blue lines indicate River Torrens (Reproduced with permission from the City of Charles Sturt 2019).

The site layout consists of three main sections, which running from the west are named Lower, Upper and Eastern, divided from each other by two north-south running pathways running between Adam Street and the River Torrens (Figure 4-2). Each row is visibly numbered at the Adam Street end, although these are white plastic numbers adhered to kerbing and some are now missing. Some rows have also been numbered on the river side as well. Individual plot numbering commences from Adam Street, but these are not marked. The nineteenth century cemetery layout has been changed over time. As early as the 1880s the site was already running out of burial space with no possibility of expansion (Nicol 1986:14). Consequently, original plantings, paths and seating were removed to free up areas for burial. In 1972 the Lower section underwent substantial change, with grave markers in rows A to L removed, and the sections reconfigured using concrete beams on lawn (Nicol 1986:28). Those plots still leased had their grave markers re-erected on beams and some of the more historical out of lease examples were re-erected in other parts of the cemetery (notably against the northern boundary fence). However, many grave markers were damaged

(and some removed) as part of this process and the Council called a stop to works (Nicol 1986: 28, 1994:425-426). As a result, the spatial and historical integrity of the Lower section is less reliable than the rest of the site. A heritage survey of the site was conducted in 1986 (Nicol 1986). A communal memorial for stillborn children buried in unmarked graves is located in the north-eastern corner of the Lower section, which although undated appears to be made of contemporary materials (metal plaque on boulder). The cemetery does not have a defined children's section. Today, interments at Hindmarsh are limited by available space to existing licensees and cremations (small plaques) and there are no current guidelines concerning grave furniture (City of Charles Sturt 2000).. The *Hindmarsh Cemetery Register of burials 1846 to 1995* (three printed volumes compiled in alphabetical order, A to G, H to N and O to Z) are available by request at the Hindmarsh Library located at 139 Port Road, Hindmarsh (City of Hindmarsh Woodville 1996). Each entry contains the date of death, plot number, name of the deceased and age at death. Enquiries concerning cemetery records post 1995 are made direct to council.

4.2.2   Walkerville cemetery

In similar circumstances to Hindmarsh, Governor John Hindmarsh purchased Section 476 along the eastern River Torrens in May 1838 but quickly sold the land on to a syndicate for profit (Scales 1974:2). Like Hindmarsh, Walkerville had the advantage of close proximity to 'town' and the River Torrens, but by contrast was, "envisaged as a rural retreat, with grand homes in spacious grounds for business and professional gentleman" and a "village for English settlers" although one acre was offered to those of the "labouring classes" (Mulcahy 1990:108; Scales 1974:1). At a meeting held in December 1838, the town was named after Captain John Walker, R. N., a prominent landowner in the district and public figure. This middle-to-upper class community made its fortune from mining (copper and gold) and farming (sheep and cattle) and sought to recreate the social life and activities enjoyed by the British upper classes (Mulcahy 1990:109). The strong pace of development led to the establishment of the District Council of Walkerville in July 1855.

The Walkerville Wesleyan Cemetery is in the inner-eastern suburb of Walkerville, approximately 6.5 km from the Adelaide CBD (Figure 1-2 and Figure 4-3). The cemetery was opened on the 8th of May 1849 following the transfer of the land by indenture (Lot 49 in Section 476) the previous year to the Trustees for the Wesleyan Methodist Society in the Province of South Australia. The original Methodist church had been built across the road (Smith Street) from the eventual cemetery site in 1844 and has been replaced twice, with the third and current church built in 1912. The first recorded burial was of Elizabeth Haynes on the 10th of April 1850 (Friends of the Walkerville Wesleyan Cemetery 2011:4; Lewis 1988:92), although earlier burials are known for along the eastern boundary (Denton 1991:99). Three children's slate grave markers, dated between 1847 and 1849, were found in this area during survey. The Trustees also allowed for the burial of other denominations at the site.

Figure 4-3. Walkerville cemetery: Western section looking south west (Photo by author).

Address	10 Smith Street, Walkerville, 5081, SA
Local Government Area (LGA)	The Town of Walkerville
Administration	Adelaide Cemeteries Authority overseen by The Town of Walkerville
Heritage Status	Authorised as a Local heritage place (Local Heritage Number – 8485) on 8th February 2007 (The extent of the cemetery reserve and includes early configuration graves and early landscape quality including stone walls).

After 124 years of use and just a year after the Walkerville Council had assumed control of its management, the cemetery was closed; the last burial took place in May 1973. Prior to this decision, the number of burials had steadily declined as the available space was used up (Friends of the Walkerville Wesleyan Cemetery 2011:28). To this point 3,785 interments had occurred (Lewis 1988:92). The council considered clearing the site for a park (with the headstones placed against the surrounding walls) but instead, in conjunction with the National Trust, opted to preserve the site (Scales 1974:194). More recently, in 2004, the Council reopened a southern corner section of the cemetery adjacent to Gawler Terrace for cremations. A heritage survey and conservation and management plan has been compiled for the site (McDougall and Vines 2005, 2012).

The cemetery is bounded by Smith Street to the northeast and the diagonal Gawler terrace to the southwest. The south eastern boundary of the site abuts St Andrew's Primary School (established 1850) and some residential properties, whilst the smaller north western boundary adjoins residential properties only. The site slopes gently from the northwest to the southeast and this has resulted in the pooling of rainwater and the growth of mosses on the exposed soil in the north eastern section of the site. Stone walls run along three sides, with Gawler Terrace bounded by a thick hedge. The freestone fencing dates from 1882 (Lewis 1988:91). The main gated entrance is on Smith Street with a wide, straight path running across the cemetery to the only other entrance/exit on Gawler Terrace. Halfway along this central path a flower-covered arbour and seats have been added. The only other building on site is a contemporary rotunda erected in the new cremation section. Evidence of a brick drainage system and some early landscape elements remain (McDougall and Vines 2005:144-145). The rows are no longer marked, or the plots numbered, and the layout of gravestones does not always align. Some areas no longer contain monuments although pieces of brick or wood edging, and mounded earth suggest grave plots. Two thirds of the interments were children with 400 of these aged less than one year (Friends of the Walkerville Wesleyan Cemetery 2011:3), although there is no defined children's section. Currently, there are no guidelines regarding the use of grave furniture although Council seeks to preserve the historic appearance of the site, and is in the process of reviewing management practices (Scott Reardon pers. comm. 2021).
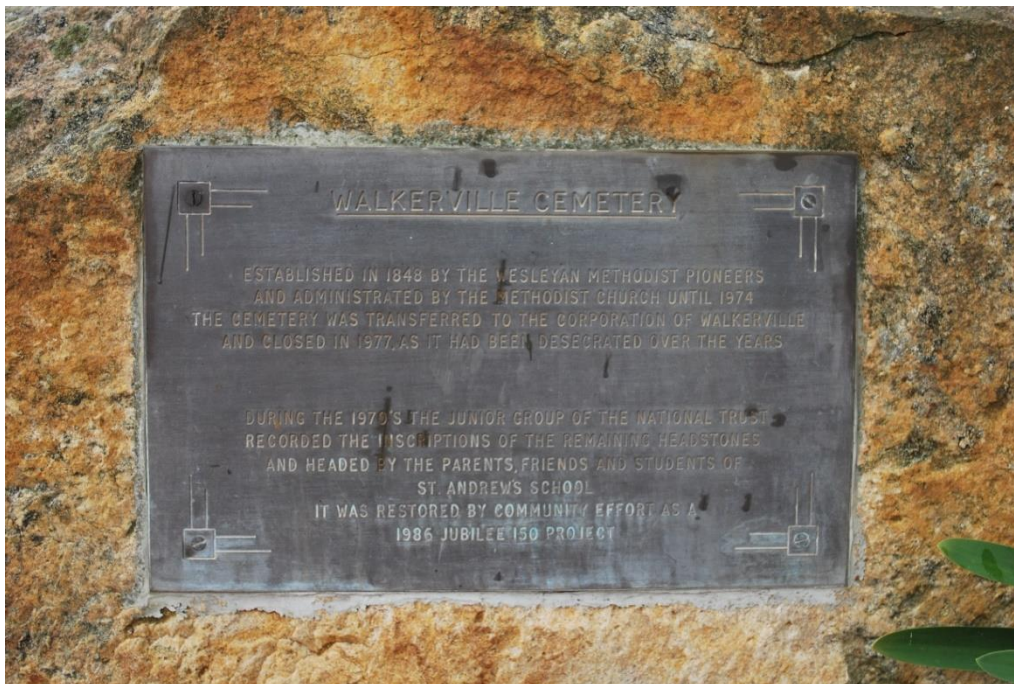
Figure 4-4. Historic Plaque: Walkerville cemetery (Photo by author).

Overleaf - Figure 4-5. Aerial view of Walkerville cemetery (Reproduced with permission from the Town of Walkerville 2019).

TOWN OF WALKERVILLE
WESLEYAN CEMETERY

surveyors + land divisions | **Steed**

TOWN OF WALKERVILLE

REF: A15241DR1.1

Legend

Cemetery Plots

- Known Interment
- Unknown Interment
- Archaeometry Multiple Indistinguishable Interments

0   5   10   15   20   25 m

IMPORTANT NOTE: This plan was prepared for Town of Walkerville for the purpose of mapping current cemetery plot usage and should only be used for this purpose.

Prior to this plan being used for any demolition, excavation or construction on the site, the relevant authority should be contacted for possible location of further underground services and detailed locations of all services.

Aerial imagery shown on this plan is a combination supplied by Aerometrex (captured September 2015) and Archaeometry (captured Febuary 2016)

4.2.3   Cheltenham cemetery

Section 419 was originally owned by John Denman, who named it Cheltenham after his home town in Gloucestershire, UK (Marsden 1977:20).Cheltenham was surveyed in 1849 and subdivided; however its location between the city and the Port meant it was slower to develop than areas at either end of the Port Road, such as Hindmarsh, although the perception of good farmland in the adjoining Woodville district did attract the interest of the colonial gentry (ACA 2018:8; Geyer and Donovan 1996:3-4; Parsons 1974:43). In 1853 the area remained distinctly rural in character and was described as containing 14 wattle-and-daub huts situated near the Port Road to better facilitate the transport of people and goods (Marsden 1977:20). The advent of the railway between the city and Port in 1856 was of little help, as no station was allocated for the area (Eland 2005:7).

Cheltenham retained its predominantly rural character until access to the area was improved with the addition of Cheltenham Railway Station to the existing Port train line in 1895, in part to transport horses to the newly established Cheltenham Racecourse nearby (Geyer and Donovan 1996:20). Into the twentieth century, the development and ready availability of the private car opened up suburbs like Cheltenham to an increase in population, exemplified by the establishment of the large Holden car body manufacturing plant at nearby Woodville in 1923 (Eland 2005:7; Geyer and Donovan 1996:5, 14-15).

Post-war immigration patterns saw an increase in the establishment of Roman Catholic and Orthodox congregations and churches in the area, with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity built in Cheltenham in 1953 (Geyer and Donovan 1996:35). Although wedged between the Port and Woodville districts, Cheltenham has historically identified more strongly with the portside suburbs to its north-west and the working-class ethos of the Port area.

The Cheltenham Cemetery is in Adelaide's outer-western suburbs, within 4 km of the Port of Adelaide and 11 km from the CBD via the Port Road (Figure 1-2 and Figure 4-6). Despite the area's initial slow population growth, the closure of the nearby Alberton Cemetery in 1874, except for existing leases (Wild 2008:49); saw the need for a larger burial ground. This led to a campaign for the creation of a new cemetery to serve the needs of the Port Adelaide area. Given the unsuitability of land on the Le Fevre Peninsula (comprising a large section of the Port proper) an area between Alberton and Woodville and close to the Port road was suggested (Express and Telegraph, 2 October 1874:2). Cheltenham cemetery was subsequently established by the Port Adelaide Council in 1876 (Marsden 1977:56).

Figure 4-6. Cheltenham cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

Address	High Street and Port Road, Cheltenham, 5014, SA
Local Government Area (LGA)	City of Charles Sturt
Administration	Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA)
Heritage Status	The cemetery as a whole does not have heritage status; however, the gravesite of Japanese Naval Cadet Yoshikuma Kawakami was registered as a State heritage place in the SA Heritage Register (State Heritage ID/Number: 14287/9252) on 4th March 1993 and a further 14 individual gravesites (encompassing all material gravesite features) were authorised as Local heritage places (Local Heritage Numbers – 26219, 26220, 20803, 20804, 20805, 20806, 20807, 20808, 20863, 20864, 20865, 20866, 20867, 20868,) on 15th May 2014.

The first burial at Cheltenham was Hannah Wheatley Mussared from the Le Fevre Peninsula on the 27th of July 1876. As the population of the district increased, the demand for burial space saw the cemetery expand in 1937 but was it was full again by the 1950s and the site fell into a period of neglect. These ongoing space issues led to Cheltenham becoming the first cemetery in Australia to introduce a policy of reusing expired grave plots, in conjunction with state legislation, when the Enfield General Trust took over

the running of the cemetery in 1987. Administration of the site was transferred to the Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA) in 2002. The re-use of existing sites at Cheltenham in 2018 constituted 40% (ACA 2018:9) although this practice remains a concern for both familial and cultural heritage reasons (The Advertiser, 23 November 2019:16-17).

Cheltenham cemetery is bounded by Port Road, High Street, Woodstock Street, Cheltenham Parade and Chippenham Street (Figure 4-7). The surrounding area is predominantly residential except for some industrial buildings in the south eastern corner. The site is 14.57 hectares in size and essentially rectangular in shape, bisected by four bitumen driveways which can only be entered from High Street and which run across the site to the Chippenham Street boundary. The site contains 31,494 burial sites (total burials 66,234) and 2,547 cremation memorial sites (6,055 interred cremations, ACA 2018:11). The only buildings on site are the maintenance workshop in the south west corner and a toilet. The cemetery is quite exposed for the visitor with no permanent shelter. A rotunda once existed in zones D and E, the foundations of which were still visible in 2004 before being removed to make way for new burial sites (Gibson 2004). Temporary shelters are erected for services.

From an archaeological perspective, several sections are heavily disturbed due to the ACA's policy of plot re-use that results in the removal of the original grave marker and any plot details. Some grave markers, assessed as having heritage significance, have been left in situ in these reused sections. A modern mausoleum is planned for a section on the cemetery's eastern side (*The Advertiser*, 19 December2019:17). The cemetery does not have a defined children's section. Guidelines regarding grave markers and grave furniture are enforced by the ACA and perishable, damaged or prohibited grave furniture is cleared from plots on a monthly basis (ACA 2018:40, undated; Lisa Clarke pers. comm. 2021). The Burial Register for Cheltenham cemetery is maintained by the ACA and is available online. Each record contains the deceased's name, date of birth and death, date of service, grave plot location and site number.

4.2.4   St Jude's cemetery, Brighton

Like much of early Adelaide, Brighton was opened with land grants selected at a meeting held in March 1839. With its distance from Adelaide, the area was initially rural in nature (Branson 1975:8) and suited to growing wheat, barley and running cattle. The area also provided work for labourers, not just in agriculture but also for the construction of the township (established by 1844) and the levelling of the coastal sand hills to build roads and other infrastructure. In 1853 the District Council of Brighton was established, and the area was laid out in three sections as Old, Middle, and New Brighton (Taylor 1958:16).

As the Brighton area became more established, its coastal location and modified beach front saw it described as the "Riviera of the South" (Holt 1991: xi), attracting residents from Adelaide's middle and upper classes to its coastal lifestyle. This saw the purchase of large allotments and the construction of grand houses, commencing with Michael Featherstone's 'Brighton House' erected in 1840, that included in

its grounds a private family burial ground and vault. For some wealthy families, these properties served as summer houses only, and surviving examples like 'The Castle' were built directly next to working class cottages. The Brighton area's seaside resort status and the eventual introduction of a railway to the city (the current line dates from 1913) has seen this originally semi-rural township, and later outer suburban area of Adelaide, develop something of a mixed class demographic, although the areas nearest the beach have always retained a wealthier character in comparison to those west of the Brighton road.

Figure 4-7. Aerial view of Cheltenham cemetery: Surveyed area outlined in red (Reproduced with permission from the Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2019).

St Jude's Cemetery is in Adelaide's outer south-western area, one km from Brighton Beach and approximately 16 km from the CBD by road (Figure 1-2 and Figure 4-8). In 1854 having decided on the

establishment of the Church of St Jude to provide for the Episcopalian faith in the area the Trustees negotiated the transfer of three- and three-quarter acres of land from the landowner for a cost of £187/10/0 (Andison 1985:xi). Subsequently, due to financial pressures, what was considered surplus land of three acres was sold by the Trustees to William Voules Brown, the landlord of the local tavern, for use as a public cemetery (although privately owned by Brown), complete with a right of way to allow access through the church grounds (Andison 1985:3; Branson 1975:12, Taylor 1958:33). The foundation stone of the Church was laid on the 16th of December 1854 and the Church opened on the 8th of April 1855; however, burials had already commenced. Stillborn and unbaptised infants were also interred, officiated by Voules Brown (Holt 1991:63). On the 23rd of July 1872 the south-east quarter of the cemetery was handed to the diocese by Voules Brown and consecrated by Bishop Short to form the Church of England section (Andison 1985: xi), although the distribution and lying out of the graves remained with the Brown family. On the 28th of June 1923 the administration of the cemetery was transferred by agreement with the Brown family to the Trustees of St Jude's Church.

Figure 4-8. St Jude's cemetery: Central roadway looking west (Photo by author).

In 1941 an additional one and a half acres was added to the southern side of the Cemetery. Consecration of the W.A. A. West Memorial Wall (Columbarium) took place in 1963, the wall forming a western boundary either side of the front entrance. Ownership of the site was relinquished by the Trustees to the Diocese of Adelaide (Church of England) in 1974 and in 1982, by Act of Parliament Brighton City Council took over the running of the cemetery (Andison 1985:54). Although St Jude's is now located in the City of Holdfast Bay, its day-to-day administration falls under the Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA).

Address	**444 Brighton Road, Brighton, 5048, SA**
Local Government Area (LGA)	**City of Holdfast Bay**
Administration	**Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA) overseen by the City of Holdfast Bay**
Heritage Status	Registered as a State heritage place in the SA Heritage Register (State Heritage ID/Number: 14461/4384) on 4th March 1993.

The entrance to St Jude's Cemetery is well set back from Brighton road and obscured by the Church. The site is bordered by the Brighton primary school and oval to its north and residential properties to the east and south. St Jude's church and associated buildings are congregated along the cemetery's northern boundary. The site is rectangular and elongated in shape (Figure 4-10), except for the later southern addition, and is split centrally by a sealed road that runs from the western entrance through to the eastern end of the cemetery. There are no buildings within the cemetery grounds. ACA guidelines regarding grave furniture are applied to St Judes (ACA undated). There is no defined children's section. The original hardcopy of the Burial Register is held by the City of Holdfast Bay. Microfiche copies are available at the City of Holdfast Bay Library. Each record contains the deceased's name, abode, date of interment, age, by whom the ceremony was performed and the grave plot location and site number. The ACA is currently working with the City of Holdfast Bay to provide a public platform for access to the burial records at a future date (Matthew Adam pers. comm. 2020).

Figure 4-9. St Jude' cemetery: Spatial division between old and new sections (Photo by author).

Figure 4-10. Aerial map of St Jude's cemetery (Reproduced with permission from the City of Holdfast Bay 2019).

4.2.5   The Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park

Unlike the other cemeteries investigated, the Enfield Memorial Park was established in the mid-twentieth century under state auspices, and therefore does not reflect the immediate community and its demographics. However, the historical origins of the Enfield area did affect the future location of the cemetery in relation to the availability of land. During the early colonisation of Adelaide, the areas north of the River Torrens were less popular for take up, being perceived as either dryer or boggier than other parts of the colony (Lewis 1985:11). As a result, the land was placed on the open market, rather than allotted, which broadened the purchasing opportunity for larger acreages to any persons who could raise the money required. Charles French Folland purchased 80 acres in 1848 to clear for farming and 100 years later the State government, looking to establish a large, general cemetery in the city's northern suburbs, was able to purchase part of this estate for the site of the new cemetery.

Figure 4-11. The Children's garden, Enfield Memorial Park: Looking west from peri-natal section (Photo by author).

Address	**Browning Street, Clearview, 5085, SA**
Local Government Area (LGA)	**City of Port Adelaide Enfield**
Administration	**Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA)**
Heritage Status	None

With the establishment in 1938 of a large general cemetery in Adelaide's southern suburbs (Centennial Park) in a joint venture between the Mitcham and Unley councils (Nicol 1994:250-296), the South Australian government recognised the need for a similar facility for the northern part of the city and passed the *Enfield General Cemetery Act 1944.* This legislation allowed for the creation of the Enfield General Cemetery Trust to oversee the creation and running of the new cemetery. The cemetery opened in 1947 with the first burial undertaken on the 9th of March (Nicol: 1997:66). The cemetery was heavily influenced by the idea of the lawn cemetery (Nicol 1997: 52), whose uniform landscape and grave markers worked against the reflection of class status. As described by Lewis (1985:228), "Only a small tablet set flush in the lawn identifies family sites in the Enfield cemetery".

Due to financial struggles, the trust entered a public-private partnership with the Evergreen Memorial Park Ltd in 1962 (with the cemetery renamed accordingly). As part of the new business plan a crematorium was built and opened in 1969. The collapse of Evergreen in 1971 resulted in state government intervention to prop up and administer the site. Today the renamed Enfield Memorial Park is run by the Adelaide Cemeteries Authority (ACA) who has their offices there.

Figure 4-12. Cremation Wall: Plaques, cast iron on stone, the Children's Garden looking west (Photo by author).

Figure 4-13. Aerial map of Enfield Memorial Park: Children's Garden identified by blue arrow (Reproduced with permission from the Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2019)

Enfield Memorial Park is in the outer-northern suburb of Clearview (adjacent to Enfield), approximately 10.5 km from the Adelaide CBD (Figure 1-2 and Figure 4-13). An early photo of the area now occupied by the Children's Garden shows a circular patch of shrubbery (Nicol 1997:73). Plans for a fountain feature on this spot was never realised (see illustrations Nicol 1997:132, 146-147). Retaining its circular shape due to the road layout (Figure 4-11 and Figure 4-13), this area was developed into the Children's Garden in 1986 to address changing needs in the interment of stillborn and perinatal children (Kym. Liebig pers. comm. 2019).

ACA guidelines determine the acceptability of grave markers and grave furniture (ACA 2018a:34, undated). Perishable, damaged and prohibited grave furniture is cleared on a monthly basis, with the exception of the Children's Garden (see Section 8.5). The Burial Register for Enfield Memorial Park is maintained by the ACA and is available online. Each record contains the deceased's name, date of birth and death, date of service, grave plot location and site number.

4.3 Conclusion

The cemeteries described in this chapter illustrate the diversity of the memorialisation landscape as it was established in the colonial period of South Australia. Both the emergent idea of the secular (as opposed to religiously) run cemetery, whether municipal or private, and the more traditional church graveyard appear in this sample. Walkerville and St Jude's both represent congregational cemeteries, in part reflective of their Wesleyan and Anglican connections, and in the more open religious environment of the new colony neither envisaged an exclusive denominational burial space. St Jude's, due to the sale of the land to Voules Brown, was likely the state's first privately run cemetery, albeit with continuing connections to St Jude's church next door. Hindmarsh and later, Cheltenham reflected the pragmatic need for a suitable burial ground, both utilitarian in inspiration, as the then towns (now suburbs) developed. Some families though sought to tap into the zeitgeist of the nineteenth century Victorian cemetery by erecting expensive and grand grave markers and utilizing large plot spaces, perhaps inspired by Adelaide's earliest and most grandiose cemetery, West Terrace. As in other parts of Australia, the ideal of the Victorian cemetery was acknowledged but not always met (Murray 2003a, 2003b).

To differing degrees all four general cemetery sites continued to be used into the twentieth century. Hindmarsh and Walkerville, constrained by their relatively small footprints, became full and ceased operations for a time, although cremation interments have now returned to both. Cheltenham and St Jude's have continued to operate, with the former the most business oriented of the sites, pursuing a program of grave reclamation and reburial, and more recently the establishment of a gated area. The youngest of the five sites, Enfield Memorial Park reflects its twentieth century creation, and retains something of a commercial nature, despite now being under a board of directors appointed by the State

Government. It continues to reflect the idea of the lawn cemetery and something of the garden cemetery as well, with its landscaped plantings. Its Children's Garden and child interments elsewhere in the grounds continue to evolve in accordance with social perceptions of both child identity and childhood. Enfield and Cheltenham, as larger sites also have a greater capacity to accommodate a more culturally diverse landscape reflective of demographic changes in the Australian population over time.

These five cemeteries taken together form a representative sample of how families (and society) have coped with and responded to child death in the South Australian context over the last 180 years. The material culture created from this traumatic event awaits us in these landscapes as do the inscribed and symbolised thoughts and feelings of parents, families, and communities. In the next chapter the methods used to identify and analyse this archaeological record are explained and discussed.

CHAPTER 5
ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHODS

5.1 Introduction

The archaeological recording methods used at the five cemetery sites attempted to record as many aspects of the grave marker and plot as possible. The usefulness or otherwise of individual variables was later determined during analysis. Previous guides to cemetery recording were consulted (Goffinet 2013; Jones 1979; Mytum 2002), as well as drawing on past experience from my own and other projects. Statistical guidance was also accessed (Kalinowski and Fidler 2010), particularly as used within the context of an archaeological approach (Baxter 2003; Drennan 1996).

5.2 Sample criteria

As the literature review suggested significant historical changes in the conceptualisation of children had coalesced into a view of the ideal child and childhood by the nineteenth century, this period was chosen as the starting point to examine how such views were expressed through memorialisation to the present. In order to address the research questions (Section 1.2), the following conditions needed to be satisfied in the selection of cemeteries:

- A suitable chronological spread, encompassing both the nineteenth, twentieth and early-twenty first centuries.
- An appropriate number of grave markers and grave plots to allow for a statistically viable population sample and the application of both descriptive and inferential statistical methods.
- The selection of more than one cemetery to allow for potential variations in memorialisation by historically different socio-economic populations.
- Inclusion of a child-specific burial space (e.g. a child-only cemetery).

5.3 Site Selection

Firstly, an urban location was preferred in order to contrast with previous rural based research on children's graves in South Australia (Degner 2007). This allowed for the comparison of results between the two studies. Secondly, it was decided to focus upon one urban region to ensure a coherent and manageable research population rather than mixing samples from different regions, states and territories. The Adelaide greater metropolitan area (870km²), with a population of 1.33 million, was chosen as it contained a suitable selection of cemeteries of sufficient time span given the city's foundation date of 1836. Thirdly, the socio-economic diversity of the historical urban communities established in colonial times (Holt 1991: xi, Mulcahy 1990: 108-109; Nicol 1986:3, Riddle 1986:2; Whitelock 1977:181) provided

opportunities to contrast child memorialisation by status and class, both within the cemetery and between cemeteries. Many of today's older suburbs were originally small townships until subsumed by the expanding city and have retained an associated class identity based on their historic economic and social origins. Of course, choosing such locations do not guarantee that every burial at that site is subject to, or reflective of, the dominant socio-economic identity associated with that area, or that such class influences always manifest through the memorialisation process in obvious ways (see Section 5.8.2).

A desktop review of all extant Adelaide metropolitan cemeteries was undertaken, and a short list drawn up against the selection criteria. Site visits were then undertaken to determine the approximate population size of each site. As the research plan required comparison of data from more than one site in concert with seeking a large enough sample for statistical analysis, it was decided to select two traditionally working-class locations and two middle to upper class locations. Choice of the fifth site, a children's cemetery, was more limited, as they mostly only occur within larger twentieth century cemeteries, and are in the Australian context, relatively recent additions. The five sites chosen, their historical backgrounds and spatial layouts are presented in CHAPTER 4 (se also Figure 1-2 for a map of their locations in Adelaide).

5.4   Preliminary planning

Although all the cemeteries to be surveyed were publicly accessible, the responsible cemetery authorities were contacted, both as a courtesy, and to obtain maps of the sites if available (these are reproduced in CHAPTER 4). However, given the sensitivity of the Children's Garden at Enfield, where parents regularly visit, liaison was undertaken with the ACA to explain the purpose of the fieldwork, intended methods and to obtain the necessary photographic consent.

The purely archaeological and historical focus of the research meant that ethics approval was not required from the University.

5.5   Cemetery recording

Each cemetery was surveyed by a team of between one and five volunteers (mostly students) under the supervision of the author and in accordance with Flinders University volunteer and fieldwork guidelines. To assist the standardisation of field recording and to reduce the chances of information being missed, a Cemetery Recording Form was used for each grave (Appendix A). This was a modified version of the recording form first developed for cemetery surveys by Burke and Smith (2004:350). Tick box lists were used to standardise the recording of all variables wherever possible. Each recorder was required to fill out all criteria listed on the form and to write any additional details on its blank reverse. On-site checking of the forms was provided by the author to address any issues of interpretation or uncertainty arising and to ensure quality assurance of the fieldwork survey. Recording focused on the entire grave plot rather than

just the grave marker. This meant that all associated material culture, such as fencing, borders and grave furniture, were included, in accordance with the detailed approach promoted by Jones (1979) and Mytum (2002:79-136). On commencing the recording form, volunteers wrote down the site name, their name, date of recording and the main family name of the deceased. A grave reference code was given to the first recording of the session and the sequence was then followed. If available this used on site information such as row numbers, if not an invented sequence was used, for example 'EJ393' representing, Eastern section, Row J, 393rd grave marker and plot recorded.

Any grave plot with a grave marker inscribed with the death of an individual aged from 0 to 20 years of age, including cases where the child died prior to birth, was pin flagged for recording. Age was calculated either directly from the expressed years and months inscribed against an individual, the use of age specific terms such as 'stillborn' or 'infant', or by a calculation using the inscribed birth and death dates. This process was double checked, as it was not unusual to miss some instances due to a misreading of the inscription or obscured readability due to the angle of the sun. The rationale for this age range is discussed in Section 1.7. Such grave markers could denote an individual child only, a group of children or children included with adults on a family grave marker. As such, the survey method was oriented towards collecting a judgemental sample, driven by the research questions, rather than a random sample.

5.6   Terminology used for grave marker styles

The list for grave marker forms consisted of: tablet, horizontal slab, block, obelisk/pillar, statue/sculpture, cross, plaque, combination and 'other' based on those detailed in the New South Wales (NSW) National Trust of Australia's Guidelines for Cemetery Conservation (2009:120-126). This guide was made available to volunteers to help them achieve a consistent approach to recording. As this document has a primarily nineteenth century focus, some twentieth century styles are not covered. The existing terminology was adapted to describe and include these styles, with reference to the monument types used by Mytum (2002:103-122).

Due to the high number of differing tablets styles, in comparison to other grave marker forms, they were grouped into four categories based on style similarities for analysis as follows,

- **Group 1:** Rectangular or square, rectangular with shoulders, rectangular with wave, semicircular, semicircular with shoulders, semicircular with cut away shoulders, semicircular with acroteria
- **Group 2:** Gothic, gothic with acroteria, gothic with shoulders, gabled, gabled with shoulders, gabled with peaked shoulders, pedimented
- **Group 3:** Cambered, cambered with shoulders, cambered with cut away shoulders, anthropomorphic, ogee, double, stylised double

- **Group 4:** Diamond, angular with curve, cross surmount with shoulders, scroll, heart shaped, rustic, stepped

This was not needed for the other categories. A detailed illustration of grave marker forms and styles is presented in Appendix B.

5.6.1 Recording of the grave marker and grave plot

The spatial elements of each grave marker and plot were recorded as follows. First the physical location of the grave plot was recorded using a handheld Global Positioning System unit (GPS - Garmin GPSmap 62), taking a numbered waypoint using geodetic datum (GDA 94). This waypoint (eastings and northings) was then recorded on both the recording form and GPS Log form. Although providing only 5m accuracy, this was sufficient for relocating graves for any additional recording needs. The context of the grave plot was recorded in relation to its facial orientation (i.e. the direction in which the inscribed surface of the grave marker faced) by cardinal points using a handheld compass. Where this was problematic, e.g. for grave markers with more than one face, then the main inscription was identified, and this face was recorded as the primary orientation.

For grave markers the following physical dimensions were measured using a 5-metre tape: grave marker height, depth, and width; plinth height and depth (if applicable); total monument height (grave marker plus plinth); and fence or border height. For angled grave markers (usually plaque forms at 45°); the in situ height and depth was used as the primary measurement for spatial analysis (for completeness the actual spatial height and depth of the object at 90° was also recorded). Plot types were classified from the grave marker inscriptions as follows: individual (a single burial), double (the burial of two people) and group (the burial of more than two). The total number of grave markers, and interments per plot were also recorded based on the inscriptions and a list of burials by name and date of death compiled. Any associations between plots, such as members of the same family in the same or adjacent row, were noted. Sex was determined by the child's name, familial title or associated gendered terms. Where sex could not be determined 'unknown sex' was recorded.

5.6.2 Grave marker layout

The terminology used to describe features on the grave marker is illustrated in Figure 5-1. Motifs represent any visual imagery added to the marker (in Figure 5-1 a wreath with ivy). Remembrance introductions (Mytum 2004:80-81) such as 'In Loving Memory of' often commence the text prior to the inscription, which forms the deceased person's epitaph. This can be made up of a number of inscription styles, with additional lines added to the grave marker as further burials occur, with these multiple inscriptional events adding to the biographical social life of the material culture (Mytum 2004, see Section 9.1.1). Figure 5-1uses both emotive "beloved" and religious "safe in the arms of Jesus" terms. Grave furniture included all additional

items added to the grave plot, either portable or fixed. In Figure 5-1 this includes an inscribed marble double vase.

5.6.3   Inscription and motif

The complete inscription on each grave marker was recorded verbatim and laid out on the form as on the monument, with the lettering style (engraved, engraved and painted, lead letters, painted only or 'other') noted. The form asked a number of questions of the inscription that the recorder needed to interpret. The style of language was split into four categories: emotive, factual, biographical, or religious. Factual expression was confined to instances where a grave marker had only the identity of the deceased and the date of death (and sometimes birth), but no other text. The other three styles provide additional text about emotional relationships between the living and the deceased, their religious beliefs and additional biographical details. Of these latter three styles, more than one could be used on the same grave marker to express different sentiments (Figure 5-1), in which case more than one tick was needed. Also recorded was the grammatical person and from a reading of the text an assumption of authorship (parent/s, spouse or friend/other). In most cases parents or a surviving spouse are likely to have chosen the inscription, but where the parents had already died, another family member or friend would have undertaken this task Also of interest to record was the ordering of individuals by family patriarch, order of death, family position or unrelated to others (usually denoting a child- only grave marker). This was also helpful in dating the grave marker (see Section 5.6.5). Such choices on family grave markers speak to issues of social and familial status and are discussed in Section 9.1.1.

Finally, different categories of key wording were also noted when present. These were remembrance introductions ('Sacred to the memory of' and 'In loving memory of/in memory of'), emotive ('Beloved'), religious, re-union/re-united; euphemisms for death ('Resting/sleeping', 'passed away/leaving'), 'personalised' and 'other' for wording falling outside of these categories (which needed to be specified on the form). Motifs (recurring images and designs), if present, were similarly configured for easy recording. The main recurring categories of motif were listed on the recording form (e.g. religious: angel, dove, cross, figure, lamb and anchor, funerary: wreath, hands, ribbon, book and pillar/urn, and floral: (flowers, tree, ivy and other foliage). Again, 'other' provided an option for motifs outside these categories. Grave furniture was recorded using the following categories: vase, flowers, toys, photos/pictures, statues/dolls, plantings, shells and 'other'. A distinction was made between natural and artificial flowers, as the former's presence suggested current grave visitation.

The form provided an option to note the denomination of the child or family, although denomination was not necessarily always readily visible, as the same inscriptions and motifs could be used by different groups (see Section 5.8.1). As a result, 'unknown' was the most commonly selected option. Finally, the monumental masons identity if present materially was added to the form. This usually involved a name and

sometimes a work address inscribed near the base of the grave marker or on kerbing or a plaque, e.g. "F. Herring. W. Terrace & Vic Sq". However ultimately, further detailed examination of these identities did not form part of this study as explained in Section 5.8.4.

Finally, each grave marker was photographed to archaeological standard with identifying photo board (showing the plot reference for the grave marker as on the recording form), scale (either a two-metre range pole or mini-rod) and north arrow, using a Nikon D60 camera. The photograph numbers were written onto both the recording form and a separate photo log form. All photographs were subsequently stored in labelled electronic folders. Further research into contemporary choices for children's grave marker motifs was undertaken by viewing commercial cemetery catalogues online and by contacting the ACA concerning their process and supplier for the Children's Garden.

Figure 5-1. Example of grave marker layout showing motif, remembrance introduction, inscription (epitaph) and grave furniture: Gothic tablet with shoulders, marble, c. 1916, Hindmarsh cemetery facing west (Photo by author).

5.6.4 Extent of fieldwork

A total of 2,128 grave markers from 2,104 grave plots were recorded. Hindmarsh, Walkerville, and St Jude's were surveyed in their entirety (recording all gravestones with a person commemorated aged from 0 to 20 years). However, Cheltenham has experienced significant alteration to its landscape over time due to the reclamation of some sections for new burials, resulting in the widespread removal of original grave markers from those areas (Nicol 1994:425-426). This fact required additional methodological refinement. Following an on-foot examination of the site, a suitably large and intact area was identified for survey that appeared from inspection to provide a suitable chronological range. This area comprised Sections BX, CX, FX and GX (Rows 5 to 42, Figure 4-7). At Enfield, only the child specific section, the Children's Garden, was surveyed.

5.6.5 Determining the primary burial and decade of grave marker erection

A circa (c.) primary date of erection for each grave marker was calculated by determining the primary individual or individuals for whom the monument appears to have been erected. This was done by an analysis of the inscription layout and ordering of individuals and burial dates, as well as grave marker form and style. For grave markers commemorating one individual this was usually straightforward. However, for grave markers commemorating more than one individual and where dates were not listed in order of death, the primary burial was usually inferred from that individual's position on the grave marker (the first name listed). Any inscriptions without dates were placed in the category 'not inscribed' to indicate they could not reliably be placed chronologically.

For grave markers with multiple faces (such as pillars and obelisks) the primary burial was usually inscribed on the side facing to the front of the grave plot. This orientation is usually clear when the plot has a fence or border, but if such demarcation was absent the front face was determined by either the grave marker's alignment with other adjacent plots or by following the textual ordering styles mentioned in the previous section, as well as text size and the amount of wording. Using this approach, the primary burial was not always the individual with the earliest death date.

Other reasons for dating grave markers later than the first death date include the possibility of the replacement of earlier, wooden grave markers by more permanent stone monuments as the opportunity arose (Mytum 2004:180). Sometimes the original stone grave marker has been replaced (rather than restored) by descendants, an action apparent due to the chronologically inconsistent form or style of the monument when compared to the death dates inscribed, and in relation to the surrounding grave markers. In the case of some children their later inclusion on a newly erected family grave marker occurred even though they had already been memorialised earlier with a smaller, individual grave marker (Baxter 2013:109, 2015:10).

Identified primary dates were then grouped by decade i.e. a primary date of 1876 was given a primary decade code identifier of 1870 to 1879. Grouping the grave markers by primary decade allowed for trends across the entire chronology to be more easily examined and presented using figures. This also accounted for the likelihood that some grave markers were erected at a later (and sometimes earlier) date than the first death date listed. Mytum (2014:26) has commented that in the absence of an exact erection date, that dating a grave marker to within a decade of the latest death date in the primary inscription "seems reliable", and this approach was also applicable in cases where only one individual was inscribed.

5.7   Database entry and analysis

Database software was chosen in consultation with the University statistician. The program chosen was Statistical Package for the Social Sciences version 25 (SPSS, IBM Corp 2017). The desired categorical variables as set out on the CRF were manually created in the database using the SPSS variable view page. Data entry for this research used nominal, scale and ordinal measures (McCormack and Salcedo 2015:55). The majority of variables entered were nominal, for example, the variable labelled 'Grave marker forms' had 11 nominal values, with each value representing a type of grave marker (1=Tablet, 2=Horizontal Slab etc.). Others simply indicated presence or absence, with 0=No and 1=Yes. Scale variables were actual measurements (such as height or depth) and entered as such. Only three ordinal measures were used: Grave plot reference number, GPS waypoint and photograph number. Only nominal and scale variables formed part of the data analysis, with the ordinal values acting as site and plot identifiers, tying the results to their spatial and temporal coordinates.

The eleven scale measures consisted of the date of recording, primary grave marker date, grave marker measurements and border height. The remaining 209 nominal measures covered chronology, plot types, sex, age, demographics, grave marker inscriptions, grave marker motifs and grave furniture. Initially the data base variables reflected the categories and labels from the CRF. However, it soon became apparent that further variable categories were needed to identify the most frequently occurring categories previously lumped together during the recording phase as 'other'. The final variable view screen had 223 potentially useable variables per entry (of course not all were applicable for each plot). All information recorded was entered manually into the Data entry screen.

5.7.1   Nominal categories

Due to the large number of nominal categorical variables for grave marker inscriptions, motifs and grave furniture, thematic groupings were developed to order the data for analysis. Within each category those terms or motifs of a similar type were placed together into sub-categories. This was particularly useful for inscriptions where different combinations of the same or similar words were often used, for example the deceased could be 'dearly loved', 'loved', 'love', 'beloved' or 'dearly beloved'. They could also be addressed

as 'dear' or 'darling'. So, in the analysis they are grouped together. An explanation of these categories follows.

5.7.2   Inscription styles

Inscriptions were divided into seven categories: emotive, familial, temporal, personal, biographical, religious and mortality references. The capacity for overlap between these groupings is acknowledged. For example, an emotional style, 'Dearly beloved', can be joined to a familial style, 'son', to form 'Dearly beloved son'. However, each occurrence was coded under its particular category i.e. 'Dearly beloved' under emotional and 'son' under familial to allow these different aspects of the phrasing to be examined chronologically.

A) Emotional: phrases using a form of the words love or dear (including darling) were combined into the sub-category 'Dearly/beloved/loved'. Phrases starting with 'Always/forever' were kept separate between 'hearts' and 'thoughts', as, although very similar, there is a difference between the symbolism of the heart (as the centre of emotions) and the choice of mind and memory.' Cherished', 'treasured' and 'beautiful' were put together as seen to be expressing a sense of the child's value. Missed was used as a stand-alone term.

B) Familial: these are self-explanatory and referred to either the child's family role based on their gendered title (i.e. daughter) or their identity based on age (i.e. baby).

C) Temporal: These terms were arranged into two sub-groups. The first 'Here for a short/moment/time/no opportunity/taken' was based on the short chronology of the child's life. The second, 'Long awaited/anticipated/wanted' looked at the period prior to the child's 'birth'.

D) Personalised: Of these four sub-categories 'personalised' looked at any inscribed information that was clearly specific to the deceased child as an individual. 'Little/man/boy/girl' and 'Loving/happy' may have also served such a role or represented a more general sense of the child. The referencing of a playground whilst not personal in the individual sense still serves to differentiate and therefore 'personalise' the deceased in relation to adult versus child identity.

E) Biographical: This involved purely factual sub-categories detailing the 'place of death', 'geographical' associations such as the area of residence, 'other' clearly biographical details and for some older children, 'employment'.

F) Religious: References to 'angels' and 'stars' (seen as symbolically linked) and the idea of 'reunion' after death were recorded as separate sub-categories with all remaining Christian religious references placed in the final sub-category.

G) Mortality references: "mortality epitaphs' consisted of observations on the inevitability and effect of death. 'Passed away/leaving' was an alternative way of expressing died and 'Resting/sleeping' spoke to conceptualisations of the state of death. 'Accidental death' was also included.

5.7.3 Motifs

Motifs were divided into six categories: religious, funerary, floral, figures and toys, other symbols, and photographs. Again, the capacity for some overlap between the groupings is acknowledged.

A) Religious: Those motifs with a clear association with the Christian religion and its beliefs. No non-Christian religious motifs had been recorded in the sample.

B) Funerary: Those motifs associated with death. Some also link to Christian symbolisms whilst others have pre-Christian influences (i.e. neo-classical motifs).

C) Floral motifs: Flowers (including flower type if identifiable), ivy and 'other foliage' (usually stylistic rather than realistic).

D) Animals and figures: All non-religious animal and figure motifs were analysed in this category and separated into human 'figures' and 'animals'. Due to their high numbers one toy—the teddy bear—was given its own sub-category. 'Other motifs' covered mostly images of toys such as a rocking horse or train.

E) Other symbols: Any insignias, monograms (overlapping letters) and crests were put in this sub-category.

F) Photographs: Photographs of the deceased affixed to the grave marker, although not technically a motif, were counted as relevant for the purposes of this study.

5.7.4 Grave furniture

Grave furniture was divided into four categories: floral, toys, religious and other items. These categories also have some potential for overlap.

A) Floral: Any material culture involving or connected to flowers and plants was included in this category. Those vases with inscriptions were also given additional analysis.

B) Toys: All objects that could clearly be identified as toys.

C) Religious: All objects with a religious or potentially religious association and,

D) Other: A diverse range of objects that did not fit any of the above categories.

5.7.5 Using SPSS to interrogate the data

To address the research goals, a series of questions were asked of the data through the comparison of variables and categories to create the figures and tables presented in the following results chapters. This began by looking at a categorical variable, for example the frequency of religious inscriptions on grave markers. This was undertaken using the SPSS custom tables tab to show the descriptive statistics for the chosen categorical variables. The first table produced presented the distribution of the nominal or scale variables by count and percentage. The second table looked at the chosen variables in relation to child-only and family plots. These two plot types were used to structure the first part of the analysis (Section 6.3.1).

All comparisons between the two types of plot were restricted to data drawn from the four general cemeteries. The Children's Garden was excluded from these comparisons as it exclusively contains child-only plots and would have distorted the descriptive statistical result and any subsequent inferential tests. The third table compared the same variables by sex (the distribution between males and females) and was used to structure the second part of the analysis.

The SPSS chart builder tab was used to create figures (colour-coded graphs) to show trends in variables in a visual way. In the results chapters, figures are used to show the variable as it occurs within and across decades and between age groups for both plot types. Clarity of presentation determined the choice of table or figure, with figures used where custom tables would have been overly large and visually complicated to read. Most figures used stacked bar graphs with percentages on the Y-axis and the total for each bar column on the X-axis (decades or age groups). For height measurements, a combination of dot plots and bar graphs were used to show the mean percentage. As SPSS does not provide the option of X-axis tallies, they are shown in brackets on the X-axis, with the exception of Figure 6-1, where grave marker numbers are shown on the column proportions to avoid having four totals below each X-axis column. The x-axis tallies are differentiated as follows: 'nc' for the number of child-only plots or grave markers (as explained in the caption) and 'nf' for the number of family plots or grave markers. For figures, where more than one variable appeared on the same grave marker or plot, the number of overall occurrences was tallied instead. In each case, table or figure, the overall goal was to discern patterns in the use of each categorical variable in relation to the different sub-populations, for example, whether there was a difference in the use of religious inscriptions between child-only plots and family plots (both overall and over time), male and female children or age groups. In some cases, the percentage difference between certain variables was so marked that even at the descriptive level a significant relationship appeared to exist. However, wherever possible and dependent on sample size, additional inferential testing was undertaken to determine statistically significant relationships.

5.7.6   Inferential statistics

SPSS custom tables tab provided for the calculation of 95% upper and lower confidence intervals (CI) to indicate the degree of variation expected in the sample level data (entire population; McCormack et al. 2015:243). CIs are a more meaningful appraisal of population mean and sample reliability then a straight reliance on statistical significance (Kalinowski and Fidler 2010:52-53). Confidence intervals were applied to most custom tables in the study to indicate the degree of statistical reliability. Due to the exclusion of the Children's Garden from comparisons by plot type, its results were tabled separately showing count, percentage, and confidence intervals. These could then be compared with the results from the four general cemetery sites. However, when analysing mutually applicable data, such as the differences between male and female children, the Children's Garden was included. To this end custom tables were created that

compared these two proportions (male and female children) for child-only and family plots against another variable, such as motif type.

This 'result' was then tested further by subjecting the two proportions to a z-test (two tailed) using the online Epitools z-test. This calculated whether percentage differences between each plot type and sex in the descriptive statistics was statistically significant or simply a product of the sampling methodology (i.e. not significant with both proportions being statistically the same). The z-test is expressed in the custom table showing the percentage of difference between the two proportions, the p value and CI of the difference. As per standard statistical testing the significance level is set at 0.05 or lower. This inferential testing enabled the analysis to identify statistically significant relationships between portions and variables. Such identification was only the starting point, though, as the reasons for such significance needed to be interpreted within the context of the broader research.

5.8   Limitations

As with most archaeological studies, the sites examined have been subject to site formation processes over time that have altered both their material culture and landscape to varying degrees. Inevitably, the integrity of some grave markers has been affected due to weathering or having fallen over and broken making it difficult to read the inscription. In one case a whole cemetery section had been physically altered and many grave markers relocated from their original location (Figure 5-2). Also, the grave markers
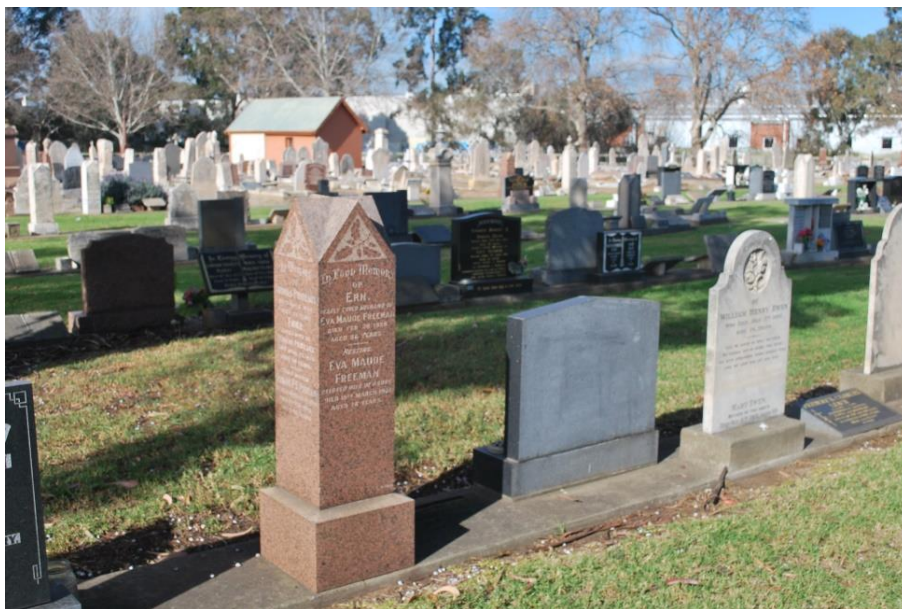
Figure 5-2. Hindmarsh cemetery: Redeveloped Lower section looking east with traditional plots replaced with concrete beam and grass arrangement, with leased grave markers re-erected (Photo by author).

recorded at each site undoubtedly represent an incomplete sample of all children interred there as not every child would have been afforded one, or been included on a subsequent family monument, as evidenced by comparison of interments listed on the Hindmarsh burial register against grave marker inscriptions.

5.8.1 Identifying denominations

The clear recognition of Christian religious denomination from the grave marker and its features was problematic. Hindmarsh, Cheltenham, and St Jude's do not display officially demarcated religious sections. Contemporary funeral notices for Cheltenham reference 'the Catholic area', although this is not a defined or signed section (Kym Liebig pers. comm. 2019). It forms part of sections F, G, and the Heritage Park; areas that have traditionally come to be used by Catholics of Italian and other cultural backgrounds. Although not forming part of the surveyed area sections F and G are directly adjacent to the surveyed sections FX and GX, in which Catholic memorials were recorded, suggesting an informal denominational association with this general location. The clearance and reuse of some areas at Cheltenham has also seen de-facto denominational and cultural concentrations occur. At St Jude's, Adamson writes that an Anglican section (sections C and H) was added shortly before the First World War (2011:158) but does not cite his source. Although Wesleyan in origin, Walkerville cemetery was never restricted to that denomination's exclusive use (McDougall and Vines 2012:3) and also contains a mixture of denominations. Such information was not usually recorded on the burial registers (see Section 4.2.2).

Certain grave maker styles, motifs and inscriptions suggested denominational membership (Mytum 2004:138-144), such as the use of draped urns by non-conformists and crosses by Anglicans (Mytum 2006:226, 2018:79), but some of these could also be used by other denominations, making it difficult to confidently assign an association purely on this basis in most cases. Another example, the Celtic cross, has a strong Catholic association but can also be chosen by non-Catholics of Irish background or identification. Additional biographical research was undertaken (Section 5.8.3), but was only able to identify 8.7% (*n*=94) of denominations for families interred at the surveyed cemeteries.

5.8.2 Identifying class and social status

Given the complexities of identifying class and social status in the memorialisation process (Section 1.6), the literature was consulted to develop a suitable approach. Social class theory retains a fundamental association with the economic structuring of society, its capitalist means of production (Singer 1980: 46) and the exploitative nature of the relationships it produces (Wright 1980:179). Baxter et al (1991:5) explains, "In this view class relations are necessarily entered into by individuals as a consequence of the way in which a society's productive arrangements are organised." Paternoster whilst re-evaluating traditional notions of class acknowledges that class remains,

one of the major frameworks for understanding poverty, as well as for interpreting the meaning of work and the roles of economic groups. It is the primary concept through which relationships between economic practice and social philosophy have been investigated (Paternoster 2018:3).

From this perspective, the colonial Australian landscape was characterised by the economic and institutional growth of the state, a developing 'mercantile bourgeoisie' and in time the response of working-class interests to the developing economy through unionism and the advent of the Australian Labor Party (Connell and Irving 1986: 105-269).

From this review, it was decided to pursue an approach that looked at occupation as a way of understanding something of the social demographics of the cemetery populations being studied. This was done in full awareness that from a Marxist perspective occupations themselves do not define class identity, representing what Wright (1980:177, 192) terms the technical relations of production (the actual work produced) as opposed to the social relations of production that establish class position through the idea of surplus value (the product of individual labour and the extent to which the value produced is retained or ceded to another party such as an employer).He notes though, that they do represent different levels of social status that has, "the effect of intensifying the divisions within classes on the basis of occupation "(Wright 1980:192). It seems not unreasonable then, that a person's occupation could provide some indication, not just of their economic circumstances, but of the social relations of production arising from it, and therefore their status and class within the broader social structure. However, in pursuing this approach it must be acknowledged as noted by Bottero (2005:70) that a person's class position could change over their lifetime depending on their employment trajectory. She further argues that the social interactions arising from occupations, such as the relationships formed and cultural affinities generated within them, are equally important to understanding their social meaning as the economic context they represent (Bottero 2005:56). In this sense occupations form their own communities of social status and class. Mytum (2004:148-150) terms the realisation of occupation through memorialisation as 'vocational identity' which can be expressed on the grave marker using both textual and pictorial information. This could also involve titles and social associations sometimes applied to females as well. As Mytum notes though, "An emphasis on trade or profession is not universal, being absent completely in some areas and rare in most (Mytum 2004:149)". As this proved to be the case for the sample, additional biographical research was required.

5.8.3 Biographical research

This involved a search to identify the occupation undertaken by the children's family, as well as any relevant details that could indicate their community status and religious denomination. To identify references to adult individuals interred in the sample sites, both online and physical library research was undertaken to access the following sources: burial records, previous compilations of genealogical research, local histories and digitised newspapers (available online through the National Library of Australia's Trove

website). General online searches were also used. This was done using individuals' names, dates of birth and death, and any other clues from the grave marker such as the suburb of residence or reference to an event such as an accident. The available historical records (and associated genealogical research) tended to favour nineteenth century interments, and the colonial period generally, proving less helpful in providing any information about twentieth century burials. Occupation and denomination were not recorded on burial registers for the cemeteries surveyed. Access to official records, such as individual death certificates, was cost prohibitive (with a fee for each application) and therefore not undertaken. Research was also impeded in early 2020 by the Covid-19 health pandemic that saw the closure of archives and libraries, meaning information only available in hard copy was not accessible for part of the year. Also, much potential online genealogical data is only accessible on a user-pays basis with no guarantee of being useful. The Children's Garden was not included in this approach, as the heavily regulated and child-specific nature of the site did not seek to promote class expression.

Ultimately, 11.2% (*n*=121) of occupational backgrounds were identified, divided into eleven vocational categories: church, farmer, government, hospitality, labourer, large business (company), mariner, professional, small business (shopkeeper), tradesman and 'other', and configured for statistical analysis. Apportioning class on this basis, the majority of occupations were seen as middle to lower-middle class, with the position of labourer clearly identified as working class. This was contextualised based on the nature of each occupation, the work undertaken, and the surplus value produced. In this sense a tradesman for example, could be working for an employer and therefore considered working class, or self-employed and therefore depending on the size of their operation lower-middle class to middle class. The same variation could apply to several of the categories chosen. So, the use of terms such as class and status in this thesis is done so cautiously within the context of family occupation and the economic and social relationships this suggests, whilst recognising that such associations are not straight forward.

5.8.4   Monumental Masons

For reasons of practicality the study does not further pursue research into the monumental masons identified from the grave plots, as these numbered 64 different companies or combinations thereof. Greater examination of the monumental masonry industry remains a desirable goal of future research in understanding the variables of grave marker production and selection, including the growth and role of the funeral industry in the consumption of mortuary material culture (for example see Streb 2019:105-127). However, notwithstanding the dynamic of the consumer-producer relationship, it is reasonable to view the resulting material culture (grave marker and grave plot) as substantially representative of the family's desires and preferences as mediated through the commercial context of the mason and their self-interested desire to meet their clients' needs as expressed (Tarlow 1999:175-6). This was assisted by the

ready availability from the nineteenth century, of a variety of mass-produced styles that are found throughout the cemeteries of the western world (Baugher and Veit 2014:125; Mytum 2004:63).

The influence of the mason and undertaker on the consumer was considered by Mytum (2018), in a UK based study of mortuary artefacts from the late-eighteenth to the early-twentieth centuries. He observed that over time coffin design, handles and breast plate's demonstrated longevity of form and style compared to the greater diversity and change seen in grave markers over a shorter period. During this period undertakers tended to oversee the families immediate need for a coffin whereas, at a later point after the funeral the family engaged with a mason to produce the grave marker. He concluded that such archaeological differences represented the greater influence of the undertaker upon the family at a time of emotional vulnerability and practical urgency (to arrange burial), as opposed to the more reflective selection of the grave marker by the family sometime after the funeral (possibly months later). The latter scenario allowed the family the space in which to bring greater personal input and influence to the selection of the grave marker, empowering their position as consumer in their negotiations with the mason as producer (Mytum 2018:91).

5.8.5   Cemetery Authority regulations

Where possible administrative guidelines imposed by the respective cemetery authorities pertaining to the establishment of the grave plot, the type and style of grave marker allowed and the use of grave furniture is discussed. However, it should be noted that historical documentation in this regard was limited or not found. Even contemporary guidelines varied in the degree to which practices undertaken were formally documented.

5.9   Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the conceptual planning behind this study, including an outline of the archaeological methods employed in the field, material culture terminology, the collation of survey data and the methods of statistical analysis undertaken. The results arising from these methods are presented in the next two chapters, with CHAPTER 6 outlining the results for chronological range, types of plots and their arrangement, sex, age, grave marker forms and styles, and social position, and CHAPTER 7 showing the findings for grave marker inscriptions, motifs, and grave furniture.

CHAPTER 6
CHRONOLOGY, PLOT TYPES, SEX, AGE, SPATIAL ELEMENTS AND SOCIAL STATUS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first part of the archaeological fieldwork results. It commences with the chronological spread of the sample, the types of grave plot and the sex and age of the children interred. Next, the spatial elements are displayed, showing the results for grave marker material, colour, orientation, the use and height of fences or borders, and the height of grave markers. The prevalence of grave marker styles recorded is then presented, using categorical groupings of tablets, crosses, pillars/sculptures and horizontal slabs and plaques. The final section shows the results for the degree of class identification discernible from the sample using both archaeological and historical methods.

6.2 Chronological distribution

The sample has a chronological range from c.1847 to 2018, representing 2,128 grave markers from 2,104 grave plots (Table 6-1and Table 6-2). The first recorded burial for Hindmarsh Cemetery, the oldest site, occurred in 1846 (Nicol 1986:6), however today no grave markers from this decade survive. Walkerville was the only other site founded in the late 1840s. Only three grave markers from the 1840s were recorded, with the second lowest representation occurring in the following decade 1850 to 1859 (n=24; 1.1%). By comparison, the spike in numbers from 1930 to 1959 (n = 401; 18.8%) is partly the result of a high concentration of grave markers from these periods at Cheltenham.

Table 6-1. Count and percent of grave markers commemorating children by site.

	Count	Col N %
Enfield Memorial Park (Children's Garden)	1052	49.4%
Hindmarsh Cemetery	407	19.1%
Cheltenham Cemetery	300	14.1%
St Jude's Cemetery, Brighton	247	11.6%
Walkerville Cemetery	122	5.7%
Total	2128	100.0%

The high numbers for the period 1980 to 2009 (n=1,030; 48.4%) primarily reflect the large population at the Children's Garden, Enfield (where interments commenced in 1986). This site by its child-specific nature and through the consistent use of small plots and grave markers allows for a high concentration of interments, constituting nearly 50% of the sample. The high numbers of peri-natal, stillborn and infant interments there

are in marked contrast to the much smaller numbers seen in the general cemeteries over the same time frame (*n*=36; 1.6%). Accordingly, the Children's Gardens statistical influence and different mortuary context is recognised and contextualised in this analysis.

Table 6-2. Count, percent and confidence intervals of grave markers with children by decade.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper C I for Col N %
No date inscribed	44	2.1%	(1.5%, 2.7%)
1836-1839	0	0.0%	
1840 to 1849	3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
1850 to 1859	24	1.1%	(0.7%, 1.6%)
1860 to 1869	31	1.5%	(1.0%, 2.0%)
1870 to 1879	60	2.8%	(2.2%, 3.6%)
1880 to 1889	87	4.1%	(3.3%, 5.0%)
1890 to 1899	56	2.6%	(2.0%, 3.4%)
1900 to 1909	74	3.5%	(2.8%, 4.3%)
1910 to 1919	91	4.3%	(3.5%, 5.2%)
1920 to 1929	94	4.4%	(3.6%, 5.4%)
1930 to 1939	170	8.0%	(6.9%, 9.2%)
1940 to 1949	109	5.1%	(4.2%, 6.1%)
1950 to 1959	122	5.7%	(4.8%, 6.8%)
1960 to 1969	46	2.2%	(1.6%, 2.8%)
1970 to 1979	40	1.9%	(1.4%, 2.5%)
1980 to 1989	232	10.9%	(9.6%, 12.3%)
1990 to 1999	535	25.1%	(23.3%, 27.0%)
2000 to 2009	263	12.4%	(11.0%, 13.8%)
2010 to 2018	47	2.2%	(1.6%, 2.9%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

Some grave markers in the Children's Garden, although displaying death dates from the 1960s and 1970s (and one from the 1950s), were erected after the section's establishment in 1986 that created a suitable interment location for the commemoration of previously stored remains (K. Liebig pers.com 5/08/19). Undated grave markers (where no date of death was inscribed) made up 2.1% (*n*=44), of which 60% were recorded at the Children's Garden.

Hindmarsh and St Jude's display the most consistent chronological use pattern from the 1850's through to the present (Figure 6-1). Together with Walkerville, they form almost the entire nineteenth century sample. Walkerville's usage peaked during this period and its decline in numbers into the twentieth century is noticeable. The patterns mentioned above regarding Cheltenham and the Children's Garden are also clear. Cheltenham constitutes a major part of the sample from the 1920s through to the 1970s.

Overall, this chronology shows that child death in the West rather than being primarily a phenomenon associated with past periods of high infant and child mortality rates remains a continuing, if statistically much reduced, event in the lives of families and communities.
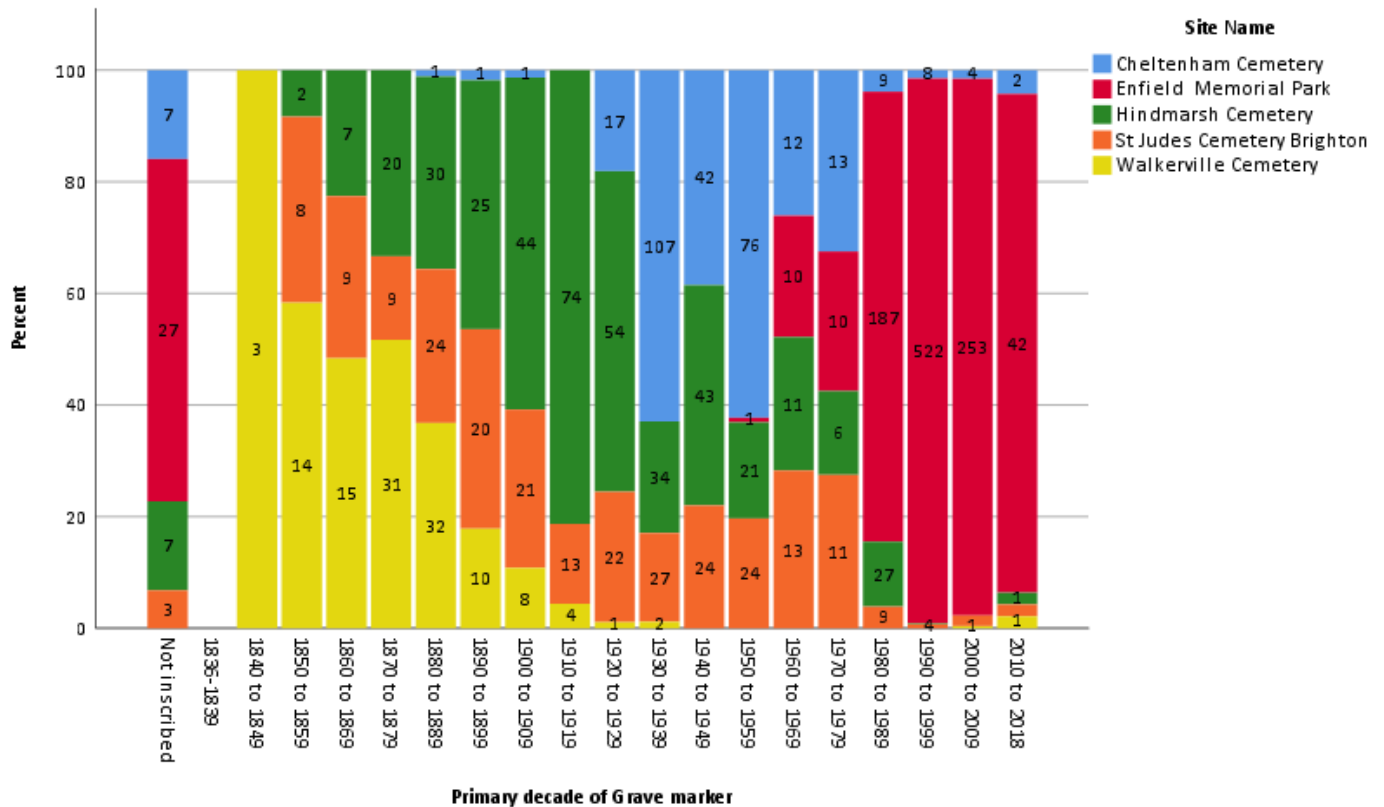
Figure 6-1. Percentage of grave markers with children by decade and site (Total for each x-axis category)*. Grave marker numbers shown on bars.

*Tally by decade (x-axis) shown in Table 6-2

6.3 Types of grave plot

Three main types of grave plot were recorded: child-only, doubles (either two children or a child and an adult) and group plots (those with three or more occupants, whether a group of children or a combination of children and adults [Table 6-3]). The latter two types may have more than one grave marker per plot. Child-only interments were the most common (*n*=1164; 55.3%), followed by group plots (*n*=775; 35.9%) with double plots less common (*n*=185: 8.8%). The Children's Garden had the largest percentage of child-only graves (*n*=1,006) making up 95.6% of that site, and a small number of double or group children's plots (*n*=44; 4.2% and *n*=2; 0.2% respectively [Figure 6-2]). If Enfield is removed from the sample then group plots are the most common (*n*=753; 71.5%), whilst child-only (*n*=158; 15%) and double plots (*n*=142; 13.5%) are roughly equal as a second choice (Figure 6-2).

Table 6-3. Count, percent and confidence intervals for grave plot types by interment number.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Child-only (Single)	1164	**55.3%**	(53.2%, 57.4%)
Group (>2)	755	**35.9%**	(33.9%, 38.0%)
Double (Two people)	185	**8.8%**	(7.6%, 10.1%)
Total	2104	100.0%	

6.3.1 Child-only and family plots

For the purposes of this study these plot combinations were collapsed into two primary choices: child-only plots (commemorating children-only [Figure 6-3]) and family plots (commemorating both children and adults [Figure 6-4]). Family plots may involve one or multiple grave markers, and children may be inscribed on the same grave marker as adults or have their own as part of the assemblage. Throughout the sample family plots maintained their position as the preferred choice in general cemeteries. Interestingly, in 1986 when Enfield developed their dedicated child-only space , the less used Hindmarsh cemetery also saw an initial increase of child-only plots but none since, whereas at St Jude's both plot types are used in roughly equal numbers in this decade. Walkerville, since re-opening for cremations in 2004 had seen only two child interments, both child-only. This trend was not uniform with Cheltenham continuing to favour family plots, although this may be an artefact of the sampling methodology employed there (Section 5.6.4). Grave markers in the Children's Garden with dates earlier than 1986 represent delayed historical interments.
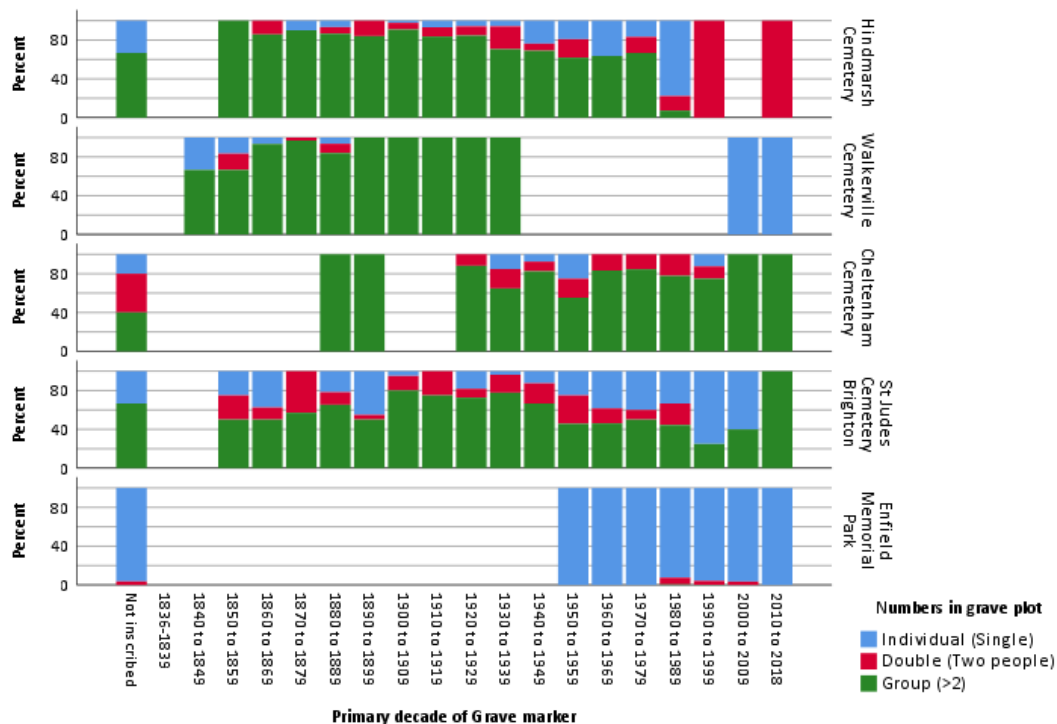
Figure 6-2. Percentage of grave plot types by decade and site (Total for each x-axis category).

Figure 6-3. Child-only plot: Diamond tablet, marble, c. 1917, Hindmarsh cemetery looking north but relocated from original position (Photo by author).
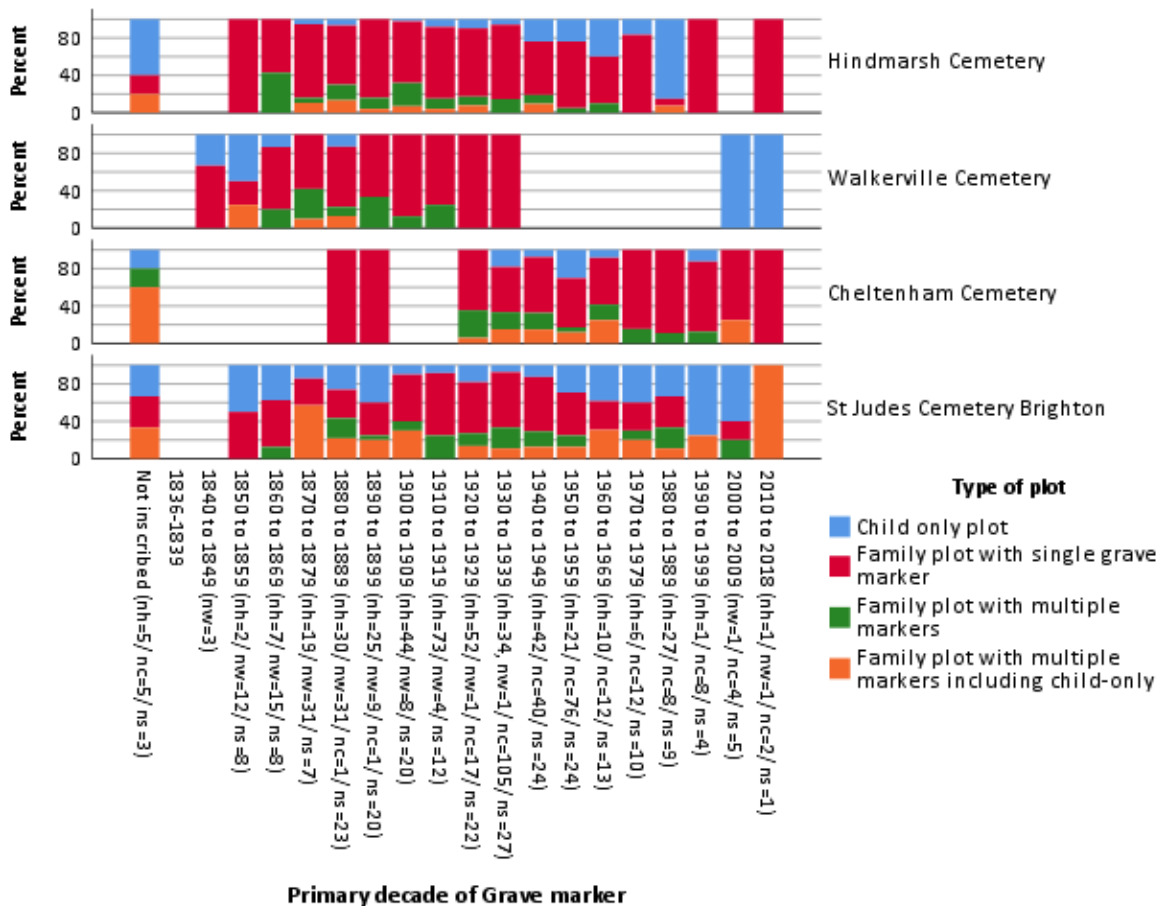
Figure 6-4. Percentage of family plot types by decade and site* showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).*Children's Garden; Enfield not represented as exclusively child-only plots

6.3.2 Associated plots

A small percentage of plots (*n*=75; 3.5%) are located near the plots of other kin (Table 6-4), suggesting a desire to achieve a spatial closeness in death and the creation of a familial neighbourhood in the landscape (Francaviglia 1971). Of these, most (*n*=56; 2.6%) were adjacent in the same row, with the remainder either directly opposite or visibly close by. Such a spatial construction requires foresight, planning and economic capacity to secure the adjacent plots before they are purchased by others.

Of the four general cemeteries, Hindmarsh had the highest percentage (*n*=24; 32%), although St Jude's had a broader chronological spread from the start of the nineteenth century to the 1960s. The percentage found in the Children's Garden; Enfield (*n*=23; 30.7%) represent siblings. However, as associated plots were only recorded in relation to grave markers that commemorated children, these counts are unlikely to represent a complete tally of all associated plots at each general site.

Table 6-4. Count, percent and confidence intervals for associated plots by site.

	Count	Column N %	95.0% Lower CI for Column N %	95.0% Upper CI for Column N %
Hindmarsh Cemetery	24	32.0%	22.3%	43.1%
Enfield Memorial Park	23	30.7%	21.1%	41.7%
St Jude's Cemetery Brighton	18	24.0%	15.4%	34.5%
Cheltenham Cemetery	5	6.7%	2.6%	14.0%
Walkerville Cemetery	5	6.7%	2.6%	14.0%
Total	75	100.0%	.	.

6.4 Sex

The survey recorded 2,542 individuals aged between 0 to 20 years. From the grave marker inscriptions 1,398 were identified as male (55%) and 1,066 as female (41.9%), leaving 78 (3.1%) whose sex could not be determined. Of course, both sexes can be memorialised on the same grave marker, adding a fourth category of 'mixed'. When broken down into the four categories observed (Table 6-5), the distribution by sex was as follows; 51.2% (*n*=1090) of all grave markers featured male children and 40.2% (*n*=856) female children. Mixed grave markers (with both male and female children recorded) occurred for 6.2% of the sample (*n*=132) and children of unknown sex (where biological identity could not be clearly determined from the inscription) made up just 2.3% (*n*=50). The difference between male and female children increased to 12.6% (*n*=669; 53.7% to *n*=512; 41.1%) for child-only grave markers. 'Mixed' was higher for family grave markers (*n*=132; 15% to *n*=20; 2.3%) and 'Unknown' was higher for child-only grave markers (*n*=45; 3.6% to *n*=5; 0.6%).

When looked at by decade and plot type (Figure 6-5) the distribution by sex is steady, with male children outnumbering female children in most decades in accordance with the higher number of male child interments recorded overall. This reflects the fact that for reasons still not fully understood that female death rates have always been lower than males (Stanley 2001:369). Mixed child burials were recorded mostly from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s, appearing on both plot types, although more consistently on family plots. This period represents a period of still high but gradually declining infant and child mortality rates and also encompassed the flu pandemic of 1918 to 1920 (Cunningham 2005:173; Haines 2001:23; McCalman 2008:31-32, see also Section 1.1). After the 1950s mixed child burials rarely occurred for either plot type.

Table 6-5. Count, percent and confidence intervals for distribution of sexes on grave markers.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Male children		1090	51.2%	(49.1%, 53.3%)
Female children		856	40.2%	(38.2%, 42.3%)
Mixed		132	6.2%	(5.2%, 7.3%)
Unknown sex		50	2.3%	(1.8%, 3.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

Figure 6-5. Percentage of sex of child on grave markers by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

The main difference observed is an increase in the number of children memorialised without a clear indication of their sex ('unknown sex') for child-only plots from the 1960s. This was rarer for the general sites (*n*=9; 0.8%) but is more noticeable for the child-only plots at the Children's Garden; Enfield (*n*=41; 3.9%).

6.5   Age

Over a quarter of children did not have their age inscribed (Table 6-6) and this appears to be an increasing trend for child-only plots since the 1960s (Figure 6-6). Children under one year of age were consistently the most represented age group for both child-only and family plots, but all age categories are represented for each decade including mixed age groups, with the exception of stillborn children. The percentages for two to five-years old (*n*=157; 7.4%) and six to twelve-years old (*n*=139; 6.5%) are similar. By comparison, the larger proportion for the oldest category of thirteen to twenty-years old (*n*=255; 12.0%) appears high given historical understandings of improving child mortality rates in the twentieth century. However, this category does span a greater number of years than the proceeding two age groups, and older ages were also those more likely to record other causes of death such as accidents (Section 7.10).

Table 6-6. Count, percent and confidence intervals for age groups represented on grave markers.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Not inscribed	568	26.7%	(24.8%, 28.6%)
Stillborn	277	13.0%	(11.6%, 14.5%)
One year or younger	606	28.5%	(26.6%, 30.4%)
Two to five years	157	7.4%	(6.3%, 8.5%)
Six to twelve years	139	6.5%	(5.5%, 7.6%)
Thirteen to twenty years	255	12.0%	(10.7%, 13.4%)
Mixture of age groups	126	5.9%	(5.0%, 7.0%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

The mixing of age groups on child-only and family plot types is higher in the nineteenth century, although the numbers for child-only plots in that period are small. Family plots are well represented and show a gradual decline to the 1930s, when mixed ages appear in much lower percentages than previously.

From the 1980s onwards, stillborn children, previously rarely openly memorialised (and probably constituting a proportion of those recorded as 'not inscribed' historically) were markedly represented (Figure 6-6). Although this result is clearly influenced by the large concentration of such individuals in the Children's Garden; Enfield, examples of this newer practice were also recorded at Hindmarsh (along with its previously mentioned collective memorial [Section 4.2.1]). The memorialisation of a baby in the new section at Walkerville further shows that such practices were not confined to child-only sections in the

contemporary cemetery. Tellingly, the number with no age inscribed also increases over this same period, for whom a good proportion found at Enfield are likely to be stillborn given their location in the peri-natal section of the Children's Garden. In the same period, family plots continued to have a broader range of children's ages, especially older children (six to 12 years and adolescents), as well as a mixture of ages.
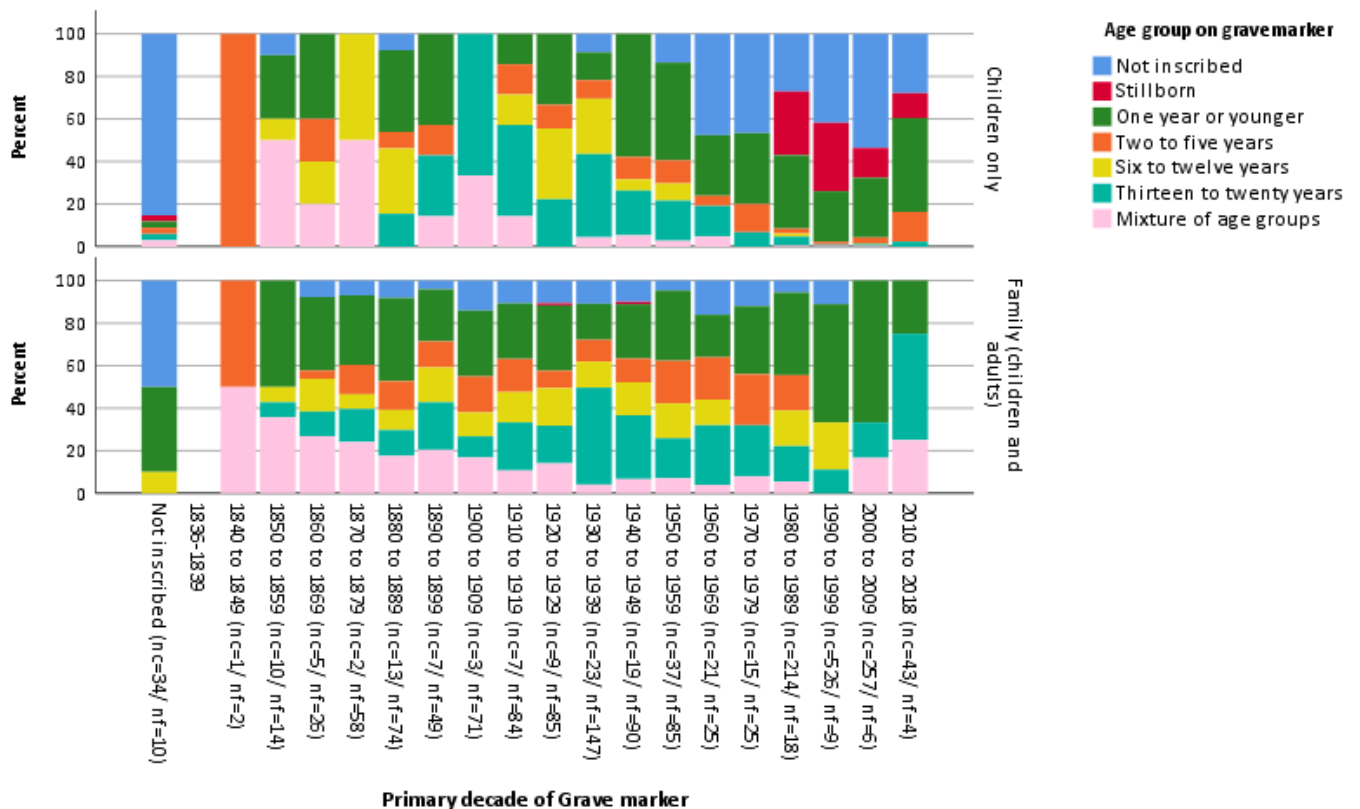
Figure 6-6. Percentage of age groups on grave markers by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

6.6   Spatial elements - Grave marker material

Twenty different types of material construction were observed for the grave markers, involving either a singular material or a combination (Table 6-7). Cast iron with a concrete base or plinth was the most widely used combination. The dominance of cast iron combinations (*n*=1,067; 50.1%) reflects its almost exclusive use in the Children's Garden where most grave plots feature a rectangular cast iron plaque fixed horizontally to a concrete or stone base (Figure 6-7), although a smaller percentage are mounted on an angle to boundary kerbing or vertically on a feature brick wall (Figure 4-12). A limited number of small leaf-shaped plaques are mounted horizontally on the top of a low wall that surrounds the central sitting area.

Table 6-7. Count, percent and confidence intervals for grave marker materials.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Concrete and cast iron	781	36.7%	(34.7%, 38.8%)
Marble	726	34.1%	(32.1%, 36.2%)
Granite	280	13.2%	(11.8%, 14.6%)
Granite and cast iron	200	9.4%	(8.2%, 10.7%)
Stone and cast iron	54	2.5%	(1.9%, 3.3%)
Brick and cast iron	29	1.4%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
Slate	21	1.0%	(0.6%, 1.5%)
Granite and concrete	8	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.7%)
Wood	7	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
Sandstone	4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
Other metal	4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
Wood and other metal	3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
Marble and cast iron	3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
Concrete and other metal	2	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
Tile and other metal	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Acrylic and stone	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Sandstone and other metal	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Marble and other metal	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Granite and marble	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Marble and concrete	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

The patterns observed in the use of material for grave markers in the nineteenth century accord with broader patterns of material popularity in the Western cemetery in Europe that influenced colonial memorialisation choices, and accords with those previously identified at Adelaide's oldest cemetery, West Terrace (Muller 2006:57-60). Sandstone and slate grave markers, popular materials in the eighteenth century (Baugher and Veit 2014:150), are minimally represented (Table 6-7). Only one Sandstone grave marker was recorded for the 1850s (representing 4.2% of the sample for that decade) and just two for the 1860s (6.5%) before disappearing from the sample after the 1880s. This is despite its ready availability from Tea Tree Gully in Adelaide's north eastern foothills (Young 1997:2). Of the three grave markers with 1840s dates, two were Slate and this material is reasonably represented until the 1870s when it declines (n = 5; 8.3%), and is not seen again but for a brief reappearance between 1910 and 1929 (>1% in each decade). Slate was popular initially because it was easy to work and was available locally and therefore more affordable (Tillett 1994:1).

Ultimately, marble dominates from the mid-nineteenth century (*n*=12; 50%) and holds its popularity until the middle of the next (Figure 6-8). It was seen as a superior quality material, with greater resistance to weathering, whereas the porous nature of sandstone left it vulnerable to damage from mould and moisture and slates could delaminate. Also, the hygienic white look of marble, tapped into the neo-classical architectural revival style favoured in the Victorian era (Francaviglia 1971:507). White marble was quarried in several places near Adelaide, including the Adelaide Hills, where it was worked by C. M. Bom's marble works at Hahndorf from 1862, and Angaston in the Barossa Valley (Highnett et al. 1983:147; Young 1997:1).

Figure 6-7. Children's Garden (Neo-natal section), Enfield Memorial Park: Rectangular plaques, cast iron on concrete, looking east (Photo by author).

In turn, granite starts to appear in the sample in the late nineteenth century and by the 1890s accounted for 12.5% of grave markers in that decade (*n*=7). These were all on family plots and granite was not recorded for child-only plots until the 1930s (*n*=5; 21.7%) rising to nearly 30% of material used over the following 30 years (Figure 6-8). Granite attained primary popularity over marble for family grave markers from the 1950s (*n*=45; 52.9% to *n*=39; 45.9%) although marble was still preferred for child-only grave markers and it was only in the 1970s that granite can be seen as significantly replacing marble as the first choice for grave markers. Even more durable and less prone to discolouration than marble, granite was also available in a range of colours, mostly blacks, greys and pinks (Baugher and Veit 2014:150-151). Overall, marble (*n*=728; 67.7%) and granite (*n*=294; 27.3%) are by far the most popular materials across all four general cemeteries, including the most recently erected grave markers at these locations.

The small number of wooden memorials (Table 6-7) reflects both their natural deterioration over time and the fact that wooden markers are often only temporary until a more permanent stone (or today cast iron) grave marker can replace it. Changing circumstances meant such replacements did not always eventuate, as evidenced by the survival in situ of two temporary wooden grave markers at Hindmarsh (Nicol 1986:79).

Figure 6-8. Percentage of grave marker materials by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

At the Children's Garden wooden (and metal) crosses are erected pending their 'anticipated' replacement by a more permanent plaque (K. Liebig pers.com 2019). The dominance of the cast iron on concrete marker style at Enfield already discussed, is reflected in the latter decades of the twentieth century to the present, where a greater combination of existing materials were used for child-only plots (Figure 6-8).Thirteen materials or combinations thereof had occurrences of less than ten, with six types occurring only once.

6.6.1   Grave marker colour

The grave markers recorded have a limited range of colours, primarily related to their natural material composition (Table 6-8). Unlike other cultures that chose to paint or add additional colour to their memorials, Western tradition has mostly reflected the colour of the material used at a given time in accordance with funerary fashion, affordability and availability. In the sample, white, pink, black and grey were the dominant colours. For tablets, pink granite was preferred, although black and to a lesser extent

grey was also used. The earlier adoption of granite for family plots in the period up to the 1930s distinguished such grave markers from the white marble landscape of child-only grave markers, although from this point onwards there is a greater uniformity of material use between plot types until the 1960s (Figure 6-9).

Table 6-8. Count and percent of grave marker Colours.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Black on white	789	37.1%	(35.0%, 39.1%)
White	712	33.5%	(31.5%, 35.5%)
Black	226	10.6%	(9.4%, 12.0%)
Black on grey	158	7.4%	(6.4%, 8.6%)
Pink	131	6.2%	(5.2%, 7.2%)
Grey	56	2.6%	(2.0%, 3.4%)
Black on pink	34	1.6%	(1.1%, 2.2%)
Other	14	0.7%	(0.4%, 1.1%)
Brown	8	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.7%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

Figure 6-9. Percentage of grave marker colours by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Figure 6-10. Obelisk: Concrete and brown granite, c. 1924, Cheltenham cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

Table 6-9. Count, percent and z-test of grave marker colour by sex for child-only plots (excluding Enfield, 'mixed 'and 'unknown').

	Male		Female		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
White	53	46.9%	39	58.2%	92	51.1%	11%, p = 0.1535, (4%, 26%)
Black	23	20.4%	8	11.9%	31	17.2%	8%, p = 0.1674, (3%, 19%)
Pink	14	12.4%	3	4.5%	17	9.4%	*²
Grey	10	8.8%	6	9.0%	16	8.9%	0%, p = 1, (9%, 9%)
Brown	1	0.9%	2	3.0%	3	1.7%	*²
Black on grey	1	0.9%	2	3.0%	3	1.7%	*²
Black on pink	1	0.9%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	*²
Black on white	8	7.1%	5	7.5%	13	7.2%	1%, p = 0.804, (7%, 9%)
Other	2	1.8%	2	3.0%	4	2.2%	*²
Total	113	100.0%	67	100.0%	180	100.0%	

*¹ z-tests to compare two proportions
*² z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

The exception to single colour schemes has been the advent of material combinations in the latter decades of the last century through to the present, especially on child-only grave markers, using plaques. Some larger ornate monuments are known historically to have used stone combinations to achieve colour contrasts but only one example was recorded (Figure 6-10). The most used contemporary colour combination was black on white (n=789; 37.1%), involving a black cast iron or metal plague affixed to a white grave marker (in lieu of direct inscription into the stone), or more commonly, affixed horizontally to an often concrete, white base plinth (Figure 6-7). Black cast-iron plaques were also attached to pink and grey granite but in much lower numbers. No statistical difference in colour choice was found between male and female children on child-only grave markers (Table 6-9).

6.6.2   Grave marker Orientation

In Western Christian burial tradition the preferred grave alignment orients the head to the west (and therefore feet to the east), in preparedness for the day of resurrection when the deceased will rise whole to witness the easterly second coming of Jesus Christ (Mytum 2004 19-20). This is reflected in the dominance of east facing plots for the four general sites that were assessed as statistically significant towards family plots (Table 6-10). West facing plots were the second most common arrangement. Although small in number, both north and south facing plots were also assessed as statistically significant towards family plots. Finally a small number of plots were aligned in intermediate (intercardinal) directions.

Table 6-10. Count, percent and z-test of grave marker orientation (excluding Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
East	88	45.4%	472	53.5%	560	52.0%	9%, p = 0.0231, (1%, 17%)
West	76	39.2%	354	40.1%	430	40.0%	*[2]
North	15	7.7%	25	2.8%	40	3.7%	5%, p = 0.0011, (2%, 8%)
South	15	7.7%	25	2.8%	40	3.7%	5%, p = 0.0011, (2%, 8%)
Southeast	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	*[2]
Southwest	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	*[2]
Northwest	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	*[2]
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*[1] z-tests to compare two proportions
*[2] z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

6.6.3   Grave plot fence or border

Over half of the grave plots had no fence or border (n=1319; 62% [Table 6-11]), although if Enfield is removed (since it is borderless by design), the situation in the four general cemeteries is again quite different (Table 6-12). At these sites nearly 75% of gravesites have fences or borders (also referred to as kerbing), with Walkerville, Cheltenham and St Jude's having large majorities.

Table 6-11. Count, percent and confidence intervals for grave plot fences and borders.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
No border	1319	62.0%	(59.9%, 64.0%)
Stone border	445	20.9%	(19.2%, 22.7%)
Other	152	7.1%	(6.1%, 8.3%)
Cast Iron picket	120	5.6%	(4.7%, 6.7%)
Brick border	79	3.7%	(3.0%, 4.6%)
Tiled border	12	0.6%	(0.3%, 1.0%)
Evidence of border but railings gone	1	0.0%	(0.0%, 0.2%)
Total	2128	100.0%	.

Table 6-12. Count, percent and z-test of grave plot fences and borders (excluding Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Cast Iron picket	7	5.7%	113	16.5%	120	14.8%	11%, p = 0.0018, (4%, 18%)
Brick border	18	14.6%	61	8.9%	79	9.8%	6%, p = 0.0403, (0%, 12%)
Stone border	66	53.7%	379	55.2%	445	55.0%	1%, p = 0.8374, (9%, 11%)
Tiled border	4	3.3%	8	1.2%	12	1.5%	*²
Other	28	22.8%	124	18.1%	152	18.8%	5%, p = 0.1909, (2%, 12%)
Evidence of border but railings gone	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	*²
Total	123	100.0%	686	100.0%	809	100.0%	

*¹ z-tests to compare two proportions
*² z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

Cast-Iron pickets were statistically significant towards family plots while brick borders showed a trend towards child-only plots. There was no significant difference in the use of stone or 'other' borders between plot types (Table 6-12). The much higher percentage of borderless plots at Hindmarsh (*n*=208; 51.1%) could initially be perceived as a reflection of the area's historical working class demographic, where those who could afford to erect a grave marker may have chosen less expensive fence types such as wooden pickets that have not survived. However, the landscape at Hindmarsh has also experienced significant modification over time to allow for more burials, including the relocation of some grave markers still with leases in the 1970s (Nicol 1986: 65). This would have removed any original fencing and kerbing to make way for the new concrete rail design, affecting this result.
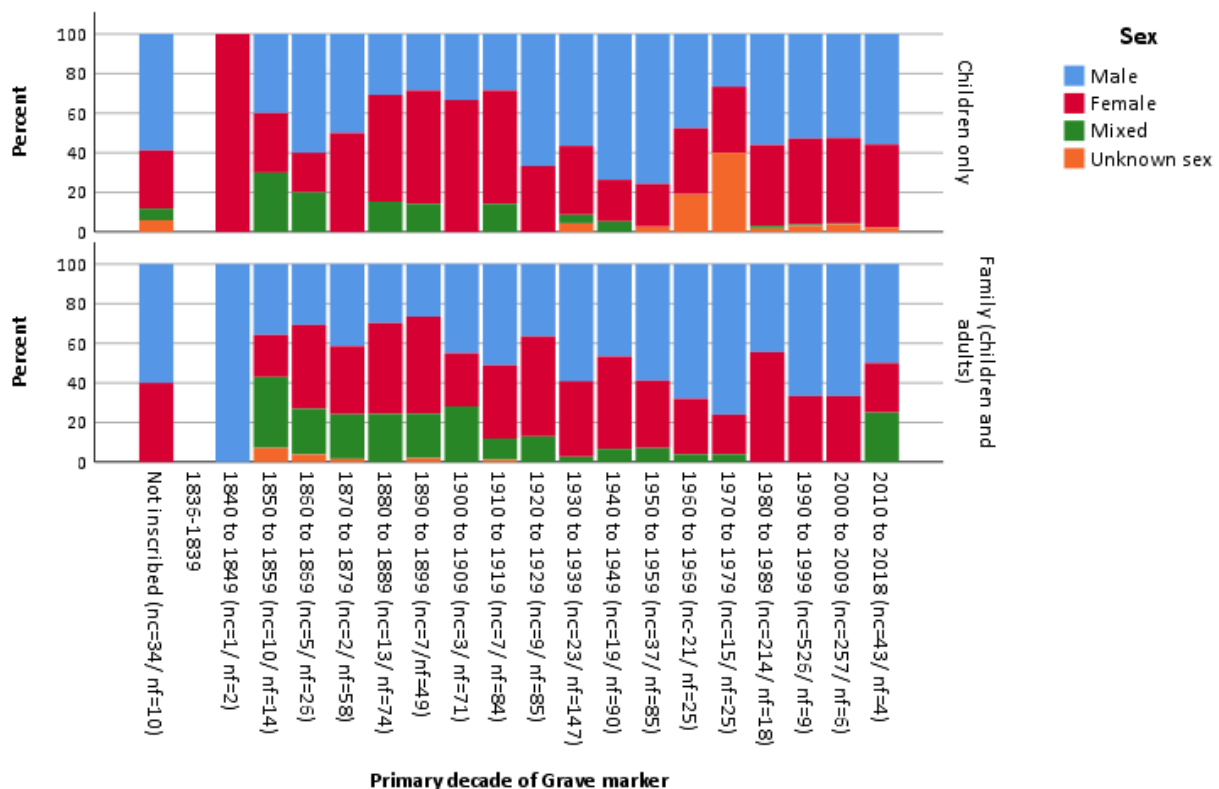
106
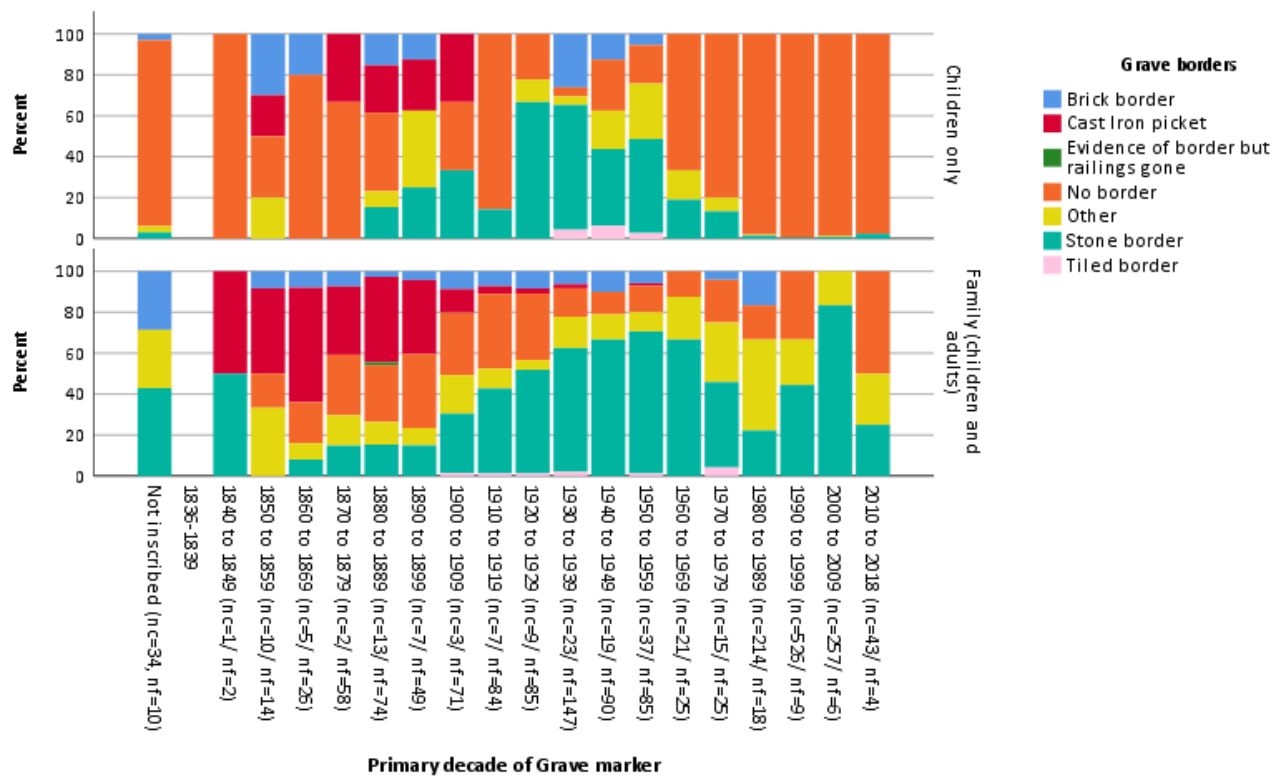
Figure 6-11. Percentage of grave marker fences or borders by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

The most common style of border for the four general cemeteries was a low stone kerb (*n*=445; 41.4%; Table 6-12, Figure 6-12), usually 20 cm in height, some of which had low decorative metal railings spanning the corner joints. The variable 'Other' mainly refers to similar but less costly low concrete kerbs. A stone or concrete slab also covering the entire grave plot served a similar, albeit more physically protective, purpose. The cast iron picket fence was the only type of enclosure that could physically impede access to the grave plot and was a popular style in the nineteenth century before declining from the turn of the century, and is rarely seen after the 1920s (Figure 6-11). This more expensive style is widely used in the more affluent locations of Walkerville (*n* = 62; 50.8%) and St Jude's (*n* = 40; 16.2%), whereas at Hindmarsh it accounts for only 3.9% (*n* = 16) and is not used for the comparable decades in the Cheltenham sample. By comparison, stone kerbs are extensively used at Cheltenham (*n* = 200; 66.7%), particularly through the war years and into the 1950s before declining sharply for both plot types for the rest of the century. Such use is similar at St Jude's, suggesting prevailing funerary fashion rather than overt class expression in the employment of such choice.

Of those gravesites without a fence or border at the four general cemeteries, family plots were more likely to lack such demarcation than child-only plots (*n* = 191; 17.8% compared to *n*=78; 7.2%). Only at St Jude's was there a higher percentage of un-bordered child-only plots albeit marginal (*n* = 14; 5.7% compared to

n=9; 3.6%). Although, these figures might suggest a greater concern to demarcate child-only graves, caution is required, as three of the sites have statistically small numbers for this plot category. Rather, the preference for demarcation of both grave plot types is clear and continuous through to the latter decades of the twentieth century. The exception is the Children's Garden; Enfield, where such enclosure is unnecessary as the site itself is separated from the rest of the cemetery, and such a practice would interfere with the intended design and maintenance of the space.
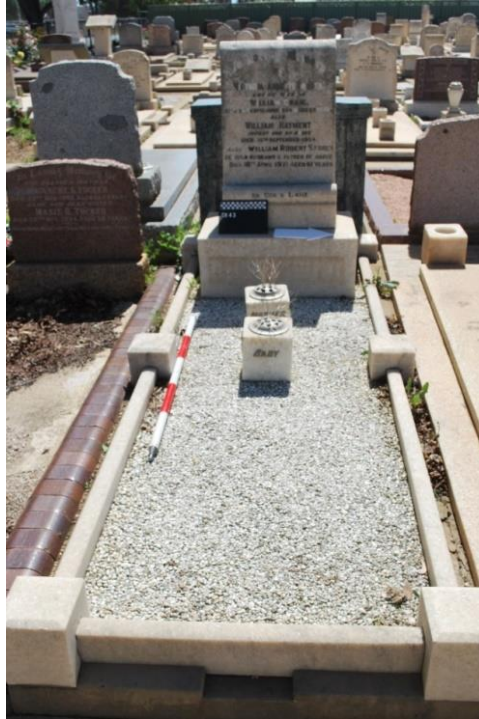
Figure 6-12. Marble kerbing: c. 1934, Cheltenham cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

6.6.4   Grave plot fence and border height

The average (mean) height of fences and borders at each site is shown in Figure 6-13 and by plot type in Figure 6-14. The average fence and border heights in Walkerville and St Jude's are generally much higher than those for Hindmarsh from the mid nineteenth century to the 1890s (Cheltenham has little representation from this period). This reflects the high numbers of taller cast iron fencing at these sites. Even after St Jude's aligns with Hindmarsh at the turn of the century, Walkerville's graves continue to have higher borders until the 1930s, after which no bordered sites were found with the exception of a contemporary addition. If we consider plot type in the taller landscape of the nineteenth century 'Victorian' cemetery, fences and borders for family plots appear on average to be higher than child-only plots until the turn of the century, then child-only plots are briefly higher until the 1920s. However, we must use caution here as the sample numbers for child-only plots for this period are small. Both plot types enjoy a consistently low profile of near parity throughout the twentieth century (Figure 6-14).
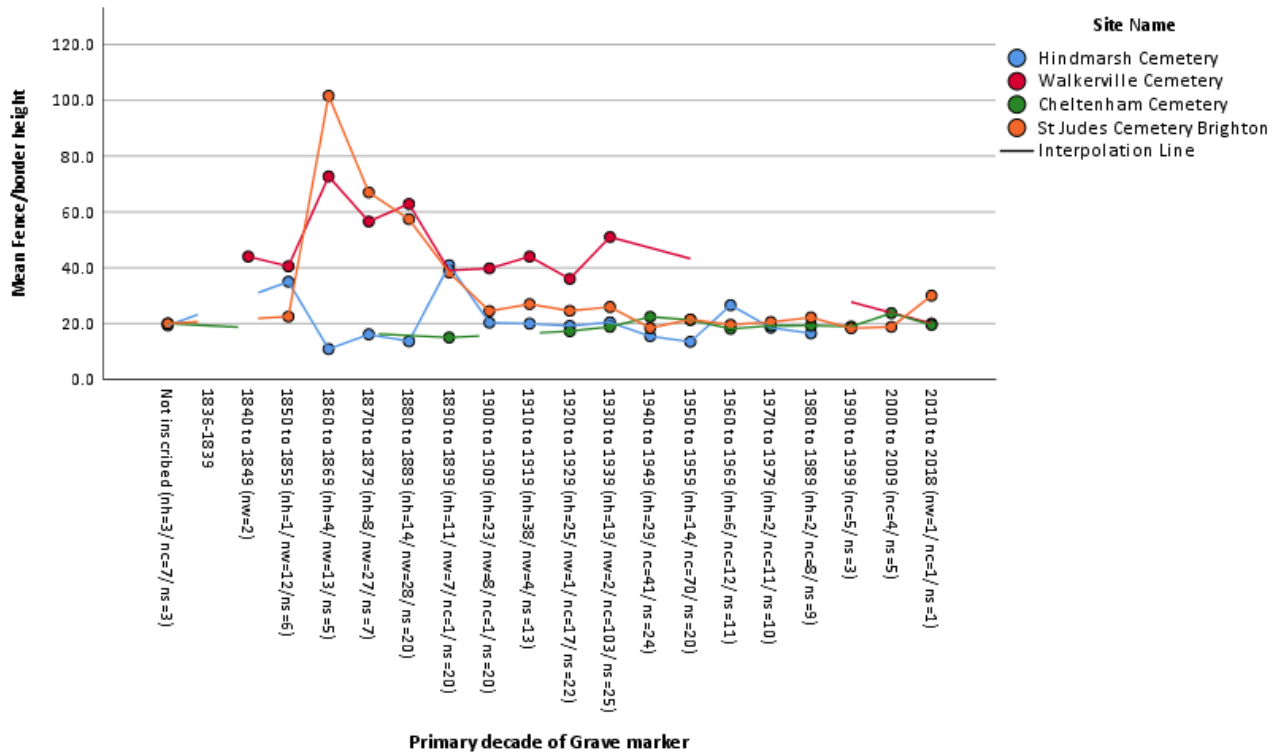
Figure 6-13. Mean percent of fence/border heights by decade and site showing fence and border numbers*.

*Excluding Enfield as the Children's Garden does not have individual plot fencing or borders
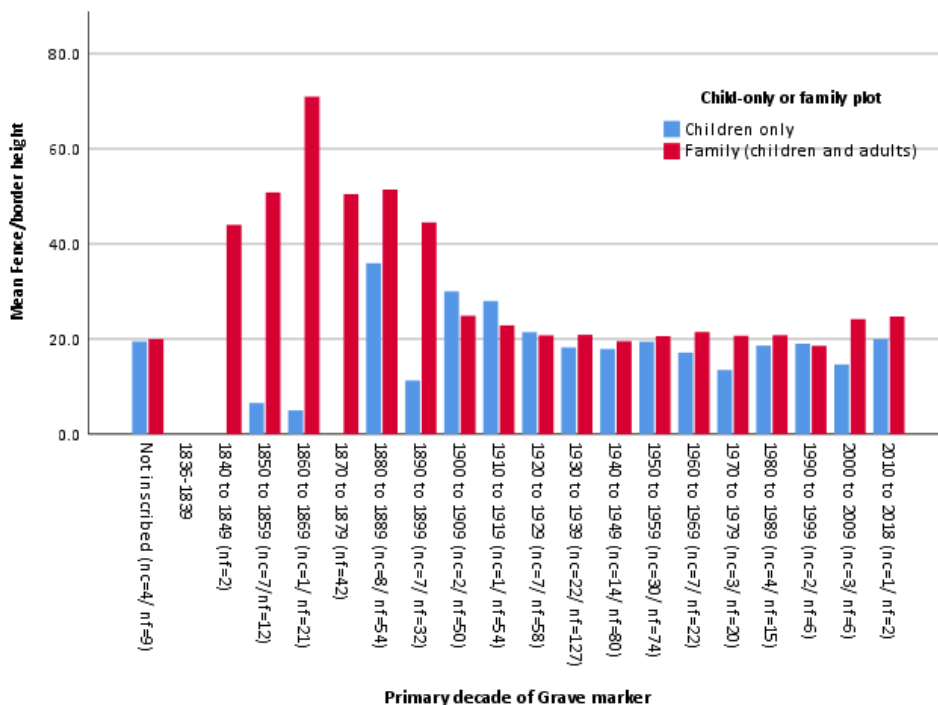
Figure 6-14. Mean percent of fence/border heights by decade and plot type showing fence and border numbers*.

*Excluding Enfield as the Children's Garden does not have individual plot fencing or borders

6.6.5   Grave marker height

The decline in fence and border heights from the beginning of the twentieth century tends to follow a similar pattern to grave marker heights (Figure 6-15). This relationship accords with the idea of higher nineteenth century monuments desiring equally higher fencing to 'protect' this extension of the family domain. This is apparent for all sites during the Victorian period, although the erratic variance for Cheltenham in a small sample (*n*=3) is complicated to interpret as both grave markers were broken, resting on bare earth plots and possibly out of situ given the later dates of the surrounding grave markers. From the 1930s up until the present all grave markers are below a metre in height, ranging from 40cm to 70cm. The single exception was a recent (c. 2015) child-only marble tablet at Walkerville standing at 1.41 m that appears to have been designed to fit into the visual look of this site.
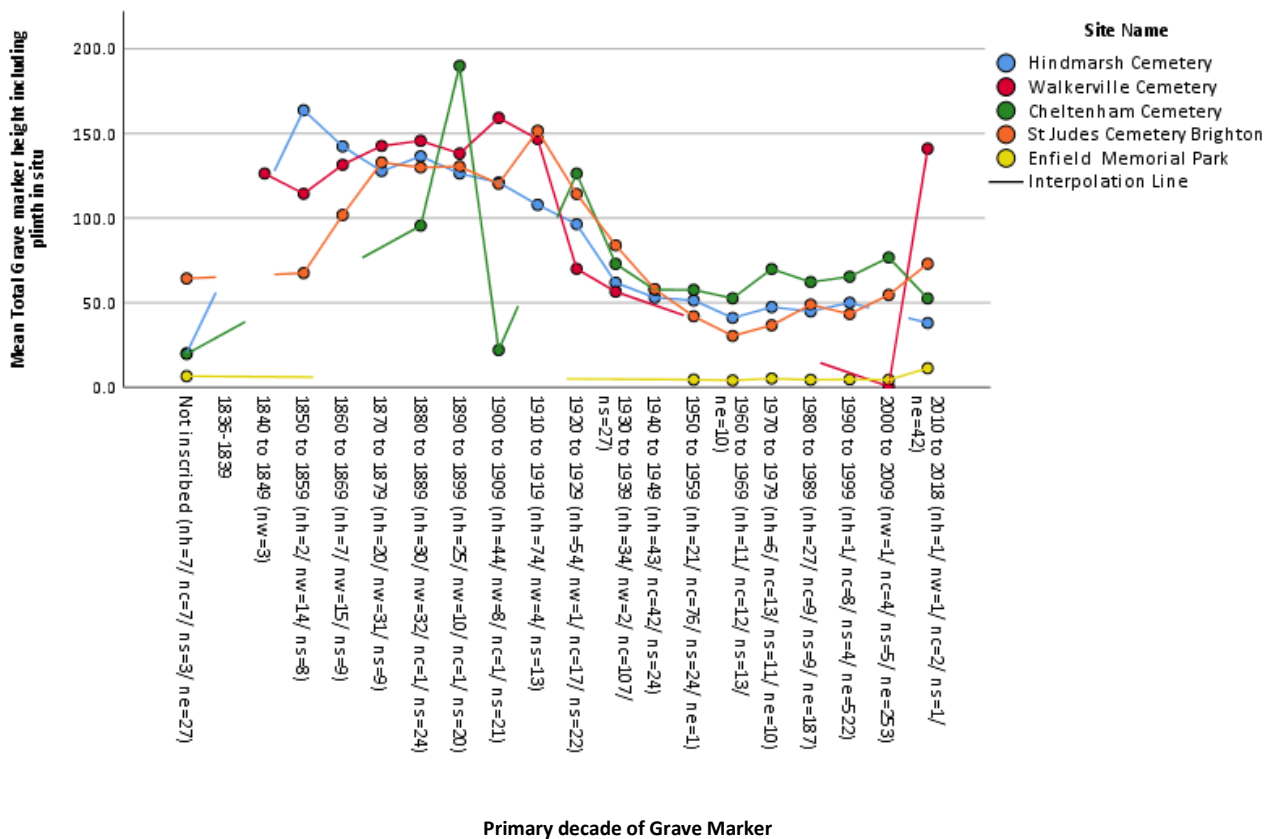
Figure 6-15. Mean percent of grave marker heights (including plinth) by decade and site showing grave marker numbers.

Looking at the average height of grave markers between child-only and family grave plots (Figure 6-16), child-only grave markers are consistently lower in height than family plots, with child-only markers usually no higher than a metre throughout the Victorian period in comparison to family grave markers, which averaged 1.25 metres. This does not appear to be determined by plot size as some child-only plots with small grave markers are larger than family plots. Even as grave marker heights declined from the 1920s this

difference was maintained. This decline in height is more marked for child-only plots than family plots. Even as the cemetery landscape consistently displayed a lower height profile from the 1930s, grave markers on family plots remained a consistently higher average (50 to 70cm) than child-only grave markers (from near ground surface level to 30 cm). This displayed the decline from vertical grave marker forms to plaques for child-only plots (mostly infants and stillborn) from the 1960s onwards.
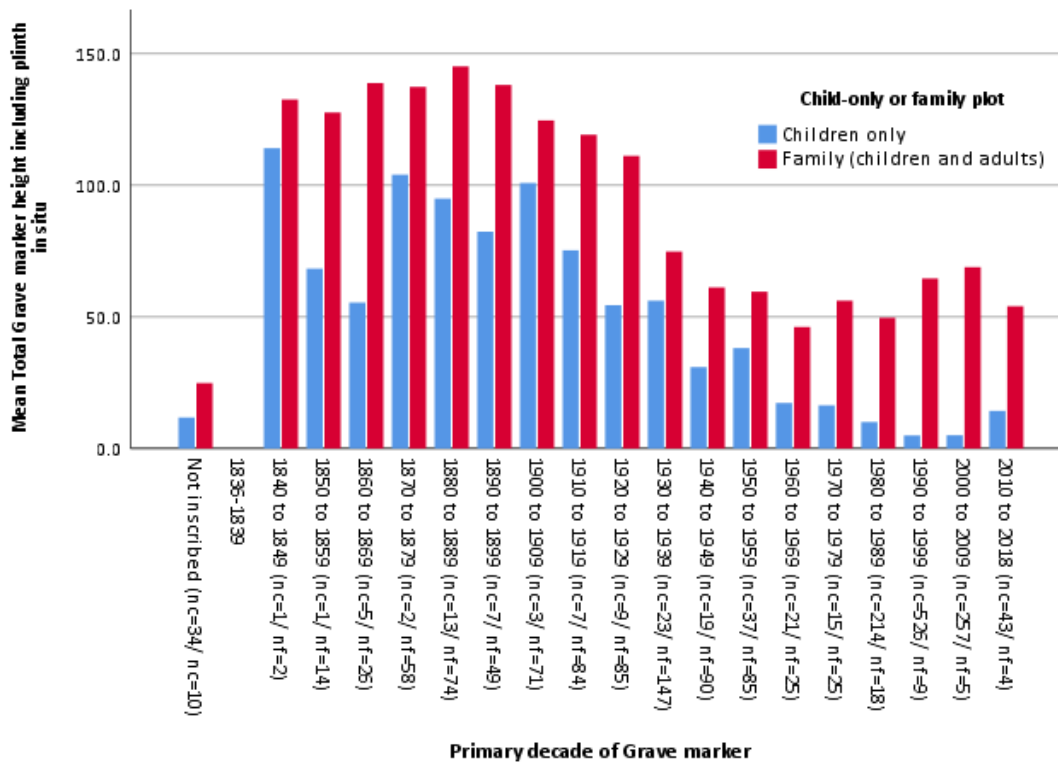
Figure 6-16. Mean percent of grave marker heights (including plinth) by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers.

Looking at grave marker heights by age group (Figure 6-17), child-only grave markers for children aged five years and under were much lower in height than older children. Infants aged less than one year of age, stillborn or 'not inscribed' (which usually encompasses these two categories based on their co-location in the cemetery) are well below 20cm in height on average. Two to five-year old's average 30cm but six-year old's and older are double the height, with a similar height for mixed age groups. By comparison family grave markers are consistently above 80cm for most age groups. The only exception is for stillborn children; where the plot heights are much closer, however this result should be taken with caution as this category only appeared on two family grave markers. The symbolism of grave marker size is discussed in Section 8.2. Considering plot types against grave marker colour (Figure 6-18) does not suggest a distinct colour association for child-only memorialisation, with both plot types using selections of the same material. The

higher numbers of material combinations for child-only plots is a pragmatic illustration of the type of grave marker used in accordance with regulatory influences at the Children's Garden.
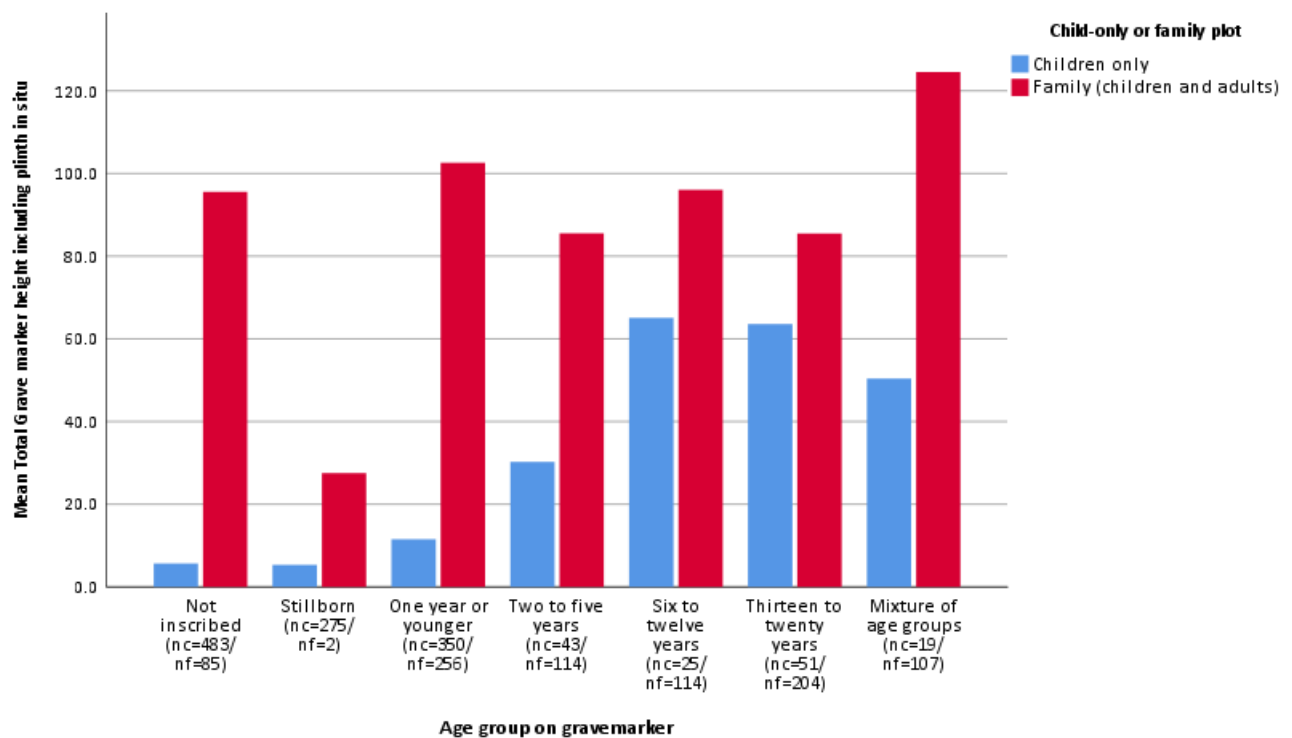
Figure 6-17. Mean percent of grave marker heights (including plinth) by age group and plot type showing grave marker numbers.

Grave marker heights were also analysed in relation to male and female children on child-only plots as the heights of family plots are likely influenced by the adults memorialised (Figure 6-19) Mean grave marker heights for male children in the nineteenth century appear to vary wildly from decade to decade in comparison to those for female children and mixed grave markers, but given the small numbers recorded for this period it is not possible to infer that height was used to differentiate children by sex. The male outlier for example, on Figure 6-19 showing a height of 1.5 m at the turn of the nineteenth century, represents just one grave marker. What does seem clear is that from the decade 1910-1919 onwards there was little difference in the height of grave markers chosen for male and female children, with heights for both declining during the twentieth century to well below 50 cm. This is in comparison to family plots that are known to reflect gendered power relationships (Mytum 2004:127-131) through the use of height (Stott 2019), although outside of this context the overt use of gender in memorialisation appears rare (Adamson 2012:405).
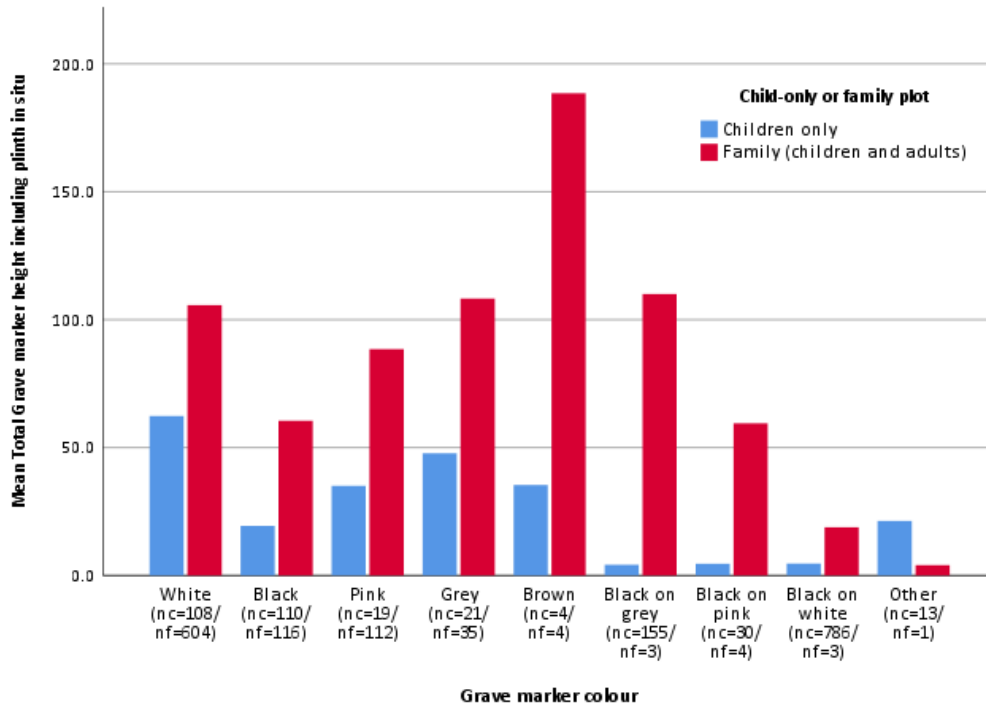
Figure 6-18. Mean percent of grave marker heights (including plinth) by colour and plot type showing grave marker numbers.
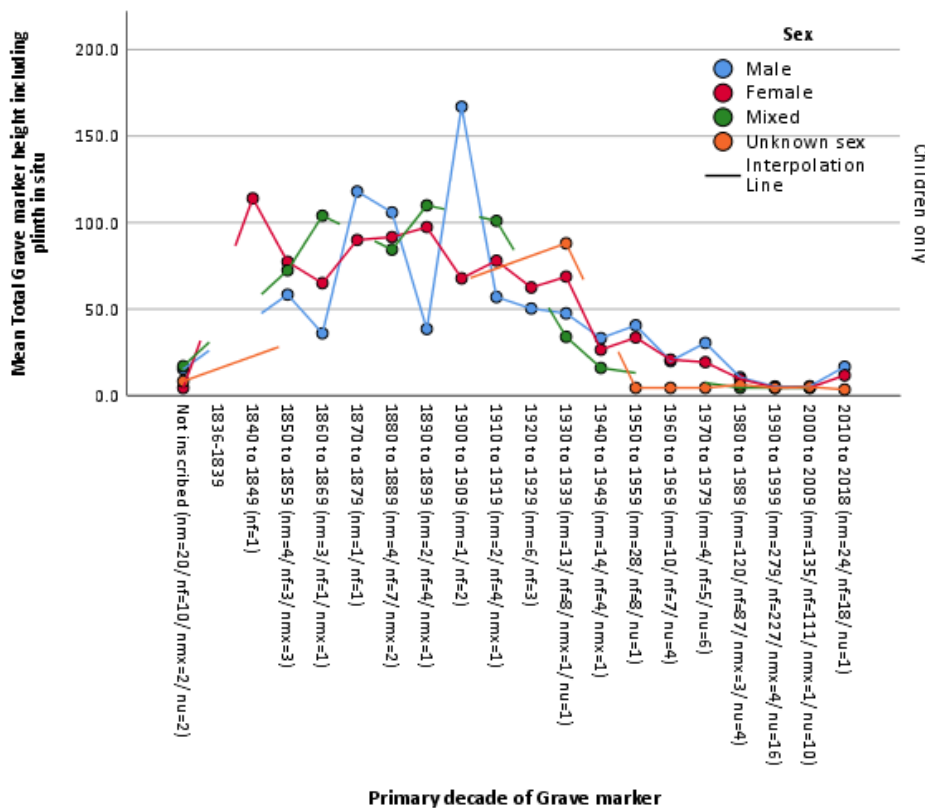
Figure 6-19. Mean percent of grave marker heights (including plinth) for child-only plots by sex and decade showing grave marker numbers.

6.7 Grave marker form

Several grave marker forms were recorded, with most grouped into general categories (Table 6-13). Whilst plaques are used in the Children's Garden; Enfield, for all other sites the tablet was the most common form of grave marker, a status it retains to the present. The Christian religious form of the cross was used at all sites, whilst eye-catching and spatially distinct forms, such as pedestals (with square or vaulted tops), obelisks, statues and the rustic rock of ages (usually as a cross base) are present for only certain time periods.

Table 6-13. Count, percent and confidence intervals for grave marker forms.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Plaque	1329	62.5%	(60.4%, 64.5%)
Tablet	568	26.7%	(24.8%, 28.6%)
Pillar	101	4.7%	(3.9%, 5.7%)
Cross	83	3.9%	(3.1%, 4.8%)
Horizontal slab	18	0.8%	(0.5%, 1.3%)
Obelisk	12	0.6%	(0.3%, 1.0%)
Statue/sculpture	9	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
Other	8	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.7%)
Total	2128	100.0%	.

6.7.1 Chronology and plot type

The distribution of grave marker forms by plot type over the study period suggests both broad trends and local preferences. As the twentieth century progressed the dominance of tablets was gradually challenged by more spatially subdued plaque forms, such as low-set angled rectangles, shields, hearts and, later, rectangular cast iron plaques mounted horizontally, vertically or angled on a variety of surfaces (Figure 6-20). Child-only grave markers mostly favoured plaques from the 1980s onward, whereas family plots were more likely to use either form.

Crosses were common during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for both plot types but not found after the 1950s except as temporary markers. Other Victorian styles, such as horizontal slabs and pillars were also rarely found after this period, and obelisks disappeared even earlier, after the 1930s. Statues or sculptures were rare and found from the turn of the nineteenth century to the 1950s, although their use in the nineteenth century is known for other cemeteries (Mytum 2004:77-78). A small number of other grave marker forms started to appear for family plots from the 1990s.
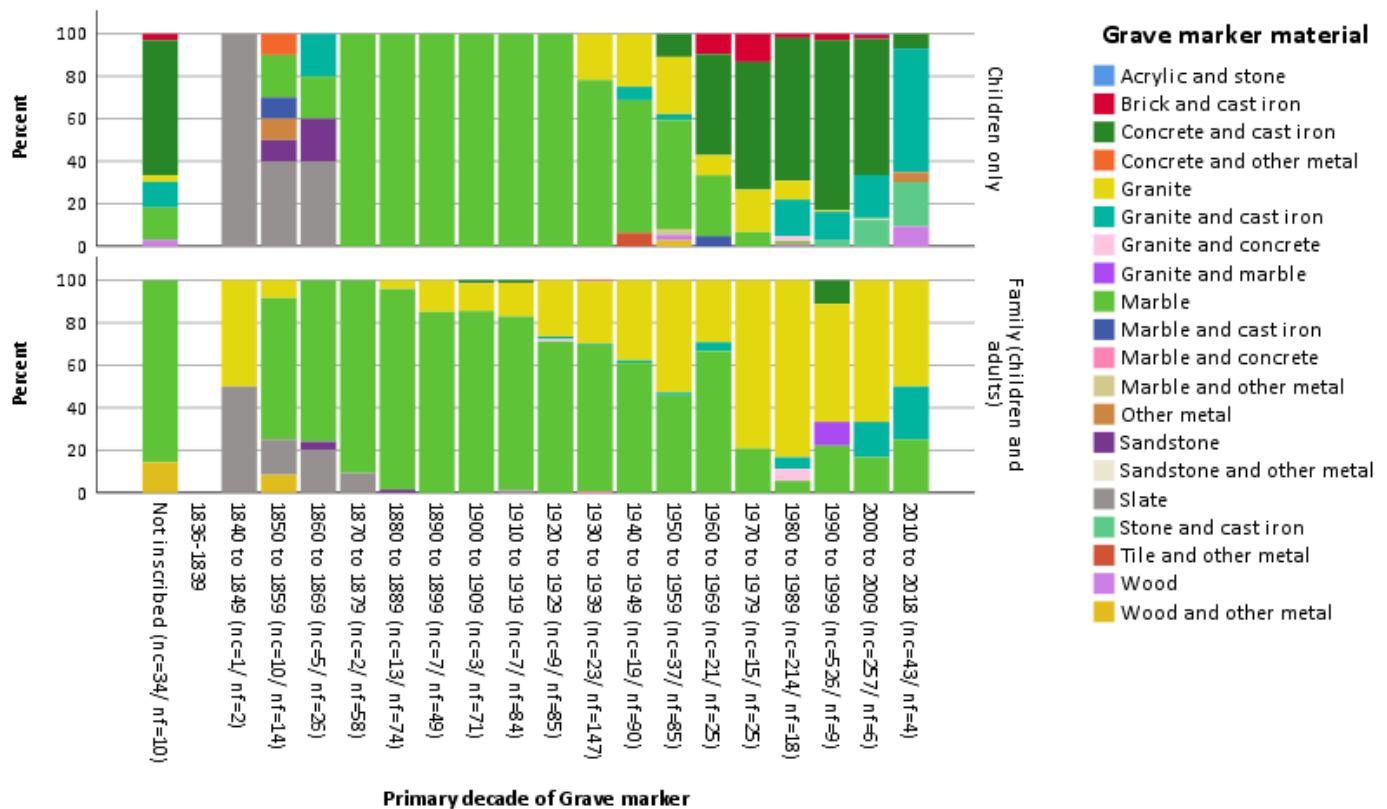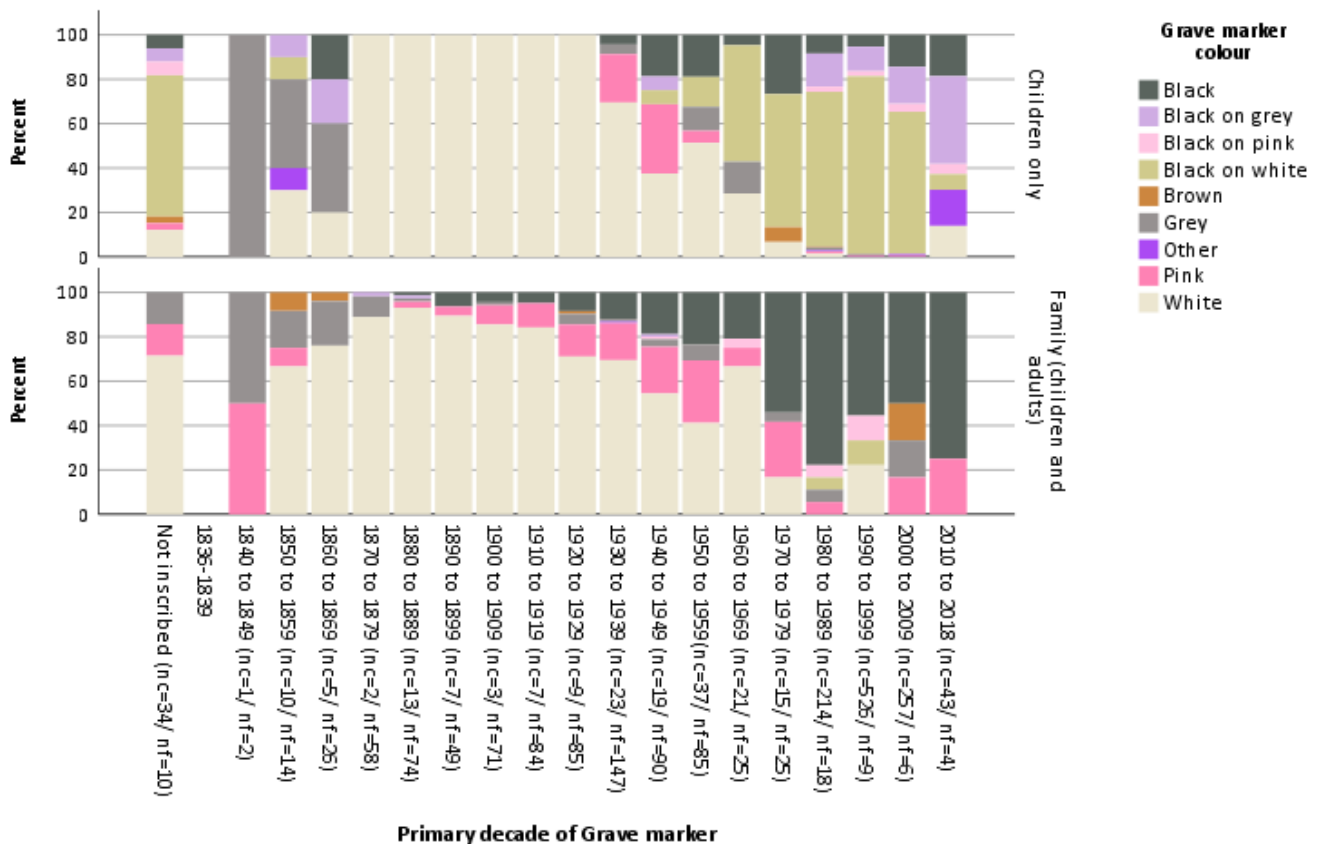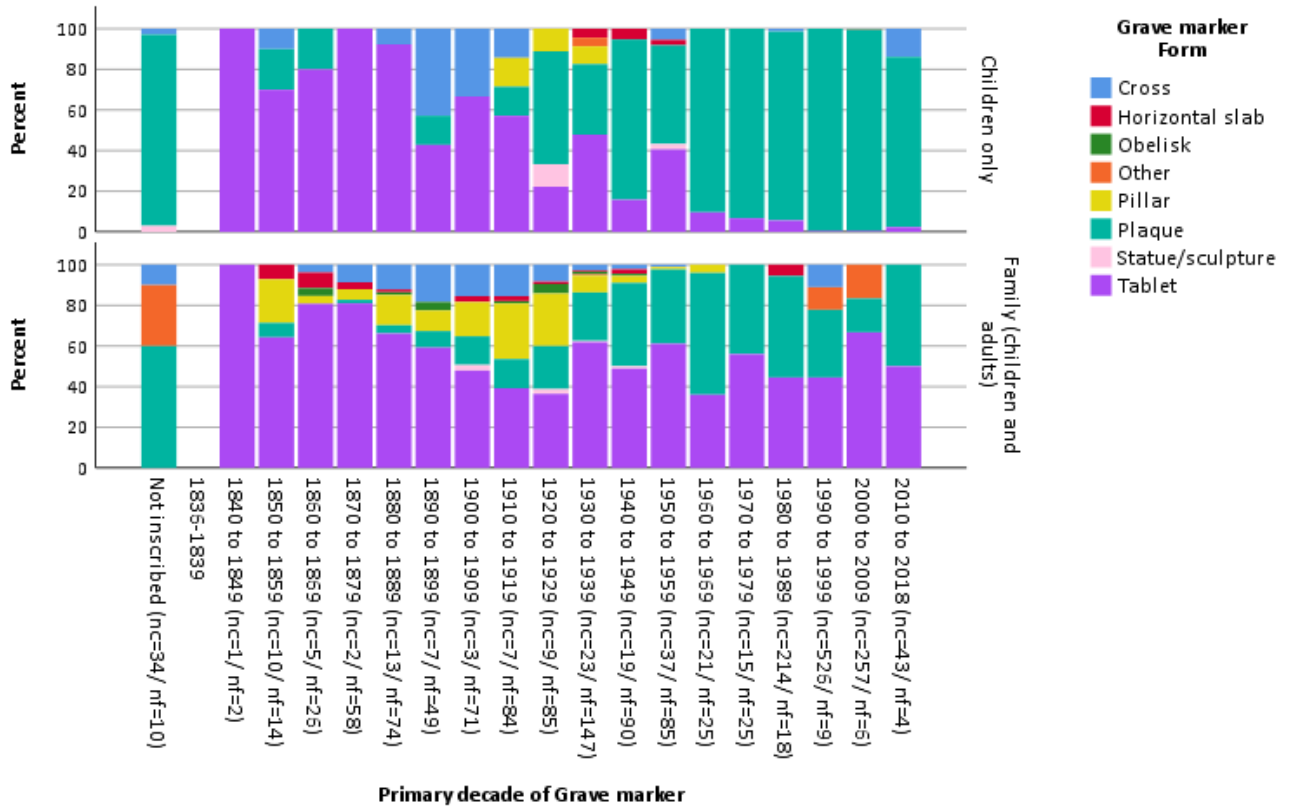
Figure 6-20. Percentage of grave marker forms by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Table 6-14. Count, percent and z-test of grave marker forms by plot type (excluding Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Tablet	85	43.8%	483	54.8%	568	52.8%	11%, p = 0.0054, (3%, 19%)
Plaque	85	43.8%	199	22.6%	284	26.4%	21%, p = <0.0001, (14%, 28%)
Cross	12	6.2%	64	7.3%	76	7.1%	1%, p = 0.6169, (3%, 5%)
Pillar	4	2.1%	97	11.0%	101	9.4%	*²
Horizontal slab	3	1.5%	15	1.7%	18	1.7%	*²
Statue/sculpture	3	1.5%	6	0.7%	9	0.8%	*²
Other	2	1.0%	6	0.7%	8	0.7%	*²
Obelisk	0	0.0%	12	1.4%	12	1.1%	*²
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-tests to compare two proportions
*² z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

The variety of grave marker forms chosen for child-only graves in most decades is more restricted than for family plots, usually favouring tablets or plaques. In recent decades small white wooden or metal crosses with black printed text have been erected in the Children's Garden as temporary markers. The higher

percentage of plaques chosen for child-only plots and the higher percentage of tablets, crosses and pillars chosen for family plots was assessed as statistically significant, suggesting an association between form and plot type (Table 6-14).

The obelisk, that in style evoked ancient Egyptian culture, was favoured as a family monument due to its prominent visual height and capacity for multiple engravings on its four-sided stepped base. This form was only used for family plots in the sample. Horizontal slabs were also mostly confined to this plot type (Table 6-14). Statues, both symbolic and religious, although quite rare for the four general cemeteries (n=9; 0.8%), show stylistic distinctions between plot types, with smaller figures on child-only plots and larger figures on family plots. The numbers for 'Other' are too small for any clear inference.

6.7.2 Sex

Crosses, plaques and tablets displayed no statistical difference in use between male and female children for child-only plots (Table 6-15). Family plots, although more likely subject to adult gender influences, were also tested (including pillars) and returned the same result. The other grave marker forms did not appear in sufficient numbers to undertake inferential testing. For child-only plots, only male children were recorded with horizontal slabs, but these only totalled three examples from the four general cemeteries (0.3%), so no firm conclusions were possible.

6.7.3 Age

Stillborn children are exclusively memorialised on plaques for both child-only and family plots. These are usually rectangular in shape but sometimes other shapes such as leaves were recorded (Figure 6-21). The other age groups represent the historical transition from tablets to plaques, with the main difference being the reduced percentage of other forms chosen for child-only plots (see Section 1.7.1). On child-only plots, tablets are used more for older children, particularly those aged six years and up and pillars (mostly pedestals) were only used for these age groups.

On family plots the use of grave markers is consistent across all age groups except for stillborn (although this represents just two grave markers), however given that 'not inscribed' usually refers to infants including peri-nates, the result suggests little difference in treatment by age. Adult preferences were more likely to influence the choice of grave marker form and style chosen here.

Table 6-15. Count, percent and z-test of grave marker form by sex and plot type (excluding Enfield, 'mixed 'and 'unknown').

| | Children only | | | | | Family (children and adults) | | | | |
| | Male | | Female | | | Male | | Female | | |
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹	Count	Col N %	Count	Column N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
Plaque	603	90.1%	470	91.8%	2%, P = 0.237, (1%, 5%)	105	24.9%	85	24.7%	0%, P = 1, (6%, 6%)
Tablet	49	7.3%	29	5.7%	1%, P = 0.491, (2%, 4%)	226	53.7%	191	55.5%	2%, P = 0.580, (5%, 9%)
Cross	9	1.3%	9	1.8%	1%, P = 0.151 (0%, 2%)	28	6.7%	24	7.0%	0%, P = 1, (4%, 4%)
Horizontal slab	3	0.4%	0	0.0%	*²	5	1.2%	3	0.9%	*²
Pillar	2	0.3%	2	0.4%	*²	43	10.2%	32	9.3%	1%, p = 0.6397, (3%, 5%)
Statue/sculpture	2	0.3%	1	0.2%	*²	2	0.5%	4	1.2%	*²
Other	1	0.1%	1	0.2%	*²	4	1.0%	2	0.6%	*²
Obelisk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	8	1.9%	3	0.9%	*²
Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
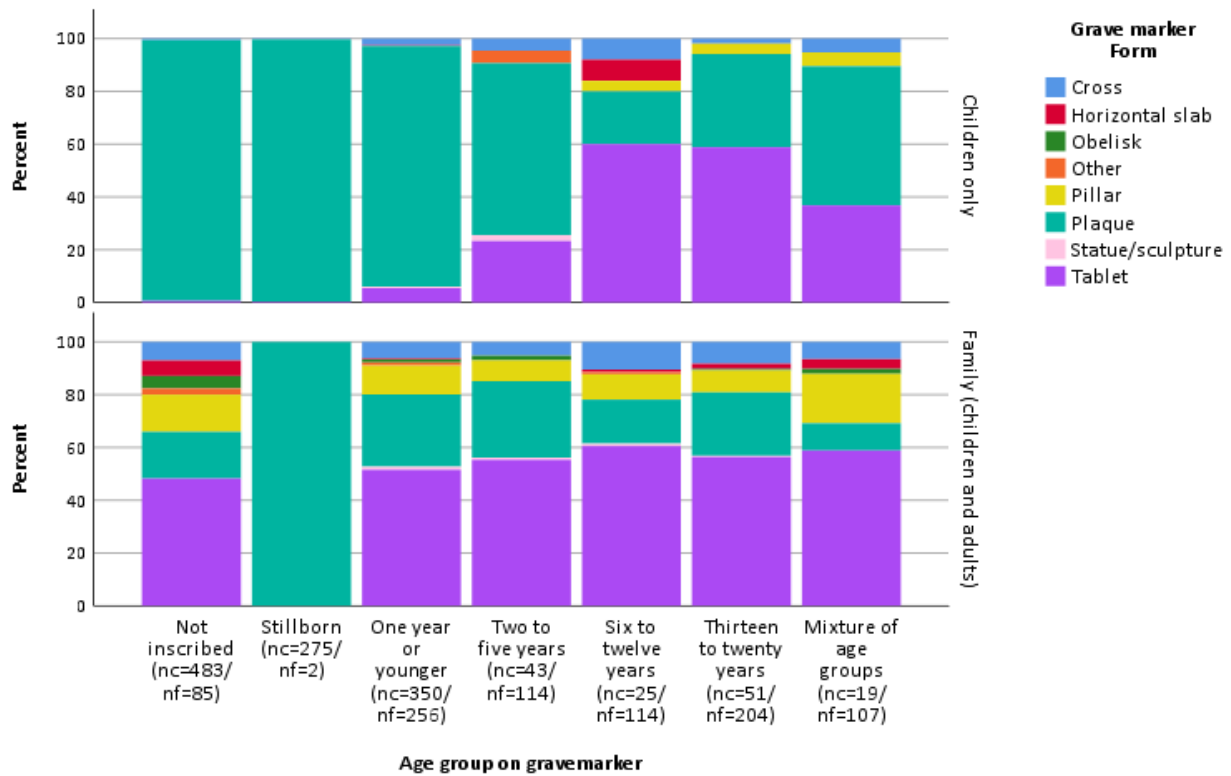
Figure 6-21. Percentage of grave marker forms by age group and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Figure 6-22. Percentage of grave marker forms by site and plot type (Total for each x-axis category).*

***Grave marker numbers shown in Table 6.16**

Table 6-16. Grave marker numbers for Figure 6.22.

Decade	Grave marker numbers
Not inscribed	nc=7/ ne=27/nh=7/ nsj=3
1836-1839	
1840-1849	nw=3
1850-1859	nh=2/ nsj=8/ nw=14
1860-1869	nh=7/ nsj=9/ nw=15
1870-1879	nh=20/ nsj=9/ nw=31
1880-1889	nc=1/ nh=30/ nsj=24/ nw=32
1890-1899	nc=1/ nh=25/ nsj=20/ nw=10
1900-1909	nc=1/ nh=44/ nsj=21/ nw=8
1910-1919	nh=74/ nsj=13/ nw=4
1920-1929	nc=17/ nh=54/ nsj=22/ nw=1
1930-1939	nc=107/ nh=34/ sj=27/ nw=2
1940-1949	nc=42/ nh=43/ nsj=24
1950-1959	nc=76/ ne=1/ nh=21/ nsj=24
1960-1969	nc=12/ ne=10/ nh=11/ nsj=13
1970-1979	nc=13/ ne=10/ nh=6/ nsj=11
1980-1989	nc=9/ ne=187/ nh=27/ nsj=9
1990-1999	nc=8/ ne=522/ nh=1/ nsj=4
2000-2009	nc=4/ ne=253/ nsj=5/ nw=1
2010-2018	nc=2/ ne=42/ nh=1/ nsj=1/ nw=1

6.7.4 Site comparison

The use of tablets and plaques at the four general sites is consistent across the study period (Figure 6-22 and Table 6-16). Amidst such general patterning, certain styles suggest localised trends, for example, the use of pedestals was popular at Hindmarsh throughout the nineteenth century and into the 1920s (n = 43; 10.6%) representing 57.3% of all pedestals recorded for the four general cemeteries. This differed to St Jude's where Roman/Latin crosses (n=29; 11.7%) were the next most preferred choice after tablets during the same period and represent 55.8% of the use of this style for these sites. The higher choice of crosses at St Jude's may reflect the churchyard nature of this cemetery, with its origins within and association to the adjacent St Jude's Anglican Church leading to a desire for a more overt religious expression. However, Walkerville has similar origins but does not reflect the same pattern of choice, although its denominational character is different (Wesleyan). Obelisks were mostly found in low numbers at Hindmarsh and St Jude's (n=5; 1.2% and n=6; 2.4%).

6.8 Grave marker styles

The grave marker forms in Table 6-13 are organised into five categories: tablets, crosses, pillars/sculptures, horizontal slabs/plaques and miscellaneous. These were adapted from the terminology developed by the National Trust of Australia (New South Wales branch [Appendix B]). When selecting the grave marker families could choose from several styles in each form category subject to prevailing funerary fashion, cost and availability. Results for these five categories are presented in relation to their chronology, association with plot type (child only and family), sex and age.

6.9 Tablets

This form was the most frequent choice during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century in many parts of the Western world (Mytum 2004: 65-66; Figure 6-23). Twenty-eight different tablet styles were recorded (Table 6-17), demonstrating a significant variety of choice made by the bereaved over this period. Due to the high number of styles the results are presented using four groupings as discussed in Section 5.6. Percentages quoted relate to the four general cemeteries as the Children's Garden; Enfield only used plaques and crosses.

6.9.1 Chronology and plot type

Group1: Rectangular and Semi-circular

Rectangular and semicircular tablet styles were in use from the late seventeenth century and represent continuity in tablet shape leading into the Victorian era cemetery (Mytum 2002:5-7). These two styles, along with cambered (Group 3) and gabled (Group 2) were the most recorded tablet styles for this period. The occurrence of each style of tablet in relation to plot type is shown in Table 6-18, however only nine

styles were recorded in enough numbers to undertake inferential testing between child-only and family plots. Rectangular or square tablets were found to have a statistically significant difference, trending towards child-only plots with the remaining styles tested showing no statistical difference between plot types.

Figure 6-23. Rectangular tablet with shoulders, marble, c. 1953, Cheltenham cemetery looking east (Photo by author).
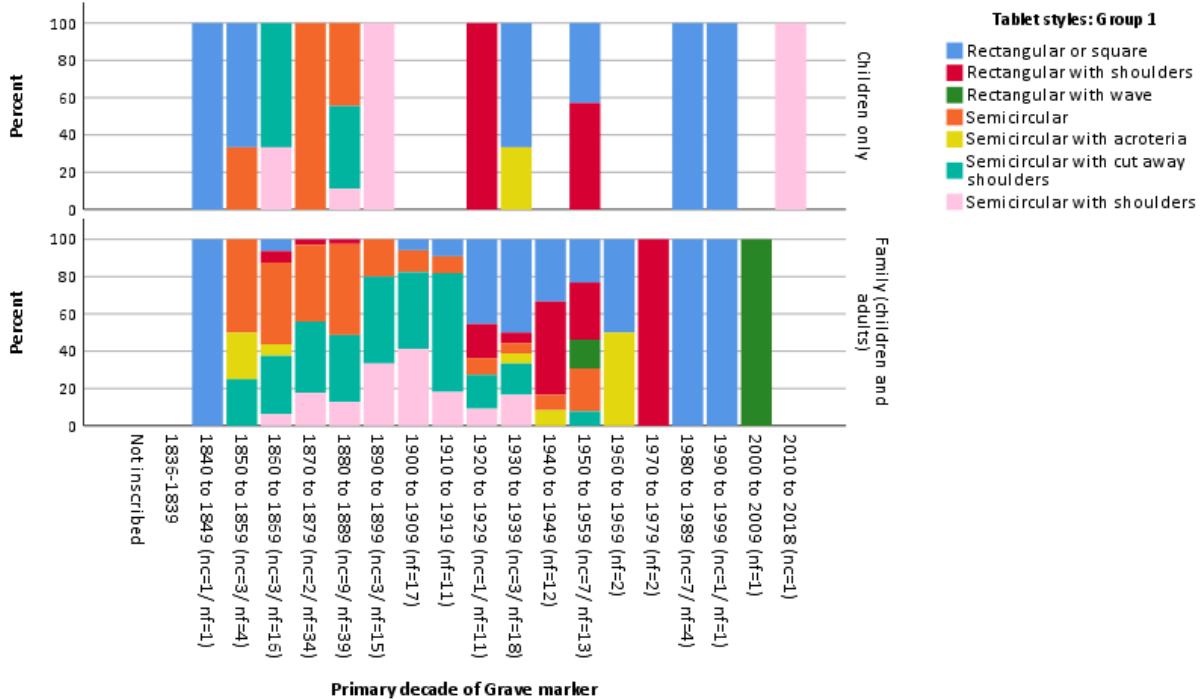
Figure 6-24. Percentage of tablet styles (rectangular and semi-circular) by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Table 6-17. Count and percentage of tablet styles (upright slabs and stelae) adapted from the National Trust (NSW) guidelines (2009:120-121).

	Count	Column N %	95.0% Lower CL for Column N %	95.0% Upper CL for Column N %
Semicircular with cut away shoulders	66	11.6%	9.2%	14.4%
Cambered with cut away shoulders	63	11.1%	8.7%	13.9%
Semicircular	61	10.7%	8.4%	13.5%
Scroll	48	8.5%	6.4%	11.0%
Rectangular or square	47	8.3%	6.2%	10.8%
Gabled	47	8.3%	6.2%	10.8%
Cambered with shoulders	42	7.4%	5.5%	9.8%
Semicircular with shoulders	36	6.3%	4.6%	8.6%
Cambered	33	5.8%	4.1%	8.0%
Rectangular with shoulders	23	4.0%	2.7%	5.9%
Gothic	17	3.0%	1.8%	4.6%
Gothic with shoulders	15	2.6%	1.6%	4.2%
Gabled with shoulders	14	2.5%	1.4%	4.0%
Pedimented	12	2.1%	1.2%	3.6%
Rustic	7	1.2%	0.6%	2.4%
Semicircular with acroteria	6	1.1%	0.4%	2.2%
Cross surmount with shoulders	6	1.1%	0.4%	2.2%
Anthropomorphic	5	0.9%	0.3%	1.9%
Stepped	3	0.5%	0.1%	1.4%
Heart shaped	3	0.5%	0.1%	1.4%
Rectangular with wave	3	0.5%	0.1%	1.4%
Ogee	2	0.4%	0.1%	1.1%
Diamond	2	0.4%	0.1%	1.1%
Angular with curve	2	0.4%	0.1%	1.1%
Gothic with acroteria	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.8%
Gabled with peaked shoulders	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.8%
Double	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.8%
Stylised double	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.8%
Unclear due to damage	1	0.2%	0.0%	0.8%
Total	568	100.0%	.	.

Semicircular grave markers dominate in two main styles: semicircular with cut away shoulders (n = 66; 6.1%) and semicircular (n=61; 5.7%). Regularly chosen in the nineteenth century these styles declined from the 1920s and were not seen after the 1950s except for one example (with acroteria) and a modern

example at Walkerville c.2015 (Figure 6-24 and Figure 6-25). Rectangular (and sometimes square tablets) are strongly represented from the 1920s through to the present, particularly on family plots.

Figure 6-25. Semicircular tablet with cut away shoulders, marble, c. 1886, Hindmarsh cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

Group 2: Gabled, Gothic and Pedimented

Other popular nineteenth century styles, such as gabled and gothic revival, initially continued into the twentieth century (Figure 6-26 and Figure 6-27). Gothic styles were hardly recorded after the second decade of the twentieth century as grave marker design underwent change following the First World War (Mallios and Caterino 2011:430; Mytum 2002:14). Gabled by comparison is still used sparingly, having peaked in the mid-twentieth century on both plot types. Pedimented stelae reminiscent of classical temples, although seen in the early twentieth century, become more prominent from the 1950s as a style favoured by post-war immigrants, particularly Catholics from southern Europe, as evidenced by the inscribed names of the deceased and the use of languages other than English such as Italian (Figure 6-26).

Group3: Anthropomorphic, Cambered, Doubles and Ogee

Cambered grave markers, which like semi-circular tablets could also use shoulders or cut-away shoulders, were consistently popular on family plots from the 1850s through to the present (Figure 6-28). As grave marker heights declined from the 1920s (Figure 6-19) the cambered style with its less acute curvature than a semi-circle was a stylistically good fit for the lower and wider tablets that resulted from this change. Anthropomorphic and double styles were rare (n=5; 0.5% and n=2; 0.2%) and widely dispersed

chronologically. The former was not used at Walkerville. The ogee with its pointed top appeared on two family plots at Hindmarsh in the early twentieth century but was gone by the 1920s.
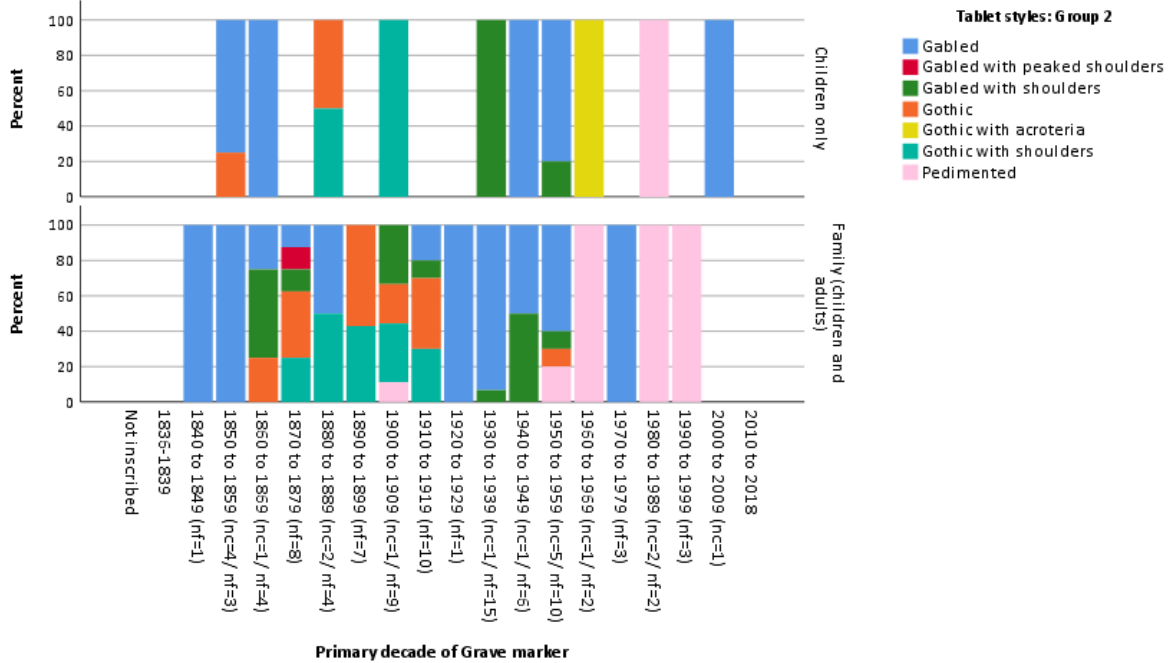
Figure 6-26. Percentage of tablet styles (gabled, gothic and pedimented) by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Figure 6-27. Gabled tablet with shoulders, marble, c. 1939, Cheltenham cemetery looking west (Photo by author).
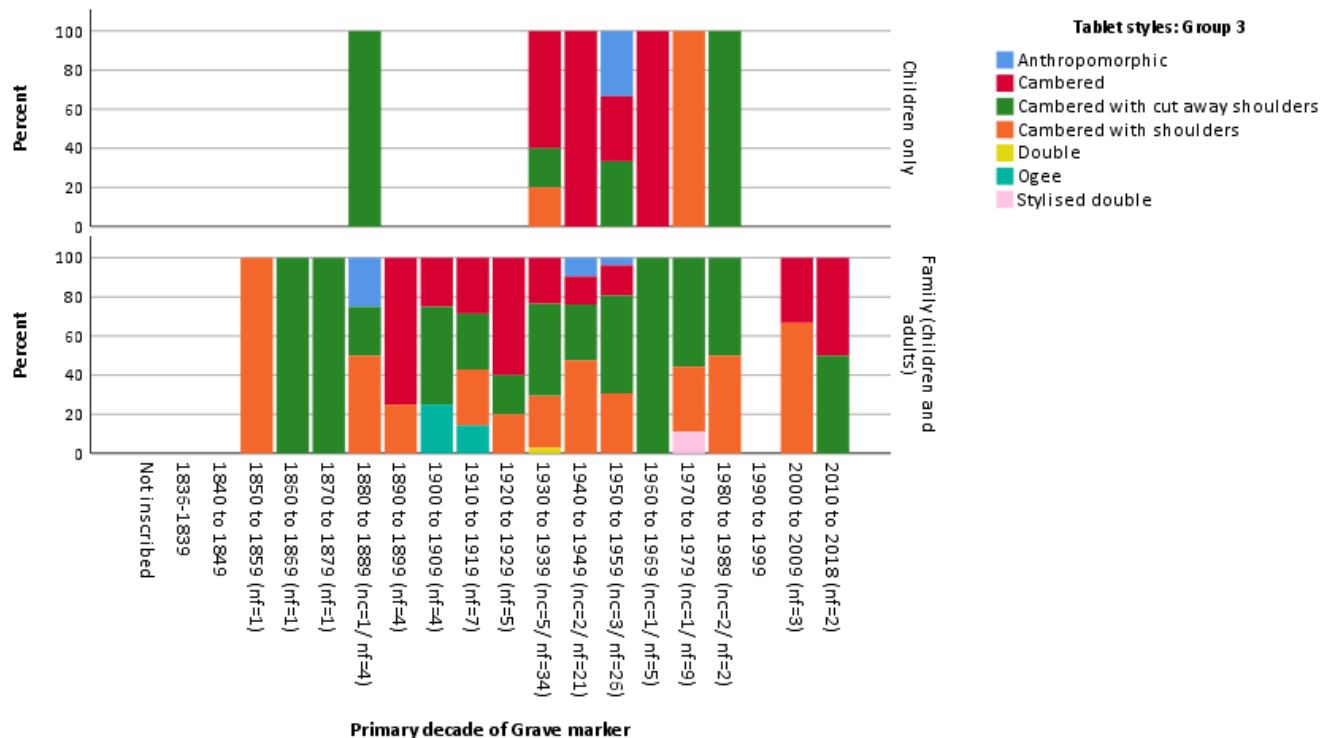
Figure 6-28. Percentage of tablet styles (anthropomorphic, cambered and doubles) by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Group 4: Angular, Cross surmounts, Shaped and Rustic

Scrolls, usually with curved ends, could form the entire grave marker shape with a square plinth base or appear affixed to the tablet. They enjoyed a neat and distinct popularity in the sample, first seen in the 1880s on family plots and then from the turn of the century on child-only plots as well (Figure 6-29). They were not observed after the 1940s.

Cross surmounts with shoulders were recorded for family plots from the 1870s until the end of the First World War. Rustic styles were also reserved for family plots from the second decade of the twentieth century to the 1940s. None of these styles occurred in the sample at Walkerville.

Diamonds were confined to one decade (1910 to 1919) with both examples recorded at Hindmarsh. Stepped grave markers were seen from the 1920s to the 1950s and only at Cheltenham. Heart-shaped tablets (as opposed to heart-shaped plaques) were also rare (*n*=3; 0.3%) as was the more abstract angular with curve tablet (*n*=2; 0.2%).
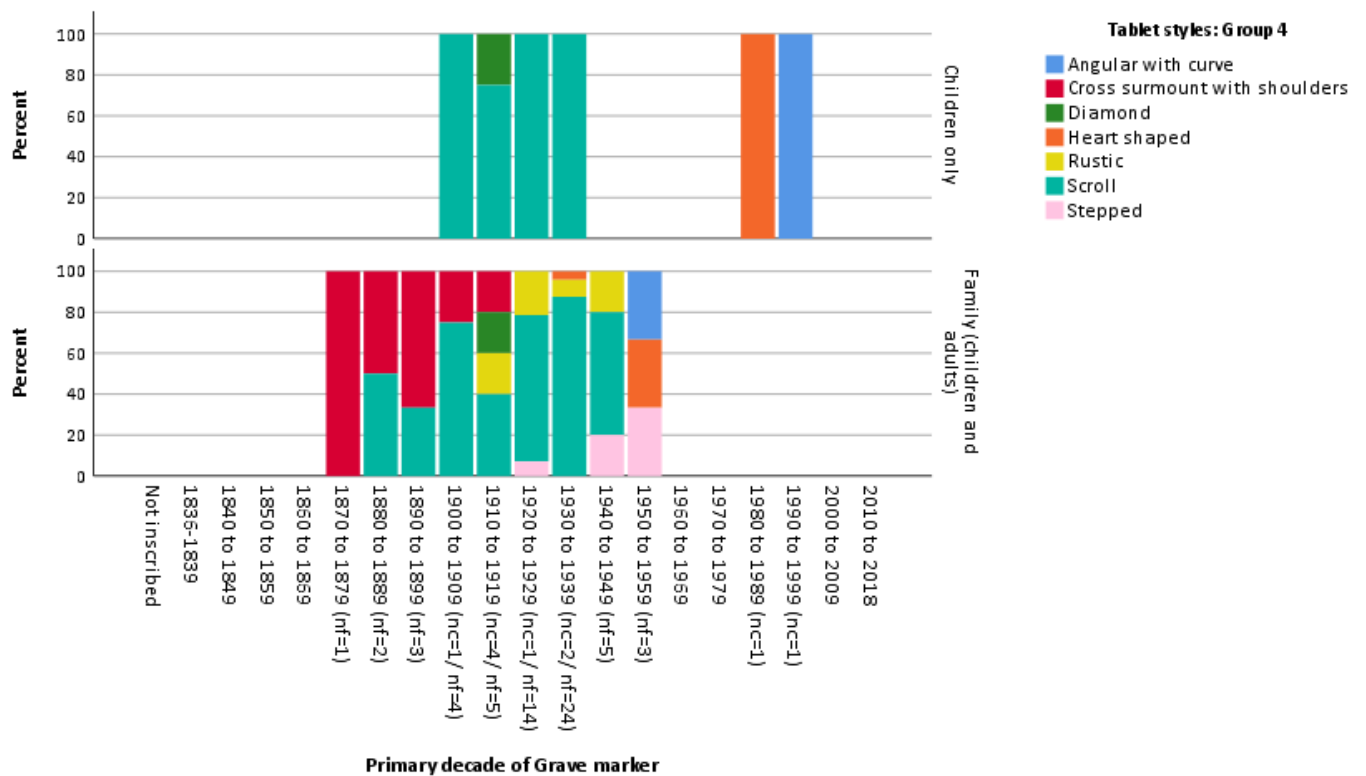
Figure 6-29. Percentage of tablet styles (miscellaneous) by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

6.9.2 Sex

There were insufficient numbers to test for statistical difference between male and female children for child-only plots (Table 6-19). Ten styles for family plots were able to be tested (Table 6-20) but no statistical significance was found. Looking at the numbers recorded, female children had a greater mixture of tablet styles (13) compared to males (10), with gothic, gothic with acroteria and anthropomorphic only used for female graves although the numbers were small (*n*=3) constituting 10.2% of female choices for this form (Table 6-19). Scrolls were also more common for female grave markers (*n*=5; 17.2% to *n*=1; 2%). Males had a greater number of gabled and cambered styles, with semicircular styles popular with both. Of the 10 styles testable for family plots no statistical significance was found between those with male as opposed to female children (Table 6-20).

6.9.3 Age

The older the child the greater the number of tablet styles employed, with the widest range used for those aged thirteen to twenty years (Figure 6-30). Rectangular, semicircular, cambered and gabled styles are used for all ages. This also appears to be the case if stillborn (for which category only one tablet was identified) is combined with those not inscribed, although the variety of is less. Gothic and scroll styles were seen for

those aged two years and up. Older children were more likely to receive a less common style such as diamonds and pediments.

Table 6-18. Count and percent of tablet styles by plot type.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference[1]
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Rectangular or square	16	18.8%	31	6.4%	47	8.3%	13%, p = <0.0001, (7%, 19%)
Gabled	10	11.8%	37	7.7%	47	8.3%	4%, p = 0.2252, (2%, 10%)
Cambered	7	8.2%	26	5.4%	33	5.8%	3%, p = 0.2613, (2%, 8%)
Semicircular	7	8.2%	54	11.2%	61	10.8%	3%, p = 0.4065, (4%, 10%)
Scroll	7	8.2%	41	8.5%	48	8.5%	1%, p = 0.7647, (6%, 8%)
Semicircular with shoulders	6	7.1%	30	6.2%	36	6.3%	1%, p = 0.7235, (5%, 7%)
Semicircular with cut away shoulders	6	7.1%	60	12.4%	66	11.6%	5%, p = 0.1786, (2%, 12%)
Rectangular with shoulders	5	5.9%	18	3.7%	23	4.1%	2%, p = 0.402, (3%, 7%)
Cambered with cut away shoulders	5	5.9%	58	12.0%	63	11.1%	6%, p = 0.1045, (1%, 13%)
Gothic	2	2.4%	15	3.1%	17	3.0%	[2]
Gothic with shoulders	2	2.4%	13	2.7%	15	2.6%	[2]
Pedimented	2	2.4%	10	2.1%	12	2.1%	[2]
Gabled with shoulders	2	2.4%	12	2.5%	14	2.5%	[2]
Cambered with shoulders	2	2.4%	40	8.3%	42	7.4%	[2]
Semicircular with acroteria	1	1.2%	5	1.0%	6	1.1%	[2]
Gothic with acroteria	1	1.2%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	[2]
Anthropomorphic	1	1.2%	4	0.8%	5	0.9%	[2]
Diamond	1	1.2%	1	0.2%	2	0.4%	[2]
Heart shaped	1	1.2%	2	0.4%	3	0.5%	[2]
Angular with curve	1	1.2%	1	0.2%	2	0.4%	[2]
Ogee	0	0.0%	2	0.4%	2	0.4%	[2]
Gabled with peaked shoulders	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	1	0.2%	[2]
Stepped	0	0.0%	3	0.6%	3	0.5%	[2]
Cross surmount with shoulders	0	0.0%	6	1.2%	6	1.1%	[2]
Double	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	1	0.2%	[2]
Stylised double	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	1	0.2%	[2]
Rectangular with wave	0	0.0%	3	0.6%	3	0.5%	[2]
Rustic	0	0.0%	7	1.5%	7	1.2%	[2]
Total	85	100.0%	482	100.0%	567	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 6-19. Tablet styles for male and female children for child-only plots.

	Male		Female		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference[1]
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Rectangular or square	12	24.5%	3	10.3%	15	19.2%	[2]
Gabled	9	18.4%	1	3.4%	10	12.8%	[2]
Cambered	6	12.2%	1	3.4%	7	9.0%	[2]
Rectangular with shoulders	5	10.2%	0	0.0%	5	6.4%	[2]
Cambered with cut away shoulders	4	8.2%	1	3.4%	5	6.4%	[2]
Semicircular	3	6.1%	3	10.3%	6	7.7%	[2]
Semicircular with shoulders	2	4.1%	3	10.3%	5	6.4%	[2]
Gabled with shoulders	2	4.1%	0	0.0%	2	2.6%	[2]
Cambered with shoulders	2	4.1%	0	0.0%	2	2.6%	[2]
Semicircular with cut away shoulders	1	2.0%	4	13.8%	5	6.4%	[2]
Gothic with shoulders	1	2.0%	1	3.4%	2	2.6%	[2]
Angular with curve	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	[2]
Scroll	1	2.0%	5	17.2%	6	7.7%	[2]
Gothic	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	1	1.3%	[2]
Gothic with acroteria	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	1	1.3%	[2]
Anthropomorphic	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	1	1.3%	[2]
Pedimented	0	0.0%	2	6.9%	2	2.6%	[2]
Diamond	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	1	1.3%	[2]
Heart shaped	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	1	1.3%	[2]
Total	49	100.0%	29	100.0%	78	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 6-20. Tablet styles for male and female children for family plots.

	Male		Female		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*1
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Semicircular with cut away shoulders	25	11.1%	24	12.6%	49	11.8%	2%, p = 0.5299, (4%, 8%)
Cambered with cut away shoulders	25	11.1%	28	14.7%	53	12.7%	4%, p = 0.2237, (2%, 10%)
Semicircular	23	10.2%	18	9.4%	41	9.8%	1%, p = 0.7291, (5%, 7%)
Cambered with shoulders	21	9.3%	17	8.9%	38	9.1%	0%, p = 1, (6%, 6%)
Scroll	21	9.3%	19	9.9%	40	9.6%	1%, p = 0.7281, (5%, 7%)
Gabled	20	8.8%	16	8.4%	36	8.6%	1%, p = 0.7159, (4%, 6%)
Rectangular or square	16	7.1%	12	6.3%	28	6.7%	1%, p = 0.6807, (4%, 6%)
Cambered	15	6.6%	9	4.7%	24	5.8%	2%, p = 0.3946, (3%, 7%)
Rectangular with shoulders	12	5.3%	5	2.6%	17	4.1%	2%, p = 0.3039, (2%, 6%)
Semicircular with shoulders	9	4.0%	13	6.8%	22	5.3%	3%, p = 0.1759, (1%, 7%)
Pedimented	7	3.1%	2	1.0%	9	2.2%	*2
Gabled with shoulders	7	3.1%	2	1.0%	9	2.2%	*2
Gothic	5	2.2%	5	2.6%	10	2.4%	*2
Semicircular with acroteria	3	1.3%	2	1.0%	5	1.2%	*2
Gothic with shoulders	2	0.9%	7	3.7%	9	2.2%	*2
Anthropomorphic	2	0.9%	1	0.5%	3	0.7%	*2
Cross surmount with shoulders	2	0.9%	2	1.0%	4	1.0%	*2
Rectangular with wave	2	0.9%	1	0.5%	3	0.7%	*2
Rustic	2	0.9%	4	2.1%	6	1.4%	*2
Ogee	1	0.4%	1	0.5%	2	0.5%	*2
Gabled with peaked shoulders	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*2
Stepped	1	0.4%	1	0.5%	2	0.5%	*2
Diamond	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*2
Double	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*2
Heart shaped	1	0.4%	1	0.5%	2	0.5%	*2
Angular with curve	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*2
Stylised double	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	1	0.2%	*2
Total	226	100.0%	191	100.0%	417	100.0%	

*1 z-test to compare two proportions

*2 z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
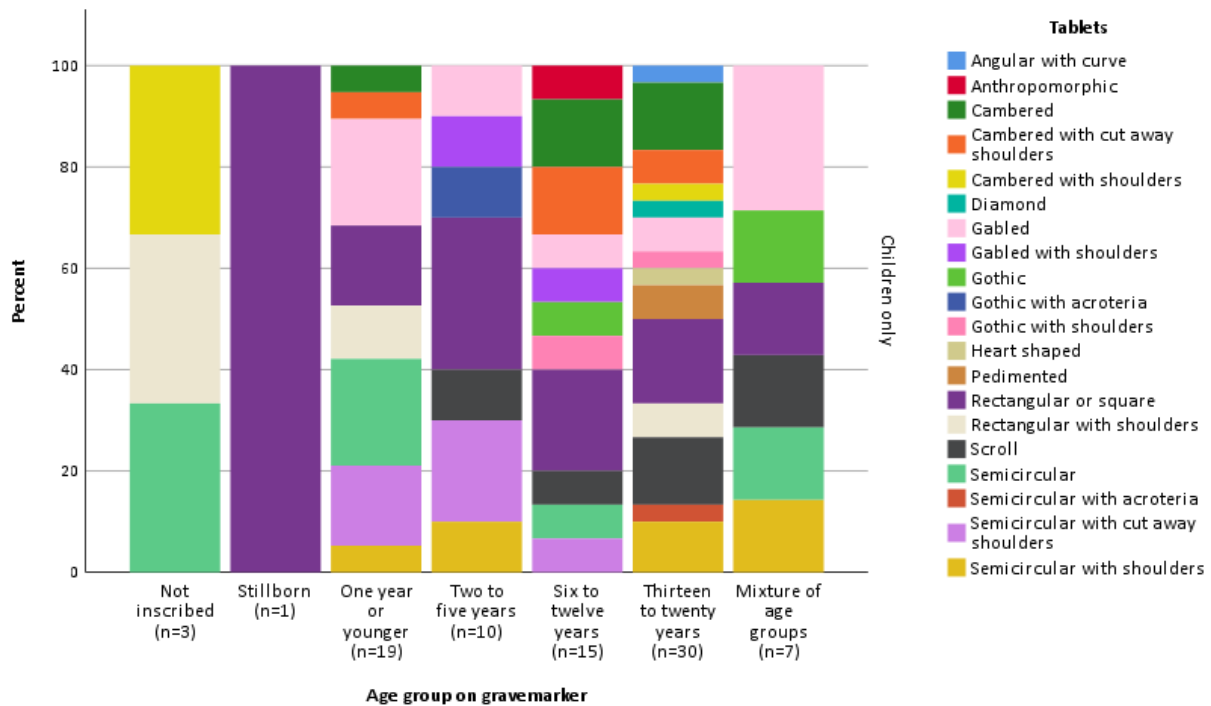
**Figure 6-30. Percentage of Group 1 and 2 tablet styles by age group for child-only plots with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).**

6.10 Crosses

Crosses, the most recognised of Christian religious symbols, appear in the Western cemetery in a number of styles (Table 6-21), primarily influenced by denominational and cultural identities (Appendix B). This style of grave marker should not be confused with those tablet styles that incorporate the cross into their form, such as cross surmounts (Figure 6-29) and cruciform (which did not occur in this sample). Crosses can also be combined with other Christian symbolic styles such as the rock of ages.

Table 6-21. Count, percent and confidence intervals for cross styles adapted from the National Trust (NSW) guidelines (2009:120-122).

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Roman/Latin (with 3 steps - Calvary)	52	62.7%	(52.0%, 72.5%)
Cross	19	22.9%	(14.9%, 32.8%)
Cross on rock	5	6.0%	(2.3%, 12.7%)
Celtic	3	3.6%	(1.0%, 9.3%)
Rustic Latin	2	2.4%	(0.5%, 7.5%)
Cross on rock and with other motifs	2	2.4%	(0.5%, 7.5%)
Total	83	100.0%	

Figure 6-31. Roman/Latin Calvary cross (3 steps), marble, c. 1928, St Jude's cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

6.10.1 Chronology and plot type

The choice of a cross suggests a strong statement of religious belief by the family and as a universal Christian symbol had a visually strong expression in the cemetery. Only the Roman/Latin style had enough numbers to be tested in relation to child-only and family plots. It was found to be statistically significant (Table 6-22), suggesting this style is more likely to be used for family plots rather than child-only plots. Only plain, temporary cross grave markers were used in the Children's Garden.

The stepped form of the Roman/Latin style cross was particularly popular (Figure 6-31), first appearing in the sample in the 1850s and used through to the 1950s (with one later example, Figure 6-32; n=52; 4.8%). Simple unembellished crosses (n=19; 22.9%) were the next most recorded representing 1.1% (n=12) for the four general cemeteries and 0.7% (n=7) for the Children's garden; Enfield.

The four other styles observed occurred in small numbers. Only three Celtic crosses (0.2%) and two nineteenth century rustic Latin crosses (0.2%) were seen, used only for family plots (Table 6-22). Associations of the cross with a rock of Ages base were not found after the First World War.
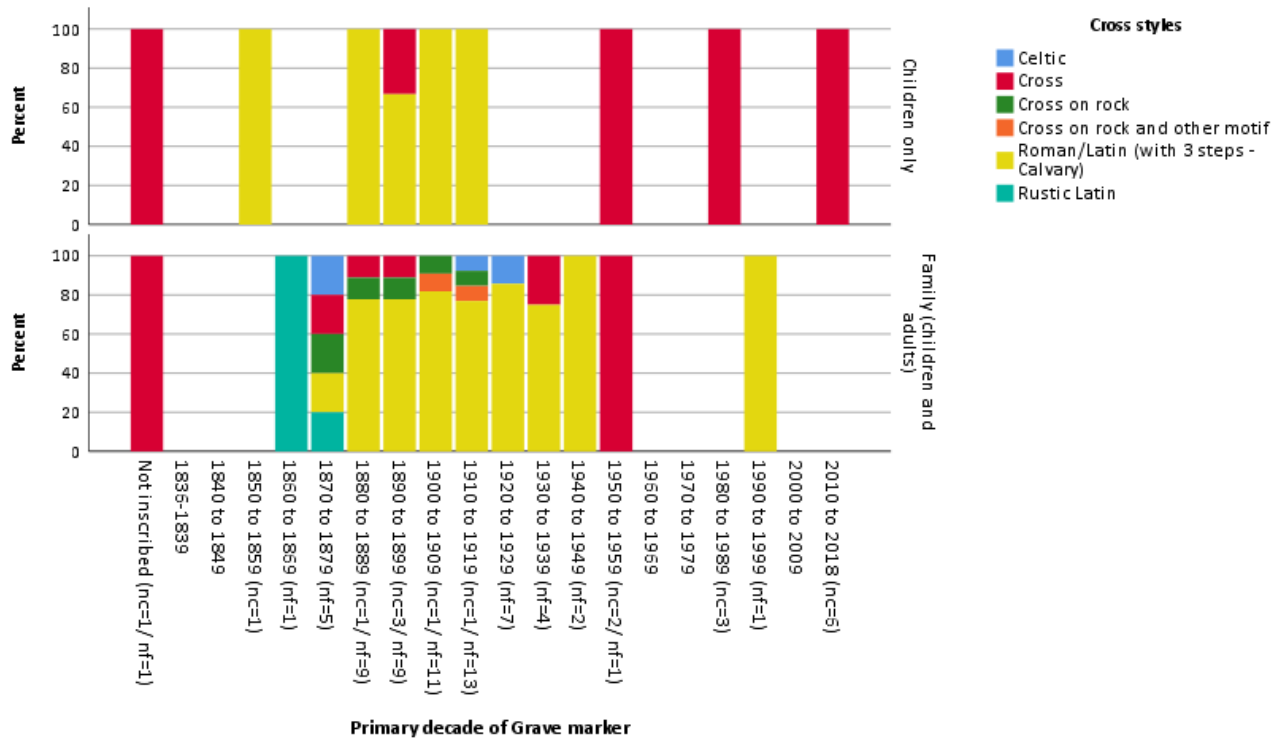
Figure 6-32. Percentage of cross styles by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Crosses in total only made up 3.9% (*n*=83) of the sample, and the decline of the Roman/Latin style and crosses generally can be seen in the latter half of the twentieth century when they all but disappear (Figure 6-32). Those crosses still used appeared in small numbers and were mostly temporary grave markers on child-only graves. This decline is consistent for all four general sites. Instead, during the late twentieth century, crosses were more likely to be used as a motif on grave markers rather than as the form of marker itself.

Table 6-22. Count and percent of cross styles by plot type.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Difference %, p-value,
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	95% CI of the difference*¹
Cross	13	68.4%	6	9.4%	*²
Roman/Latin (with 3 steps - Calvary)	6	31.6%	46	71.9%	40%, p = 0.0015, (15%, 65%)
Rustic Latin	0	0.0%	2	3.1%	²
Celtic	0	0.0%	3	4.7%	²
Cross on rock	0	0.0%	5	7.8%	²
Cross on rock and with other motifs	0	0.0%	2	3.1%	²
Total	19	100.0%	64	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

132

6.10.2 Sex

Again, the low numbers of crosses recorded meant only the Roman/Latin cross (usually with Calvary plinth) could be tested for any difference between male and female children. However, unlike for plot type, the sample proportions were found to be equal and therefore not significant (Table 6-23).

6.10.3 Age

Only 19 child-only plots used crosses (Table 6-23). Given these small numbers, even though Roman/Latin crosses were not found for stillborn and two to five-year old's, the fact that 'not inscribed', as previously pointed out, is very likely to include stillborn children, it is reasonable to infer that Roman/Latin crosses may have been used for that group in the sample, and that generally this style is not restricted to any particular children's age range given its broad symbolism. Simple crosses (remembering some of these were temporary grave markers) tend to children aged six and younger and were not seen for older children. The larger cross styles such as Celtic, rustic Latin and crosses on rocks were not used for child-only graves. Given their size and suitability for multiple inscriptions, they were understandably preferred as a family grave marker.

6.11 Pillars and sculptures

Unlike tablets and crosses, grave markers in the form of pillars (pedestals with flat or vaulted tops, columns and obelisks) were only associated with the nineteenth and early twentieth century cemetery (Table 6-24). Sculpted figures as grave markers were rare and of a religious nature. Percentages quoted relate to the four general cemeteries as the Children's Garden; Enfield only used plaques and crosses.

6.11.1 Chronology and plot type

Pillars and sculptures make up 9.9% of the sample (*n*=106) and this smaller frequency suggests the added expense and effort required to commission and obtain these less standard monument styles. Pedestals are used from the 1850s to the 1960s, with the addition of books from the 1920s to the 1940s giving the impression of a lectern (Figure 6-35). Some pedestals and columns were topped with classical symbolism, such as urns (these could also be draped with a cloth). The Egyptian obelisk (*n*=12; 1.1%), one of the tallest monumental styles, was first recorded in the 1860s and continued in use through to the 1950s. The broken column, symbolically associated with a foreshortened life (Keister 2004:129), appears just once in the sample, although on the grave of a child aged six that was later made into a family plot with the addition of a book plaque for his parents.

Table 6-23. Cross styles for male and female children on both plots types.

| | Children only | | | | | Family (children and adults) | | | | |
| | Male | | Female | | | Male | | Female | | |
	Count	Col n %	Count	Col n %	Difference %, p-value, 95% ci of the difference[1]	Count	Col n %	Count	Col n %	Difference %, p-value, 95% ci of the difference[1]
Celtic	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	[2]	1	3.6%	1	4.2%	[2]
Cross	8	88.9%	5	55.6%	[2]	2	7.1%	4	16.7%	[2]
Cross on rock	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	[2]	2	7.1%	2	8.3%	[2]
Cross on rock and with other motifs	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	[2]	2	7.1%	0	0.0%	[2]
Roman/Latin (with 3 steps - Calvary)	1	11.1%	4	44.4%	[2]	20	71.4%	16	66.7%	4%, p = 0.755, (21%, 29%)
Rustic Latin	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	[2]	1	3.6%	1	4.2%	[2]
Total	9	100.0%	9	100.0%		28	100.0%	24	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

For sculptures of figures, a notable and prominent statue of Jesus Christ was seen at Cheltenham dating from the 1920s. Angel figures either childlike cherubs or adults (usually on a pedestal), were recorded from the turn of the nineteenth century until the 1950s (Figure 6-33 and Figure 8-6); with their height and form making them prominent in the landscape. The more childlike forms are used for individual children's graves (*n*=3; 0.3%), with adult angel figures preferred for family plots (*n*=4; 0.8%), so there is a clear distinction in style based on plot type. No cases of unknown sex were found for this category. After the 1950s this style of grave marker does not appear.

The numbers for child-only plots were not enough to allow for statistical testing against family plots but on face value they suggest pillars and sculptures were mostly used for family plots. The use of pedestals appears to strongly favour such a view (*n* = 61 for family plots compared to *n*=2 for child-only plots [Table 6-25]), which due to their four sides were ideal for allowing multiple inscriptions. This form is particularly well represented at Hindmarsh but does not appear at any site beyond the 1960s (Figure 6-33). Obelisks and urns likewise only appear on family plots, with the former mostly used at Hindmarsh and St Jude's (Figure 6-22).

Table 6-24. Count, percent and confidence intervals for pillar/sculpture styles adapted from the National Trust (NSW) guidelines (2009:123).

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Pedestal (Square or vaulted top)	63	51.6%	(42.8%, 60.4%)
Urn	19	15.6%	(10.0%, 22.8%)
Obelisk (Stepped base)	12	9.8%	(5.5%, 16.1%)
Pedestal with book	11	9.0%	(4.9%, 15.1%)
Angel	7	5.7%	(2.6%, 10.9%)
Draped Urn	5	4.1%	(1.6%, 8.7%)
Angel and Cross	1	0.8%	(0.1%, 3.8%)
Broken Column	1	0.8%	(0.1%, 3.8%)
Pedestal with cross	1	0.8%	(0.1%, 3.8%)
Religious sculpture	1	0.8%	(0.1%, 3.8%)
Unclear due to damage	1	0.8%	(0.1%, 3.8%)
Total	122	100.0%	.

6.11.2 Sex

Only angels and pedestals (one with a book) were used for child-only plots (*n*=7; 0.7%) and this small number meant no inferential testing was possible. For family plots only pedestals and urns had enough numbers for testing and neither indicated any significant difference (Table 6-27).
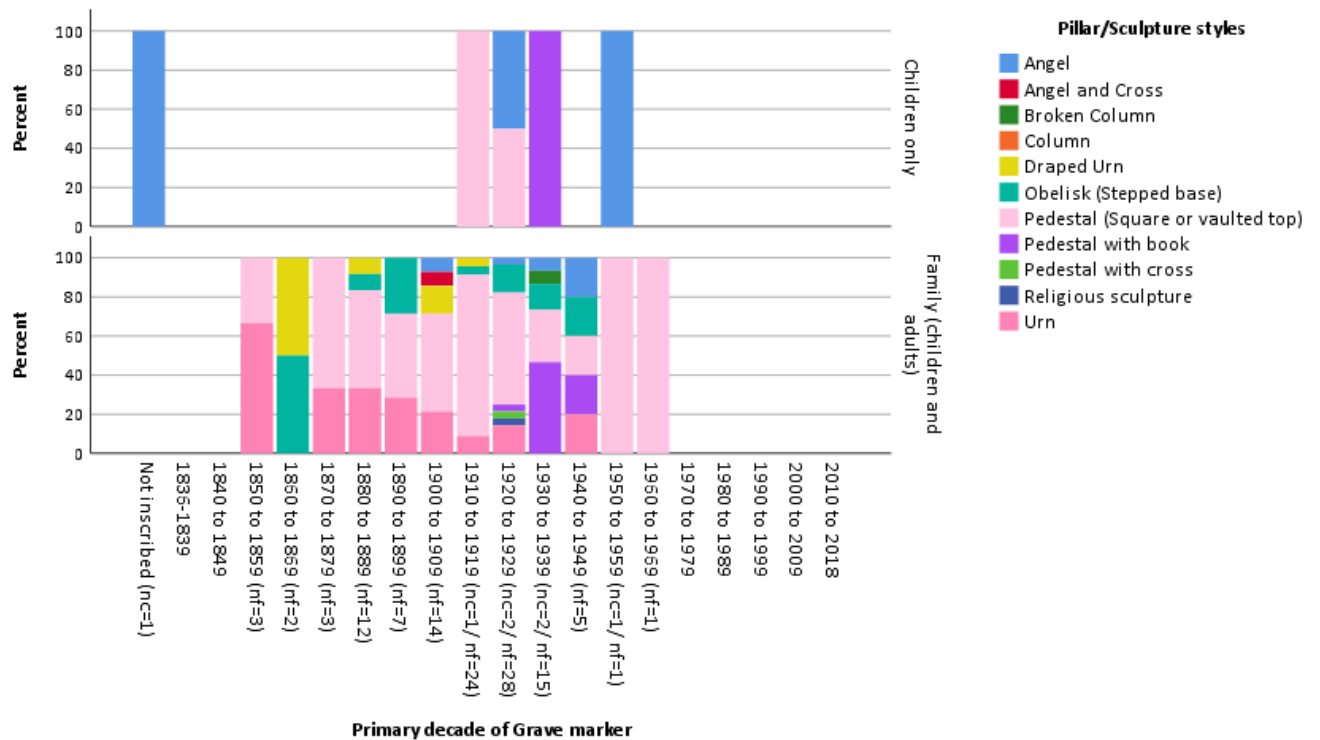
Figure 6-33. Percentage of pillar/sculpture styles by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Table 6-25. Count and percent of pillar/sculpture styles by plot type.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Angel	3	42.9%	4	3.5%	7	5.7%	*²
Pedestal (Square or vaulted top)	2	28.6%	61	53.0%	63	51.6%	*²
Pedestal with book	2	28.6%	9	7.8%	11	9.0%	*²
Angel and Cross	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.8%	*²
Broken Column	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.8%	*²
Column	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²
Draped Urn	0	0.0%	5	4.3%	5	4.1%	*²
Obelisk (Stepped base)	0	0.0%	12	10.4%	12	9.8%	*²
Pedestal with cross	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.8%	*²
Religious sculpture	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.8%	*²
Unclear due to damage	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	1	0.8%	*²
Urn	0	0.0%	19	16.5%	19	15.6%	*²
Total	7	100.0%	115	100.0%	122	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

6.11.3 Age

For child-only plots, angels were only found for infants and young children five years or younger (Figure 6-34 [*n*= 3; 0.3%]). When used for child-only plots pedestals were preferred for older children aged 6 years and up. The addition of a book to the pedestal occurred for the oldest age range (13 to 20). However, given the small numbers identified for these categories overall (*n*=7; 0.7%) these trends should be viewed cautiously and would benefit from future comparison with other sites.
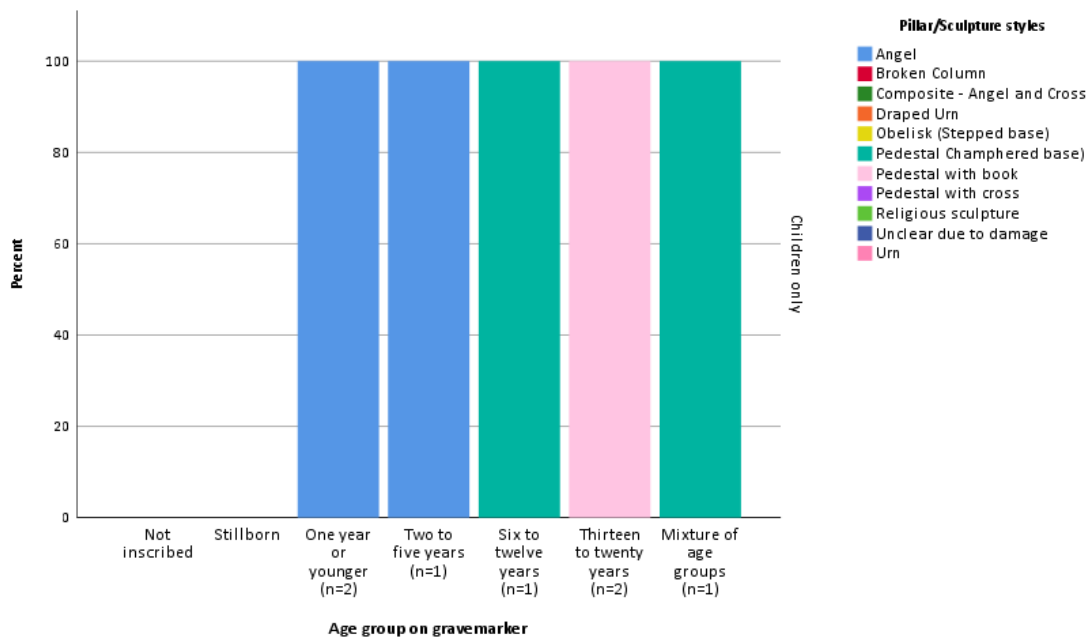
Figure 6-34. Percentage of pillar/sculpture styles by age group for child-only plots with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

6.12 Horizontal slabs and plaques

This category consists of those styles that sit lower in the cemetery landscape and can be either angled or horizontal to the plot surface (Table 6-26). They may also be attached to another surface such as a plinth, kerb or wall.

6.12.1 Chronology and plot type

The high percentage of rectangular plaques in total (*n*=1254; 93.1%) reflects the dominance of this style in the Children's garden. For the four general cemeteries alone, plaques represented 26.4% of grave markers recorded (*n*=284). This simple rectangular style is found throughout the entire time period of the study, originally in stone and later cast iron. The book-shaped plaque, usually open and sometimes with a bookmark (Figure 6-35), is found from the 1880s through to the 1980s. The use of heart and shield-shaped plaques is first found at the turn of the nineteenth century, but both were out of use by the 1950s.

Table 6-26. Count, percent and confidence intervals for horizontal slab/plaque styles adapted from the National Trust (NSW) guidelines (2009:124-125).

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Plaque	1254	93.1%	(91.6%, 94.4%)
Book	54	4.0%	(3.1%, 5.2%)
Horizontal slab	16	1.2%	(0.7%, 1.9%)
Plaque shield shaped	11	0.8%	(0.4%, 1.4%)
Plaque heart shaped	10	0.7%	(0.4%, 1.3%)
Altar	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
Sarcophagus	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
Total	1347	100.0%	

Horizontal slabs are more problematic, given their dual potential to serve as a grave marker or plot cover. Those acting as grave markers (inscribed and with no other grave marker form) date from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1870s, with another cluster recorded between 1900 and the 1940s (n=16; 1.5%). After this period, horizontal slabs act mostly as plot covers (Figure 6-36). Although not testable, they appeared more on family plots (n=13) compared to child-only plots (n=3). Altar and sarcophagus styles were found dating to the 1870s (one each). These low but spatially large grave markers had reached the end of their popularity by this period as the issue of visibility gained importance in the congesting cemetery landscape (Muller 2015:21; Mytum 2004:68). Removing the Children's Garden which had 1,045 plaques (49.1% of all grave markers sampled), testing indicated plaques to be statistically significant towards child-only plots for the four general sites (Table 6-28). The other testable style of Books found they were more likely to be used for family plots, with each added inscription symbolising an entry onto a page. Statistical significance could not be determined for the remaining categories due to their small numbers.

Figure 6-35. Plaque (Open book with bookmark), marble, c. 1945, Cheltenham cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

Table 6-27. Pillar/sculpture styles for male and female children on both plots types.

	Children only					Family (children and adults)				
	Male		Female		Difference %, p-value, 95% ci of the difference*¹	Male		Female		Difference %, p-value, 95% ci of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Angel	2	50.0%	1	33.3%	*²	2	3.8%	2	5.1%	*²
Pedestal (Square or vaulted top)	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	*²	28	52.8%	20	51.3%	2%, p = 0.8495, (19%, 23%)
Angel and Cross	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	*²
Broken Column	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	*²
Column	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²
Draped Urn	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	2	3.8%	1	2.6%	*²
Obelisk (Stepped base)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	8	15.1%	3	7.7%	*²
Pedestal with book	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	*²	6	11.3%	3	7.7%	*²
Pedestal with cross	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	*²
Religious sculpture	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	*²
Unclear due to damage	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	*²
Urn	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	6	11.3%	6	15.4%	4%, p = 0.569, (10%, 18%)
Total	4	100.0%	3	100.0%		53	100.0%	39	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions
*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
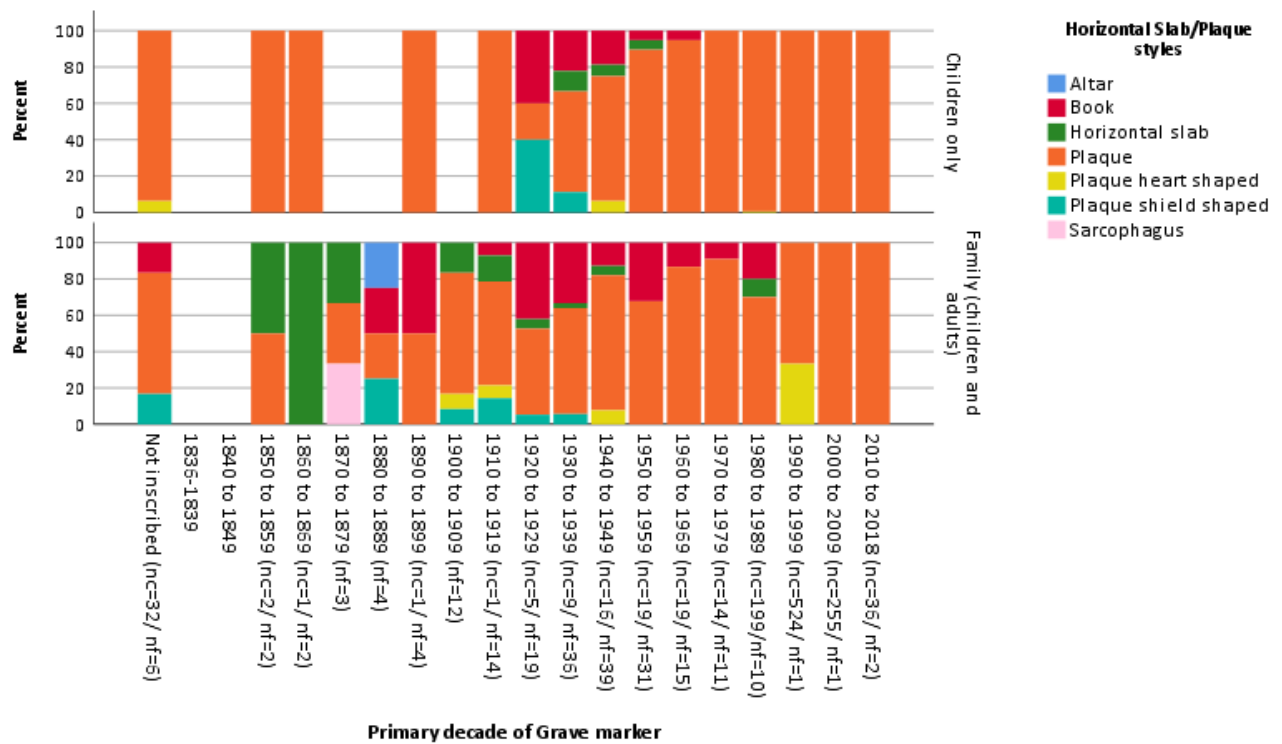
Figure 6-36. Percentage of horizontal slab/plaque styles by decade and plot type with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

Table 6-28. Horizontal slab/plaque styles for male and female children on both plots types.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*1
Plaque	69	78.4%	140	65.4%	209	69.2%	13%, p = 0.0267, (2%, 25%)
Book	9	10.2%	45	21.0%	54	17.9%	11%, p = 0.0231, (2%, 20%)
Plaque heart shaped	4	4.5%	6	2.8%	10	3.3%	*2
Horizontal slab	3	3.4%	13	6.1%	16	5.3%	*2
Plaque shield shaped	3	3.4%	8	3.7%	11	3.6%	*2
Altar	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	1	0.3%	*2
Sarcophagus	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	1	0.3%	*2
Total	88	100.0%	214	100.0%	302	100.0%	

*1 z-test to compare two proportions
*2 z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 6-29. Horizontal slab/plaque styles for male and female children on both plots types.

| | Children only | | | | | Family (children and adults) | | | | |
| | Male | | Female | | Difference %, p-value, 95% ci | Male | | Female | | Difference %, p-value, 95% ci |
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Plaque	595	98.2%	463	98.5%	*²	73	66.4%	59	67.0%	1%, p = 0.882, (12%, 14%)
Book	4	0.7%	5	1.1%	*²	26	23.6%	19	21.6%	2%, p = 0.7401, (10%, 14%)
Horizontal slab	3	0.5%	0	0.0%	*²	5	4.5%	3	3.4%	*²
Plaque heart shaped	2	0.3%	1	0.2%	*²	2	1.8%	4	4.5%	*²
Plaque shield shaped	2	0.3%	1	0.2%	*²	4	3.6%	3	3.4%	*²
Total	606	100.0%	470	100.0%		110	100.0%	88	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions
*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

6.12.2 Sex

Both male and female children have a similar high usage of plaques (98.2% to 98.5%) for child-only plots and a very low representation of other styles in this category (Table 6-29). Plaques are also well represented on family plots along with books, but testing did not find any statistical difference in proportions due to the sex of the children.

6.12.3 Age

For child-only plots, plaques are used across all age groups (Figure 6-37). In the four general cemeteries books were found mostly for children under one year (n=6; 0.6%) compared to (n=3; 0.3%) for older children. The other styles occur in even smaller numbers and don't suggest an association with a particular age group.
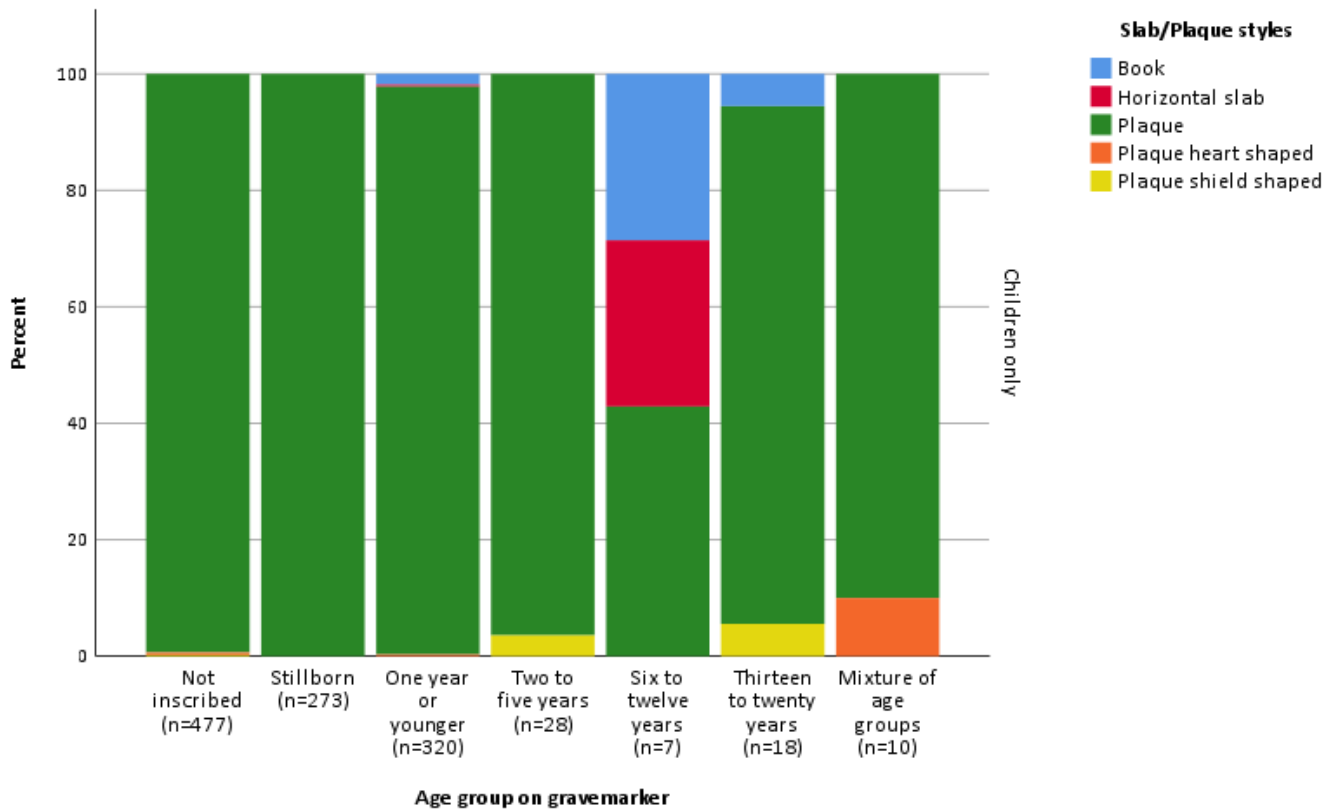
Figure 6-37. Percentage of horizontal slab/plaque styles by age group for child-only plots with grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

6.12.4 Miscellaneous

Finally, there are a very small number of grave markers that do not readily fit any of the above categories (Table 6-30). On six occasions vases served as grave markers. With one exception this occurred on family

plots and suggests a simple way of adding another grave marker to the family space rather than including them on existing grave markers (assuming that space permitted this). There is no chronological continuity to this practice, with two being used in the 1930s (including the only example for a child-only plot), one in the 2000s and three un-dated. All represent male children aged between two and five years.

Table 6-30. Count and percentage of miscellaneous.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Vase only	6	75.0%	(40.8%, 94.4%)
Rock (Natural)	2	25.0%	(5.6%, 59.2%)
Total	8	100.0%	

The other style uses a naturally formed piece of rock to which a plaque is attached. Only two were recorded. They are contemporary additions dating from the 1990s (family plot) and 2000s (child-only plot). Their use may be simply aesthetic or may hark back to the Christian symbolism of the rock of ages. Both examples were used for female children aged between two and five years.

6.12.4.1 Footstones

Only one footstone was recorded for the sample at St Jude's (c.1857).

6.13 Class and social status

The problematic nature of identifying class associations in cemetery memorialisation was discussed in Section 5.8.2 along with the method employed to attempt its identification with families recorded in this sample. Western memorialisation trends in the nineteenth century provided a suitable canvas upon which class identity, if desired, could be expressed. This was less the case after the First World War as order and uniformity replaced individualism in the cemetery; a development that impacted all classes (Baugher and Veit 2014:149-150; Rugg 2006). Although some vocational, social and residential references were found in situ, most of the occupational associations identified in Table 6-31 resulted from historical research. This sample was further broken up into child-only and family plots (Table 6-32). Some individuals had several jobs in life and increased their economic and social status accordingly. In such cases the occupation recorded against them represents their ultimate level of economic and social achievement prior to death. Given the high number of plots for which a vocation or other social information could not be identified the results obtained are necessarily of a preliminary nature, best viewed within the historical context of each site. They do however provide some capacity to contrast child memorialisation against different class contexts.

The largest number of people for whom occupation, social activity or residence could be identified was Walkerville (*n*=48; 39.3%). Given the Wesleyan Church's role in the creation of the site and the middle to upper class nature of the area's development historically, an enhanced likelihood of church and professional employment (including Government office) was realised. Those who owned both large and small businesses, including pastoral interests, are also well represented. Although not exclusively used for Wesleyan burial, the sense of a mixed dissenting congregation making up the site is also suggested by a strong representation of tradesmen and labourers (*n*=17; 13.9%).

Table 6-31. Count and percent of occupations associated with families by site.

	Hindmarsh cemetery		Walkerville cemetery		Cheltenham cemetery		St Jude's cemetery, Brighton	
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %
Church	1	0.2%	5	4.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Agricultural	0	0.0%	5	4.1%	0	0.0%	6	2.4%
Government	3	0.7%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Labourer	6	1.5%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Large business (Company)	6	1.5%	5	4.1%	0	0.0%	3	1.2%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Professional	0	0.0%	8	6.6%	0	0.0%	6	2.4%
Small business (Shop)	0	0.0%	7	5.7%	0	0.0%	7	2.8%
Tradesman	3	0.7%	15	12.3%	0	0.0%	4	1.6%
Not identified	388	95.3%	74	60.7%	300	100.0%	218	88.3%

In comparison Hindmarsh (*n*=19; 4.7%), non-denominational and located in an area of heavy industry (with its dormitory suburbs of Bowden and Brompton) displayed more of a business focus in its occupations. Those identified as running businesses ran them large, such as the Hallet family's brickmaking (six yards in Brompton and one in Hindmarsh, Nicol 1986:47). The largest and most prominent grave marker at Hindmarsh commemorates the Herring family, putting to use their skills as monumental masons. Labourers' plots are demarcated in situ by commemorative grave furniture expressing sympathy from their workmates, especially when their death was due to a work-related accident. Some examples of government employees were also identified.

St Jude's (*n*=29; 11.7%) in the nineteenth century was part of a semi-rural district with a desirable coastal strip. Consequently, professionals, pastoralists and small businessmen are the most represented occupations identified here. One instance of church employment was identified from the grave marker of: Charles Manthorpe, a Congregational Minister, who served in the nearby Glenelg area.

Only one occupation was identified for Cheltenham, that of a mariner. Give the area is close to the port of Adelaide such an occupation was not surprising. The main difficulty there was primarily due to the sample's

mostly mid-twentieth century chronology for which biographical information was not found. The deceased's place of residence, whilst not always a reliable indicator of social class, was also considered, as this association may help us to understand their perceived social status at the time of death. Being seen to reside in a respectable and desirable location was and remains an aspect of social status and peer approval.

Table 6-32. Count and percent of occupations associated with families by plot type.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total	
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %
Agricultural	0	0.0%	10	1.1%	10	0.9%
Church	0	0.0%	7	0.8%	7	0.7%
Community service	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Government	0	0.0%	6	0.7%	6	0.6%
Hospitality	1	0.5%	2	0.2%	3	0.3%
Labourer	0	0.0%	8	0.9%	8	0.7%
Large business (Company)	1	0.5%	14	1.6%	15	1.4%
Other	0	0.0%	3	0.3%	3	0.3%
Professional	2	1.0%	7	0.8%	9	0.8%
Small business (shop keeper)	1	0.5%	10	1.1%	11	1.0%
Tradesman	2	1.0%	21	2.4%	23	2.1%
Not identified	187	96.4%	794	90.0%	981	91.2%
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%

6.14 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the first set of results from the archaeological survey of the five cemetery sites. The reader is now familiar with the chronology of the study, the spatial nature of the grave plot types examined and the primary forms of the grave markers (including the different styles observed within those categories). Also illustrated, were the demographics of the children interred in the cemeteries in relation to age and sex. Finally to the extent possible, information about the occupational status of the children's families has been tabled. In the next chapter the second part of the archaeological results are presented and detail the inscriptions and motifs recorded from the grave markers, and the grave furniture deposited on the grave plots.

CHAPTER 7
GRAVE MARKER INSCRIPTIONS, MOTIFS AND GRAVE FURNITURE

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the review of results moves to the expressive elements chosen to memorialise the deceased child employed on the grave marker itself; what is written about them and what visual images may accompany the inscription to construct their identity to the onlooker. One of the significant interpretive advantages of grave markers is their textual content and the varying degree of detail this conveys about the deceased, their family, and the attitudes of the society in which they lived. The use of remembrance introductions, the presentation of basic details such as name, age, and date of death, along with additional verse, personalised characteristics and biographical detail provides insight into both the personal choices and public expectations surrounding the memorialisation of the deceased's persona.

The analysis of the text commences by looking at the lettering techniques used on the grave markers, the style of wording (factual, emotional, religious and biographical), authorship (based on the inscription) and the ordering of the child in relation to others on family grave markers. The elements of the inscription are then examined using the following categories: remembrance introductions, emotive, familial, temporal, personalised, biographical, religious, and mortality references. The examination of motifs is also done by categories as follows; religious, funerary, floral (with a breakdown into flower types), and figures (including animals and toys). The results for other forms of grave marker adornment, such as insignia, monograms, crests, and photographs, are then presented. Finally, the grave furniture found on child-only and family plots is examined using the following categories: floral (including inscribed vases), toys, religious, and miscellaneous. Counts and percentages quoted relate to the whole sample unless indicated otherwise in the text.

7.2 Inscriptions

The results for lettering techniques are shown in Table 7-1. The techniques recorded reflect the properties of the material inscribed (mostly stone or metal), and the available technology and popularity of such choices at the time of grave marker production. Three main inscription techniques were identified in the sample, with text engraved directly into the stone, the attachment of lead lettering to engraved niches and cast metal moulding. These methods are widely used in western cemeteries for all plot types. Removing the Children's Garden, Enfield which almost exclusively used cast iron or metal plaques (n=1045; 99.3%), allows for the comparison of lettering used for child-only and family plots in the four general cemeteries (Table 7-1). Testing found three statistically significant results. Lead lettering was more likely to be used for grave markers on family plots. In comparison engraved and engraved and painted favoured child-only plots.

Table 7-1. Count, percent, and z-test for lettering techniques on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Lead	86	44.3%	550	62.4%	18%, p = <0.0001, (10%, 26%)
Engraved	57	29.4%	180	20.4%	9%, p = 0.0058, (3%, 15%)
Engraved and painted	46	23.7%	147	16.7%	7%, p = 0.0223, (1%, 13%)
Painted only	3	1.5%	3	0.3%	*[2]
Other	2	1.0%	2	0.2%	*[2]
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions

*[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.2.1   Style of inscription

A comparison of the style of inscription between child-only and family plots recorded for the four general sites is shown in Table 7-2, with three statistically significant results. The use of an emotive style that evoked feelings of love, loss, grief, contemplation, appreciation and sometimes celebration of the deceased, was the most used for both plot types but was statistically higher for family plots. Christian religious wording and themes were the second most chosen style, but there was no significant difference in its use between plot types.

The use of biographical references was statistically higher for family plots. These could include, the place of birth or death, residence, social activities, and for older children historically, employment. By comparison, a purely factual style, with just the name and date of death was statistically more common for child-only grave markers by 12%. It is important to note that emotive, religious, and biographical styles can, and often do, occur in combination on the same grave marker. If we compare these results to the trend at the Children's Garden, Enfield the use of an emotive style is also the most common (*n*=1003; 95.3%; Table 7-3) with religious wording second, occurring on a third of the grave markers. Biographical and factual styles are much lower.

Inscriptions were overwhelmingly written in the third person (speaking about the deceased), with only 0.1% (*n*=3) written in the first person (the deceased speaking to the observer or about themselves). These three examples were of Vietnamese cultural background suggesting a different cultural choice, although other Vietnamese grave markers recorded followed the standard third person expression. Some nineteenth century verses employed the first person, with the rest of the grave marker inscription in the third person.

Table 7-2. Count, percent, and z-test of inscription styles for grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value,
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	95% CI of the difference*[1]
Biographical		22	11.3%	161	18.3%	183	17.0%	7%, p = 0.0181, (1%, 13%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Emotive		143	73.7%	776	88.0%	919	85.4%	14%, p = <0.0001, (9%, 19%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Factual		45	23.2%	99	11.2%	144	13.4%	12%, p = <0.0001, (7%, 17%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Religious		64	33.0%	293	33.2%	357	33.2%	0%, p = 1, (7%, 7%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*[1]z-test to compare two proportions

Table 7-3. Count, percent, and confidence intervals of inscription styles for grave markers at the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CL for Col N %
Biographical		18	1.7%	(1.1%, 2.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Emotive		1003	95.3%	(93.9%, 96.5%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Factual		38	3.6%	(2.6%, 4.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Religious		413	39.3%	(36.3%, 42.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.2.2 Authorship

The grammatical construction of the inscription usually provided clues to its authorship, and not surprisingly an overwhelming majority of the inscriptions indicated parental authorship (*n*=1644; 77.3%; Table 7-4), although the potential influence of other people in this process such as the funeral director (undertaker) and mason is acknowledged. 'Written by spouse' indicated a family grave erected for the adult partner but on which previously deceased children were also recognised. In cases where both parents were inscribed it is assumed another person, whether family or friend chose the wording. Only a small percentage (*n*=30; 1.4%) did not by their wording clearly suggest any authorship.

Table 7-4. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for inferred authorship.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Written by parents	1644	77.3%	(75.4%, 79.0%)
Written by another family/friend	250	11.7%	(10.4%, 13.2%)
Written by spouse	204	9.6%	(8.4%, 10.9%)
Unclear	30	1.4%	(1.0%, 2.0%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

7.2.3 The ordering of individuals on family grave markers

An interesting aspect of authorship was the ordering of individuals in the inscription and the placement of the child within this visual structure on family grave markers (Table 7-5).Excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield (child-only plots), three types of ordering pattern were observed at the four general cemetery sites. Most common was the inscription of individuals by order of death (*n*=310; 35.1%). This appears straightforward on single faced grave markers and can also be traced on multi-faced grave markers, such as pedestals. Secondly, individuals were arranged in relation to their social position and attendant status within the family (*n*=253; 28.7%). Given that such ordering varies, this style may have imparted family information to contemporaries whose nuances are now unclear to us (Figure 7-1).

Table 7-5. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for ordering of inscriptions on family plots (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Order of death	310	35.1%	(32.0%, 38.3%)
Position within family	253	28.7%	(25.8%, 31.7%)
Family patriarch	210	23.8%	(21.1%, 26.7%)
Unrelated to others	109	12.4%	(10.3%, 14.7%)
Total	882	100.0%	.

Thirdly, inscription ordering reflected the historical authority of the patriarch as the head of the family, usually the father but sometimes the grandfather (*n*=210; 23.8%). Their cultural position and authority were emphasised by being inscribed first and at the top of the grave marker, regardless of other family members who had pre-deceased them (Figure 7-2). Investment in, and erection of the grave marker was only deemed worthy at this point in accordance with such ideology (Mytum 2004:127), and this practice extended well into the second half of the twentieth century. The category 'unrelated to others' refers to child-only grave markers on family plots.

Figure 7-1. Ordering by family position: Phyllis aged three, died in 1919 but is listed after Vera who died in 1967. Delayed memorialisation of children was not uncommon in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century - Cambered tablet with cut away shoulders, marble, c. 1967, Hindmarsh cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

Figure 7-2. Patriarchal ordering: The father James is commemorated first (died 1865) although both sons predeceased him - Gabled tablet with shoulders, slate, c. 1865, Walkerville cemetery facing east (Photo by author).

7.2.4 Remembrance Introductions

What Mytum (2004:80) refers to as 'remembrance introductions' were widely used (Table 7-6). These introductory phrases usually occurred in enlarged text at the top of the grave marker and applied to all individuals inscribed, so their use is not influenced by sex or age group. At the four general cemetery sites 81.4% of grave markers had such an introduction (*n*=876) and their distribution by plot type is shown in Table 7-7. For these sites, the more emotive 'In loving Memory' was the most common choice for both child-only and family plots (*n*=699; 65%), growing in use from the latter half of the nineteenth century and continuing to the present for both plot types (Figure 7-3). Statistically, this phrase is used more by family plots (n=598; 55.6%; Table 7-7). In the Children's Garden, Enfield (Table 7-8) these traditional introductions are used for less than a fifth of the grave markers (*n*=194; 18.4%) but of these 'In loving memory' is by far the most popular (*n*=170; 16.2%).

Table 7-6. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for remembrance introductions on grave markers.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
None	1058	49.7%	(47.6%, 51.8%)
In loving memory of	869	40.8%	(38.8%, 42.9%)
In memory of	131	6.2%	(5.2%, 7.2%)
Sacred to the memory of	68	3.2%	(2.5%, 4.0%)
Of your charity	2	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

Table 7-7. Count, percent, and z-test for remembrance introductions on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*1
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
In loving memory of		101	52.1%	599	67.9%	700	65.1%	16%, p = <0.0001, (9%, 23%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
In memory of		12	6.2%	97	11.0%	109	10.1%	5%, p = 0.0364, (0%, 10%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Of your charity		0	0.0%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	*2
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Sacred to the memory of		11	5.7%	57	6.5%	68	6.3%	1%, p = 0.6169, (3%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*1 z-test to compare two proportions

*2 z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

The more religious 'Sacred to the memory of' (*n*=68; 3.2%) declined by the end of the nineteenth century but continued to appear on a small number of family plots (*n*=57; 5.3%) until the 1950s. It is not used in the Children's Garden, Enfield. The fourth phrase 'Of your charity' was a distinctly Catholic entreaty asking the visitor to pray for the deceased's soul to expedite their passage from purgatory to heaven (Jalland 2002:173; Mytum 2004:139). This phrase was only recorded twice (once in the Children's Garden, Enfield) despite identifying several clearly Catholic grave markers.

Table 7-8. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for remembrance introductions on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
In loving memory of		170	16.2%	(14.0%, 18.5%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
In memory of		23	2.2%	(1.4%, 3.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Sacred to the memory of		0	0.0%	.
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Of your charity		1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.2.5   The wording of epitaphs

Inscribed epitaphs occurred for multiple locations on the grave marker depending on the number of people commemorated and the available inscription space. Their use is more complex as, unlike remembrance introductions, inscriptions often focus on, and reference, an individual or family grouping within the body of the epitaph. On family plots children and adults may receive different secondary inscriptions on the same grave marker. The apportioning of such text varies with adults receiving secondary inscriptions whilst children did not, and vice versa. For family grave markers, the inscriptions discussed in this chapter are those that relate directly to the child and therefore could contribute to the observation of childness.

7.3   Emotive inscriptions

Emotive terms and phrases are used to establish and demonstrate the attachment held by the living for the deceased (Table 7-9). The following sets of phrases, with their expressions of love, feelings of loss and perpetuation of memory are grouped as emotional inscriptions, and may appear in combinations on the same grave marker.

7.3.1   Chronology and plot type

Overall, the use of 'Dearly beloved', 'beloved', 'loved', 'dear' and 'darling' or combinations thereof was used for just over half of the sample (*n*=1162; 54.6%). Such expressions appeared on grave markers in every

decade and for both plot types (Figure 7-4). The next most used phrases commenced with 'Always' or 'forever' in relation to the heart or thoughts and were roughly divided in use (n=455; 21.4% and n=381; 17.9% respectively). The latter (thoughts or remembered) first appeared on family plots in the 1880s and maintained a small but steady presence on this type of plot to the present.
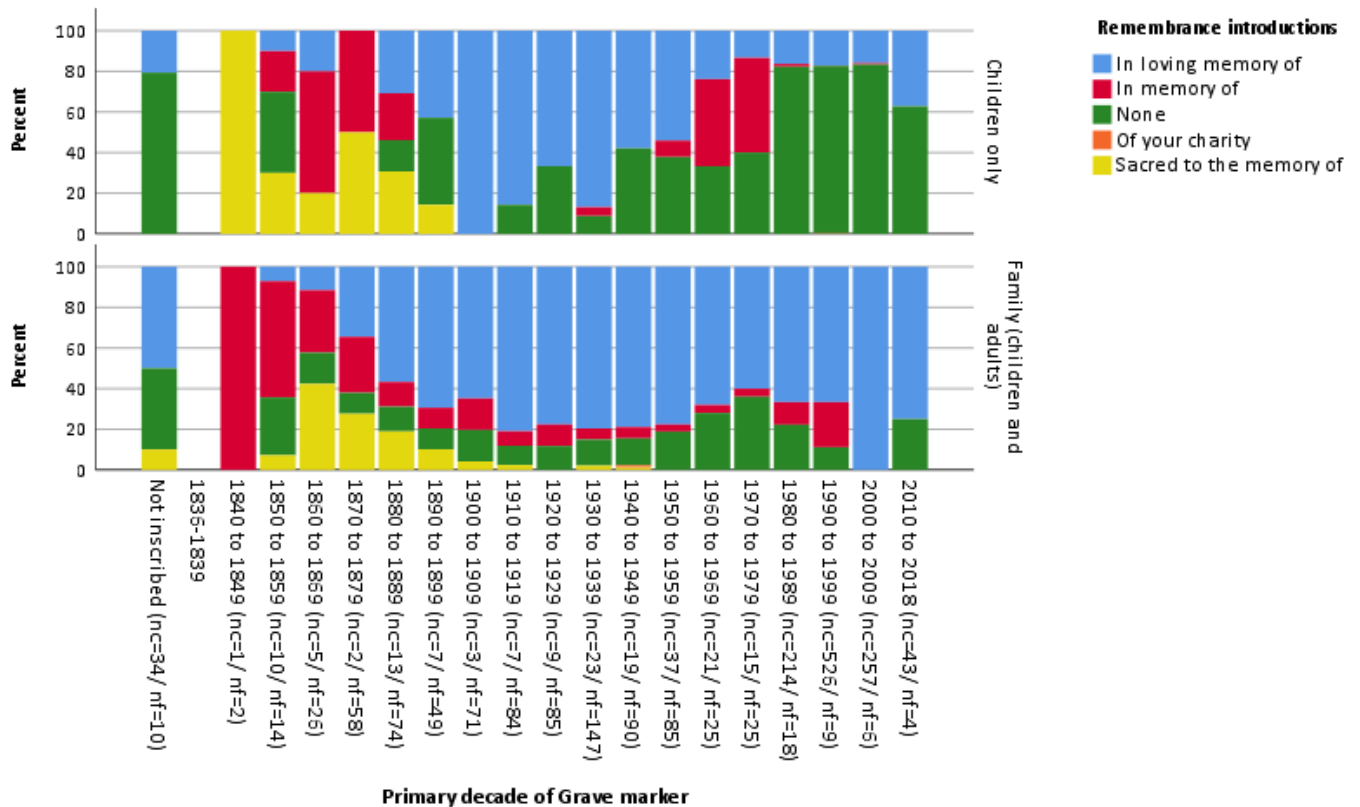
Figure 7-3. Percentage of remembrance introductions for grave markers by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for each x-axis category).

By comparison, the reference to the heart (with its emotive symbolism) was first seen in the 1930s. Both follow a similar growth pattern from the 1950s, with a marked increase in their use on child-only plots. The other expression 'missed' was not found until the period 1910 to 1919 and is then consistently used for both plot types until the 1980s. From that decade it was only found on child-only plots. The adjectives "Cherished', 'Treasured' and 'Beautiful' were used sporadically and mostly from the 1930s onwards (n=58; 2.7 %).

Inferential testing of each phrase against plot type for the four general cemeteries returned four statistically significant results (Table 7-10). 'Always/forever in our hearts', 'Always/forever in our thoughts/remembered', 'Cherished, treasured, beautiful' and 'Missed' all showed a significant statistical trend towards child-only plots. 'Dearly beloved', 'beloved', and 'loved' did not show any significant difference between plot types.

Table 7-9. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for emotive inscriptions on grave markers.

		Count	Column N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Always/forever in our hearts		455	21.4%	(19.7%, 23.2%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Always/forever in our thoughts/remembered		381	17.9%	(16.3%, 19.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Cherished, treasured, beautiful		58	2.7%	(2.1%, 3.5%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Dearly/beloved/loved		1162	54.6%	(52.5%, 56.7%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Missed		136	6.4%	(5.4%, 7.5%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
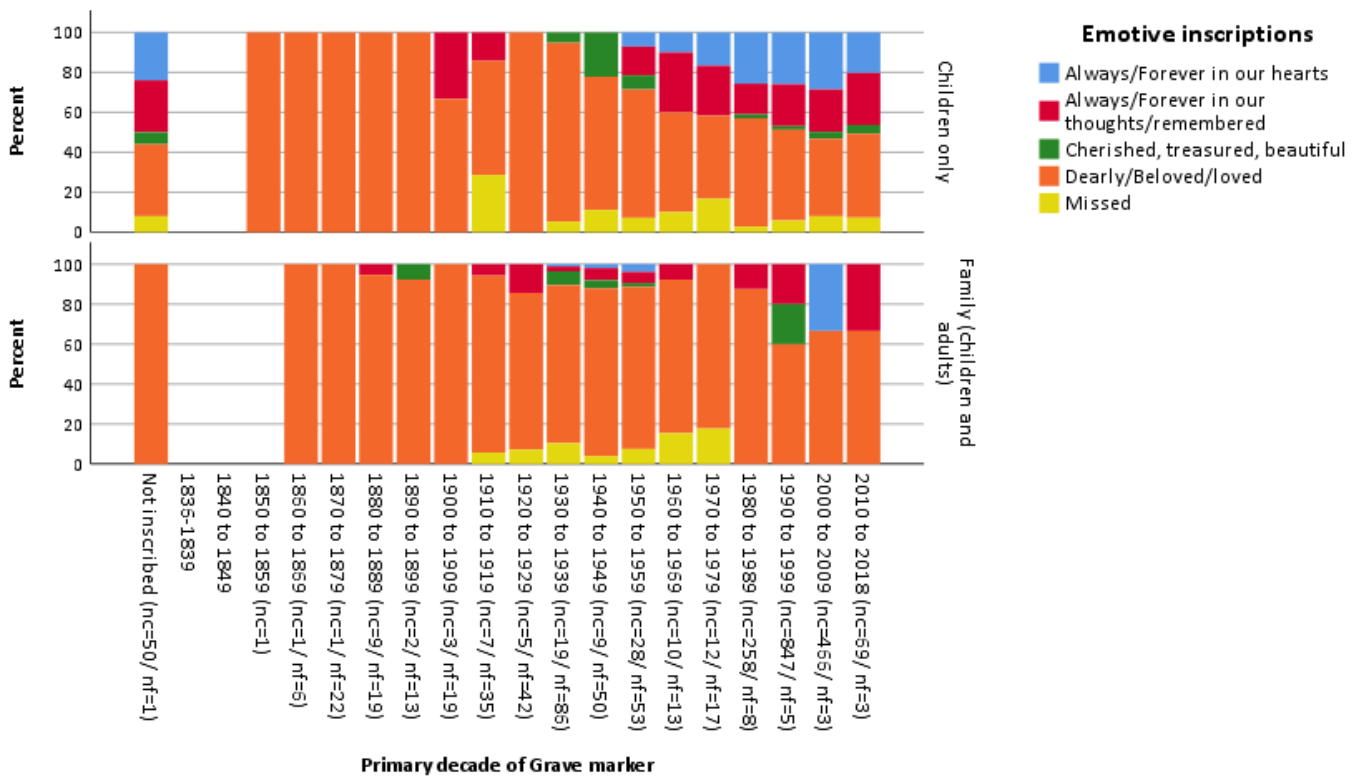
Figure 7-4. Percentage of emotive inscriptions for grave markers by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category) *As more than one phrase can occur per grave marker, the number shown for each decade/plot type is the total number of occurrences for all categories rather than grave marker numbers. This applies to all figures where 'occurrences' is captioned.

The popularity of these phrases appeared to be replicated for the Children's Garden, Enfield based on the percentages observed. There 'Dearly beloved', 'beloved' or 'loved' was used on 70.4% of grave markers (*n*=741; Table 7-11). The two 'Always' phrase combinations were also popular with 'Always/forever in our

hearts', used for 41.9% of grave markers (*n*=441) and 'Always/forever in our thoughts/remembered' for another 33% (n=347; Table 7-11). These categories were at times used as part of the same inscription.

Table 7-10. Count and column percent of emotive inscriptions for grave markers by plot type with z-test results (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
Always/Forever in our		9	4.6%	5	0.6%	14	1.3%	4%, p = 0.0001, (2%, 6%)
hearts	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Always/Forever in our		13	6.7%	21	2.4%	34	3.2%	5%, p = 0.0002, (2%, 8%)
thoughts/remembered	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Cherished, treasured,		12	6.2%	11	1.2%	23	2.1%	5%, p = <0.0001, (3%, 7%)
beautiful	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Dearly/Beloved/loved		88	45.4%	333	37.8%	421	39.1%	7%, p = 0.0707, 1%, 15%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Missed		11	5.7%	25	2.8%	36	3.3%	3%, p = 0.0407, (0%, 6%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-tests to compare two proportions

Table 7-11. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for emotive inscriptions for grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Column N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Always/Forever in our hearts		441	41.9%	(39.0%, 44.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Always/Forever in our thoughts/remembered		347	33.0%	(30.2%, 35.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Cherished, treasured, beautiful		35	3.3%	(2.4%, 4.5%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Dearly/Beloved/loved		741	70.4%	(67.6%, 73.1%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Missed		100	9.5%	(7.8%, 11.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.3.2   Sex

Statistical testing of emotive inscriptions for child-only and family plots by sex (Table 7-12 and Table 7-13) found no statistically significant results, meaning there was no difference in the use of these terms between male and female children for either plot type.

Table 7-12. Count, percent, and z-test for emotive inscriptions for child-only grave markers by sex.

		Male		Female		Total		Difference %, P-Value, 95% CI of the Difference*[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Always/Forever in our hearts		243	36.3%	196	38.3%	439	37.2%	2%, P = 0.480, (4%, 7%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	1181	100.0%	
Always/Forever in our thoughts/remembered		195	29.1%	149	29.1%	344	29.1%	0%, P = 1, (5, 5%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	1181	100.0%	
Cherished, treasured, beautiful		25	3.7%	20	3.9%	45	3.8%	0%, P =1, (2%, 2%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	1181	100.0%	
Dearly/Beloved/loved		451	67.4%	350	68.4%	801	67.8%	1%, p = 0.7163, (4%, 6%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	1181	100.0%	
Missed	Yes	57	8.5%	50	9.8%	107	9.1%	1%, P = 0.560, (2%, 4%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	1181	100.0%	

Table 7-13. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for emotive inscriptions for family grave markers by sex.

		Male		Female		Total		Difference %, P-Value, 95% CI of the Difference*[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Always/Forever in our hearts		2	0.5%	3	0.9%	5	0.7%	*[2]
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	765	100.0%	
Always/Forever in our thoughts/remembered		8	1.9%	10	2.9%	18	2.4%	1%, p = 0.3734, (1%, 3%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	765	100.0%	
Cherished, treasured, beautiful		4	1.0%	7	2.0%	11	1.4%	*[2]
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	765	100.0%	
Dearly/Beloved/loved		173	41.1%	130	37.8%	303	39.6%	3%, p = 0.3988, 4%, 10%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	765	100.0%	
Missed		13	3.1%	8	2.3%	21	2.7%	1%, P = 0.382 (1%, 3%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	765	100.0%	

7.3.3   Age

The use of the two 'Always' phrase combinations showed a strong association with children aged five years and under on child-only plots (Figure 7-5). 'Not inscribed' often correlated to 'Stillborn' and 'One year or younger' as a large percentage of this category was recorded at the Children's Garden, Enfield. This is indicated by the similarity in percentages between these categories. In turn, 'Dearly/beloved/loved' was the primary choice for children aged 6 years and up. By comparison, emotive inscriptions for children on family plots displayed a consistent pattern of use that seemed less affected by age group, although the two 'always' phrases still favoured children aged one year and under although less markedly.

7.4 Familial inscriptions

Most child-focussed inscriptions (*n*=1,410; 66.3%) employed some form of familial identity (Table 7-14). These expressions either referred to the child's gendered family title (i.e. daughter) or their age within the family structure (i.e. baby). For those denoting gendered family title, the most commonly used terms were 'son' (*n*=383; 18.0%), a combination (where more than one familial term appears; *n*=346; 16.3%) and daughter (*n*=260; 12.2%).

Figure 7-5. Percentage of emotive inscriptions by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.4.1 Chronology and plot type

'Son' is first recorded on a family plot in the 1850s and occurs on both plot types in almost all decades through to the present (Figure 7-7). 'Daughter' has a similar chronological and plot distribution. Combinations of familial inscriptions occur consistently on family plots for each decade but only achieve regular use on child-only plots from the 1950s onwards. References to 'Infants' are very much confined to family plots, first recorded in the 1850s and then consistently used from the 1870s through to the 1940s. The use of 'Baby' and 'babies' was first seen in small numbers on family plots from the 1900s to the 1920s, but was not recorded again until the 1950s, when it was used on both plot types. From the following decade onwards it was only used on child-only plots (Figure 7-6).

The use of 'First born' or 'only child' is most noticeable on family plots from the start of the twentieth century through to the 1960s, after which it began appearing on child-only plots instead (Figure 7-7). Sibling references, first seen in the 1890s were used on family plots through to the 1950s (when they are first seen on child-only plots) but occurred sporadically on both plot types from this point. Less common references to 'Grand-children' (*n*=18; 0.8%) were observed on family plots only between the 1860s and 1930s inclusive.

Table 7-14. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for familial identity on grave markers.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
No	718	33.7%	(31.8%, 35.8%)
Son	383	18.0%	(16.4%, 19.7%)
Combination	346	16.3%	(14.7%, 17.9%)
Daughter	260	12.2%	(10.9%, 13.7%)
Child/ren/boy/girl/s	152	7.1%	(6.1%, 8.3%)
First born/only child/son/daughter	61	2.9%	(2.2%, 3.6%)
Baby/infant/son	58	2.7%	(2.1%, 3.5%)
Baby/ies	48	2.3%	(1.7%, 3.0%)
Baby/infant/daughter	42	2.0%	(1.4%, 2.6%)
Sibling/brother/sister	22	1.0%	(0.7%, 1.5%)
Grandchild/ren	18	0.8%	(0.5%, 1.3%)
Infant child/ren	14	0.7%	(0.4%, 1.1%)
Adult title	6	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

Figure 7-6. Familial identity using family position: 'Baby' Stewart - Rectangular plaque, cast iron on concrete, dated 1965 but erected c.1980s, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park facing north (Photo by author).
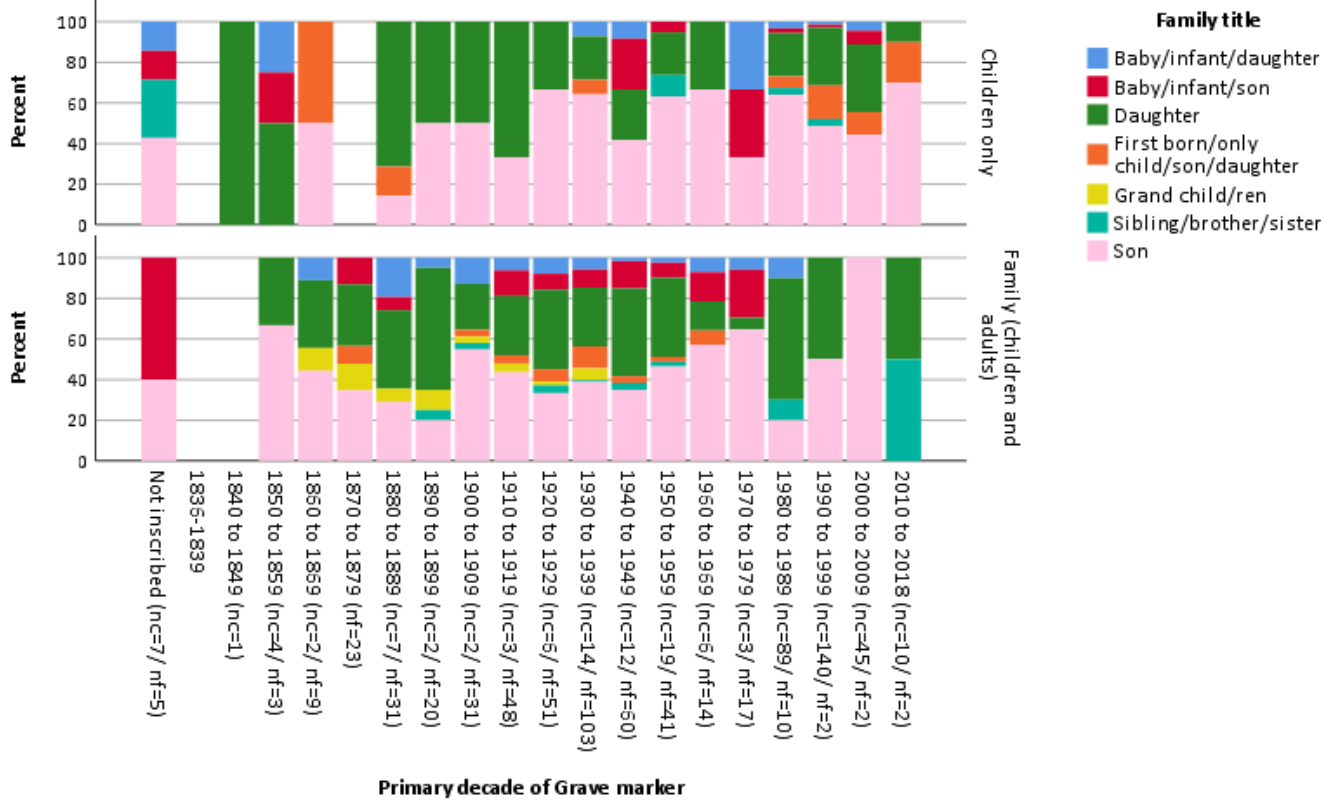
Figure 7-7. Percentage of familial identity (family title) by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).
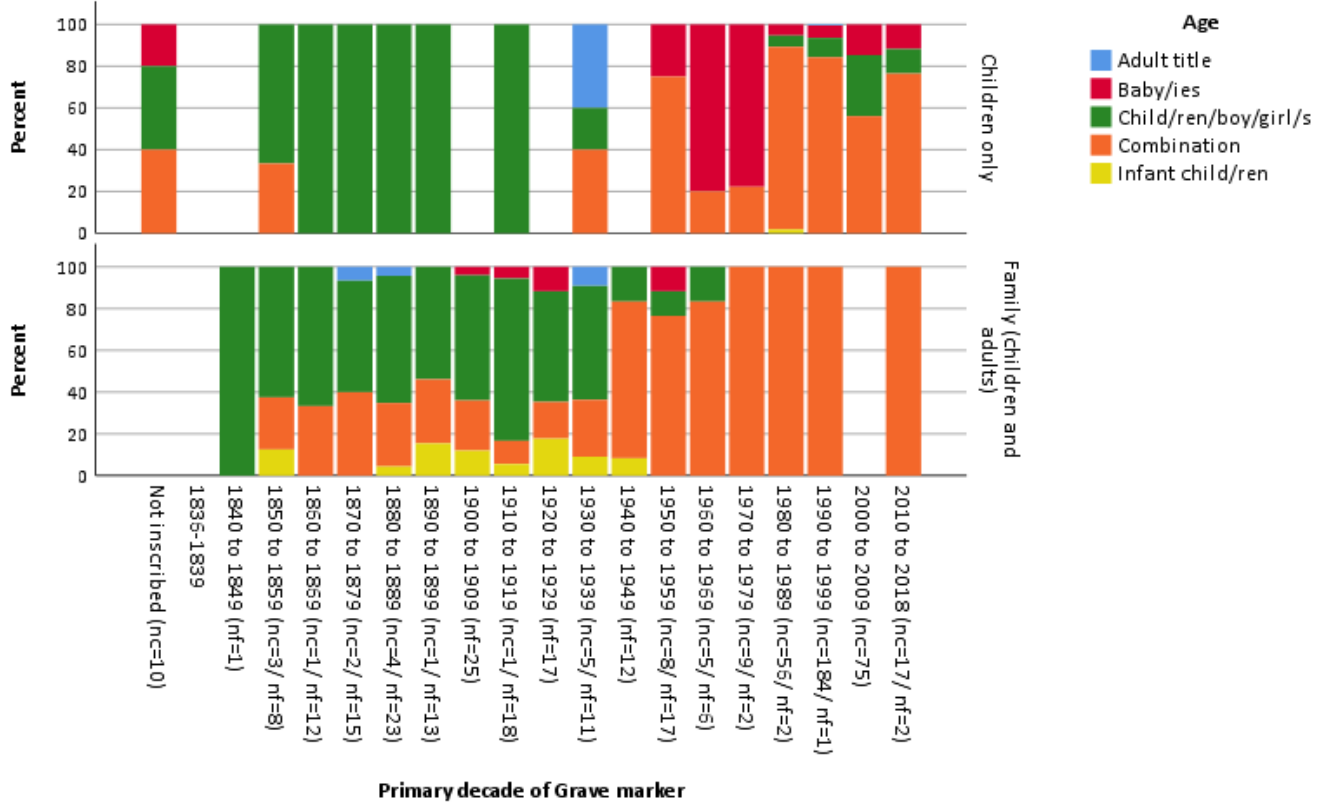
Figure 7-8. Percentage of familial identity (age) by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

The use of the more general terms 'child', 'children,' boy' and 'girl' were dominant (*n*=152; 7.1%) on both plot types throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century (Figure 7-8). Their use then declined after the 1930s on both plot types, disappearing from child-only plots until the 1980s, after which they return to use through to the present. They are not found on family plots after the 1960s.

The combination of the age terms 'baby' and 'Infant' with the gender terms 'son' or 'daughter' were more commonly used on family plots from the 1860s through to the 1980s. For child-only plots, they were seen sporadically from the 1930s until the 1980s when they are used in each subsequent decade. Statistically, testable titles showed no significant difference between plot types (Table 7-15). Familial inscriptions were used for 58.9% (*n*=620) of interments in the Children's Garden, Enfield (Table 7-16).

7.4.2   Sex

Those familial identities testable, and not obviously gender specific such as son and daughter, showed no statistically significant difference in their use between male and female children (Table 7-17 and Table 7-18). For mixed sex plots, where the children were addressed collectively rather than individually, there is understandably a greater use of non-sex specific terms such as 'children' and 'infants'. Plots where sex could not be identified consisted mostly of babies, identified from other aspects of the epitaph.

Table 7-15. Count, percent, and z-test of familial identity on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
Baby/ies	2	1.0%	6	0.7%	8	0.7%	*[2]
Adult title	3	1.5%	3	0.3%	6	0.6%	*[2]
Baby/infant/daughter	6	3.1%	30	3.4%	36	3.3%	0%, p = 1, (3%, 3%)
Baby/infant/son	8	4.1%	44	5.0%	52	4.8%	1%, p = 0.556, (2%, 4%)
Child/ren/boy/girl/s	14	7.2%	92	10.4%	106	9.9%	3%, p = 0.1961, (2%, 8%)
Combination	14	7.2%	71	8.0%	85	7.9%	1%, p = 0.6386, (3%, 5%)
Daughter	28	14.4%	159	18.0%	187	17.4%	4%, p 0.1821, (2%, 10%)
First born/only child/son/ daughter	4	2.1%	23	2.6%	27	2.5%	*[2]
Grandchild/ren	0	0.0%	18	2.0%	18	1.7%	*[2]
Infant child/ren	1	0.5%	13	1.5%	14	1.3%	*[2]
No	61	31.4%	225	25.5%	286	26.6%	5%, p = 0.1551, (2%, 12%)
Sibling/brother/sister	3	1.5%	10	1.1%	13	1.2%	*[2]
Son	50	25.8%	188	21.3%	238	22.1%	5%, p = 0.1274, (1%, 11%)
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions
*[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-16. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for familial identity on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Adult title	0	0.0%	.
Baby/ies	40	3.8%	(2.8%, 5.1%)
Baby/infant/daughter	6	0.6%	(0.2%, 1.2%)
Baby/infant/son	6	0.6%	(0.2%, 1.2%)
Child/ren/boy/girl/s	46	4.4%	(3.3%, 5.7%)
Combination	261	24.8%	(22.3%, 27.5%)
Daughter	73	6.9%	(5.5%, 8.6%)
First born/only child/son/daughter	34	3.2%	(2.3%, 4.4%)
Grandchild/ren	0	0.0%	.
Infant child/ren	0	0.0%	.
No	432	41.1%	(38.1%, 44.1%)
Sibling/brother/sister	9	0.9%	(0.4%, 1.6%)
Son	145	13.8%	(11.8%, 16.0%)
Total	1052	100.0%	.

Table 7-17. Count, percent, and z-test of familial identity for male and female children on child-only plots.

	Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Of the Difference*¹
Adult Title	0	0.0%	3	1.0%	*²
Baby/Ies	20	4.6%	4	1.4%	*²
Baby/Infant/Daughter	0	0.0%	12	4.2%	*²
Baby/Infant/Son	14	3.2%	0	0.0%	*²
Child/Ren/Boy/Girl/S	24	5.5%	26	9.0%	3%, P = 0.126, (1%, 7%)
Combination	151	34.8%	121	42.0%	7%, P = 0.575, (0%, 14%)
Daughter	0	0.0%	101	35.1%	*²
First Born/Only Child/ Son/Daughter	25	5.8%	13	4.5%	1%, P = 0.567, (2%, 4%)
Infant Child/Ren	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	*²
Sibling/Brother/Sister	4	0.9%	8	2.8%	*²
Son	195	44.9%	0	0.0%	*²
Total	434	100.0%	288	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-18. Count and column percent of familial identity for male and female children on family plots with z-test results.

	Male Count	Col N %	Female Count	Col N %	Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of the Difference[1]
Adult Title	0	0.0%	3	1.2%	[2]
Baby/Ies	0	0.0%	6	2.4%	[2]
Baby/Infant/Daughter	0	0.0%	29	11.5%	[2]
Baby/Infant/Son	44	13.9%	0	0.0%	[2]
Child/Ren/Boy/Girl/S	26	8.2%	20	7.9%	0%, P = 1, (4%, 4%)
Combination	31	9.8%	14	5.6%	4%, P = 0.084, (1%, 9%)
Daughter	0	0.0%	157	62.3%	[2]
First Born/Only Child/ Son/Daughter	13	4.1%	9	3.6%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Grand-Child/Ren	7	2.2%	9	3.6%	2%, P = 0.157, (1%, 5%)
Infant Child/Ren	2	0.6%	3	1.2%	[2]
Sibling/Brother/Sister	8	2.5%	2	0.8%	[2]
Son	185	58.5%	0	0.0%	[2]
Total	316	100.0%	252	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.4.3 Age

Familial identities, particularly those that suggest life stage status, understandably reflect the age groups to which they refer, for example, the terms baby, babies, 'baby daughter' and infant were used for children aged one year or younger including stillborn (Figure 7-9 and Figure 7-10). Other titles denoted a fixed and unalterable status such as 'first born' or 'only child' and gender identities like son and daughter. These were applicable for all age groups.

The use of child or children also extended into the oldest age group of 13 to 20 years of age, given an individual is always someone's child regardless of chronological age. So, even those individuals who by age stood socially on the cusp of adulthood when they died can retain their child status through such referencing.

A small number of individuals falling within the study's age range (0 to 20 years) were clearly referred to using adult terms indicating they were no-longer perceived as children (*n*=6; 0.3%). These consisted of females aged between 17 and 20 years of age who had married and/or had children, and as such referred to as 'Mrs', 'Mother' and 'wife of'. Such examples were only found at Hindmarsh and Cheltenham.
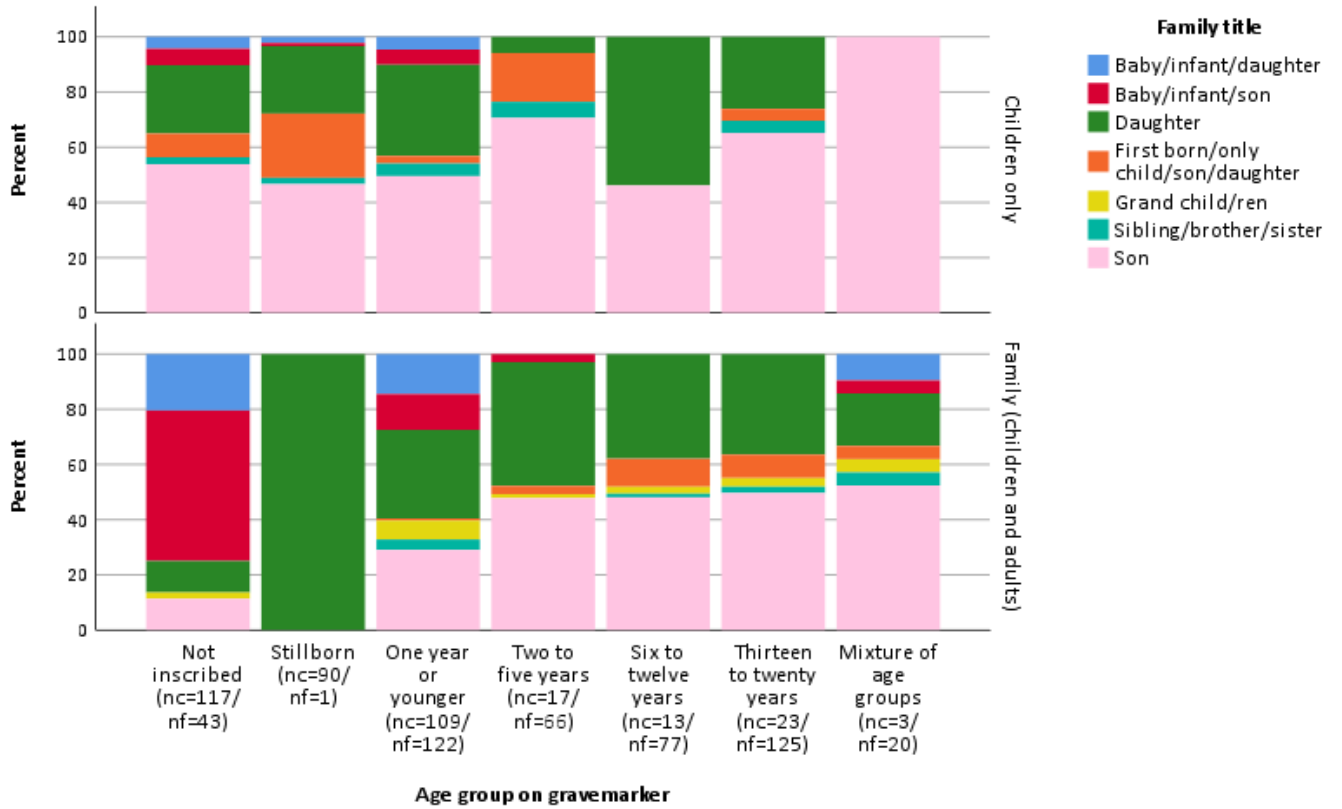
Figure 7-9. Percentage of familial title by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).
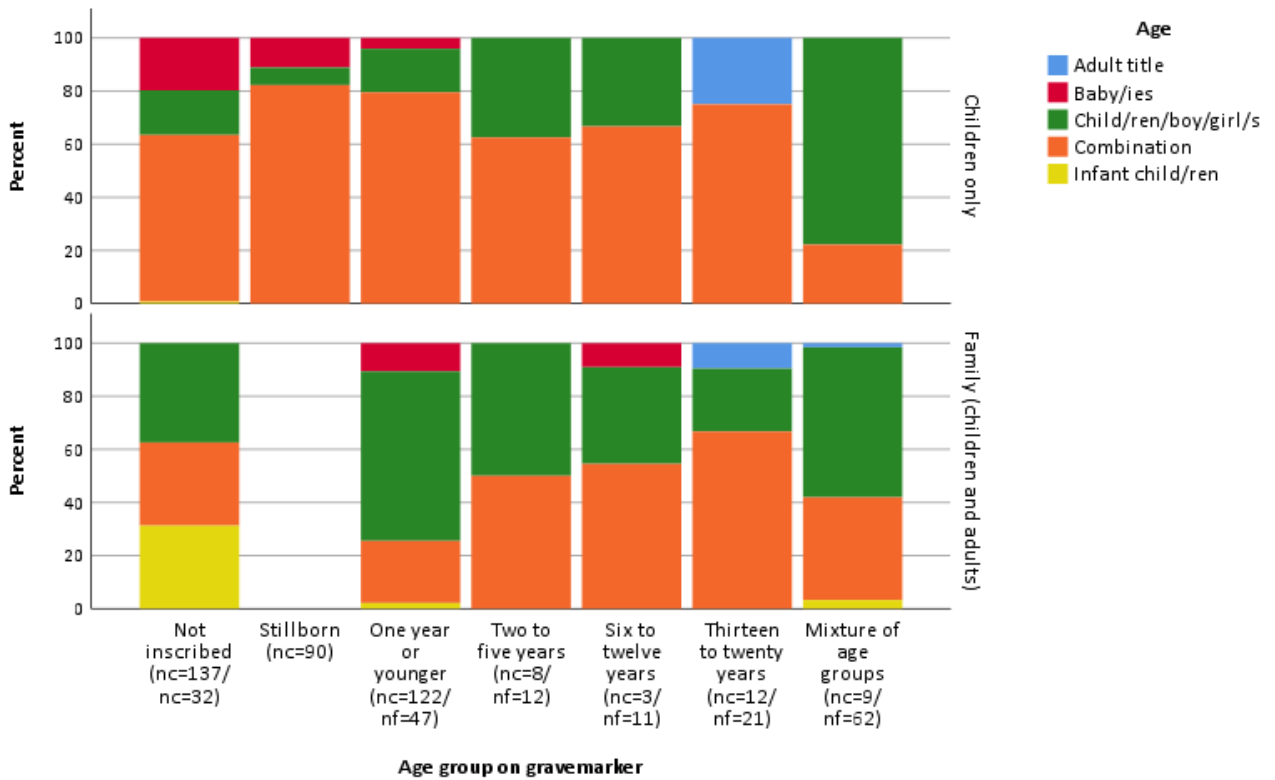
Figure 7-10. Percentage of familial identity by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

163

7.5 Temporal inscriptions

Notions of time and the situation of distinct events within it are critical elements for the conceptualisation of children's lives and the demarcation of childhood. As all children's deaths are viewed as premature, the reduced time lived is often measured in more precise chronological amounts on the grave marker than for adults (whose age is usually rounded into years). For example, 76.6% (*n*=1,858) of adults recorded on family grave markers in the sample had their age recorded in years only. By comparison, 34.2% (*n*=498) of children from the four general cemeteries had their age inscribed in years only, and a further 12% used years and months compared to just 1.1% by adults. Understandably, children who died under one year of age could have their timespans recorded in periods of months (*n*=192; 7.6%), weeks (*n*=67; 2.6%), days (*n*=53; 2.1%), and combinations thereof. Younger children's ages were sometimes simply indicated by reference to their chronological life stage of infant or baby (*n*=161; 6.3%). In the specific setting of the Children's Garden, contemporary trends included a single example of the use of minutes, and the time the child spend in utero (*n*=7; 0.6%). As an alternative, the date of birth and date of death were used for both children and adults, or no age was recorded at all. The later practice was particularly noticeable in the Children's Garden (*n*=439; 40.5%) compared to smaller numbers in the general cemeteries for children (with their broader age range [*n*=88; 6%]) and adults (*n*=182; 7.5%).

Temporal sentiments in inscriptions worked from two different perspectives depending on the phrases chosen (Table 7-19). The first referenced the child's life tenure in the world and spoke to their limited chronology and the lost opportunity arising from it. This expression involved a combination of 'Here for a short moment' or 'time' and 'no opportunity', or 'taken' with its religious overtones of heavenly ascension (*n*=138; 6.5%, Table 7-19). The second category emphasised the parental perspective (*n*=51; 2.4%), describing their feelings of expectation leading up to the child's birth, using phrasing such as, 'long awaited', 'and 'anticipated'. Finally, in the aftermath of their grief, there is the validating exhortation 'wanted'.

7.5.1 Chronology and plot type

Although the historical use of such temporal sentiments is known in the Western cemetery tradition, for example the phrase "gone too soon" (Baxter 2015:2), their representation in the sample was limited. Only three examples of the first category (child's life tenure) were recorded before the 1980s on two child-only plots (c.1946 and c.1956, child added c.1961), and one family plot (c.1923, child added c.1931). Each emphasised the brevity of the child's life and relationship with their family, noting the child was "yet called away too soon" and "Only lent". This type of inscription was used on child-only plots from the 1980s onwards (Figure 7-11).

The second category (parental feeling) was seen on child-only plots from the 1980s onwards. Inferential testing was not possible due to the lack of numbers found for family plots (*n*=1, Table 7-21) but given their almost exclusive use on child-only plots they can be seen as constituting a relatively new form of child-specific inscription.

Table 7-19. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for temporal inscriptions on grave markers.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Here for a short/moment/time/no opportunity/taken		138	6.5%	(5.5%, 7.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Long awaited/anticipated/wanted (Specific to child)		51	2.4%	(1.8%, 3.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

7.5.2   Sex

Sex did not appear to be a factor in the selection of temporal inscriptions, with little difference in choice between male and female children (Table 7-20). The numbers for mixed and unknown sex proved too small to draw inference (*n*=4) other than to note their association with child-only plots.

Table 7-20. Count and percent for temporal inscriptions by sex and plot type.*
*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

		Children only				Family (children and adults)			
		Male		Female		Male		Female	
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %
Here for a short/time/taken		78	11.7%	57	11.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	421	100.0%	344	100.0%
Long awaited/wanted		29	4.3%	20	3.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Total*	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	421	100.0%	344	100.0%
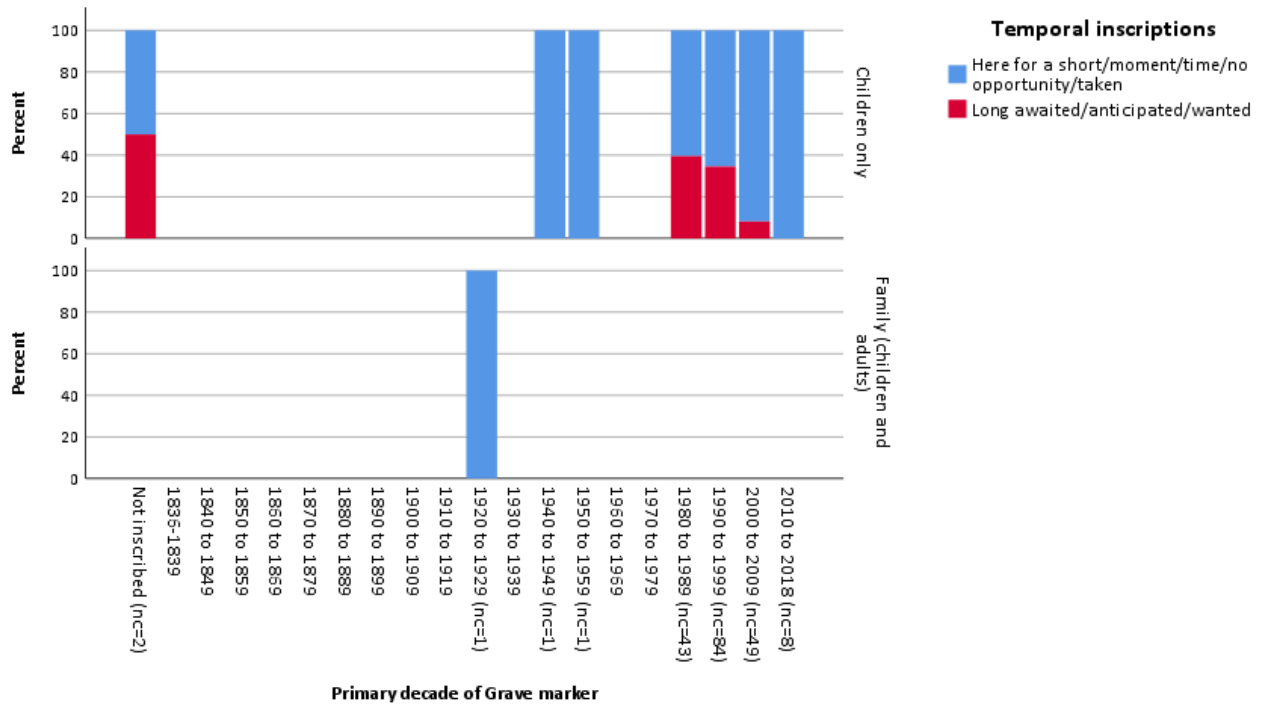
Figure 7-11. Percentage of temporal inscription by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.5.3 Age

Temporal inscriptions were commonly used for younger age groups (Figure 7-12). The first category 'short time' was primarily recorded for infants aged under one year or younger (n=43; 2%), stillborn (n=32; 1.5%) and 'not inscribed' (n=59; 2.8%). Most were recorded in the Children's Garden, Enfield (n=132; 12.5%). Just one example was seen for an older child in the 6 to 12-year old age group and two for mixed ages.

The second category of anticipatory phrases was used exclusively for infants aged one year or younger, with the highest numbers relating to the memorialisation of stillborn (n=:29; 1.7%) and 'not inscribed' (n=18; 0.8%) whose numbers are usually made up by similar ages. Only one example of this expression was found outside of the Children's Garden, Enfield, at Hindmarsh for the grave of a stillborn.

7.6 Personalised 'child' inscriptions

Personalised inscriptions were sometimes used to express a more individual aspect of the deceased (Table 7-22). These included an affectionate nickname, petname or reference to the child's personal nature, such as their 'happy' disposition or 'loving' attitude. The biological aspect of size associated with infants and young children, and associations with the childhood activity of play were also invoked. Some border on the biographical, with allusions to relieved suffering indicating a period of illness.

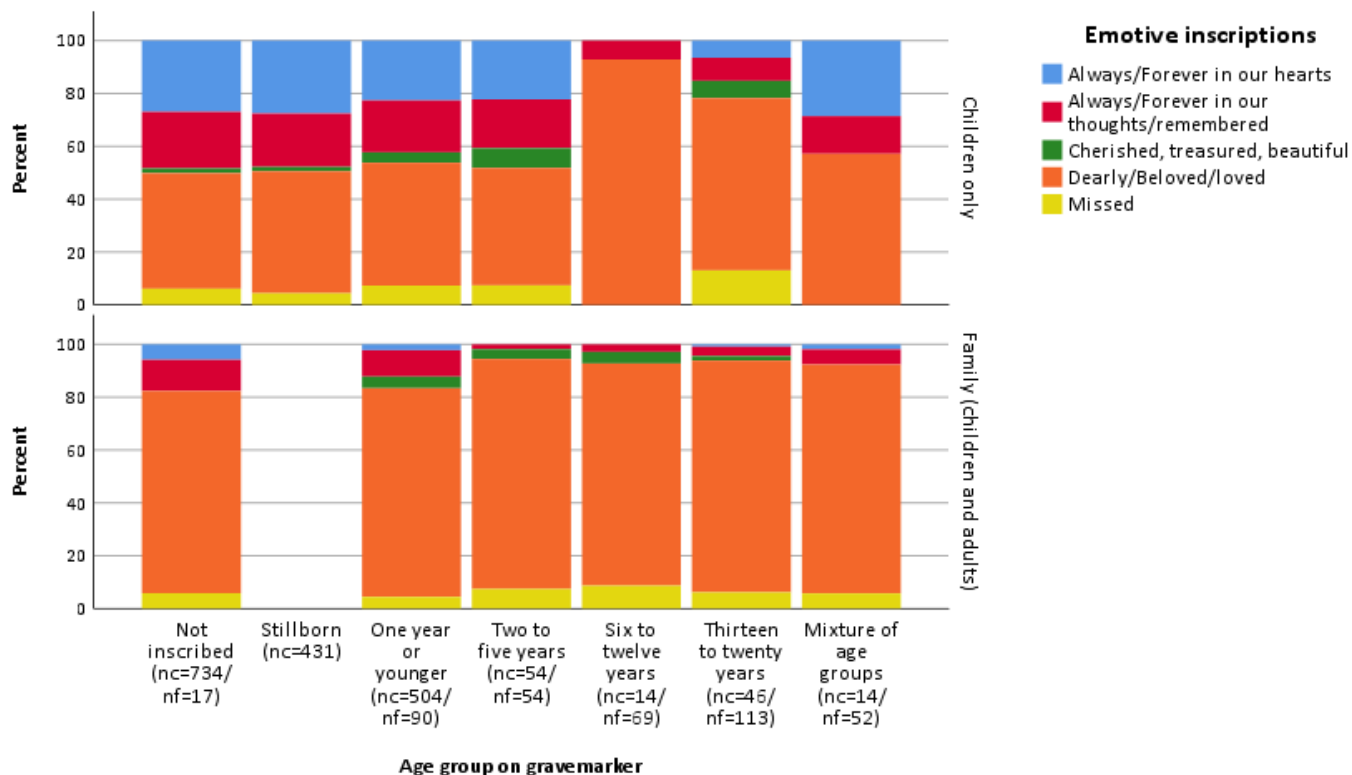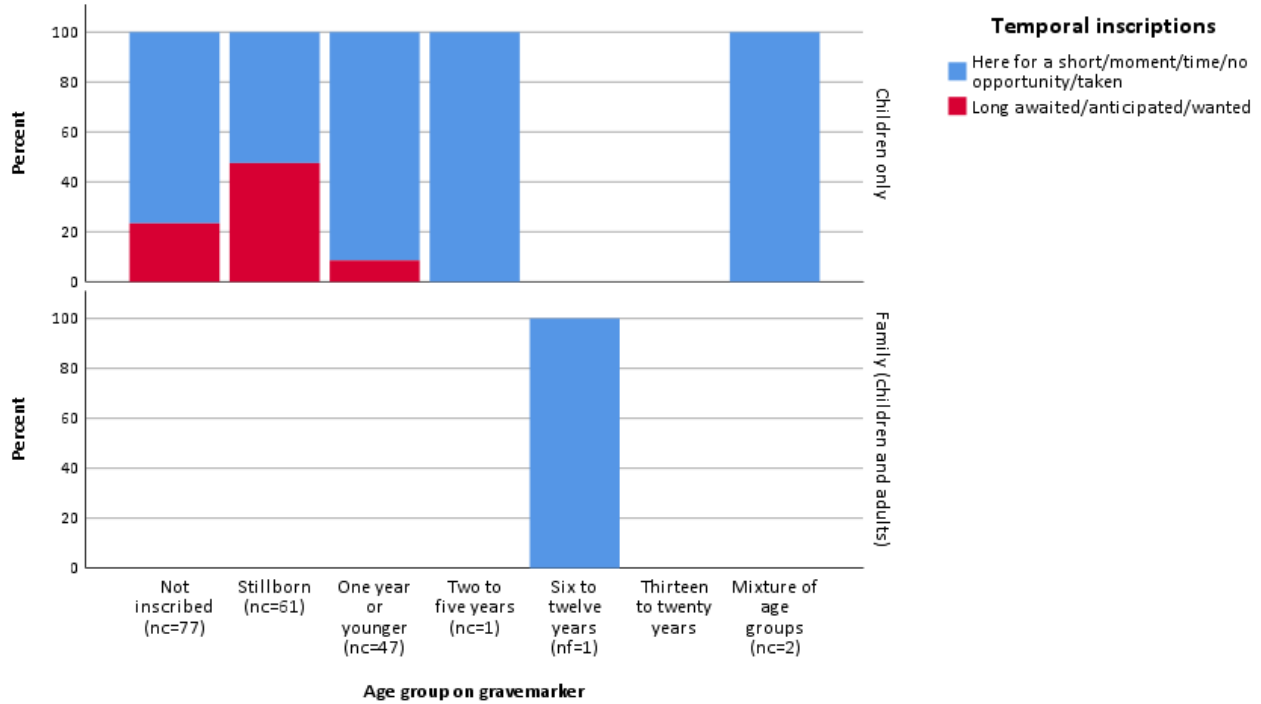**Figure 7-12. Percentage of temporal inscriptions by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).**

7.6.1 Chronology and plot type

Personalised inscriptions for children were relatively rare, occurring in small numbers on both plot types (*n*=55; 2.6%; Table 7-22). Such individualised additions were found more consistently on family plots from the 1870s to the 1960s (except the 1950s). Their use on child-only plots was concentrated in the mid-twentieth century and then from the 1980s onwards (Figure 7-13). Descriptions of the child's disposition as 'loving' or 'happy' are concentrated from the 1920s to 1950s for both plot types (only one example was found for the nineteenth century). Again, such terms have come back into use since the 1980s on child-only plots.

The use of adjectives to denote biological size ('little' and 'wee') and personal familial status ('special' and 'beautiful') occurred mainly on family plots from the 1880s to the 1940s than reversed, appearing only on child-only plots from the 1950s to the present (Figure 7-13). References to a playground in heaven were only recorded from the 1980s onwards at the Children's Garden, Enfield (Table 7-24).

Table 7-21. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for temporal inscriptions on grave markers by plot type.

		Children only*²			Family (children and adults) *²			Total		
		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Here for a short/moment/time/ no opportunity/taken		137	11.0%	(9.3%, 12.8%)	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.5%)	138	6.5%	(5.5%, 7.6%)
	Total	1246	100.0%		882	100.0%		2128	100.0%	.
Long awaited/anticipated/wanted		51	4.1%	(3.1%, 5.3%)	0	0.0%		51	2.4%	(1.8%, 3.1%)
	Total	1246	100.0%		882	100.0%		2128	100.0%	

² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Inferential testing of these personalised embellishments found statistically significant outcomes for 'Little/special/beautiful/boy/girl', Loving/happy' and 'Personalised', with all favouring child-only plots by 3% (Table 7-23). Breaking 'personalised' down into its sub-categories, character traits and nicknames/petnames showed a statistically significant trend towards child-only plots and were generally less likely to be used on family plots (Table 7-25).

Table 7-22. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for personalised inscription on grave markers.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Little/special/beautiful/boy/girl		246	11.6%	(10.3%, 13%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Loving/happy		29	1.4%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Personalised		55	2.6%	(2.0%, 3.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Playground in heaven		9	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

Table 7-23. Count, percent, and z-test for personalised inscriptions on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Little/special/beautiful/boy/girl		8	4.1%	10	1.1%	18	1.7%	3%, p = 0.0021, (1%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Loving or happy		7	3.6%	12	1.4%	19	1.8%	3%, p = 0.0021, (1%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Personalised		9	4.6%	21	2.4%	30	2.8%	3%, p = 0.0162, (1%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions

7.6.2 Sex

'Little', 'loving' and 'personalised' were tested for any difference between male and female children for child-only plots and no statistical difference was found (Table 7-26). For family plots only the personalised category was in sufficient proportion for testing. Again, no statistical difference between male and female children was found. Descriptively, 'little' and 'loving' by count and percentage were very similar. Although

too small to test, 'playground in heaven' appeared evenly distributed between male children (*n*=4; 0.4%) and female children (*n*=5; 0.5%) on child-only plots. It did not appear on family plots.
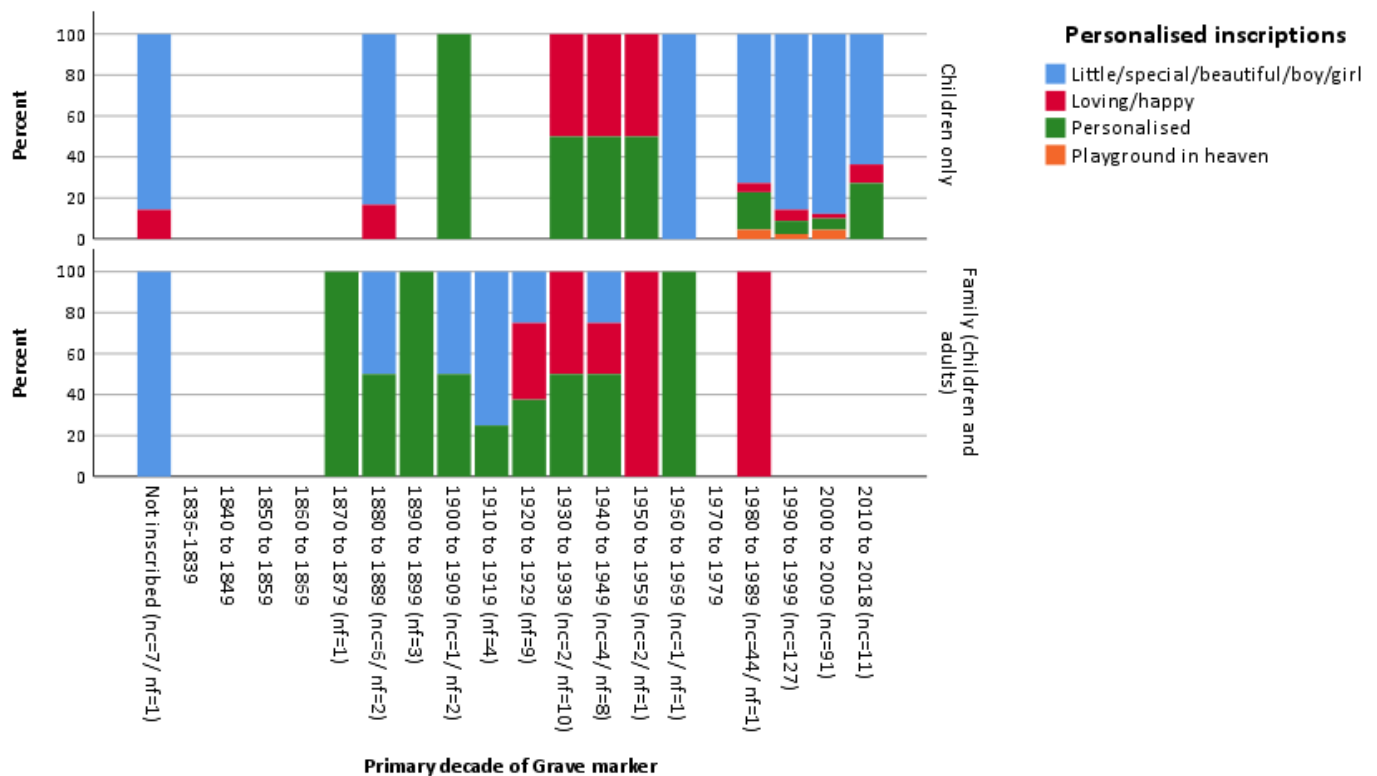
Figure 7-13. Percentage of personalised inscription by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-24. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for personalised inscriptions on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Little/special/beautiful/boy/girl		228	21.7%	(19.3%, 24.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Loving or happy		10	1.0%	(0.5%, 1.7%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Personalised (Specific to child)		25	2.4%	(1.6%, 3.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Playground in heaven		9	0.9%	(0.4%, 1.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.6.3   Age

We might expect that the use of 'little' would favour younger children and this is borne out in Figure 7-14 that shows a steady decline as the sample moves into older age groups. As a specific descriptor 'little' is heavily concentrated upon 'not inscribed', stillborn, infants and younger children up to the six to twelve years age group, although the four references found within this latter 56+40range attach to the younger

end. The idea of the heavenly playground is also confined to children aged one year or younger, although in theory it could be used for other age groups. Although the numbers are small, older children have a higher use of personalised additions (n=16; 0.8%) and 'loving and happy' (n=11; 0.5%), compared to two to five-year old's (*n*=2; 0.1% and *n*=5; 0.2%).

Table 7-25. Count, percent, and z-test for personalised inscriptions (divided into sub-categories) on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*1
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Character traits	5	2.6%	3	0.3%	8	0.7%	2%, p = 0.0327, (1%, 4%)
From (dedication)	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	*2
Nickname	4	2.1%	7	0.8%	11	1.0%	2%, p = 0.0327, (1%, 4%)
Other	0	0.0%	5	0.6%	5	0.5%	*2
Sufferer	0	0.0%	4	0.5%	4	0.4%	*2
No	185	95.4%	862	97.7%	1047	97.3%	3%, p = 0.0184, (1%, 5%)
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*1 z-test to compare two proportions

*2 z z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
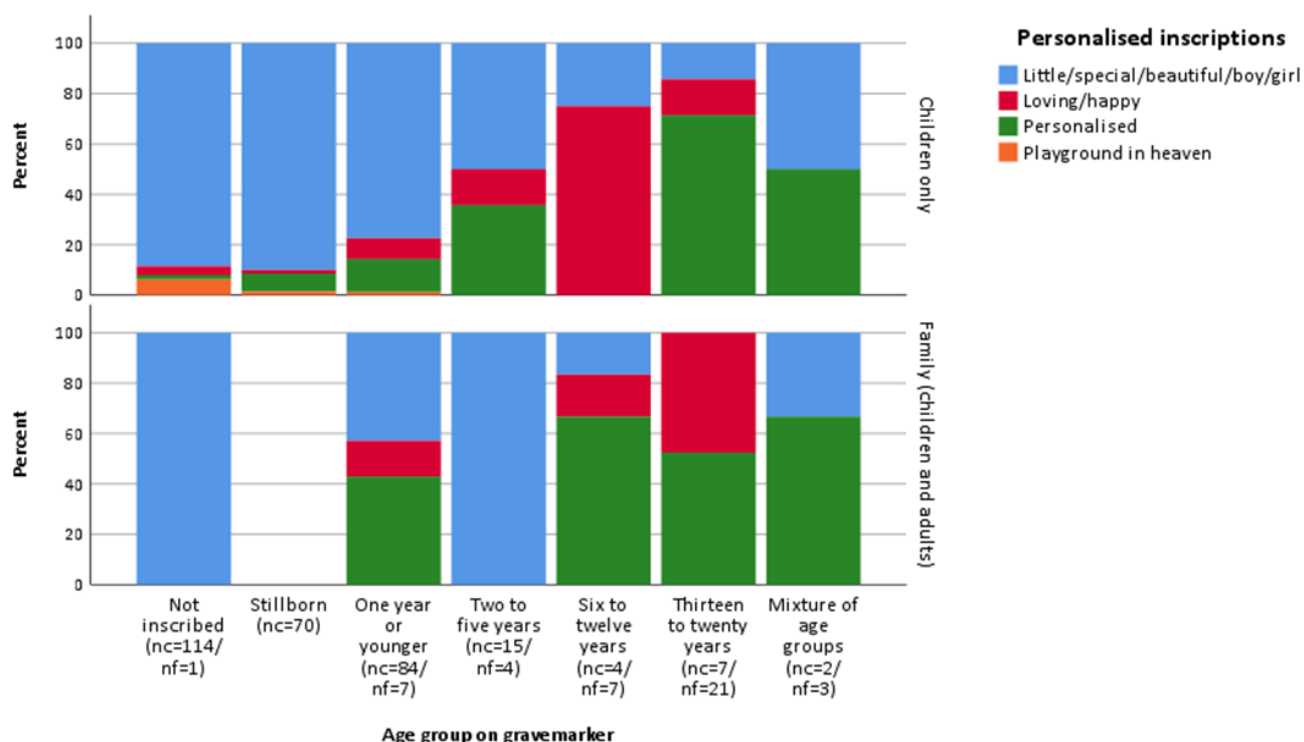
Figure 7-14. Percentage of personalised inscriptions by age group for plot type showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-26. Count, percent and z-test for personalised inscriptions male and female children on both plot types*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex.

		Children only					Family (Children and Adults)				
		Male		Female			Male		Female		
						Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]					Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Little/special/		117	17.5%	113	22.1%	4%, P = 0.087, (1%, 9%)	4	1.0%	6	1.7%	*[2]
beautiful/boy/girl	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Loving/happy		10	1.5%	7	1.4%	1%, P = 0.170, (0%, 2%)	4	1.0%	8	2.3%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Personalised		21	3.1%	11	2.1%	1%, P = 0.281, (1%, 3%)	11	2.6%	9	2.6%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Playground		4	0.6%	5	1.0%	*[2]	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*[2]
in heaven	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.7 Biographical inscriptions

Sometimes, additional biographical details beyond the more familiar inclusions (name, date of birth/death, age, and familial title) are added to the grave marker, although only a small number of monuments received this treatment (Table 7-27 and Table 7-28). Traditionally these additions can include geographical associations, such as the deceased's residence in life, or place of origin or death. Sometimes more personal biographical aspects of the deceased may be expressed, such as their interests or habits. On family plots an individual may be commemorated even if interred at another site, with this fact also noted on the grave marker.

7.7.1 Chronology and plot type

The most commonly found biographical reference was to place of death (n=40; 1.9%), or 3.7% if we exclude the Children's Garden, Enfield, appearing consistently in small numbers on family plots from the 1860s through to the 1960s (Figure 7-15). This information was also used for child-only plots in the nineteenth century until the turn of the century, then not seen again until 1940s from which they are occasionally used until the 1990s. This category was the only one with suitable numbers for testing against plot type. No statistical significance was found (Table 7-30).

Geographical information is inscribed for 1.3% (n=14) of grave markers for the four general cemeteries, showing where the child or family lived by district, town, suburb, and sometimes street or house name (note the percentages in Table 7-27 include the Children's Garden). House names only occur on nineteenth century grave markers at St Jude's. Geographical information appears mostly on nineteenth century grave markers with only sporadic appearances in the next century, mostly on family plots and not after the 1950s (except for one child-only plot in the 1990s). References to actual activities undertaken in life were rare (n=7; 0.7%) and related to the employment of older children. These date between 1910 and the 1940s.

Table 7-27. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for biographical inscriptions on grave markers.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
No	2052	96.4%	(95.6%, 97.2%)
Place of death	40	1.9%	(1.4%, 2.5%)
Geographical	14	0.7%	(0.4%, 1.1%)
Other	11	0.5%	(0.3%, 0.9%)
Employment	7	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
Mixture	4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
Total	2128	100.0%	
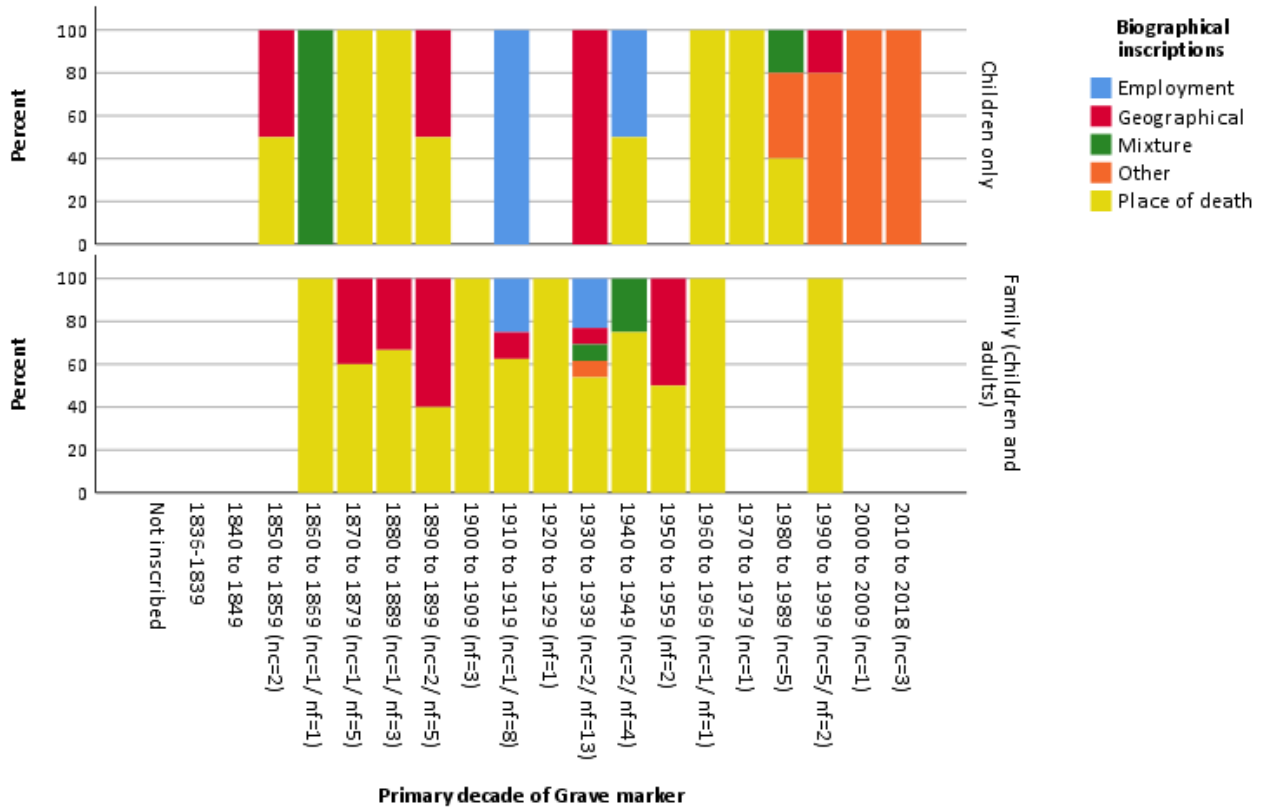
Figure 7-15. Percentage of biographical inscription by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences * (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-28. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for biographical inscriptions on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Geographical	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
Mixture	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
No	1039	98.8%	(98.0%, 99.3%)
Other	9	0.9%	(0.4%, 1.6%)
Place of death	2	0.2%	(0.0%, 0.6%)
Total	1052	100.0%	.

The category of 'other' covers a small number of embellishments mostly on more recent memorials at the Children's Garden, Enfield. They show a trend in the case of perinatal memorialisation where children have

174

been born prematurely and not survived or the mother has experienced a miscarriage, with chronology presented as both age and biography based on the arrangement of the inscription. In this category only one grave marker referred to the actual nature of an individual's death with the wording "died suddenly". The other biographical categories, with the obvious exception of employment, also occurred in small numbers at the Children's Garden, Enfield (n=13; 1.3%; Table 7-28).

7.7.2   Sex

Employment was mentioned for males only (Table 7-29). Due to low numbers only the 'place of death' for family plots could be tested and found no statistically significant difference in its use between male and female children (4%, $p = 0.832$, [33%, 41%]).

Table 7-29. Count and column percent of biographical inscription by sex and plot type.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

	Children only				Family (children and adults)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %
Employment	2	12.5%	0	0.0%	4	12.5%	0	0.0%
Geographical	3	18.8%	1	10.0%	5	15.6%	2	20.0%
Mixture	2	12.5%	0	0.0%	2	6.3%	0	0.0%
Other	5	31.3%	5	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%
Place of death	4	25.0%	4	40.0%	21	65.6%	7	70.0%
Total	16	100.0%	10	100.0%	32	100.0%	10	100.0%

7.7.3   Age

The place of death is the most consistently represented biographical inscription by age but is notably absent on child-only plots for stillborn and 'not inscribed', and much lower for infants aged one year and under (Figure 7-16). The use of 'other' biographical details was also concentrated on infants aged one year or younger on child-only plots (n= 8; 0.4%), although it was also used for children in the oldest age group (n= 2; 0.1%) and both plot types (Figure 7-16).

Geographical information was recorded for infants aged one and younger, 'not inscribed' and children aged 13 and over on child-only plots. On family plots it is used across most age ranges. Employment information was understandably restricted to the oldest age group (13 to 20 years of age) for both plot types.
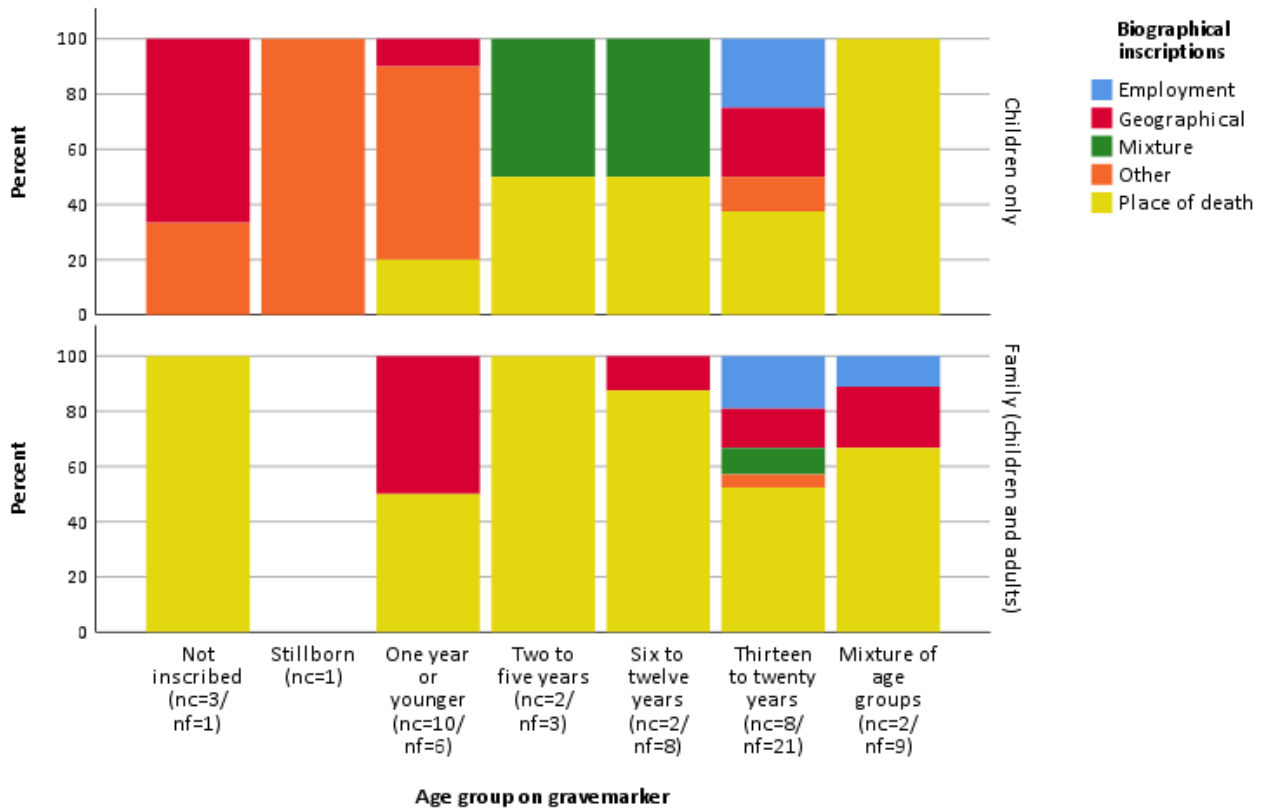
Figure 7-16. Percentage of biographical inscriptions by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-30. Count, percent, and z-test for biographical inscriptions on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's garden, Enfield).

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Column N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference[1]
Employment	2	1.0%	5	0.6%	7	0.7%	[2]
Geographical	4	2.1%	9	1.0%	13	1.2%	[2]
Mixture	1	0.5%	2	0.2%	3	0.3%	[2]
No	179	92.3%	834	94.6%	1013	94.1%	2%, p = 0.0982, (1%, 7%)
Other	1	0.5%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%	[2]
Place of death	7	3.6%	31	3.5%	38	3.5%	0%, p = 1, (3%, 3%)
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions
[2] z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

7.8   Christian religious inscription

All five sites were in effect non-denominational in use (CHAPTER 4), but lack demarked denominational sections, so distinguishing clear associations of form and style between particular denominations is problematic (Section 5.8.1). Still,, Christian religious belief as a variable is indicated by the choice of religious expression to reference God, Jesus, Mary or the Saints, and the quoting s or paraphrasing of biblical verses and hymns (Table 7-31), as well as religious motifs and symbols (Section 7.12). Other Christian religious concepts observed speak to the idea of a heavenly family reunion, supernatural beings such as angels, and stars (referencing the star of the east in the adoration of the magi and therefore divine guidance; Keister 2004:124), with the latter two sometimes symbolising the deceased child. The only non-Christian religious expression was found in the Children's Garden, Enfield that by family name and reference is likely to be Buddhist. Religious grave markers are spatially interspersed amongst those with no religious reference at all five sites, rather than forming clear enclaves in the cemetery landscape.

Table 7-31. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for religious inscriptions on grave markers.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Precious angel/star		307	14.4%	(13.0%, 16%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Christian religious		606	28.5%	(26.6%, 30.4%)
embellishment	Total	2128	100.0%	
Reunion/re-united		87	4.1%	(3.3%, 5.0%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

7.8.1   Chronology and plot type

Christian religious inscription occurs for just over a quarter of all grave markers, and throughout the chronology for both plot types (Figure 7-17), with 26.1% (n=281) recorded for the four general cemeteries and 30.9% (n=325) for the Children's Garden, Enfield. There was a statistically significant trend towards the use of religious references for child-only plots (Table 7-32). The other two categories were unable to be tested due to insufficient numbers.

The association of children with symbolic references such as 'angel' and 'star' were originally more common on family plots from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, and only seen on child-only plots from the 1960s occurring in increasingly large numbers through to the present (Figure 7-17). Although their numbers in the four general cemeteries proved too small for testing (n=10; 1%), their use in the Children's Garden, Enfield suggests a contemporary popularity (n=297; 28.2%; Table 7-33).

The idea of a domestic family reunion in the afterlife, first promoted from the mid-nineteenth century (Figure 7-18), retained its presence in memorialisation with references found on family plots across the study period (*n*=26; 2.9%). Again, this concept is also used in the Children's Garden, Enfield (*n*=57; 5.4%).
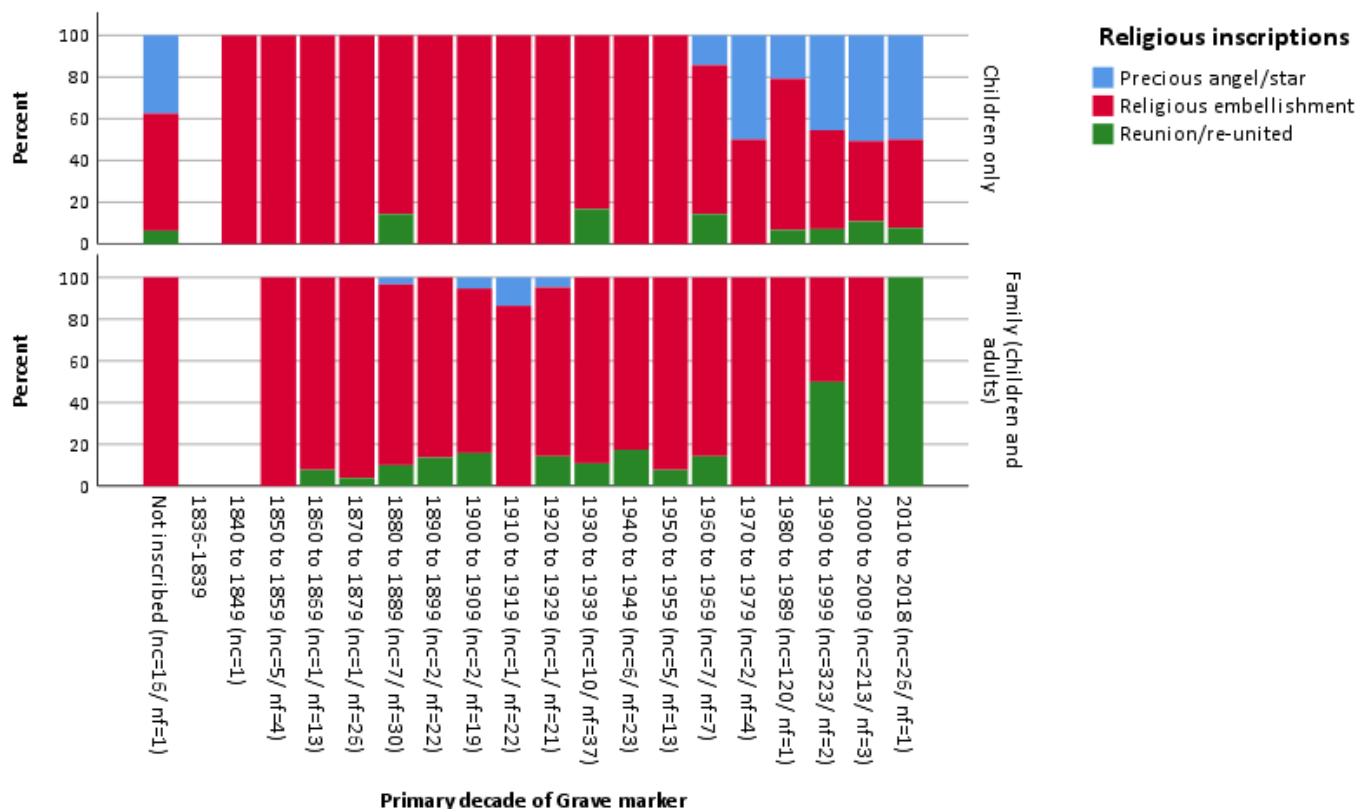
Figure 7-17. Percentage of religious inscription by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-32. Count, percent, and z-test for religious inscription on grave markers by plot type (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
Precious angel/star		4	2.1%	6	0.7%	10	0.9%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Christian religious embellishment		64	33.0%	217	24.6%	281	26.1%	8%, p = 0.0222, (1%, 15%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Reunion/re-united		4	2.1%	26	2.9%	30	2.8%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹.z-test to compare two proportions
*².z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

7.8.2 Sex

Inferential testing found a statistically significant trend for the use of 'Precious angel/star' towards female children on child-only grave markers (Table 7-34). The numbers recorded for family plots were not sufficient for testing. There was no statistical difference found for the use of religious and re-union inscriptions between male and female children for both plot types.

Table 7-33. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for religious inscription on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Precious angel/star		297	28.2%	(25.6%, 31.0%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Christian religious		325	30.9%	(28.2%, 33.7%)
embellishment	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Reunion/re-united		57	5.4%	(4.2%, 6.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
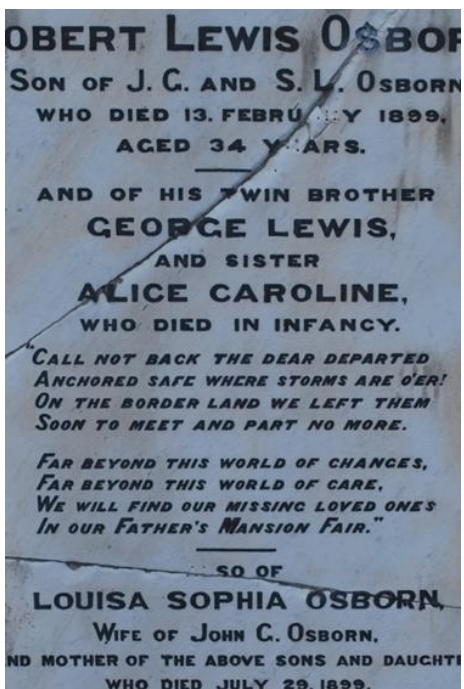
Figure 7-18. Excerpt of reunion inscription: 'We will find our missing loved ones' – lead on marble, c. 1899, Walkerville cemetery facing east (Photo by author).

7.8.3 Age

The use of angel or star is strongest for children aged five years and under, with the highest percentages occurring in the youngest age groups (one year and under). Their use reduces significantly for children in higher age groups. In turn the percentage of religious embellishment increases as children's ages rise above six years (Figure 7-19). On family plots, the use of 'Precious angel/star' occurs for all age groups except for

two to five-year old's and religious embellishment is consistent regardless of age. The use of reunion differed little percentage wise in relation to age group for either plot type.
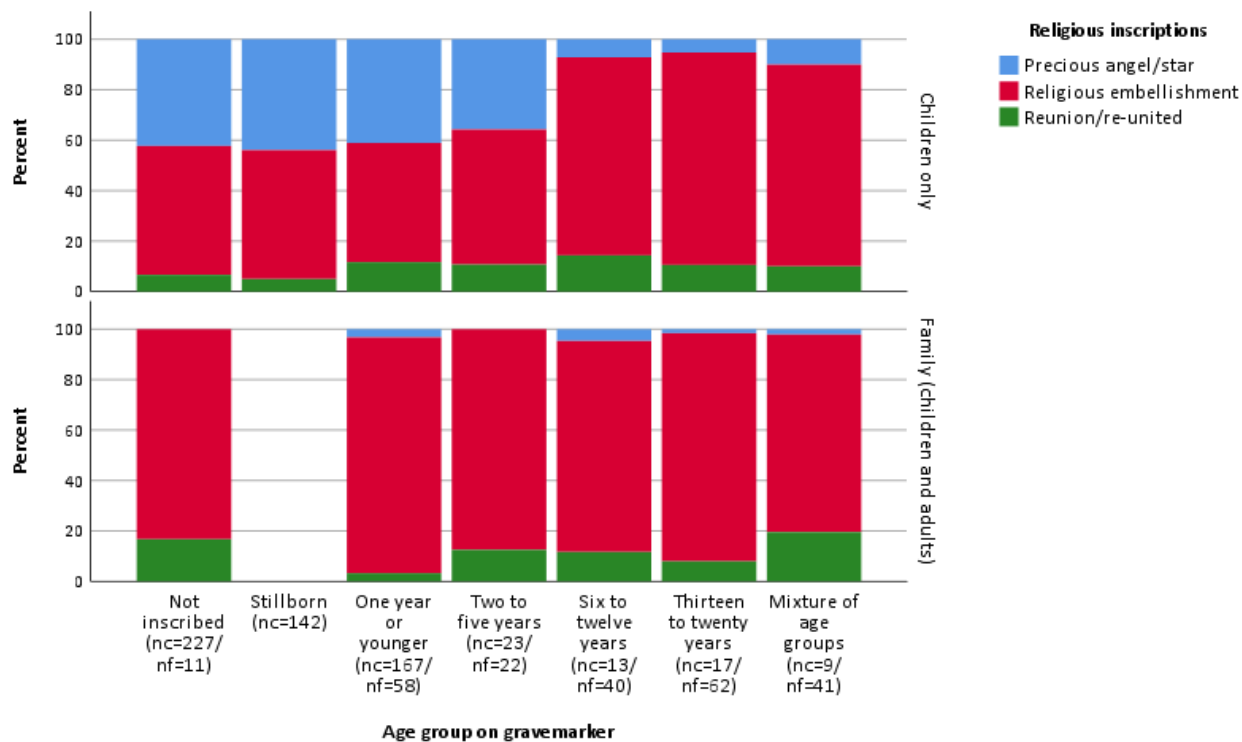
Figure 7-19. Percentage of religious inscriptions by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.9   Mortality inscriptions

Mortality references address the event of death itself and ruminate on the inevitability of mortality and the state of death (and therefore the deceased's situation). They can be either a phrase, verse or written as an extended epitaph.

7.9.1   Chronology and plot type

The survey identified 69 occurrences where the deceased child is referred to as having 'passed away' or is 'leaving' (3.2%) and 354 examples of them now 'resting' or 'sleeping' (16.6%; Table 7-35). By comparison, 'Died' was used on 39.1% (n=833) of cases, and 36.8% (n=784) contained no reference to death in any form. If we look at just the four general cemeteries, 'died' (n=723; 67.2%) is clearly heavily used showing that the use of euphemisms to soften references to death was the exception rather than the norm. Interestingly, looking at the Children's Garden, Enfield this trend is turned around with 56% (n=589) avoiding any reference to death, with 'died '(n=110; 10.5%) much lower. The use of 'stillborn' (n=236; 22.4%), rarely seen at the general sites, is the most common reference to death there.

Table 7-34. Count, percent, and z-test for religious inscription for male and female children on both plot types*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex.

| | | Children only | | | | | Family (Children and Adults) | | | | |
| | | Male | | Female | | Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1] | Male | | Female | | Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1] |
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Precious angel/		137	20.5%	151	29.5%	4%, P = <0.0004, (4%, 14%)	1	0.2%	5	1.5%	*[2]
star	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Religious		211	31.5%	160	31.3%	1%, P = 0.714, (4%, 6%)	94	22.3%	90	26.2%	4%, P = 0.196, (2%, 10%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Reunion/		34	5.1%	27	5.3%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)	8	1.9%	12	3.5%	2%, P = 0.101, (0%, 4%)
re-United	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions

*[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

182

'Resting' or 'sleeping' were the most used euphemisms. First found on a c.1850s child-only plot, these terms were used on both plot types through to the present. They remain popular at the Children's Garden, Enfield (Table 7-37). 'Passed away' or 'leaving' has a similar chronological spread. Testing found no statistical significance, for either category, by plot type (Table 7-36).

Table 7-35. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for mortality references on grave markers.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Mortality epitaphs		28	1.3%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Passed away/leaving		69	3.2%	(2.6%, 4.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Resting/sleeping		354	16.6%	(15.1%, 18.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
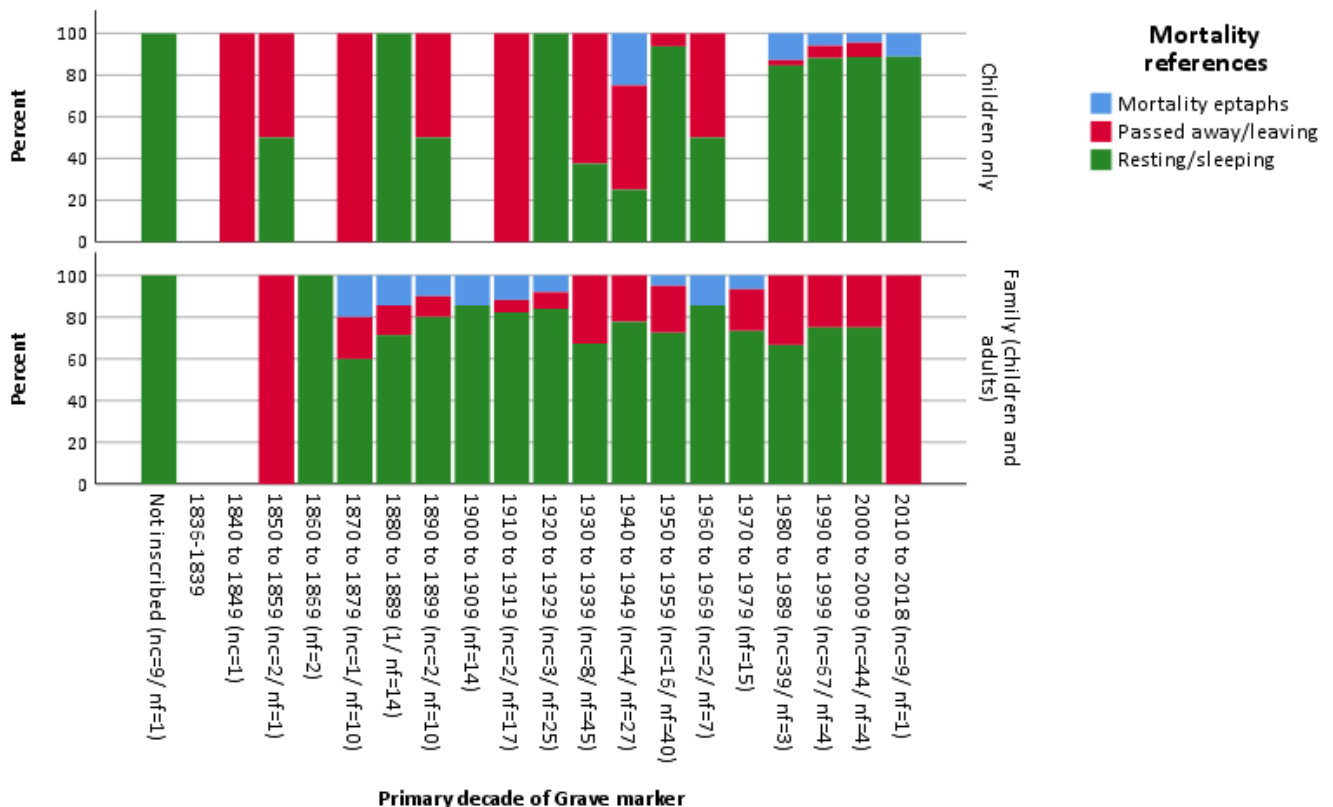
Figure 7-20. Percentage of mortality references by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Mortality epitaphs, usually verses concerning the fragility or shortness of life, occurred mostly on family plots from the 1870s to the 1920s and again from the 1950s to the 1970s. They were first seen on child-

only plots in the 1940s and in recent decades contemporary (and gentler) formulations of such reflections have appeared on child-only grave markers (Figure 7-20). No statistical difference was found between mortality epitaphs and plot type (Table 7-36).

Table 7-36. Count and column percent of mortality references on grave markers by plot type with z-test (excluding the Children's garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Mortality epitaphs		1	0.5%	15	1.7%	16	1.5%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Passed away/leaving		16	8.2%	46	5.2%	62	5.8%	3%, p = 0.0982, (15, 7%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Resting/sleeping		31	16.0%	180	20.4%	211	19.6%	4%, p = 0.201, (2%, 10%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions
*² z-tests not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-37. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for mortality references on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CI for Col N %
Mortality epitaphs		12	1.1%	(0.6%, 1.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Passed away/leaving		7	0.7%	(0.3%, 1.3%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Resting/sleeping		143	13.6%	(11.6%, 15.8%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.9.2   Sex

'Passed away/leaving' and 'resting/sleeping' showed no statistical difference based on sex for the two plot types (Table 7-38). Mortality epitaphs tended to favour female children for both plot types by count, but the sample numbers were too small to test for significance.

7.9.3   Age

Mortality epitaphs for child-only plots heavily favoured children aged under one year of age (*n*=12; 1%), with only one example used for an older child (Figure 7-21). On family plots, the majority of use is for children two and above (*n*=9; 1%) with three examples for grave markers with mixed ages and just three where the children are aged one and younger. 'Passed away' and 'leaving' was used by all ages and did not suggest any association to a particular group. Its use on family plots indicates the same pattern. The use of 'resting' and 'sleeping' declines for older children aged two and above for child-only plots (*n*=23; 1.8%)

compared to its popular use for children aged one year and under (*n*=152; 12.2%). This difference is not reflected by family plots where the use of these terms is more evenly spread across the age groups.
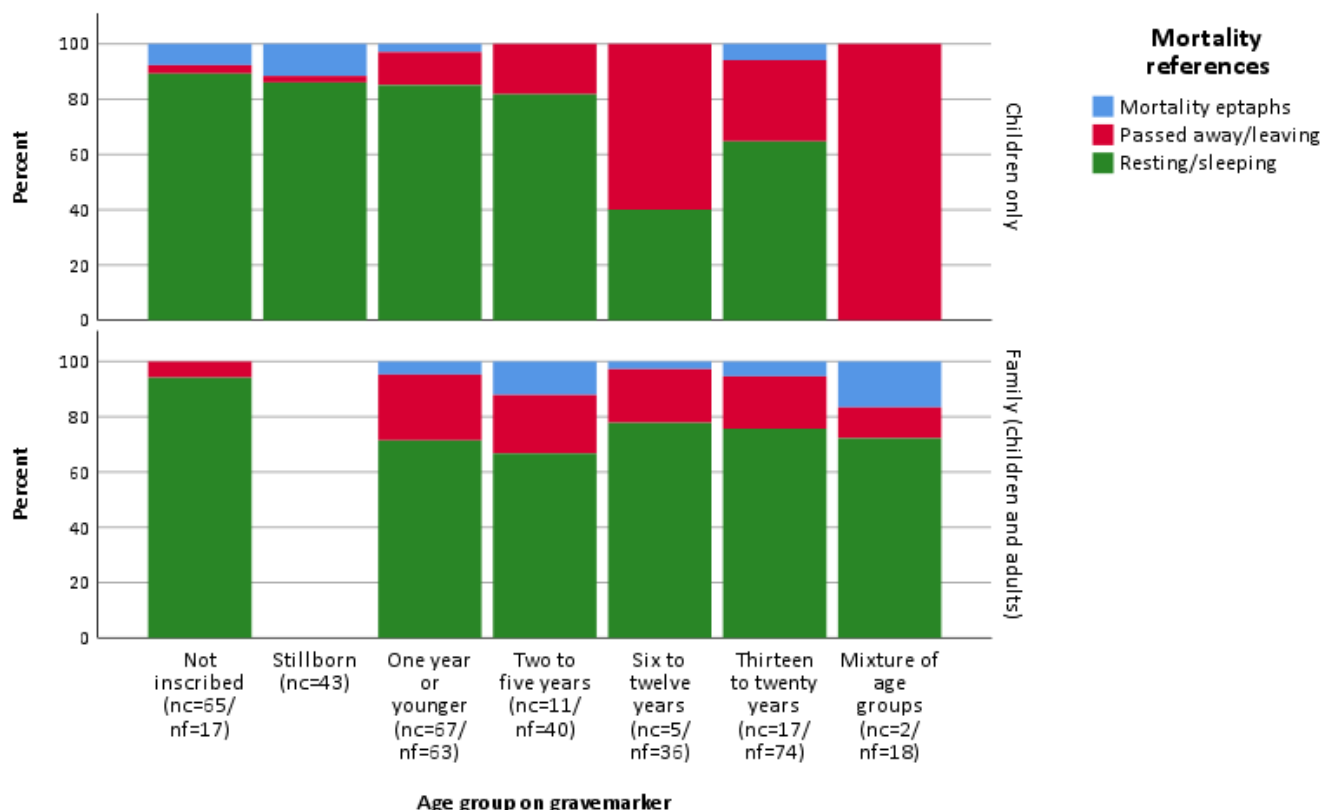
Figure 7-21. Percentage of biographical references by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.10 Accidental death

Those parents faced with the accidental death of a child could choose to highlight it (*n*=47; 2.2%). For the four general cemeteries, there was no statistically significant difference in occurrence between child-only and family plots (Table 7-39). The Children's Garden, Enfield had no such inscriptions, even though at least one child interred there was known to have died due to an accident. In some cases, the location of the accident is added (Figure 7-22) and alludes to the cause of death (i.e. a railway crossing) or the actual cause of death is detailed such as drowning. The terminology used can also vary with 'killed' or 'accidentally killed' more common in nineteenth century inscriptions (*n*= 35; 3.3%). The earliest examples were found on a 1850s family plot and a 1890s child-only plot. References to accidental death were not found on either plot type after the 1970s (Figure 7-23).

Table 7-38. Mortality references for male and female children on both plot types.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

| | | Children only | | | | | Family (children and adults) | | | | |
| | | Male | | Female | | | Male | | Female | | |
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*¹	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*¹
Mortality		5	0.7%	8	1.6%	*2	5	1.2%	9	2.6%	*2
epitaphs	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Passed away/leaving		11	1.6%	12	2.3%	0%, P = 1, (2%, 2%)	21	5.0%	24	7.0%	2%, P = 0.242, (1%, 5%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Resting/sleeping		107	16.0%	59	11.5%	4%, P = 0.051, (0%,	94	22.3%	72	20.9%	1%, P = 0.737, (5%, 7%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-39. Count and column percent for accidental death inscription on grave markers by plot type with z-test.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*[1]
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Accidental death	11	5.7%	36	4.1%	47	4.4%	2%, p = 0.2168, (1%, 5%)
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
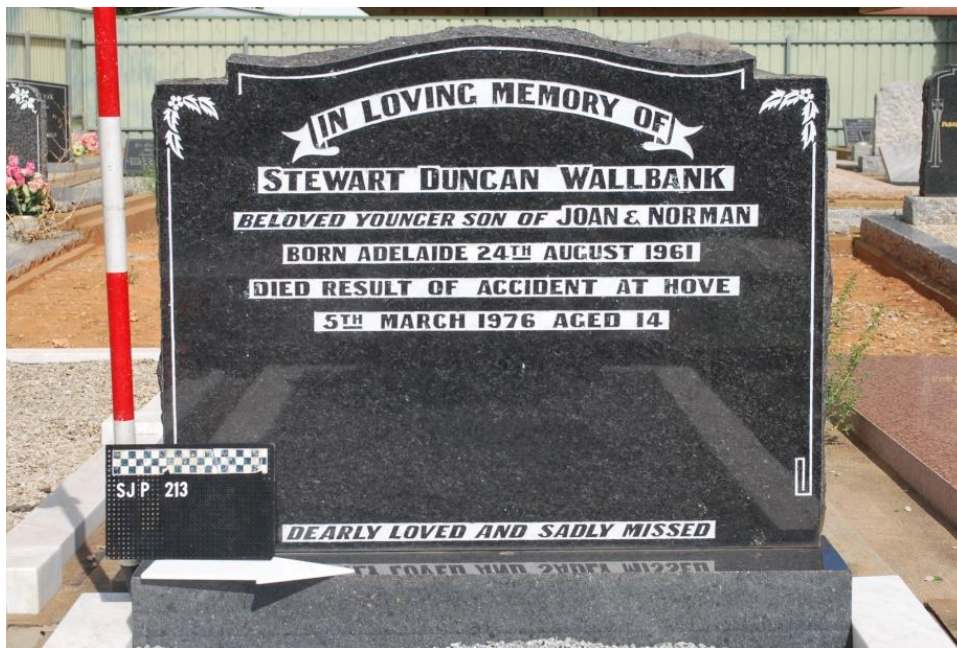
Figure 7-22. Accidental death inscription: Tablet with cut away shoulders, c. 1976, granite, St Jude's cemetery facing west (Photo by author).

7.10.1 Sex and age

Male children were more likely to be commemorated by references to accidental death (*n*=38), with only five female children recorded as having a similar inscription (they appear on family plots only). Given the random nature of such events all applicable age groups are represented, although only the youngest and oldest age groups appear on child-only plots with children aged between two and 12 years only recorded for family plots (Figure 7-24).
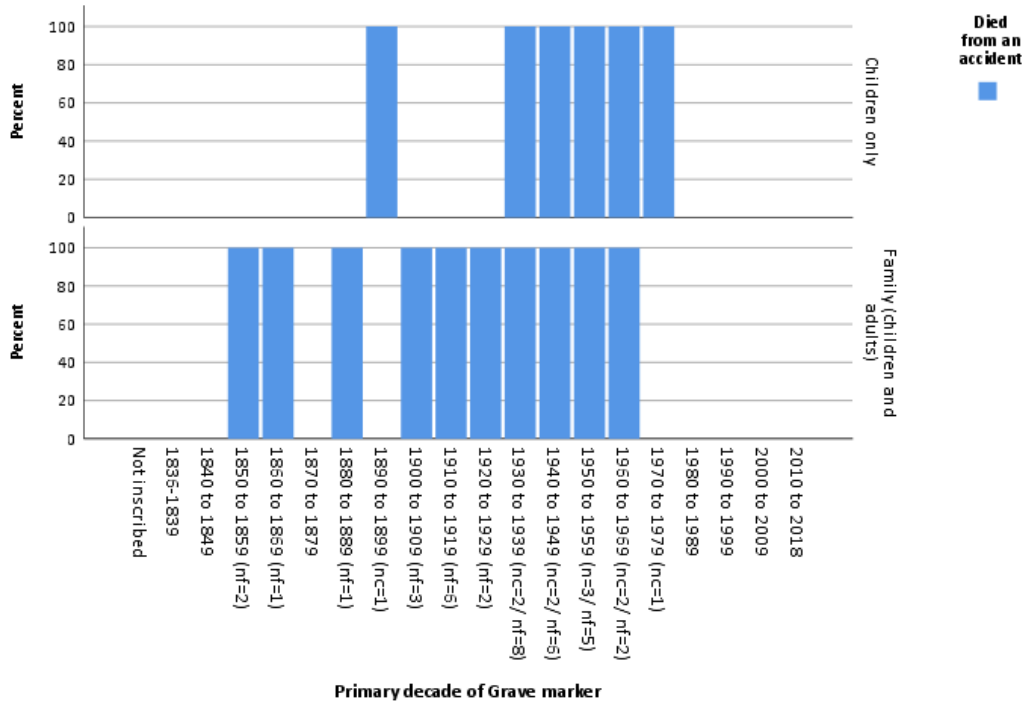
Figure 7-23. Percentage of accidental death inscription by decade and plot type showing number of grave markers (Total for Each X-Axis Category).
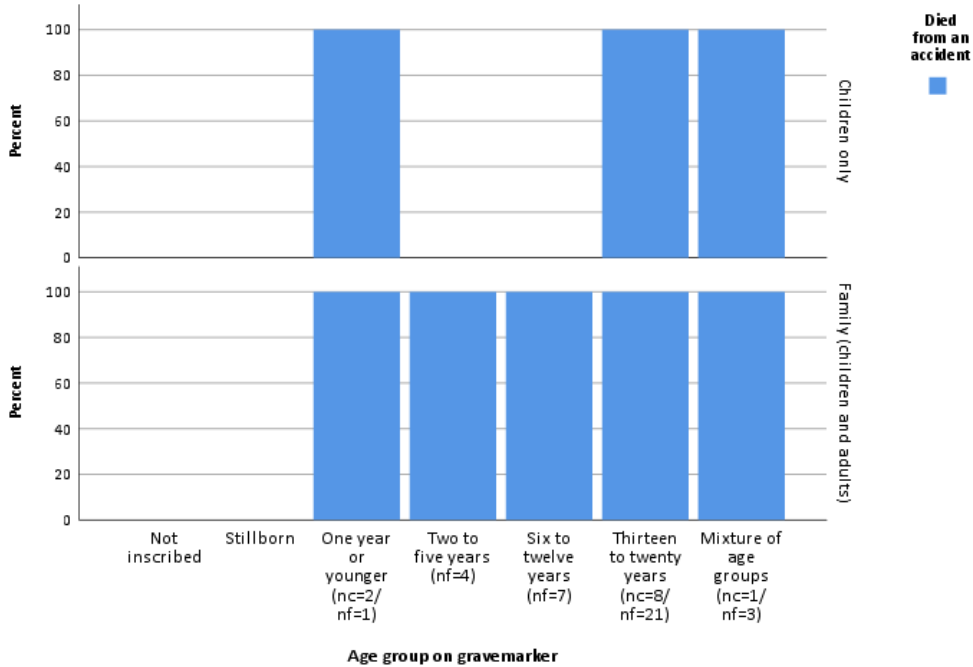
Figure 7-24. Percentage of accidental death inscription by age group for plot types showing number of grave markers (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

188

7.11 Grave marker motifs

The use of motifs on grave markers is a significant choice in the commemorative process, providing both an immediate visual and decorative effect, and often deeper symbolic meaning. Some form of motif occurs on 44.6% of the sample (*n*=950) with 41.6% (*n*=518) on child-only grave markers and 49% (*n*=432) on family grave markers. Removing the Children's Garden, Enfield, the percentage of child-only grave markers is slightly lower (n=79; 40.7%) and there is a statistically significant trend towards family grave markers (8%, p = 0.0434, [1%, 16%]). The results are divided into four thematic groups, although for some there is overlap. These are: religious; funerary; floral; and figural. Child-only plots indicated a direct motif choice in relation to the child, whereas motifs on family plots may relate partially or completely to other adult individuals, or indicate a broader inclusive familial theme. Family plots are included in the motif analysis for comparative purposes.

Table 7-40. Count, percent, and confidence intervals for motif position on grave marker.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CL for Col N %	95.0% Upper CL for Col N %
Bottom	34	1.6%	1.1%	2.2%
Middle	15	0.7%	0.4%	1.1%
Mix of positions	215	10.1%	8.9%	11.4%
Not applicable	1179	55.4%	53.3%	57.5%
Top/upper sides	685	32.2%	30.2%	34.2%
Total	2128	100.0%	.	.

Motifs are mostly located on the top half of grave markers, or in the case of some upright tablets the shoulders as well (Table 7-40). Such positioning improves their visibility on upright memorials, particularly as the plot is encroached by later graves. This positioning has become traditional and continues even on plaques positioned horizontal to the grave surface for which competitive height visibility is not a factor.

7.12 Religious motifs

A wide variety of religious motifs were recorded across the five sites, consisting of anchors, angels and cherubs, crosses, doves, hands, hearts, religious figures, rocks, and stars (Table 7-41). The lamb, often associated with children's graves (Veit and Nonestied 2008:127; Wileman 2005:96), was not found in this sample.

7.12.1 Chronology and plot type

The Christian cross occurs on both plot types from the 1870s (*n*=215; 10.1%), although the percentage is higher for family plots until the 1950s when usage evens (Figure 7-26). Statistically the use of crosses has an 8% greater tendency for child-only plots (Table 7-42). Angels constitute the second most common choice

(*n*=148; 7%) and can be divided into two distinct types: adult figures and child-like cherubs. Two nineteenth century examples of the earlier eighteenth century angel/cherub style (a face or faces with wings rather than the whole body; Deetz 1977; Baugher and Veit 2014:78-124) occurred at St Jude's.

Angels are increasingly used on child-only plots from the 1950s and statistical testing confirms a correlation between angles and the memorialisation of children in the second half of the twentieth century (Figure 7-25 and Table 7-42). A repertoire of religious motifs originating in the nineteenth century were also recorded, such as the rock of ages (symbolising adherence to faith), doves (representing peace, purity and the Holy Ghost) and shaking hands (indicating the welcome to heaven or if the cuff styles are gendered - matrimony; Keister 2004:108). Doves can be combined with an anchor (representing hope) and a rock of ages (emphasising the solid foundation of belief). These symbols are regularly used until the 1950s. The dove and clasped hands have since reappeared on contemporary children's grave markers, although the latter now shows the hands of an adult and a child.

For the four general cemeteries, only crosses and angels could be tested (Table 7-42), with both showing a statistical significance towards child-only plots. On numbers alone doves and the rock of ages were mainly used for family grave markers and historically hands only appeared on family grave markers. As these motifs declined, representations of religious figures, such as Jesus, Mary, and the Saints start to appear on grave markers, influenced by the choices sought by new immigrant families from non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds (Figure 7-27). Hearts and stars were concentrated on contemporary child-only markers (the one exception was a stylised starburst on a 1923 family grave marker), although both symbols have a history as religious motifs in the Western cemetery (e.g. see Keister 2004: 109, 124-125).

The use of religious motifs in the Children's garden, Enfield is shown in Table 7-43. With the exception of the rock of ages, the same or similar motifs were used at this site. Some motifs such as the heart, star and hands, whilst originally strongly associated with religious symbolism, are likely to have transitioned into more secular symbols there.

7.12.2 Sex

Of those religious motifs recorded in sufficient numbers for testing by sex (angels/cherubs, crosses, and doves [Figure 7-28] for both plot types, aswell as hearts and stars on child-only plots, and rock of ages on family plots), only angels and cherubs suggested statistical significance (Table 7-44). These motifs were more likely to be used for female children on child-only plots. There was no statistical difference in their use for family plots (Table 7-45). The Children's Garden displayed a high number of angel/cherub motifs, suggesting a growth in their popularity for child-only only plots in such dedicated cemetery sections.

Table 7-41. Count and column percent of religious motifs on grave markers with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Column N %
Anchors		4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Angels/Cherubs		148	7.0%	(5.9%, 8.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Crosses		215	10.1%	(8.9%, 11.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Doves		36	1.7%	(1.2%, 2.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Hands		7	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Heart		82	3.9%	(3.1%, 4.7%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Religious figures		9	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Rock (of ages)		34	1.6%	(1.1%, 2.2%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Star		12	0.6%	(0.3%, 1.0%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

Figure 7-25. Angel motif: Rectangular plaque, cast iron on concrete, c. 1991, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park looking north (Photo by author).

Figure 7-26. Percentage of religious motifs by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category). *a count of these categories by decade is shown in Appendix A: Tables 14 and 15

Figure 7-27. Religious figure: Jesus Christ on pillar, marble, c. 1925, Cheltenham cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

Table 7-42. Count and column percent of religious motifs on grave markers by plot type with z-test (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Anchors		1	0.5%	2	0.2%	3	0.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Angels/Cherubs		10	5.2%	13	1.5%	23	2.1%	3%, p = 0.0162, (1%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Crosses		30	15.5%	67	7.6%	97	9.0%	8%, p = 0.0006, (3%, 13%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Doves		4	2.1%	18	2.0%	22	2.0%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Hands		0	0.0%	3	0.3%	3	0.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Heart		2	1.0%	1	0.1%	3	0.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Religious figures		3	1.5%	4	0.5%	7	0.7%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Rock (of ages)		2	1.0%	32	3.6%	34	3.2%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Star		2	1.0%	1	0.1%	3	0.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-43. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for religious motifs on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Anchors		1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Angels/Cherubs		125	11.9%	(10.0%, 13.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Crosses		118	11.2%	(9.4%, 13.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Doves		14	1.3%	(0.8%, 2.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Hands		4	0.4%	(0.1%, 0.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Heart		79	7.5%	(6.0%, 9.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Religious figures		2	0.2%	(0.0%, 0.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Star		9	0.9%	(0.4%, 1.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.12.3   Age

The use of 'stars' is confined to children aged one or younger for both plot types (Figure 7-29). The small number of anchors recorded (*n*=4) all related to older children although those on family plots are likely to reflect broader familial choices.

Representation of the heart is strong for children up to age five on child-only plots (n=114; 9.1%) and clearly the degree to which this signifies religious compared to an emotive symbolism is open for debate. The stronger representation of the rock of ages in most age groups on family plots (n=32; 3.6%) is also suggestive of a familial rather than child focussed symbolism.

Of the other motifs crosses, angels and in lesser numbers doves are used across all age groups in both plot types, whereas hands favour younger children, although these represent the more contemporary adult/child hand clasping design rather than the traditional shaking hands that were more adult focussed. Motifs of religious figures are generally rare.

Table 7-44. Religious motifs for male and female children on child-only plots.*

***Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex**

		Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Of the Difference*[1]
Anchors		0	0.0%	2	0.4%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Angels/Cherubs		56	8.4%	77	15.0%	7%, P = <0.0001, (3%, 11%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Crosses		86	12.9%	58	11.3%	2%, P = 0.296, (2%, 6%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Doves		11	1.6%	7	1.4%	1%, P = 0.170, (0%, 2%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Hands		4	0.6%	0	0.0%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Heart		48	7.2%	29	5.7%	1%, P = 0.491, (2%, 4%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Religious Figures		1	0.1%	3	0.6%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Rock (Of Ages)		0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Star		6	0.9%	5	1.0%	1%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions *[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Figure 7-28. Dove motif: Scroll tablet, marble, c. 1882, Hindmarsh cemetery facing west (Photo by author).

Table 7-45. Religious motifs for male and female children on family plots.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

		Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of the Difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Anchors		2	0.5%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Angels/Cherubs		7	1.7%	6	1.7%	0%, P = 1, (2%, 2%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Crosses		40	9.5%	23	6.7%	3%, P = 0.142, (1%, 7%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Doves		7	1.7%	7	2.0%	0%, P = 1, (2%, 2%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Hands		2	0.5%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Heart		1	0.2%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Religious Figures		3	0.7%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Rock (Of Ages)		14	3.3%	16	4.7%	2%, P = 0.155, (1%, 5%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Star		0	0.0%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.13 Funerary motifs

Victorian funerary practices also saw the creation of a variety of motifs employed on grave markers as symbols of mourning and loss (Table 7-46). Many of these symbols have continued to retain a place in funerary symbolism or have regained popularity in recent decades on child-only plots. The survey recorded the following funerary motifs: books (some with bookmarks); draped cloth; ribbons; scrolls; shells; torches; urns and wreaths.

7.13.1 Chronology and plot type

Most funerary motifs in the nineteenth century occurred on family plots; only two child-only plots were found using these categories for the period (Figure 7-30). Family plots used a variety of these motifs until the interwar period of the twentieth century when they fell out of use. The book motif (symbolising an open heart to both the living world and the afterlife; Keister 2004:113) was the most common funerary

motif used on both plot types, although it is not found on child-only plots until the 1920s, when its popularity increases. This motif did not display a statistically significant difference between plot types (Table 7-47) and is still in use today. Some closed books also appeared in reliefs with doves, possibly representing the bible, and a similar motif employed a dove with an open envelope with a religious message enclosed such as "God is love".
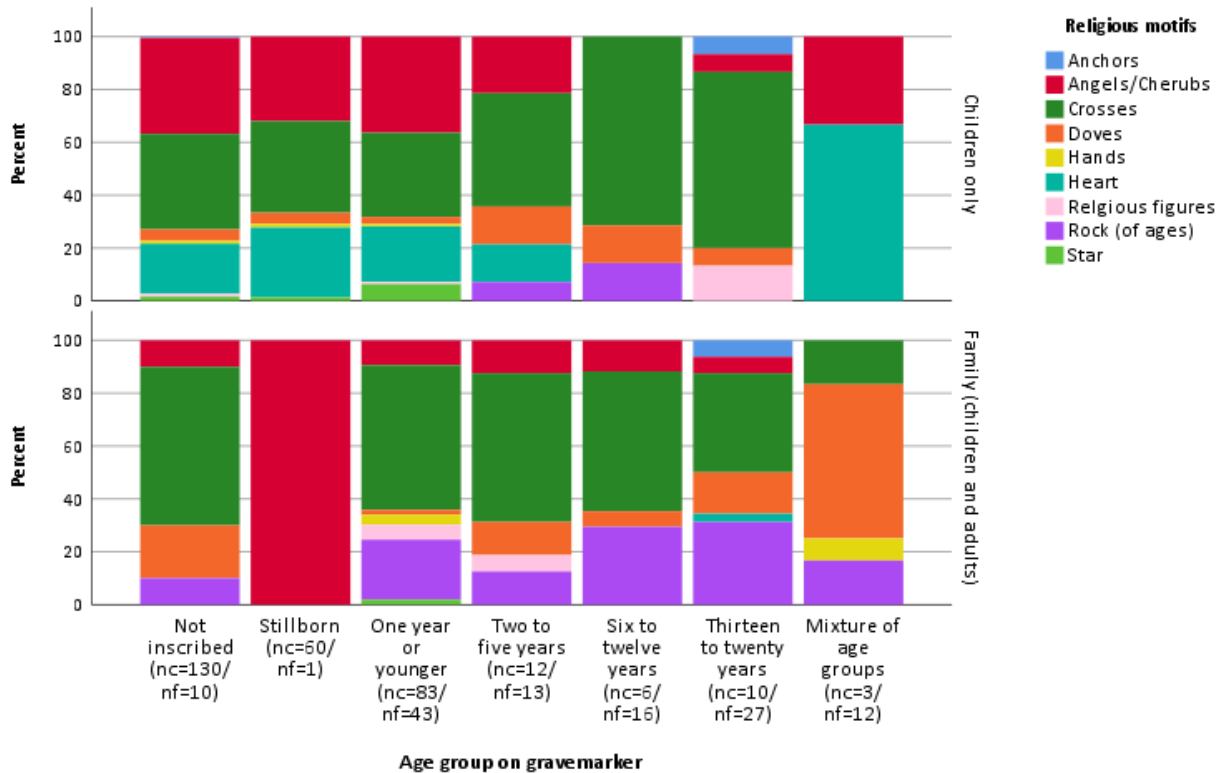
Figure 7-29. Percentage of religious motifs by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Scrolls perform a similar function to open books, 'fastened' to the stone as a declaration of a life completed or sometimes more decoratively to highlight the family name (Penney 2016:11). Ribbon is used more as a decorative device, often in conjunction with floral motifs, and has a numerically stronger association with family plots (Table 7-47). Scrolls were not found after the 1970s, but ribbons have come back into fashion on child-only grave markers (Figure 7-30). The wreath, classical in origin and open to different meanings (from a sign of mourning to a sign of victory) is still used for commemorative functions today but less so in grave marker symbolism, where it was most prominent during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Again, some examples have re-appeared in the last two decades on both plot types. The other funerary motifs occur in small numbers (*n*=18). The shell (associated with a journey or baptism; Keister 2004:87) was only recorded for the first decade of the twentieth century. Although, the variety of funerary motifs have reduced in the four general cemeteries since the Second World War, they displayed a more recent revival

in the Children's Garden, with the torch (symbolic of the life force) and draped cloth recorded there (Table 7-48).

Table 7-46. Count and column percent of funerary motifs on grave markers with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Book/bookmarks		73	3.4%	(2.7%, 4.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Draped cloth		11	0.5%	(0.3%, 0.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Ribbons		28	1.3%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Scroll		25	1.2%	(0.8%, 1.7%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Shell		2	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Torches		2	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Urns		3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Wreaths		19	0.9%	(0.6%, 1.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
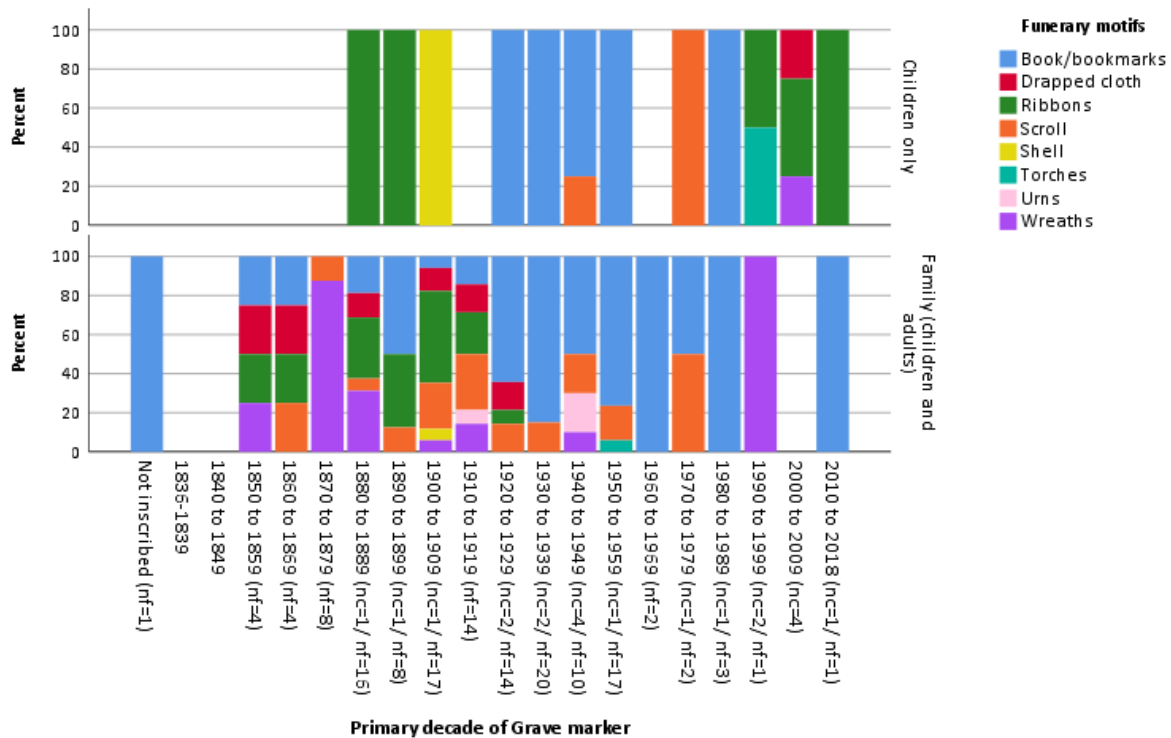
Figure 7-30. Percentage of funerary motifs by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-47. Count and column percent of funerary motifs on grave markers by plot type with z-test (excluding the Children's Garden, Enfield).

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Book/bookmarks	Yes	9	4.6%	64	7.3%	73	6.8%	2%, p = 0.3111, (2%, 6%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Draped cloth	Yes	0	0.0%	10	1.1%	10	0.9%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Ribbons	Yes	2	1.0%	22	2.5%	24	2.2%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Scroll	Yes	2	1.0%	23	2.6%	25	2.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Shell	Yes	1	0.5%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Torches	Yes	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Urns	Yes	0	0.0%	3	0.3%	3	0.3%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Wreaths	Yes	0	0.0%	18	2.0%	18	1.7%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹.z-test to compare two proportions *² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-48. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for funerary motifs on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Draped cloth	Yes	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Ribbons	Yes	4	0.4%	(0.1%, 0.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Torches	Yes	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Wreaths	Yes	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.13.2 Sex

Due to the small numbers recorded for funerary motifs on child-only plots, only books could be tested and showed no difference according to sex (Table 7-49). On family plots, books, ribbons, scrolls and urns

showed no statistical difference in choice based on sex, with the other categories occurring in numbers too small to test (Table 7-50).

Table 7-49. Funerary motifs for male and female children on child-only plots.

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

		Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Of the Difference*¹
Book/Bookmarks		4	0.6%	5	1.0%	0%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Draped Cloth		1	0.1%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Ribbons		1	0.1%	2	0.4%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Scroll		1	0.1%	1	0.2%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Shell		0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Torches		1	0.1%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Urns		0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Wreaths		1	0.1%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions * ² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.13.3 Age

The numbers for child-only plots are too low for reliable inference of any motif patterning. In general, the use of funerary motifs for family plots is consistent, with most types recorded for each group, remembering that the choice is more likely to be influenced by adult commemoration and a broader sense of the family's identity within their community (Figure 7-31).

7.14 Floral motifs

Motifs of flowers and foliage perform both a decorative and symbolic function. The results in this section are ordered in two parts. The first, presents the results for flowers and foliage generally, with the exception of ivy which is singled out due to its observed common use. The second, looks at the types of flowers (or assortments of flowers) represented as motifs on the grave markers.

Table 7-50. Funerary motifs for male and female children on family plots.

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

		Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of the Difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Column N %	
Book/Bookmarks		32	7.6%	29	8.4%	0%, P = 1, (4%, 4%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Draped Cloth		2	0.5%	7	2.0%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Ribbons		9	2.1%	7	2.0%	0%, P = 1, (2%, 2%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Scroll		12	2.9%	8	2.3%	1%, P = 0.382, (1%, 3%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Shell		0	0.0%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Torches		1	0.2%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Urns		2	0.5%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Wreaths		6	1.4%	8	2.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions * ² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Figure 7-31. Percentage of funerary motifs by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.14.1 Chronology and plot type

Flower motifs occur on family plots consistently throughout the sample and are also represented on child-only plots for most decades in smaller numbers (Figure 7-32 and Table 7-51). This is born out statistically with a large (7%) bias towards family plots overall (Table 7-52).

Ivy was common from the 1860s to the 1970s on family plots but does not appear on child-only plots until the second decade of the twentieth century. This motif was not found after the 1970s. Again, there is a strong statistical trend towards its use on family plots.

The use of other foliage or plant motifs follows a similar pattern to flowers, with the exception that they continue to be used on contemporary grave markers for both plot types (Figure 7-32). The statistically significant trend towards family plots is also the same (Table 7-52). The count for the Children's Garden, Enfield is shown in Table 7-53.

Table 7-51. Count and column percent of floral motifs on grave markers with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CL for Col N %
Flowers		158	7.4%	(6.4%, 8.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Ivy		115	5.4%	(4.5%, 6.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Other foliage/plants		65	3.1%	(2.4%, 3.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

7.14.2 Sex

The mostly even numbers recorded for flowers, ivy and other foliage, between male and female children on both child-only and family plots was born out by testing that showed no statistically significant difference in the pattern of use (Table 7-54).

7.14.3 Age

On child-only plots the use of flowers is weighted towards infants aged one year or younger but is also noticeable for the oldest age group (Figure 7-33). Ivy is more likely to be used for children aged from two years upwards. The three floral categories are used consistently for all age groups on family plots, which also generally displayed a higher numerical use of these categories then for child-only plots.
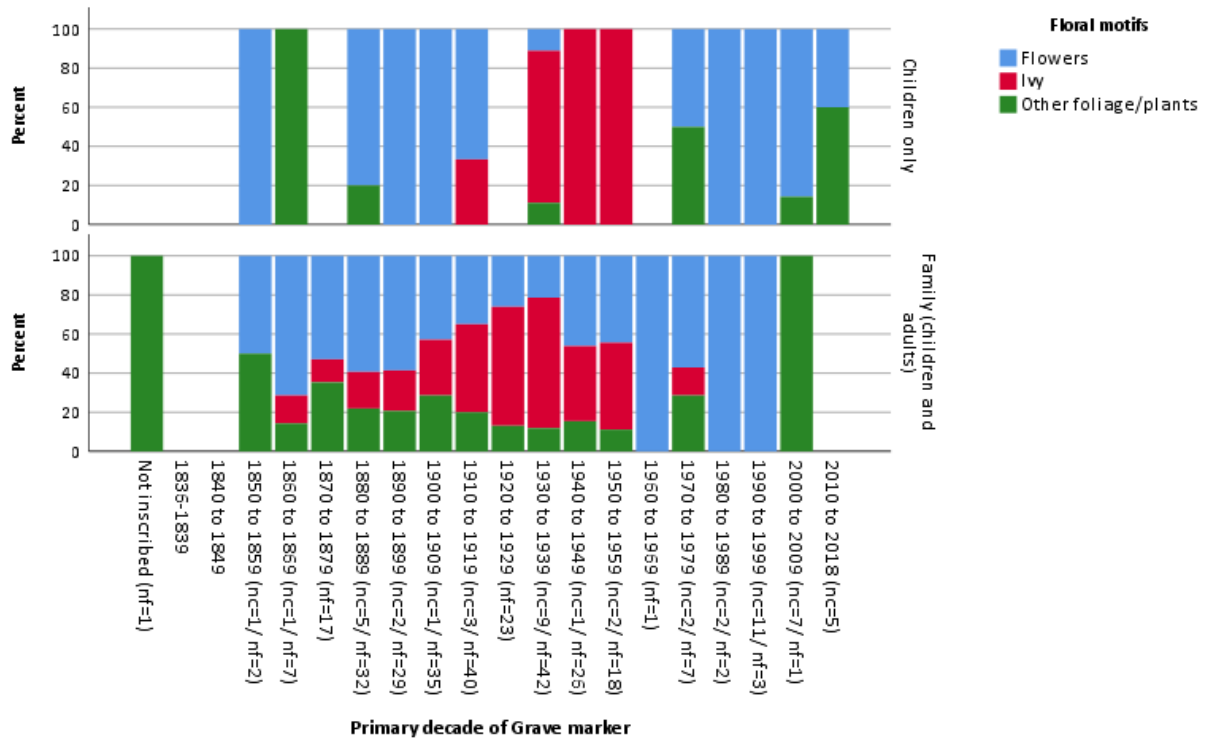
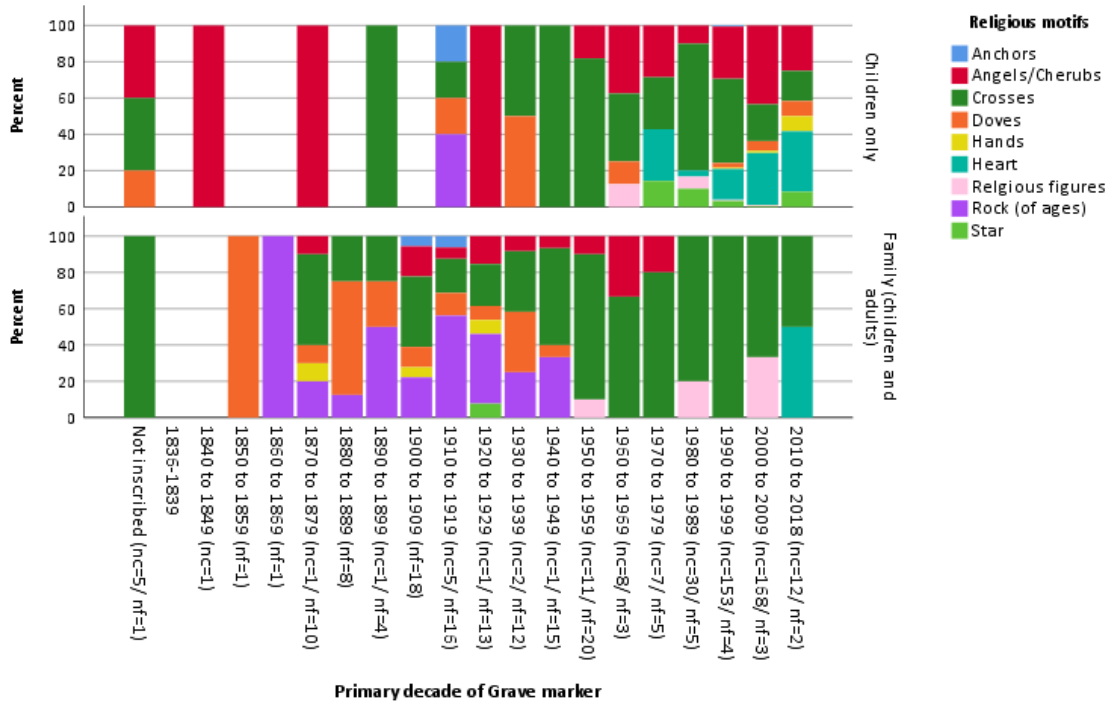**Figure 7-32. Percentage of floral motifs by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).**

Table 7-52. Count and column percent of floral motifs on grave markers by plot type with z-test.

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Flowers		13	6.7%	125	14.2%	138	12.8%	7%, p = 0.0081, (2%, 12%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Ivy		11	5.7%	104	11.8%	115	10.7%	6%, p = 0.0153, (2%, 11%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Other foliage/plants		5	2.6%	57	6.5%	62	5.8%	4%, p = 0.0376, (1%, 8%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

Table 7-53. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for funerary motifs on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Flowers		20	1.9%	(1.2%, 2.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Other foliage/plants		3	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.8%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

Table 7-54. Floral motifs for male and female children on both plot types.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

		Children Only					Family (Children and Adults)				
		Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of the Difference*[1]	Male		Female		Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of the Difference*[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Flowers		13	1.9%	17	3.3%	1%, P = 0.269 (1%, 3%)	63	15.0%	44	12.8%	2%, P = 0.429, (3%, 7%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Ivy		7	1.0%	3	0.6%	0%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)	46	10.9%	42	12.2%	1%, P = 0.665, (4%, 6%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Other Foliage/Plants		7	1.0%	1	0.2%	*[2]	23	5.5%	22	6.4%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions

*[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
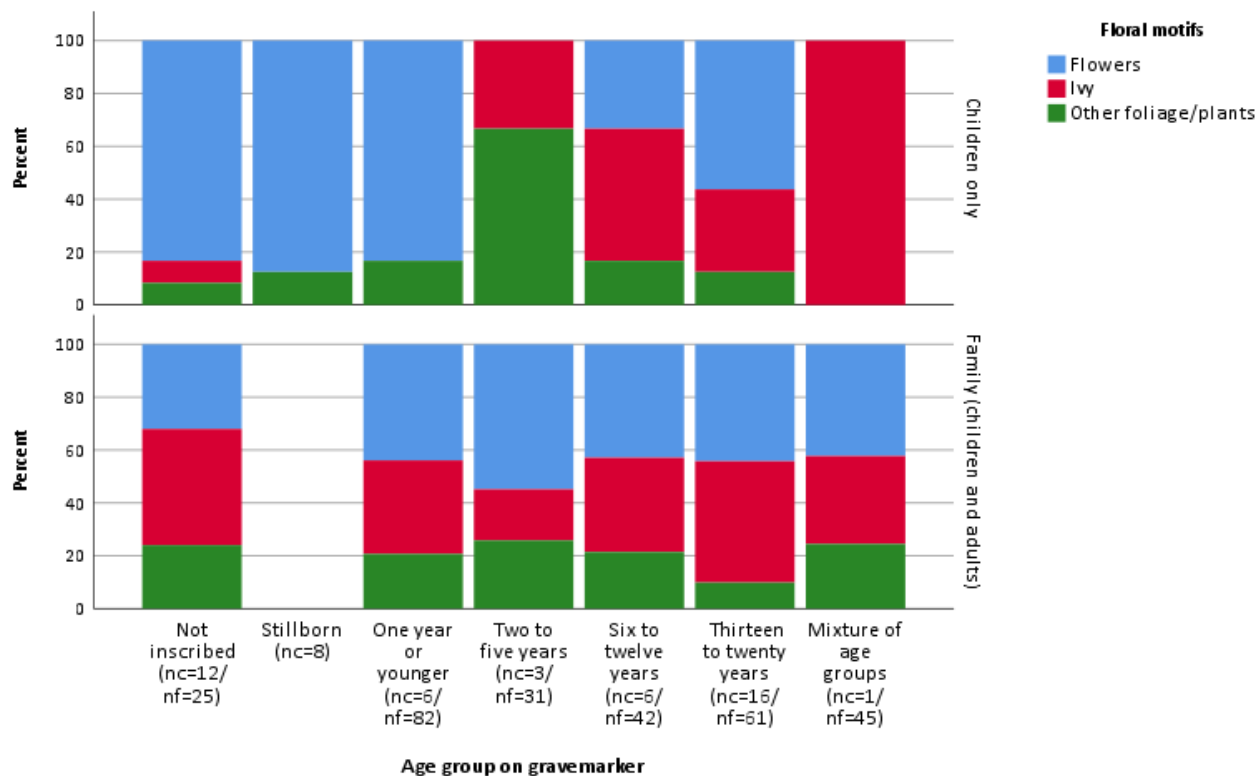
Figure 7-33. Percentage of floral motifs by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.15 Flower types

The choice of flower types is shown in Table 7-55. Assortments were usually a large bouquet, or several flowers draped over the shoulders of a tablet grave marker. In total, 158 examples of flower types were identified (7.4%). Posies denoted a small flower bouquet. Stylised flowers that did not represent an actual type were termed "other". Flower motifs appeared on family plots from the 1860s to the 1950s then declined.

For child-only plots, roses appeared as the main choice and were mostly found in the Children's Garden, Enfield (n=16; 1.5%; Table 7-57) with just seven examples found for the four general cemeteries. Flower motifs were not used for child-only plots after World War Two until the 1970s, with a small number of examples found for each decade since.

Many flower types characterised the nineteenth century cemetery (Figure 7-34). Although only 'roses' could be tested due to the numbers recorded (not statistically significant), the observed values suggested a greater use of flower types for family plots (Table 7-56).

Table 7-55. Count and column percent of floral motif types on grave markers with CI, chronology and plot type.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CL for Col N %
Rose	59	2.8%	(2.1%, 3.5%)
Assortment	36	1.7%	(1.2%, 2.3%)
Not identifiable	31	1.5%	(1.0%, 2.0%)
Posy	10	0.5%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
Lily	9	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
Daffodil	7	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
Tulip	4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
Other	2	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.3%)
Not applicable	1970	92.6%	(91.4%, 93.6%)
Total	2128	100.0%	
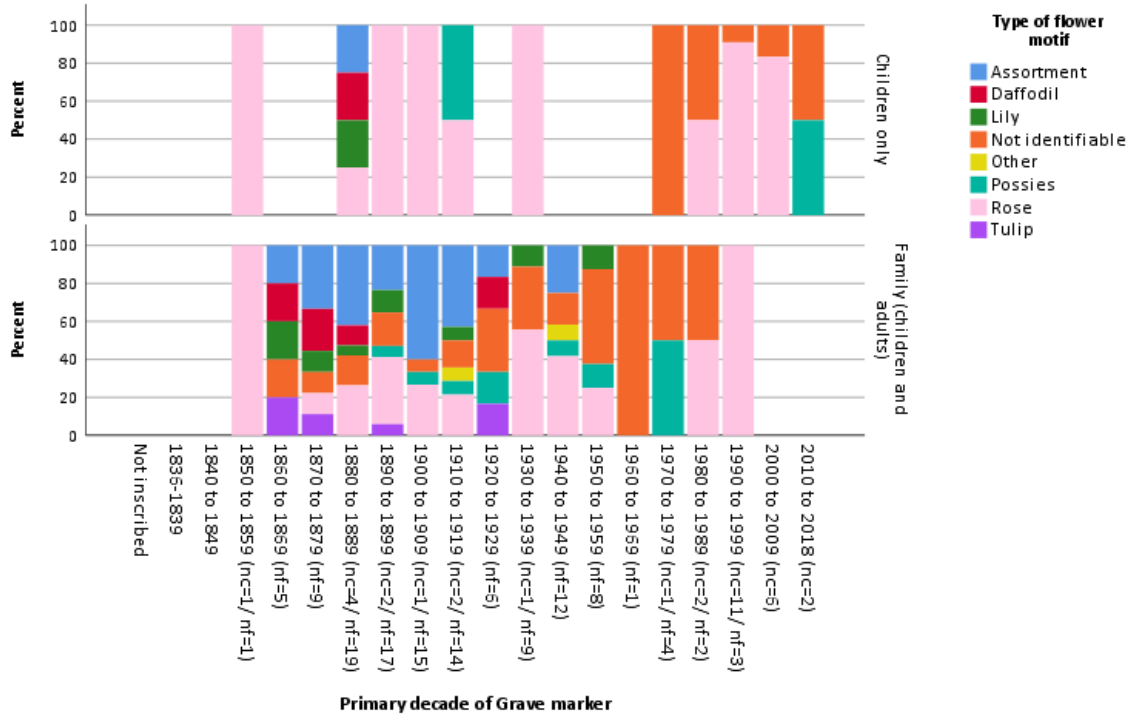
Figure 7-34. Percentage of flower motif types by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-56. Count and column percent of flower motif types on grave markers by plot type with z-test.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Assortment	1	0.5%	35	4.0%	36	3.3%	*2
Daffodil	1	0.5%	6	0.7%	7	0.7%	*2
Lily	1	0.5%	8	0.9%	9	0.8%	*2
Not identifiable	2	1.0%	26	2.9%	28	2.6%	*2
Other	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	*2
Possies	1	0.5%	8	0.9%	9	0.8%	*2
Rose	7	3.6%	36	4.1%	43	4.0%	0%, p = 1, (3%, 3%)
Tulip	0	0.0%	4	0.5%	4	0.4%	*2
Not applicable	181	93.3%	757	85.8%	938	87.2%	
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-57. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for flower motif types on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower CI for Col N %
Not identifiable	3	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.8%)
Possies	1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
Rose	16	1.5%	(0.9%, 2.4%)
Not applicable	1032	98.1%	(97.1%, 98.8%)
Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.15.1 Sex

The popularity of roses for both sexes is clear, with females favoured statistically on child-only plots but no difference found on family plots (Table 7-58). Other testable categories showed no statistical significance.

Table 7-58. Flower types for male and female children on both plots types.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

	Children Only					Family (Children and Adults)				
	Male		Female			Male		Female		
					Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci					Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Of the Difference*¹	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Of the Difference*¹
Assortment	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	15	3.6%	14	4.1%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Daffodil	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	*²	1	0.2%	5	1.5%	*²
Lily	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	*²	6	1.4%	0	0.0%	*²
Not Applicable	656	98.1%	495	96.7%	1%, P = 0.269, (1%, 3%)	358	85.0%	300	87.2%	2%, P = 0.429, (3%, 7%)
Not Identifiable	3	0.4%	1	0.2%	*²	13	3.1%	10	2.9%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	1	0.2%	1	0.3%	*²
Possies	0	0.0%	2	0.4%	*²	8	1.9%	0	0.0%	*²
Rose	9	1.3%	13	2.5%	2%, P = <0.0119, (1%, 4%)	17	4.0%	12	3.5%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Tulip	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²	2	0.5%	2	0.6%	*²
Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.15.2 Age

For child-only plots, roses are the most popular choice for all age groups represented (Figure 7-35).

Varieties increase with age, with the oldest age group displaying the most flower types. Family plots

consistently used a large variety of flower types regardless of the age of the children included on them.
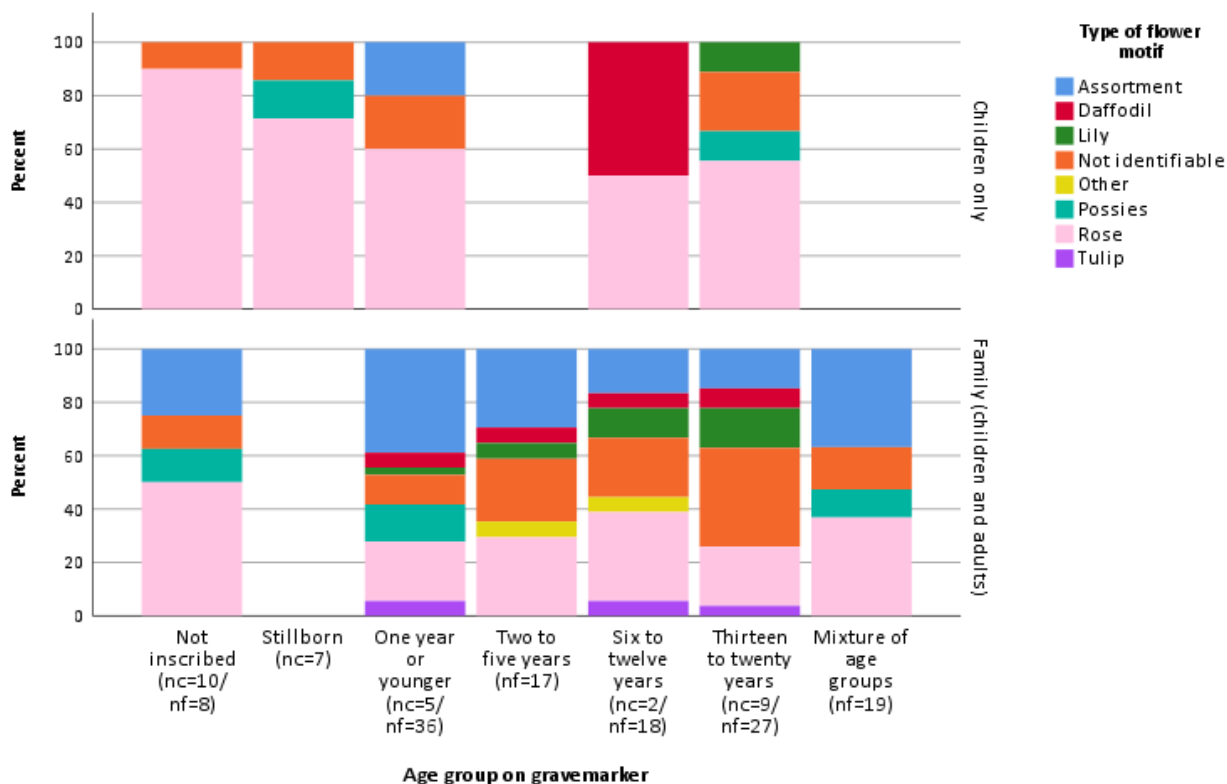
Figure 7-35. Percentage of flower motif types by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.16 Figures and other motifs

Although an increasing number of non-religious figures formed part of nineteenth century grave marker

styles (Mytum 2004:78-79), they were hardly seen in the South Australian context and this trend continued

through most of the twentieth century. However, from the 1990s, a new repertoire of animal and toy

symbols was observed to become popular on child-only grave markers (Table 7-59). Those included under

the category of 'other motifs' for the four general sites were: one arrow piercing a bud at Walkerville

c.1850, one harnessed trots rider and horse at Cheltenham c.1958, one shield with acanthus bookends,

three curlicue patterns and one too worn to be interpreted at Hindmarsh.

7.16.1 Chronology and plot type

For the four general cemeteries the use of any of these motif categories was rare. Although, sculptured representations of infant children, usually sleeping, are well known for the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Baxter 2015:3; Snyder 1992:25; Veit and Nonestied 2008:127), only one example was found at St Jude's. This was the only non-religious figure found for this period, displaying an infant reclined and sleeping in a shell (c.1915; Figure 8-8). St Jude's was also the only general cemetery site to feature a contemporary animal motif with single examples of butterflies (on a female child's grave marker) and a teddy bear (on a male's).

A contemporary suite of engraved figure motifs was recorded at the Children's Garden, Enfield dating from the 1990s to the present (Figure 7-36, Table 7-60). These included sleeping infants, sometimes in a cradle, with one in a parent's arms in a rocking chair, as well as children. Hand and footprints also occurred on one grave marker, and a stylised footprint on another.

Table 7-59. Count and column percent of animal and figure motif types on grave markers with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Column N %
Animal		25	1.2%	(0.8%, 1.7%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Figures		10	0.5%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Other motifs		29	1.4%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Teddy bear		157	7.4%	(6.3%, 8.5%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.

Teddy bears are the most popular motif in this category (*n*=157; 7.4%: Table 7-59). These are mainly of a traditional appearance, although the fictional Winnie the Pooh and the Australian Koala (not actually a bear) were also used in what appeared as mass-produced metal engravings. Bears in any form only occurred on child-only plots. Teddy bears were statistically significant with a 5% trend towards male children (Table 7-61).

Other animal forms included dogs or cats (pets), a lion (associated with a child of African descent), birds and marine creatures, such as dolphins and fish that also carry potential Christian symbolism (Keister 2004:86). Motifs from the insect world included butterflies that are open to both religious and secular meanings given their transformative nature. Like the teddy bear, several motifs suggested toys. These were rocking horses, dinosaurs, balloons, balls, and vehicles (including trucks, cars, and trains).
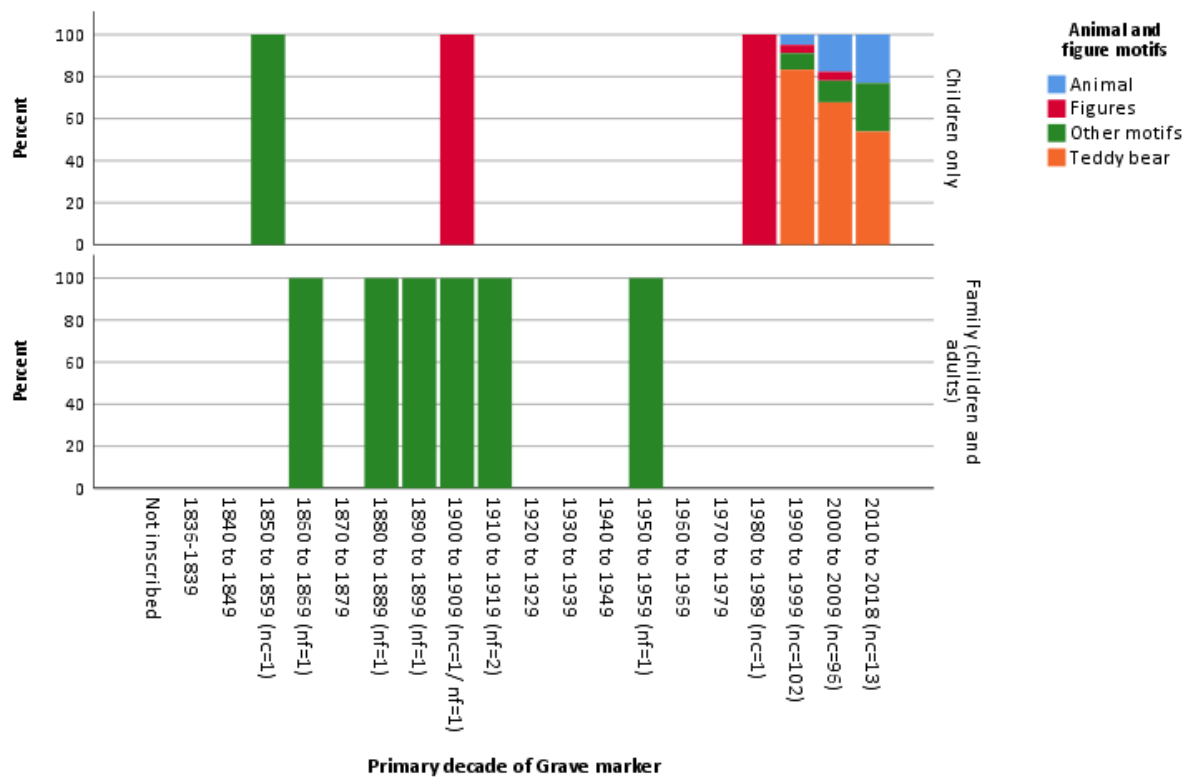
Figure 7-36. Percentage of animal and figure motifs by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-60. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for figure motif types on grave markers for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Animal		24	2.3%	(1.5%, 3.3%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Figures		9	0.9%	(0.4%, 1.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Other motifs		21	2.0%	(1.3%, 3.0%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Teddy bear		156	14.8%	(12.8%, 17.1%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

Table 7-61. Animal and figure motifs for male and female children on both plot types.*

*Total does not include numbers for mixed and unknown sex

| | | Children only | | | | | Family (children and adults) | | | | |
| | | Male | | Female | | | Male | | Female | | |
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*[1]	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*[1]
Animal		12	1.8%	13	2.5%	1%, P = 0.269	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Figures		1	0.1%	9	1.8%	*[2]	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Other motifs		14	2.1%	7	1.4%	1%, P = 0.170, (0%, 2%)	1	0.2%	5	1.5%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Teddy bear		99	14.8%	52	10.2%	5%, P = <0.0109, (1%, 9%)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*[2]
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*[1] z-test to compare two proportions

*[2] z test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.16.2 Sex

The use of teddy bears was statistically significant towards male children (5%, Table 7-61). No statistical difference was found for animals and 'other' motifs by gender on child-only plots although in small numbers some motifs reflected gendered associations, such as cars and trucks on male grave markers. Except for 'other motifs' (*n*=5) these categories were not used on family plots.

7.16.3 Age

The dominance of these motifs in commemorating younger age groups is evident (Figure 7-37). Teddy bears are used for those children aged one year or younger and were not found for the older age groups. Animals were found for children aged 2 to 12 years, and other motifs were employed for children aged 6 years and up, although in low numbers.
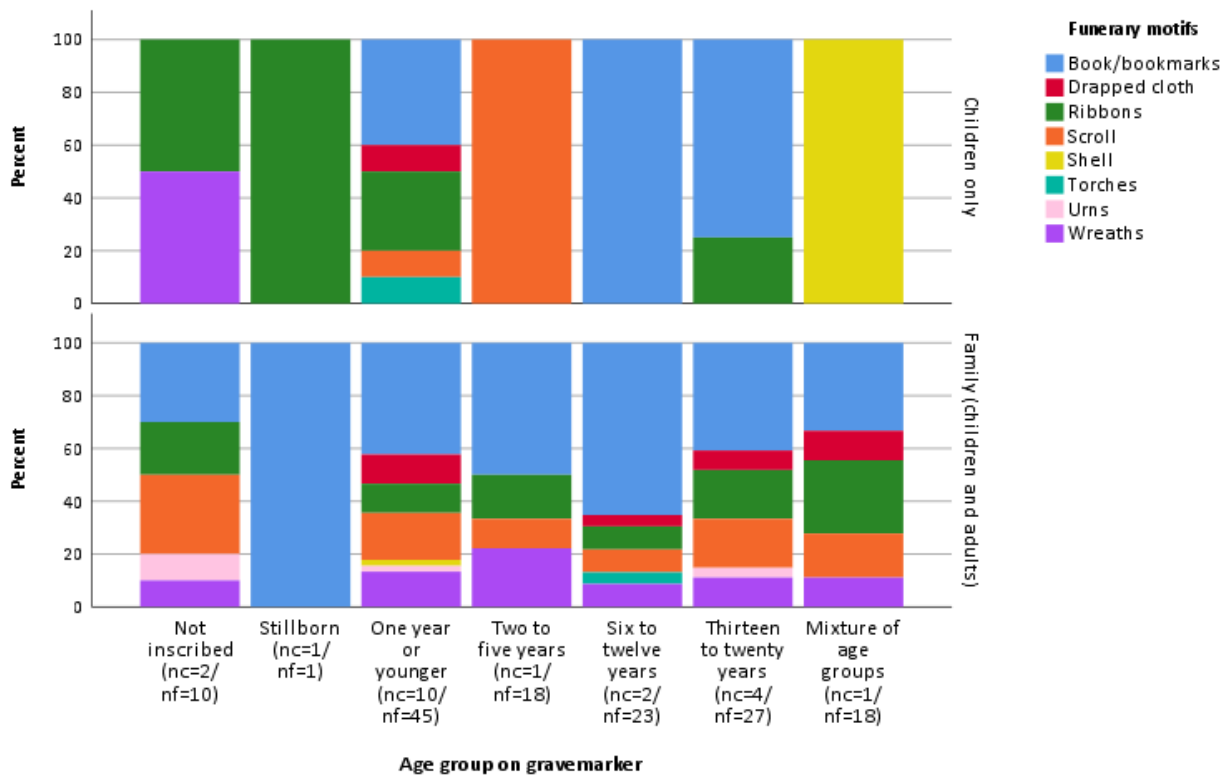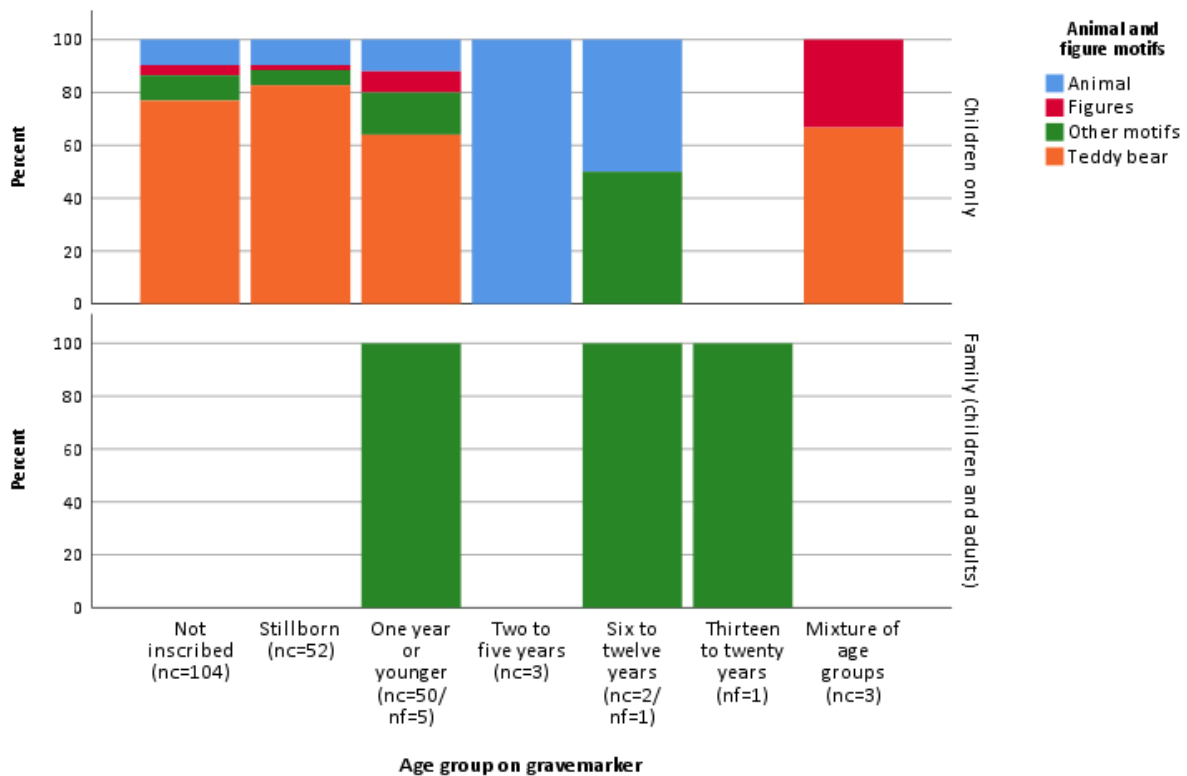

Figure 7-37. Percentage of animal and figure motifs by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.17 Insignia, monograms, and crests

Although a small category (*n*=24; 1.3%), this choice contains religious, military, organisational and family choices, although these symbols do not always relate directly to the child. Just under half are religious

symbols (Keister 2004: 81, 146-147, 201-202), with the letters IHS appearing on eight grave markers, sometimes as a monogram (where the letters overlap to form a symbol). These represent the first three letters in Jesus' name in the Greek alphabet (iota, eta, and sigma). Originally associated with Catholic burials (Mytum 2020:389), this symbol was co-opted as part of the Gothic revival style in the nineteenth century cemetery and used in the non-Catholic sections (Mytum 2004:77). IHS symbols appear on both child-only and family plots but were not found on grave markers after the1950s. One Orthodox religious symbol, a Ukrainian Tryzub cross was recorded at Cheltenham and two Salvation Army emblems found on the cremation wall at the Children's Garden, Enfield.

A variety of secular memberships were also identified. Five emblems reflected military service of which only two involved individuals 20 years or under. Crests were used on three grave markers; two had masonic emblems (clearly an adult association), one a tennis emblem (was directly associated with a teenage boys achievements in life), and another simply a large 'B' (the first initial of the family's last name) positioned where others used IHS, suggesting the family's more secular approach. Except for religious inscriptions, the use of such symbols was a clear way of expressing predominantly adult social affiliations held in life.

7.18 Photographs

Since the 1950s framed photographs of the deceased in life have been attached to grave markers (*n*=77; 3.6%, Table 7-62 and Figure 7-38).

Table 7-62. Count and column percent of photographs of children on grave markers with CI.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
	77	3.6%	(2.9%, 4.5%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

7.18.1   Chronology and plot type

The use of photographs was initially seen on family grave markers with a southern or eastern European background (based on the names and language on the grave marker) in the 1950s and 1960s (Figure 7-38), but was observed to become more culturally widespread in the sample. It is particularly notable on the children's grave markers at the Children's garden; Enfield, but examples occur at all sites. Photographs are used for both plot types consistently, but testing shows a statistically significant trend towards child-only plots (Table 7-63).
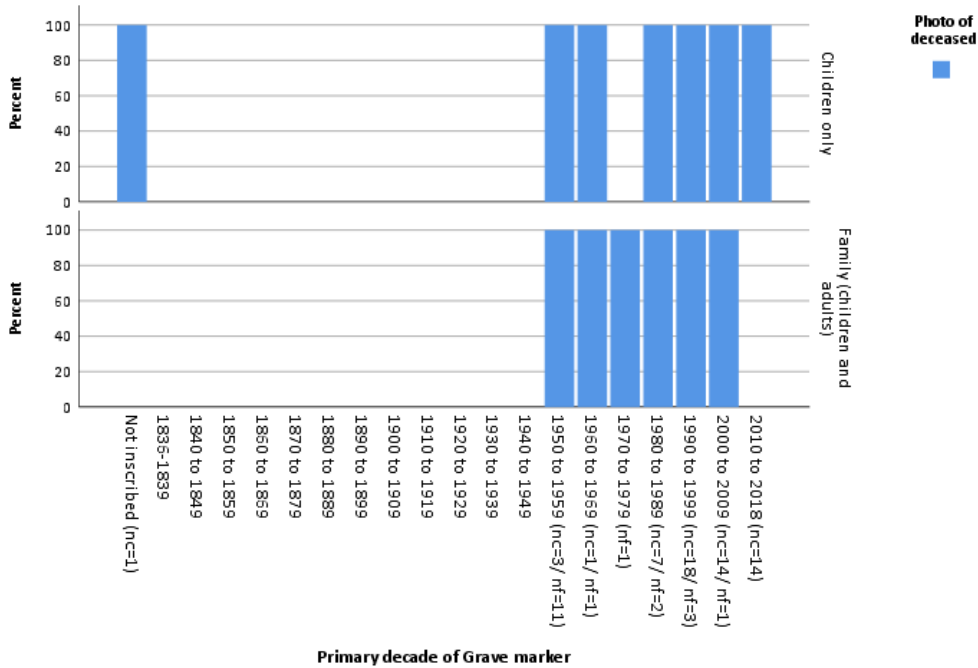
Figure 7-38. Percentage of photographs of deceased on grave markers by decade and plot type showing grave marker numbers (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-63. Count and column percent of photographs of children on grave markers by plot type with z-test.

| | Children only | | Family (children and adults) | | Total | | Difference %, p-value, 95% CI |
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Yes	58	4.7%	19	2.2%	77	3.6%	3%, p = <0.0003, (1%, 5%)
Total	1246	100.0%	882	100.0%	2128	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

7.18.2 Sex and age

The use of photographs for both sexes on child-only plots is quite even between males (*n*=32; 4.8%) and females (*n*=26; 5.1%), and not statistically significant (0%, p = 1, (3%, 3%)). On family plots a higher percentage of male children (n=14; 3.3%) to female children (n=4; 1.2%) were commemorated with photos although the sample numbers were not suitable for testing.

Photographs were used for all age groups on child-only plots (Figure 7-39), with the highest number found for children aged one year or younger followed by two to five years. A similar trend was observed for family plots except for 'not inscribed' and 'stillborn' that both had a low number of photographs in total. Photographs were not used for mixed age groups.

215
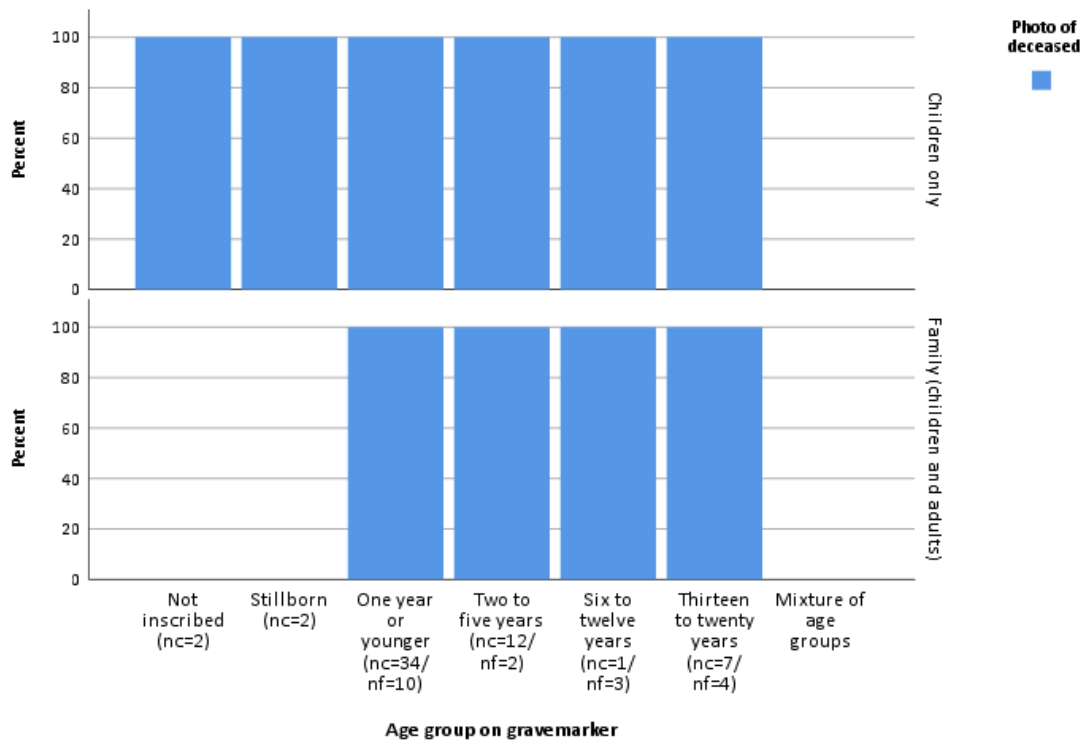
Figure 7-39. Percentage of photographs of children on grave markers by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.19 Grave furniture

The deposition of additional items onto a grave presents a challenge for the archaeologist. In most cases these commemorative additions are portable artefacts, subject to removal or reuse over time depending on the whims of cemetery authorities and the intentions of visitors (Figure 7-40). Such actions are particularly observable for plots that lack a defined border to contain such artefacts. Vases, whether decorative stone receptacles or simply glass jars, may be 'borrowed' or inadvertently re-located during the process of visitation. Lighter artefacts may be moved by wind onto other plots. Given these issues, the in-situ status of the extant grave furniture can be unclear. Some artefacts demonstrate easier connection to the plot than others, such as vases whose material and style clearly match the grave marker. Inscribed artefacts that reference the deceased or other family associations can also be associated with greater confidence.

7.20 Floral grave furniture

Vases and artificial flowers were the most common floral grave furniture (Table 7-64) and a fifth of all grave plots had some form of vase. We can assume from this that natural flowers have been brought to those graves over time.

7.20.1 Chronology and plot type

Chronologically, vases are used across the entire study period (Figure 7-41). Statistically, vases have a stronger association with family plots (25% difference, Table 7-66). Floral grave furniture for the Children's Garden, Enfield is shown in Table 7-65.

Figure 7-40. Grave furniture: Infant section, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park facing north (Photo by author).

Artificial flowers are the second most common choice and are consistently used in all decades. These are usually made from ceramics or plastic. Although statistically favouring family plots the difference is less than vases (6%). Some surviving immortelles (flowers, usually ceramic, or objects sealed in a glass case) were recorded for the 1930s and early 1940s. Particularly popular in the late nineteenth century, none were found after World War Two. Chronologies for grave plantings are obviously difficult to associate with the actual plot date except for the most recent plots. Plantings may suggest family action but their maintenance over time may shift to the cemetery authorities, depending on the age of the plot. In the case of trees and shrubs, their state of growth can suggest their length of presence in the landscape and may be supported by available historical photographs of the site. Fresh flowers do importantly confirm a current relationship between the site and a living individual.

7.20.2 Sex and age

For child-only plots, no statistical difference was found between male and female children for vases, artificial flowers, and natural flowers (Table 7-67). The other grave furniture had insufficient numbers to

test. For family plots, vases were found to statistically favour those with male children, but again there was no statistically significant difference for artificial and natural flowers. The remaining floral grave furniture categories were again too small for testing.

Table 7-64. Count and column percent of floral grave furniture with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Flowers artificial		242	11.4%	(10.1%, 12.8%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Flowers natural		60	2.8%	(2.2%, 3.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Flowers and objects in a glass dome		4	0.2%	(0.1%, 0.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Plantings and pots		12	0.6%	(0.3%, 1.0%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Vases		434	20.4%	(18.7%, 22.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
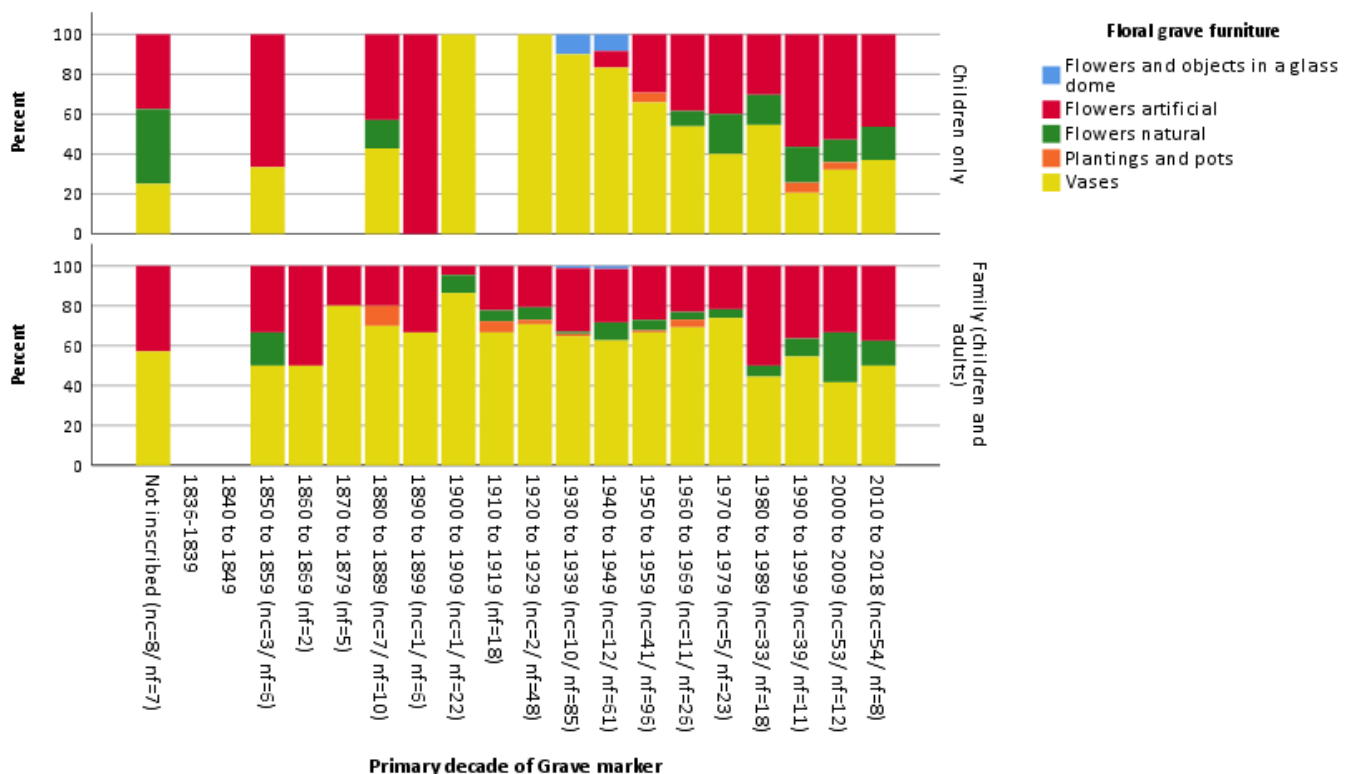
Figure 7-41. Percentage of floral grave furniture by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-65. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for floral grave furniture on grave plots for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Flowers artificial	Yes	76	7.2%	(5.8%, 8.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Flowers natural	Yes	24	2.3%	(1.5%, 3.3%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Plantings and pots	Yes	3	0.3%	(0.1%, o.8%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Vases	Yes	43	4.1%	(3.0%, 5.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

7.21 Toys as grave furniture

Increasingly, since at least the 1990s (Scott 1999:26), child-only plots have been adorned with artefacts reminiscent of childhood, such as toys and colourful objects such as baubles or whirligigs. At the Children's Garden, Enfield this involved a wide variety of such material culture (Table 7-68) deposited and arranged on the grave plots. Some assemblages covered the entire plot surface and obscured any view of the grave marker. Only one toy was recorded for the four general cemeteries.

7.21.1   Chronology and plot type

Toys are used exclusively on child-only plots (with one exception, Figure 7-42) dating from the 1980s to the present. Their positioning cannot always be clearly associated with a particular child's grave plot. At the Children's Garden, Enfield assemblages proliferate in the vicinity of some plots, including ornaments hung from trees and shrubs or partially 'secreted' amongst adjacent foliage. Such patterning makes any clear association between such objects and individuals fraught, particularly given their portability and potential for re-use on site by visiting children (Figure 7-44).

7.21.2   Sex

Stereo-typical gender associations might be expected when using toys in memorialisation, and this was observed for the higher ratio of toy cars, trucks and other vehicles deposited on the plots of male children. This was assessed as statistically significant (Table 7-69). The broader category of 'other toys' also displayed a male bias. Animals and action figures, teddy bears and whirligigs showed no difference according to sex. Dolls and ribbons were unable to be tested, but the fact that most dolls were found on female plots (*n*=5) compared to males (*n*=1) suggests gender influence in the choice.

Table 7-66. Count and column percent of floral grave furniture by plot type with z-test.

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Flowers and objects in a glass dome		2	1.0%	2	0.2%	4	0.4%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Flowers artificial		38	19.6%	128	14.5%	166	15.4%	5%, p = 0.0847, (1%, 11%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Flowers natural		9	4.6%	27	3.1%	36	3.3%	2%, p = 0.1617, (1%, 5%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Plantings and pots		3	1.5%	6	0.7%	9	0.8%	*²
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Vases		84	43.3%	307	34.8%	391	36.3%	8%, p = 0.0361, (1%, 15%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹. z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-67. Count and column percent of floral grave furniture by sex and plot type with z-test.

		Children only				Family (children and adults)				
		Male		Female		Male		Female		
					Difference %, p-value, 95% CI					Difference %, p-value, 95% CI
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Flowers/glass dome		1	0.1%	1	0.2%		2	0.5%	0	0.0%	
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Flowers artificial		57	8.5%	50	9.8%	1%, P = 0.560, (2%, 4%)	68	16.2%	51	14.8%	1%, P = 0.704, (4%, 6%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Flowers natural		16	2.4%	17	3.3%	1%, P = 0.269, (1%, 3%)	15	3.6%	10	2.9%	1%, P = 0.457, (2%, 4%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Plantings		4	0.6%	2	0.4%		3	0.7%	2	0.6%	
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Vases		78	11.7%	44	8.6%	3%, P = 0.098, (1%, 7%)	168	39.9%	115	33.4%	7%, P = <0.0459, (0%, 14%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-68. Count and column percent of toys as grave furniture with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Column N %
Dolls		6	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Other toys		28	1.3%	(0.9%, 1.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Ribbons		3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Teddy Bears		14	0.7%	(0.4%, 1.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Toy cars, trucks, and other vehicles		35	1.6%	(1.2%, 2.3%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Toy figures of animals/action figures		66	3.1%	(2.4%, 3.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	
Whirligig		49	2.3%	(1.7%, 3.0%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	

Table 7-69. Toys as grave furniture for male and female children on child-only plots.

		Male		Female		Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	of the difference*¹
Dolls		1	0.1%	5	1.0%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Other toys		20	3.0%	7	1.4%	2%, P = <0.0184, (0%, 4%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Ribbons		1	0.1%	2	0.4%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Teddy bears		8	1.2%	6	1.2%	0%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Toy cars, trucks and other vehicles		32	4.8%	3	0.6%	4%, P = <0.0001, (2%, 6%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Toy figures of animals/action figures		33	4.9%	32	6.3%	1%, P = 0.452, (2%, 4%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
whirligig		25	3.7%	24	4.7%	1%, P = 0.408, (1%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
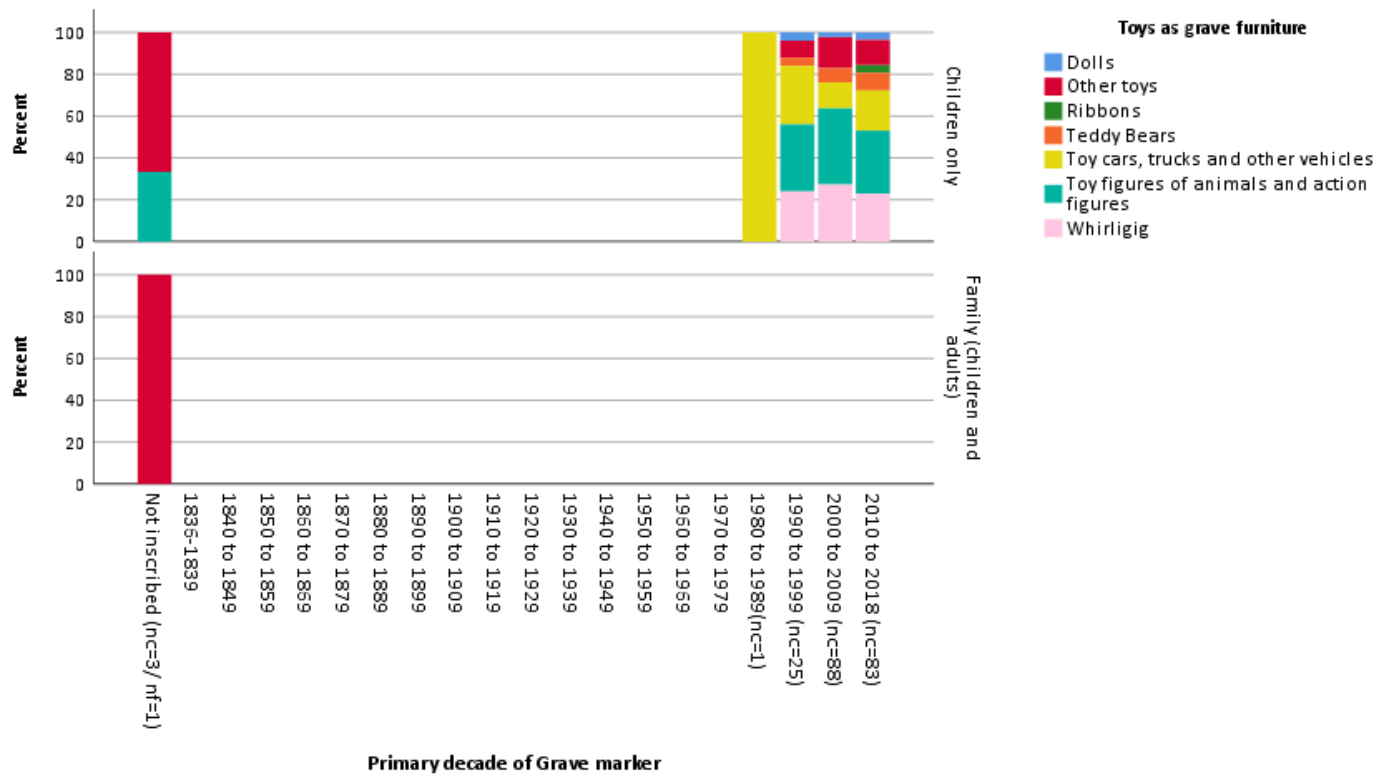
Figure 7-42. Percentage of toys as grave furniture by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).
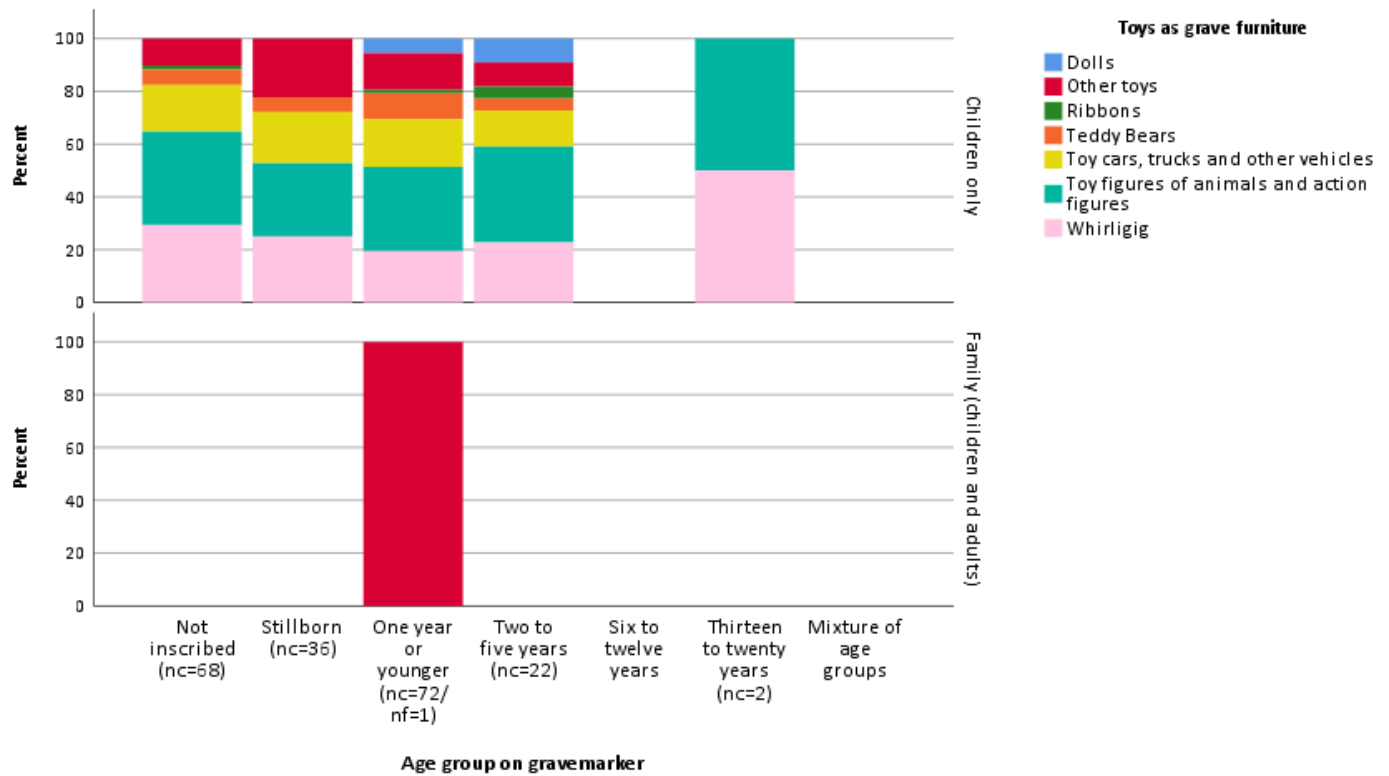

Figure 7-43. Percentage of toys as grave furniture by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

223

7.21.3 Age

Toys were mainly used on plots for stillborn children and children aged up to five years, with only two examples found on the child-only plots of older children aged 13 and 16 (Figure 7-43). Dolls were only used for children aged between one and five years. Ribbons were rare (*n*=3) and as woven material likely more at risk of being blown about the site due to their light weight, or to deteriorate when exposed to the elements.

Figure 7-44. Assemblage of toys: Atop the cremation wall that may or may not relate to the plaques affixed directly below them, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park facing south (Photo by author).

7.22 Religious and other grave furniture

Religious belief and commitment can be emphasised and advertised through the addition of small, mass produced religious statues, commonly of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, a saint, or angel/cherub figures (Table 7-70). Natural materials such as shells, stones and rocks were also used, as well as small commemorative plaques, lights, photos, and other figurines of girls with flowers, girls sleeping or fairies. The category 'Other items' includes metal and ceramic crosses attached to horizontal slabs or laid on the grave surface, trinkets like bowls and cups, broken coloured glass, ceramic wreaths, small hearts and flags. Individualistic in their diversity, they form a complex assemblage upon grave plots.

7.22.1 Chronology and plot type

Angel figures were found as grave furniture on plots dated as early as c.1910, however given their more modern appearance most of these were probably added at a later date. Angels proved most popular on child-only plots from the 1990s onwards (*n*=120) appearing on 14.5% of child-only grave markers over the last three decades of the sample (Figure 7-45). The same deposition issues can be said for rocks and stones, although there is no statistical difference in their use by plot type (*n*=12; 1% for child-only plots and *n*=7;

0.8% for family plots). These included collections of pebbles in glass jars, reminiscent of the Jewish funerary custom of leaving small stones on the grave marker or plot (Keister 2004:157), although these plots did not appear to be Jewish. Painted pebbles were also found on some child-only plots (Figure 7-46).

Table 7-70. Count and column percent of religious and other grave furniture with CI.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Angels		52	2.4%	(1.9%, 3.2%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Light/s		33	1.6%	(1.1%, 2.1%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Other items		85	4.0%	(3.2%, 4.9%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Photos		6	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.6%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Plaque		40	1.9%	(1.4%, 2.5%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Religious statues		9	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.8%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Shells		3	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Statues		8	0.4%	(0.2%, 0.7%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.
Stones and painted rocks		19	0.9%	(0.6%, 1.4%)
	Total	2128	100.0%	.

Religious statues are first seen in the 1950s on the grave markers of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants and Catholics generally. Often associated with family graves, they were also seen on child-only plots in the 2000s and 2010s (Figure 7-45). The choice of additional plaques, usually shaped as rectangular and heart-shaped tributes that replicated in smaller form actual grave marker styles, was also popular. These were found primarily on family plots from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s (*n*= 40; 1.9%). Other contemporary versions were also found, primarily in the Children's Garden (Table 7-71). Lights, shells, non-religious statues, and photos are mostly associated with plots from the 1980s onwards. Lights are common on newly created assemblages powered by batteries or solar power in an attempt to bring light to the site after dark. Photos and written materials such as cards, enclosed in plastic may also be placed on or affixed to the grave site. Diverse in form, small in number, those artefacts lumped into 'other items' defy an easy chronology, with those of similar style or material to the grave plot or affixed to the grave marker judged contemporaneous, whilst other materials are the result of accumulation over time as a result of visitation

patterns. Only plaques and 'other items' could be tested, and they showed no statistical significance (Table 7-72).
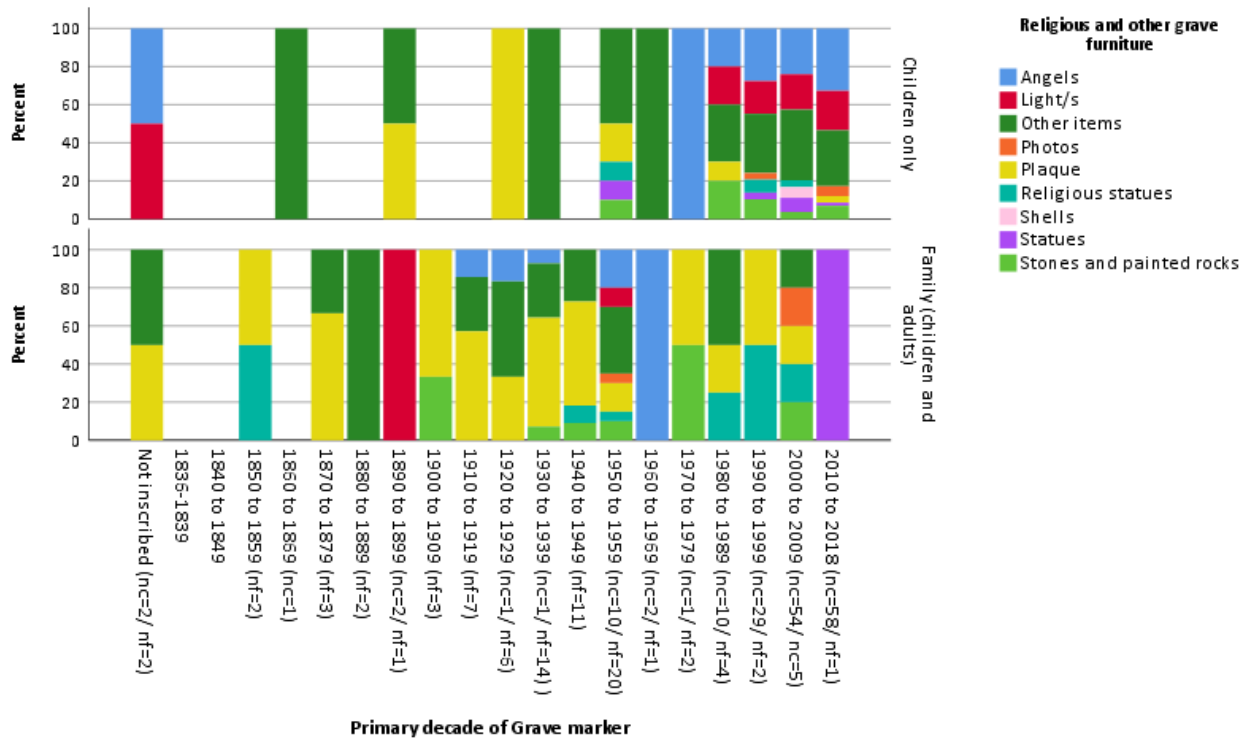
Figure 7-45. Percentage of religious and other grave furniture by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences* (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Figure 7-46. Stones and painted rocks - Plaque, cast iron and concrete, c. 1993, Enfield Memorial Park facing north (Photo by author).

7.22.2 Sex

For child-only plots, angels, lights, stones and 'other items' showed no statistical difference between the sexes (Table 7-73 and Table 7-74). The other categories were too small to be tested. On family plots plaques and 'other items' were the same by sex. The other catergories were too small for testing.

7.22.3 Age

Statues (religious or other) were only found for children aged five years or under on child-only plots, otherwise age does not appear to be an influence with the other categories recorded for older children (Figure 7-47). Family plots with children aged one year or younger used the widest range of these forms, with the level of diversity declining for those plots that included older children. For example, eight types of this grave furniture were seen for infants but only four choices for children aged 13 years or older.

Table 7-71. Count, column percent and confidence intervals for religious and other grave furniture on grave plots for the Children's Garden, Enfield.

		Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
Angels		43	4.1%	(3.0%, 5.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Light/s		28	2.7%	(1.8%, 3.8%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Photos		3	0.3%	(0.1%, 0.8%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Plaque		2	0.2%	(0.0%, 0.6%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Religious statues		4	0.4%	(0.1%, 0.9%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Shells		1	0.1%	(0.0%, 0.4%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Statues		6	0.6%	(0.2%, 1.2%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Stones and painted rocks		10	1.0%	(0.5%, 1.7%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.
Other items		48	4.6%	(3.4%, 6.0%)
	Total	1052	100.0%	.

Table 7-72. Count and column percent of religious and other grave furniture by plot type with z-test.

		Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference[1]
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Angels		1	0.5%	8	0.9%	9	0.8%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Light/s		2	1.0%	3	0.3%	5	0.5%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Photos		1	0.5%	2	0.2%	3	0.3%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Plaque		5	2.6%	33	3.7%	38	3.5%	1%, p = 0.5106, (2%, 4%)
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Religious statues		1	0.5%	6	0.7%	7	0.7%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Shells		2	1.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Statues		1	0.5%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Stones and painted rocks		2	1.0%	7	0.8%	9	0.8%	[2]
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	
Other items		11	5.7%	26	2.9%	37	3.4%	3%, p = 0.0407, (1%, 6%)
	No	183	94.3%	856	97.1%	1039	96.6%	
	Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-73. Religious and other grave furniture for male and female children on child-only plots.

		Male		Female		Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Angels		21	3.1%	22	4.3%	1%, P = 0.349, (1%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Lights		14	2.1%	15	2.9%	1%, P = 0.269, (1%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Other items		35	5.2%	22	4.3%	1%, P = 0.414, (1%, 3%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Photos		3	0.4%	1	0.2%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Plaque		3	0.4%	3	0.6%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Religious statues		2	0.3%	3	0.6%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Shells		2	0.3%	1	0.2%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Statues		3	0.4%	3	0.6%	*²
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	
Stones and painted rocks		8	1.2%	4	0.8%	1%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)
	Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

Table 7-74. Religious and other grave furniture for male and female children on family plots.

		Male		Female		Difference %, p-Value, 95% Ci of the difference*¹
		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Angels		3	0.7%	3	0.9%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Lights		2	0.5%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Other items		9	2.1%	15	4.4%	2%, P = 0.101, (0%, 4%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Photos		0	0.0%	2	0.6%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Plaque		18	4.3%	12	3.5%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Religious statues		3	0.7%	2	0.6%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Shells		0	0.0%	0	0.0%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Statues		0	0.0%	1	0.3%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	
Stones and painted rocks		5	1.2%	2	0.6%	*²
	Total	421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes
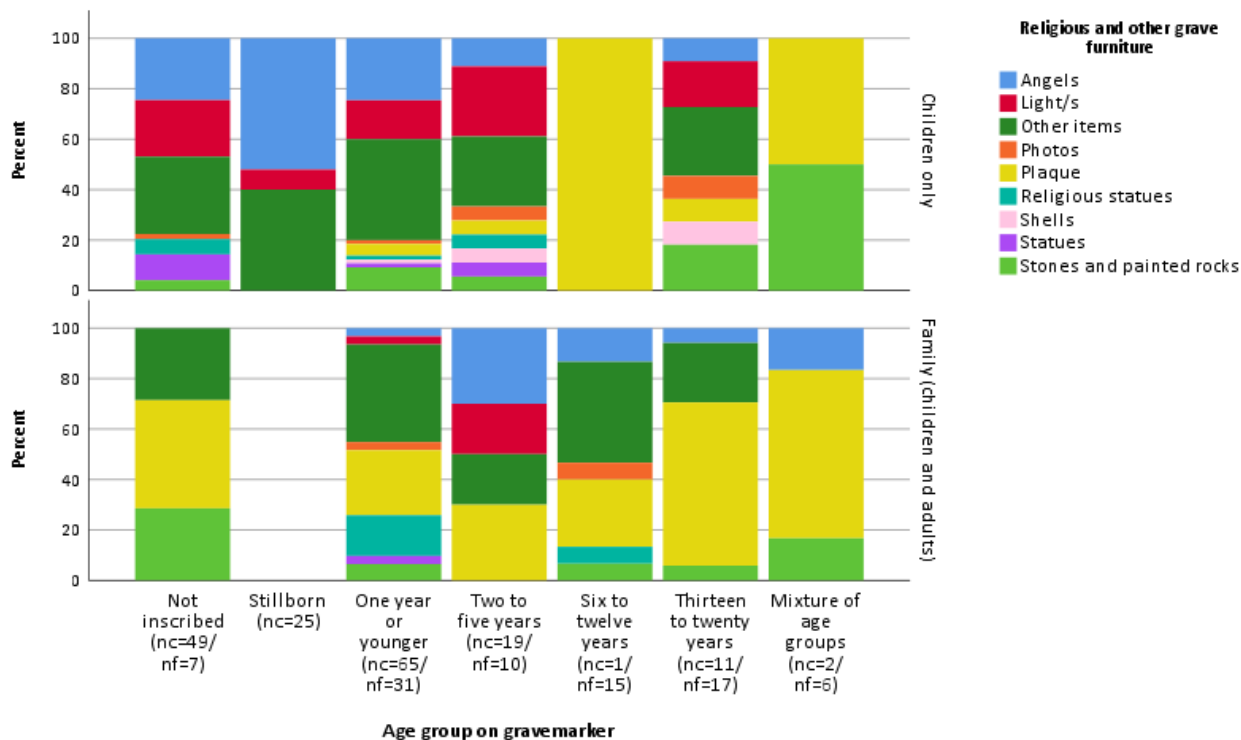
Figure 7-47. Percentage of religious and other grave furniture by sex for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

7.23 Inscribed Vases

Inscribed vases, usually made of stone and often from the same material as the grave marker or plot surround (which assisted in ensuring their provenance), occurred with a variety of short inscriptions (Table 7-75). They usually referenced the deceased child or adult by name (usually first name or initials) or family position (Figure 7-49). Vases were also used as 'tributes', in which case the name of the giver (often a relative and sometimes a friend) was instead recorded. Depending on the plot size and number of individuals commemorated a mixture of inscriptions occurred. Some vases had a religious or secular (often emotive) phrase inscribed instead of a specific person. Given these influences and the vases' inherent functionality as a receptacle for flowers, multiple vases were observed on several grave plots.

7.23.1   Chronology and plot type

Inscribed vases occurred from the 1870s onwards (Figure 7-48), but the direct referencing of children was not found until the second decade of the twentieth century. There is a notable spike in the choice of such grave furniture in the 1930s, including a marked increase in the referencing of children, although all four categories show strong increases. Although dropping in the 1940s, inscribed vases remained in consistent use until the 1970s, after which they are rarely seen.

Table 7-75. Count and column percent of inscribed vases with CI.

	Count	Col N %	95.0% Lower/Upper CI for Col N %
No	1920	90.2%	(88.9%, 91.4%)
Mixture	63	3.0%	(2.3%, 3.7%)
Name of giver i.e. relative	53	2.5%	(1.9%, 3.2%)
Name or status of deceased adult	41	1.9%	(1.4%, 2.6%)
Name of child	35	1.6%	(1.2%, 2.3%)
Other	16	0.8%	(0.4%, 1.2%)
Total	2128	100.0%	

Although children appeared to be referenced on vases more often on family plots, there was no statistical difference between plot types (Table 7-76). Inscribed vases on child-only plots were more likely to reference the giver. Only the use of non-familial inscriptions, such as a religious phrase or a personalised expression was found to be statistically significant and more likely to be used for child-only plots.

On family plots the name or initials of the deceased adult are more likely to be inscribed on the vase and there is a larger mixture of inscription styles by decade. For both plot types only one example of an inscribed vase was found for the last three decades.
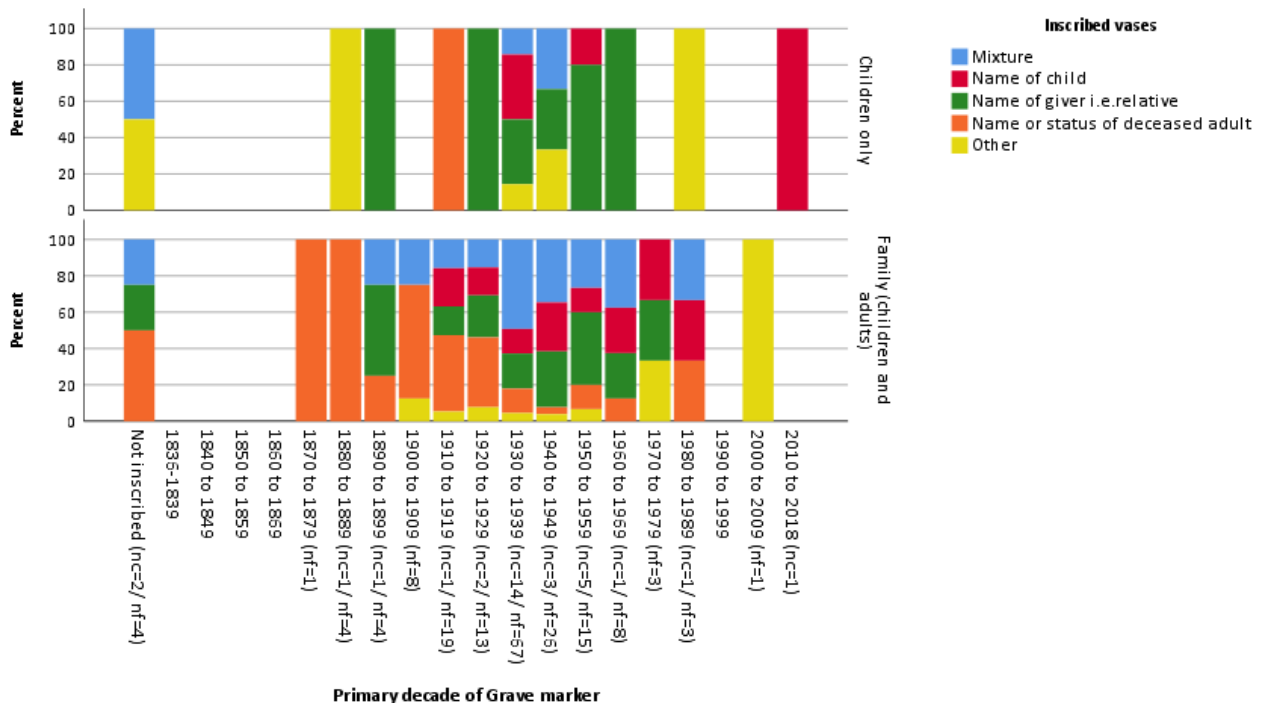
**Figure 7-48. Percentage of inscribed vases by decade and plot type showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).**

Table 7-76. Observed values: Inscribed vases by site.

	Children only		Family (children and adults)		Total		Difference %, p-value, 95% CI of the difference*¹
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Mixture	4	2.1%	59	6.7%	63	5.9%	*²
Name of child	6	3.1%	28	3.2%	34	3.2%	0%, p = 1, (3%, 3%)
Name of giver i.e. relative	14	7.2%	39	4.4%	53	4.9%	3%, p = 0.0692, (1%, 6%)
Name or status of deceased adult	1	0.5%	40	4.5%	41	3.8%	*²
Other	6	3.1%	10	1.1%	16	1.5%	2%, p = 0.0295, (1%, 4%)
No	163	84.0%	706	80.0%	869	80.8%	3%, p = 0.201, (2%, 10%)
Total	194	100.0%	882	100.0%	1076	100.0%	

*¹ z-test to compare two proportions

*² z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

7.23.2 Sex

For child-only plots, vases with the deceased child's name or the name of the giver did not show any difference in choice based on the child's sex (Table 7-77). The other categories were too small to be tested. Family plots, which contained the majority of inscribed vases, showed no statistical difference based on sex.

Figure 7-49. Inscribed vases, "Harry (2 years old)", Mother and father - Double tablet, marble, c. 1935, Cheltenham cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

7.23.3 Age

Inscribed vases were not found in relation to stillborn grave markers (Figure 7-50). The four identified styles are used for all other age groups on both plot types, although the mixing of styles is more consistently applied on family plots (Table 7-76).

7.24 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results arising from the archaeological survey of the five cemetery sites in relation to the inscription and motif categories recorded from the grave markers and grave furniture still present on the grave plots. Each category was looked at in relation to chronology and plot type, sex and age group, and where possible statistical significance was tested. In the next chapter these results are discussed to illustrate the measures of childness observed through the memorialisation process, and how these characteristics attributed varying degrees of child identity to the deceased, both between children and specific to their historical circumstances over time.
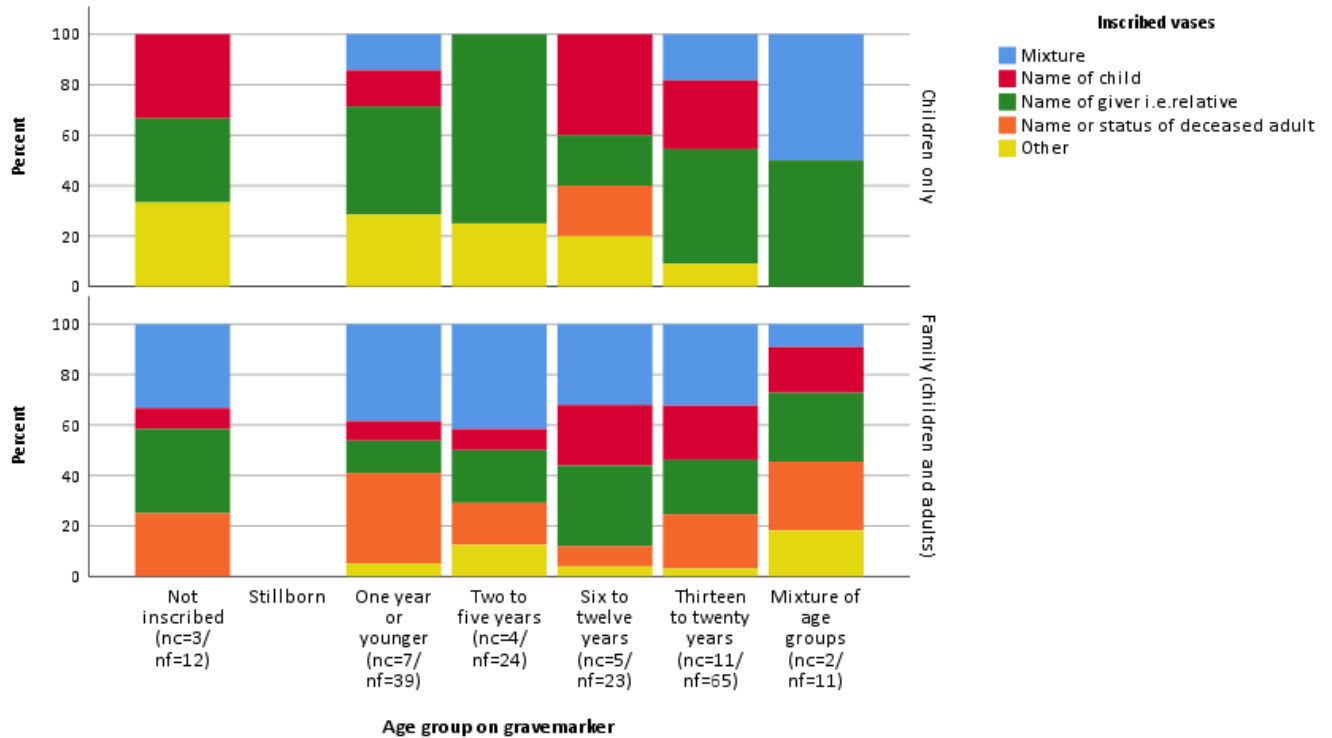

Figure 7-50. Percentage of inscribed vases by age group for plot types showing number of occurrences (Total for Each X-Axis Category).

Table 7-77. Inscribed vases for male and female children on both plot types.

| | Children Only | | | | | Family (Children And Adults) | | | | |
| | Male | | Female | | Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of The Difference[1] | Male | | Female | | Difference %, P-Value, 95% Ci Of The Difference[1] |
	Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %		Count	Col N %	Count	Col N %	
Mixture	1	0.1%	2	0.4%	[2]	34	8.1%	24	7.0%	1%, P = 0.602 (3%, 5%)
Name of child	4	0.6%	3	0.6%	1%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)	18	4.3%	10	2.9%	1%, P = 0.457, (2%, 4%)
Name of giver i.e. relative	9	1.3%	4	0.8%	1%, P = 1, (1%, 1%)	21	5.0%	16	4.7%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Name or status of deceased adult	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	[2]	20	4.8%	18	5.2%	0%, P = 1, (3%, 3%)
Other	4	0.6%	2	0.4%	[2]	5	1.2%	3	0.9%	[2]
No	651	97.3%	501	97.9%	1%, P = 0.281, (1%, 3%)	323	76.7%	273	79.4%	2%, P = 0.507, (4%, 8%)
Total	669	100.0%	512	100.0%		421	100.0%	344	100.0%	

[1] z-test to compare two proportions

[2] z-test not applicable for proportion sizes

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION: CHILDNESS IN MEMORIALISATION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the degree to which childness was observable in the cemetery and how it served to differentiate between children and between children and adults. This is done using the statistically significant archaeological results found for childness as outlined in CHAPTER 6 and CHAPTER 7. The discussion is structured thematically to focus on the qualities of childness observed. This are summarised as,

- Smallness
- Innocence
- Domesticity
- Play
- Temporality
- Emotion

Each quality was not mutually exclusive and these categories when observed could operate in varying combinations and degrees depending on the particular historical period. They were also not observed for all children or for all children in a particular age category, so part of the interest is considering where these characteristics of childness begin or end and what this says about the attribution of child identity. The terms 'play' and 'emotion' may initially seem overly general given they can also be applied to adults, but the notion of play and what it embodies for a child is very different to that of an adult. Likewise, the emotional relationship between a parent and a child may also be discernible as childness, with the nature of the sentiment expressed operating at a different degree of feeling to that of other relationships. These points are elaborated in the discussion.

8.2 Smallness

Physical smallness is a characteristic typically associated with infants and younger children. The archaeological results show that 'smallness' was a strong and central symbol of childness, but also spoke to more than just this biological fact. Hancock (2009:14), commenting on the use of miniaturised characters in children's literature, such as Tom Thumb, saw small size as equating to, "the ultimate child-position, visibly separated from the adult world as a vulnerable 'other'". So, smallness not only physically differentiates infants and young children from older children and adults, but also symbolises their dependency and need for care because of their small and still developing stature. This association between children and smallness is also found in the archaeology of childhood, where the idea that children often utilised material culture

proportionate to their size has been proposed as one way of identifying child agency archaeologically and for the reinterpretation of miniature artefacts as possibly belonging to children (Baxter 2005:41; Brookshaw 2009:219; Wileman 2005:28). Such 'toys', often smaller versions of adult objects, provided children with opportunities for social learning through play (Cross 2013:275; Vlahos 2014:18). Smallness was observed in the memorialisation of children in a number of ways, both spatially (through grave marker size), as well as inscription and motif. The vulnerability implied by smallness was also paradoxical as the child had already experienced the ultimate threat – death, however for those parents with belief in an afterlife, the care and protection of the child beyond death remained a conceptual concern (Section 8.4).

8.2.1   Spatial smallness

In the Victorian cemetery, grave marker size and height became increasingly associated with class advertisement or status emulation in a competitive endeavour to be seen and, in the sense of the inscription, 'heard' (Cannon 1989; McGuire 1988:436; Muller 2015:21; Mytum 2004:71). Grave markers could also serve as symbolic representations of the deceased (Stott 2019), whether as 'individuals', or in the case of the collective family grave marker, as 'the family', and in a complimentary sense such artefacts could also be seen to have differing degrees of continuing biographical 'social lives' and meaning dependent on the level of visitation, interaction and re-use they were exposed to by the family (Mytum 2004a:111). When used for individual adults and children, grave marker height could visually reference the deceased's gender and age status in life (Stott 2019:51-57).

The comparison of child-only and family grave markers by height and age in this study (Section 6.6.5) shows that children's grave markers were often smaller in overall size and lower in height, a practice found previously at play in the USA (Baxter 2015:11) and the UK (Buckham 2008:168; Tarlow 1999: 69), and therefore suggestive of a broader trend in the English-speaking Western cemetery. The average height for child-only grave markers ranged from 1.15 m in the 1840s to 5 cm in the early 2000s (when horizontal plaques were the primary form used), but was always lower on average than family grave markers for each decade sampled (Figure 6-16). In the 1850s to 1860s child-only grave markers averaged heights of 70 cm and 60 cm respectively, whereas family grave markers averaged 1.25 m and 1.3 m. Even during the zenith of grave marker heights in the 1870s and 1880s, family grave markers across the four general cemeteries averaged 1.3 m and 1.4 m in height, while child-only grave markers, although now taller, still averaged just over 1 m in height. As grave markers generally declined in height from the turn of the nineteenth century and into the 1930s, average heights for child-only grave markers declined at a faster rate than family grave markers, dropping to 75 cm in 1910 and below 50 cm's in the 1940s. Family grave markers only averaged below the metre mark in the 1930s (75 cm).

In the nineteenth century the effect of smaller grave markers for children was observed in two different ways. Firstly, some children's grave markers, whilst using the same forms and styles as adults, were clearly

produced as miniature versions (Figure 8-1). This had the effect of visually symbolising childness by making a visual connection between the smallness of the grave marker and the small size of the deceased child interred there, usually discerned by their inscribed age. In the cemetery landscape these grave markers drew attention in a similar way to the oversized grave marker, both standing out against the more standardised heights of their neighbours. Secondly, some child-only grave markers, although not necessarily miniatures, assumed the same symbolism when situated beside a taller adult grave marker on the same plot. At Walkerville, the Billings/Clewing/Harris family plot (c.1860s) provides a clear example of the visual effectiveness of such symbolism (Figure 8-2). Both grave markers are in the same form and style (semicircular tablets with acroteria), but their height readily differentiates them as child and adult, with the infant's grave marker standing at 95.5 cm next to the adult's s at 1.35 m. The intended height symbolism would have been visually apparent to contemporaries even before the inscriptions were read.

Figure 8-1. Miniature grave marker on a child-only plot: Semi-circular tablet, total height with plinth 90.5 cm, marble, c. 1887, St Jude's cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

Stott (2019:50, 54) discussed how the conceptualisation of the grave marker as a symbolic substitute for the deceased's body could psychologically establish a perception of the deceased's presence, bestowing a form of posthumous agency that allows the living to continue a form of relationship with the deceased

through such phenomenological interaction (Section 2.7). These, "intellectual and aesthetic responses" (Stott 2019:59-60), include both 'conversations' with the deceased during visitation, and providing a continuing sense of physical 'care' for the deceased through cleaning and maintaining the grave marker and plot, and may include physical contact with the monument such as a kiss when leaving. This idea of grave marker embodiment is more applicable to historical periods in which the diverse size of monuments could best symbolise such body substitution, however the grave plot itself may also elicit such a response as noted by contemporary graveside 'conversation' by living family members with deceased family (Walter 1999:60-62). In the context of a child's death, the idea of their presence was a powerful one for parents denied a life with their child, and the choice of a small grave marker symbolically embodying the child and the resulting childness this expressed, provided a material medium through which to maintain the relationship (even if in another sense the dead were viewed to have moved on to another place). The small grave marker served as a touchstone to bring the child back (whether as a presence or a memory) during visitation.

Figure 8-2. Example of symbolic grave marker heights: The smaller represents two infants, Mabel aged 2 years, 7 months and Jeanette 9 months - Semicircular tablets with acroteria, marble, c. 1868 and 1867, Walkerville cemetery looking west. An adult was added to the children's tablet c.1936 (Photo by author).

Viewed from this perspective the two grave markers in the Billings/Clewing/Harris family plot suggest an interactive sense of presence, with adults and children standing side by side (due to the upright tablet style), and may further symbolise adult oversight and care of the children with the consoling idea that both parties are now together in the afterlife. Such symbolism also speaks to the maintenance of the social order more broadly, displaying adult power (and therefore different social status) in comparison to their children,

(in this case it is not the parents represented on the adult grave marker but other adult relations). The representation of small children's grave markers on family plots then suggests this dual symbolic function. Another, perhaps less obvious, example of this practice was recorded at St Jude's (c.1882), where the Hackett family plot contains a semicircular tablet for the infant Emmeline, standing at 1.18 m in height. As a generally average sized grave marker, her childness was only emphasised when taller adult grave markers were added adjacent to hers from 1904. Again this speaks to the concept of artefacts having a cultural biography with different life stages, as argued by Mytum (2004a, 2004b) and Stephens (2013), with the symbolic meaning of her originally solitary grave marker (whilst in a recognisable family plot), changed indirectly by the subsequent addition of adult grave markers. From 'standing' alone, Emmeline was now side by side with her parents and family.

Although such height and size symbolism were evident in the use of tablets and crosses, other usually tall and large grave marker forms could also be miniaturised for children. At Hindmarsh a mini- obelisk (c.1897), usually one of the tallest grave marker forms was used for two-year- old Cyril (Figure 8-3). Although not small itself, standing at 1.26 m in height, including a large plinth (31 cm in height), this grave marker form would usually exceed two metres or more for an adult or family commemoration. It sits on a family plot in contrast to two taller family tablets clearly symbolising the child's different infant status. The only other small obelisk used in the sample was erected for a woman and demonstrates how gender was also subject to this status (and therefore power) symbolism. Adamson (2011:416-417) in his study of female memorialisation in South Australia from 1836 to 1936, found that male-only grave markers or family grave markers with male primary burials were always taller than equivalent female grave markers.

As grave marker heights declined from the turn of the nineteenth century into the 1930s, this form of height symbolism in relation to upright tablets waned. However, the association of 'smallness' with infants and young children found another avenue of expression with testing showing a statistically significant trend in the use of plaque forms as grave markers for child-only plots at the four general cemeteries (21%, p = <0.0001, [14%, 28%]; Table 6-14). From the 1920s these small, usually rectangular plaques measuring between 30 and 40 cm in width and 20 to 30 cm in height (but usually set lower on a 45° angle) increasingly replaced earlier child-only grave marker tablet and cross forms, particularly for children aged five years or younger (Figure 6-20), with tablets still preferred for 60% of children aged six years or older (Figure 6-21).

Since the First World War plaques have increasingly been used in association with cremated remains (Mytum 2004:91-92), a practice (due to the reduction of the body to ashes) that reduced the space required for an interment and therefore more suitable for a smaller form of grave marker. However in South Australia, cremation was not a factor in the initial rise in plaques as the uptake of this practice was slow. Nicol (1994:320, 356-357) cites a cremation rate of just 3.5% for Adelaide funerals by 1947, with the greater acceptance of this practice only gaining traction with the opening of a new and suitably modern

crematorium at Centennial Park cemetery in 1955, replacing the older facility at West Terrace cemetery that had commenced operation in 1903. Also, Roman Catholic's were only allowed access to cremation by the Church in 1963 (Baugher and Veit 2014:157). So, most plaques used up to the mid-1950s represented burials, but were increasingly used for cremation plots in the decades following (Figure 8-4).

Figure 8-3. Miniature obelisk for a child: marble, c.1897, Hindmarsh cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

That plaques were statistically preferred for child-only plots shows that at a structural level the symbolism of smallness was still associated with and seen as appropriate for the memorialisation of infants and young children, as opposed to the use of a larger grave marker. This indicated a different rather than lesser status for the child in the more uniform and less class-conscious cemetery landscape evolving in this period. Also due to their small size child-only plaques could be easily added to an already existing, usually family, grave plot. Family plaques by comparison were larger, allowing sufficient capacity for three to four individuals to be inscribed, although with little space for more than minimal additional embellishment. The popular open book style statistically favoured family plots (11%, p = 0.0231, [2%, 20%]; Table 6-28). Interestingly given the rectangular shape of plaques, the only tablet forms to show statistical significance toward child-only plots were those of rectangular or square form (13%, p = <0.0001, (7%, 19%); Table 6-18), however these examples (n=16) so widely spread by chronology, age group and size (most were of normal size for their temporal context) did not allow for the inference of any clear pattern.

The advent in Australia from the 1980s onwards of child-specific spaces within the cemetery continued to use the childness of smallness, accentuated by the spatial grouping of a posthumous community of children. This development was in response to broader changes in the social status of stillborn and peri-natal children. Whereas previously parents were denied such an opportunity by prevailing social beliefs and prejudices (Faro 2014, 2020; Peelen 2009: Section 3.2 and Section 3.3), these children were now afforded a full social identity, accordant burial rights and memorialisation. This trend saw a responsive market for suitable and generally affordable memorials, and has created a landscape of smallness in the Children's Garden at Enfield, that contains mainly small cast-iron rectangular plaques on concrete or stone plinths. Again, as in the earlier use of plaques for infants and young children in the general cemeteries, the choice of form resulted from the cemetery authority's desire for uniformity. Although there is no historical record as to what originally led to this choice, the small form they chose and which families now follow by regulation as set out in the ACA's Monuments and Memorials policy (ACA 2019), was clearly seen as socially acceptable, especially within such a sensitive development. These grave markers possessed in their smallness an appropriate scale for such memorialisation that differentiated the identities of those interred there from the rest of the cemetery. Of course pragmatism played its part in the establishment of the Children's Garden as well, with the need to find a suitable burial site for historical remains requiring a final and dignified interment (Kym Liebig pers. comm. 2019), but the form of memorialisation chosen was guided by broader structural expectations of what constituted an appropriate sized grave marker and space for such children.

Figure 8-4. Plaque, black granite, c.1982, Hindmarsh cemetery looking east (Photo by author).

The childness of smallness is not applicable for older children, who at the time of their deaths would have achieved a physically bigger body taking them beyond this particular measure, but arguably the symbolism

242

of size was not necessarily absent. The study found a relationship between the age of the child and grave marker height (Figure 6-17), that accords with Stott's (2019) ideas as previously discussed. On average for the entire sample, child-only grave markers for stillborn and children without an inscribed age (who by locational association were probably stillborn or perinates) had the lowest grave markers (5 cm), and children aged one year or younger (10 cm); their low height indicative of the wide use of horizontal plaques. The average height of grave markers increased for older children with two to five years (30 cm), and six to twenty years (65 cm). Grave markers with children of mixed ages averaged 50 cm. This indicates that for child-only grave markers, the younger the child the lower the grave marker height was on average (with inevitable exceptions). Generally then, child-only grave markers reflect in their height the varying thresholds of developing identity based on the child's age and perceived status at the time of their death.

8.2.2   Inscribed smallness

Smallness was not confined to the height and size of the grave marker and was observed in inscriptions that further situated a degree of childness to the deceased. The use of diminutive adjectives, such as 'little', 'wee' or 'small' emphasised their physically small size as an infant or young child (Figure 8-1 and Figure 8-5). Non child-specific but complimentary adjectives, such as 'special' and 'beautiful', were also added to form combinations like 'little beautiful girl', that illustrated the value attributed to the child as an individual, as well as culturally valued attributes such as beauty. These terms, used for both sexes, were not statistically significant (Table 7-26), illustrating the lack of a strongly gendered identity for children in these age groups, given beauty as a qualities stronger association with older girls and woman culturally.

Christian religious inscriptions also drew on smallness. The prevalence and popularity of hymns in nineteenth century culture, including best-selling hymn books for both the established church, and non-conformists (Watson 2006:1) inevitably saw the adaption of their wording for use in memorialisation. Middle-class families usually owned their own copy. The most commonly used biblical quotation for nineteenth and early twentieth century children's grave markers comes from the Book of St Luke (18:16) detailing Jesus' response to his disciples when they attempted to prevent parents from bringing their infants before him: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for such is the Kingdom of Heaven". This quote was found in all five cemeteries, indicating its ongoing resonance in child memorialisation. It shows the parents' Christian affiliation, the child's membership of that faith, and illustrates an aspect of the deceased child, their smallness through the adjective 'little' and associated to this their vulnerability and need for care (in this case by God).

Testing for the four general cemetery sites found the use of the term little to be statistically significant for child-only plots (3%, p = 0.0021, [1%, 5%]; Table 7-23); and it was also popular in the contemporary memorialisation of stillborn and perinates in the Children's Garden (n=228; 21.7%). Although no statistical difference was found in the use of this phrasing between male and female children, the gendered addition

of 'man' was used on two occasions in place of boy at the latter, i.e. 'little man'. In this context its use suggests an affectionate embellishment that also speaks to a sense of the child's lost future adult identity. No female child was referred to as 'little woman' though, a term more commonly associated as patronising when used by adult males. Instead, the more child-specific 'girl' was always preferred. Psychological research into gender stereotypes based on age (Koenig 2018:2) distinguished between descriptive components (typical behaviour based on gender) and prescriptive components (what genders should do according to social expectations); the latter producing both positive and negative components. In assessing gender stereotypes for Toddlers (her term for two to five-year old's) she found they had less prescriptive gender traits than older children, but there was a preference by families that boys had a masculine appearance and played with masculine toys and vice-a-versa for girls, with the added proviso that more communal behaviour was less positively viewed for females then males (Koenig 2018:6). Otherwise, gendered traits were not accorded strong importance for this age group. Koenig speculated this was because their "personalities" were seen as still in a formative state and that gendered traits would develop as they grew older. Smallness helped to fill this gap in the predominantly ungendered identities of infants and young children (toddlers).

Figure 8-5. Identity embellishment using smallness: 'Two little Mary's [sic]', Cross, marble, c. 1880, St Jude's cemetery facing south (Photo by author).

8.3   Innocence

Another characteristic of childness observed was an emphasis on innocence, a quality integral to the idealised nature of the child in Western culture since the mid-eighteenth century when children, rather than being seen as born in original sin were instead viewed as sinless (Section 2.2). Like smallness, innocence and its related qualities of purity and gentleness were expressed in different ways. In figural

form, innocence came to be symbolised by child-like angels whose chubby faces and small wings proved reminiscent of the cherubs or *putti* used in eighteenth-century baroque and rococo art (Ashton and Whyte 2001:67; Jones 2010 79; Penney 2016:3; Walter 2016:7). Although winged cherub heads were a common motif on eighteenth century grave markers in the Western cemetery, sculptural angel forms (both adult and child-like) first appeared in the late nineteenth century (Mytum 2004:75-76, 79) as part of a rise in the expression of symbolic sentiment (Baugher and Veit 2014:132), and continued to be used albeit sparingly into the inter-war period of the twentieth century. Unlike adult angel figures that were found atop tall grave markers on family plots (*n*=5; 4.4%), the small stature of child-like angels on children's graves left little doubt of an intention to represent a child, if not *the* child on whose grave they stood. Here smallness too created a clear visual fusion between the innocent child and the angelic form creating an enduring association in cemetery memorialisation.

The child-like angels recorded represented the latter stage of their historical use as grave marker forms, with the earliest c.1922 (at St. Jude's) and the latest c.1941 (at Cheltenham). They are portrayed with long, wavy hair, wear a tunic and have small wings. In keeping with their supernatural nature, two of the three examples recorded displayed an ambiguous gender. Although angels were generally referenced as male in biblical contexts, they had increasingly been portrayed as female since the renaissance, notably in the romantic art of the nineteenth century that influenced their adult cemetery presentation (Jones 2010:36; Walter 2016:7). The lack of gender distinction is borne out by two of the three angels being erected on the graves of four-and-six year old boys, with the other on the grave of a one-year old girl, although the latter has a more female appearance and suggests a gendered association in the parent's eyes with their child (Figure 8-6). This gender neutrality would change in the second half of the twentieth century as angels assumed a more feminine association for children as well, as discussed below. The contrast in clothing between child-like and adult angel grave markers further emphasises the formers innocent nature, with their tunic a light, sleeveless garment usually adorned with a flower pattern around the neck, sleeves and hems exposing their arms and legs (barefoot). This speaks to the innocence of childhood in comparison to the world of adults, where such exposure of the flesh assumed a more sensual aspect, as in the representation of woman in Victorian advertising, adorned in angel-like neo-classical attire that exposed the arms and emphasised the female shape (Loeb 1994:33-42). Accordingly, adult angel figures in the solemnity of the cemetery were conservatively attired with ankle-height hems, elbow-length sleeves and solid tunics.

Although there are examples of these child-like angels kneeling in prayer in the USA (Baugher and Veit 2014:132), the figures at Cheltenham and St Jude's are in a standing pose, either depositing flowers on the grave from a held posy or holding a palm frond, a religious symbol associated with the Christian feast of Palm Sunday and representing both eternal peace and victory over death (Penny 2016:9). Despite the heightened sense of emotive presence these 'hovering' figures created, with their visual association with

the deceased's identity, they appeared an uncommon choice, with just three recorded for child-only plots across the four general cemeteries (2.1%). One example of an adult angel figure was also used on a child-only plot at St Jude's, whose relatively small size and plinth may have substituted for a more child-like figure. Their rarity in the South Australian context is unusual, as these figures were common in the cemeteries of English-speaking countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Mytum 2004:79). Unlike the larger adult angels often imported and therefore more costly, these smaller figures were manufactured in Adelaide, as evidenced by the local masons mark on one example at Cheltenham, so cost does not appear to explain their small numbers. One possibility is that the more elaborate nature of these child-like angels was not in keeping with a general preference towards a more formal look to the gravesite in this period, influenced by denominational views that favoured less elaborate grave marker symbolism. This may be supported by Degner's (2007) study on the Fleurieu Peninsula, composed of several different denominational sites that did not find any examples of child-like angel grave markers.

Figure 8-6. Child-like angel: Erected for Ruth aged 1 year, marble, c.1922, St Jude's cemetery looking south (Photo by author).

8.3.1 Innocence through inscription and motif

Children were also associated with the innocence of angels through grave marker inscriptions on both plot types. Just as with the child-like angel grave markers, these inscriptions reimagined the children *as* angels, equating their innocence with the divine. Although the majority of inscriptions were recorded for the Children's Garden, and the angel is strongly referenced in contemporary memorialisation (Walter 2016), historical examples recorded show a degree of continuity in such expression. The earliest example at St Jude's presents an image of six-month-old Joan (c.1888), now in heaven, described as, "The Angel smiles with Jesus". At Hindmarsh, 7-year-old Jean (c.1918) is referred to as "Angel bright and fair" and Nicola (c.1965) as "My divine little angel" (translated from Italian). These examples are situated within a clear Christian religious context, however the popularity of speaking of the deceased as an angel (most commonly for young children, but also parents or Grand-parents; Walter 2016:7) in the late-twentieth and early twenty first century is less influenced by organised Christian religion. The following examples from the Children's Garden for perinates and infants are indicative of the phrasing used and illustrate the child's differing angelic states. Kamilek is described as,

Our littlest angel

who went back to heaven (c.2003).

This suggests a circularity and perpetuity in his angel status and journey. The notion of order out of chaos, similar to historical religious consolation phrases, is also revisited at this site with Taya's family addressing her death within the positive context of her heavenly transformation,

How lucky you are

That god picked you as his

Little angel (c.2002)

Also note the use of smallness in these inscriptions.

In the Children's Garden, some children were also referred to as stars. Long a religious symbol of the holy spirit and divine guidance, a single star often represents the easterly vision presented to the magi prior to the birth of Christ (Keister 2004:124-125; Penney 2016:11). But the use of this imagery in the children's garden is akin to an angel, bright and visible in the night sky, and symbolic of the deceased in the 'heavenly' realm above. Eloise's family speak to her transition from the material to the eternal as,

Now you are our twinkling

Star in the night

Burn bright (c.1999)

In the context of death, light can assume multiple symbols such as life (eternal) warding off the darkness of death (or from a religious perspective, evil), as well as hope and enlightenment. Such symbolism can also be used to illustrate the brief nature of the child's life, as in the description of Dillon as,

Our precious shooting star (c.2000)

The quality of temporality used here is discussed further in section 8.6.

This contemporary phrasing is not necessarily seeking to establish a strictly religious association and identity for the child in the way that historical inscriptions did. Rather, such expression may reflect ideas originating from outside of formal Church influences, what can broadly be characterised as 'new age' approaches to spiritual belief that co-opt 'traditional' Christian religious concepts, such as angels for healing and guidance (Utrianen 2014:243-244). Walter (2016:3, 22) has suggested the attribution of an angel identity to the deceased represents the practice of vernacular religious beliefs originated by the mourner, influenced by the representation of angels in popular culture, and a blurring of understandings about the boundary between life and death due to medical intervention and near-death experiences. In theory, the attribution of an angel identity in the contemporary context is not restricted by age (Walter 2016:11), but in practice and in the context of contemporary child mortality rates, the use of 'angel 'or 'star' was only found for children aged five years or younger and historically, the oldest example was on seven year old Jean's grave maker cited above.

Angels motifs (both child-like and adult) in the four general cemeteries occurred on 5.2% of child-only grave markers (n=10) and 1.5% of family grave markers (n=13). This was certainly higher than Degner's study (2007:61), which found only one angel motif on a child-only grave marker. This may suggest a difference between urban and rural tastes in grave marker motif, based on the mostly denominationally specific sites she sampled and their approach to memorialisation compared to the general nature of the urban sites in this study. They were also statistically significant for child-only plots across the four general cemeteries (3%, $p = 0.0162$, (1%, 5%); Table 7-42), underlining their stronger association with childhood innocence. The three angel motif examples found for the nineteenth century all used a cherubic head with wings more reminiscent of eighteenth and early nineteenth century tastes (Mytum 2004:75). These were used for older children (a four year old girl at Walkerville c.1849 and two eight year old's at St. Jude's c.1870s) but their association with the deceased's innocence is less clear as this form can also represent other symbolism such as the soul leaving the body (Mytum 2004:76). That they only appeared on the grave markers of female children though may represent the increasing feminisation of angels as raised above.

In the Children's Garden and also for the corresponding period (1980s onwards) for the general cemetery sites, child-like angel motifs were used for children aged one year of age or younger including stillborn and perinates on child-only plots (Figure 7-26 and Figure 7-29). Ten different engraved on metal designs were

observed, but all by their smallness and child-like nature represented a stronger symbolic association to this age group. These angels presented with either with tunics or as naked, plump, playful cherubim, sometimes holding a flower, heart or ribbon. They could also be associated with crosses and halos, assuming a more orthodox religious expression. So, the symbolic relationship between infants, young children and angels in the mortuary context has evolved over the period of this study. Initially, families associated children with angels, through grave marker form, inscription and arguably motif to symbolise the quality of innocence so strongly associated with sinless infants and young children, but over time the boundaries blurred so that children rather than being seen as possessing angelic qualities were increasingly symbolically transformed into angels themselves.

When used for older children (in the sample individual 16 and 17 year old males c.1958 and c.1970 at Cheltenham of Polish and Italian background and a twenty year old female c.1925 at Hindmarsh) the form of the angel changed to depict an adult figure that no longer suggested an association with the deceased's identity, but rather a reference to the family's broader Christian beliefs (Figure 7-31). This change indicates what can be termed a low measure of childness, where the child's older age, positions them at a point where the quality of innocence that equates infants and younger children with the angelic has fallen away in favour of a more adult persona; that variable moment in an older child's life where they may no longer feel like or be perceived as a child.

Gender was also a factor, with angelic inscriptions statistically significant for female children on child-only grave markers for the four general cemeteries (4%, P = <0.0004, (4%, 14%); Table 7-34) and higher overall for female children (n=8; 1.9%) to male children (n=2; 0.4%). This is also clearly the case for contemporary inscriptions at the Children's Garden (Table 7-33). Angel motifs were also statistically significant for female children (7%, p = <0.0001, (3%, 11%)); Table 7-44). In the Children's Garden, of the 11.9% (n=125) of grave markers on which angel motifs were depicted, 57.6% (n=72) were for female children compared to 40.8% (n=51) for male children. Jones (2010:36) notes, "The high point of this process of feminization came in the nineteenth century and was strongly associated with the Romantic Movement." In the art of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood angels were often portrayed as young woman (Flint 1989:58) and their form and dress influenced the reproduction of such figures in Victorian culture including the Western cemetery. This imagery has been continued in the cultural representation of angels in the West over the last century and has seen angels come to be progressively associated with female identity.

However, the child-like angel motifs used for contemporary child memorialisation in the sample mostly lack a distinctive female appearance, apart from the most popular design in the Children's Garden for girls (n=25; 20% of all angel motifs used) which is clearly gendered (a clothed child kneeling in prayer with a conspicuous pig-tail hair style to accompany her wings). Another explanation for the greater association of angels with female children may lie in the interpretation of innocence from a stereo-typical gender

perspective, remembering Koenig's (2018:8) comments above about masculine and feminine expectations regarding toddlers. As noted an innocent nature can be reflect ideas of purity and gentleness; both qualities of childness that since the nineteenth century have traditionally been more often associated with idealised female behaviour than males (Loeb 1994:33). In 1852 for example, a daughter commenting on a portrait of her dying mother commented, "She is so beautiful now, and so gentle and kind. I think her like what I should imagine an angel to be"(Jalland 1996:289). Keane (2009:161) looking at the memorialisation of children as angels on digital platforms today has suggested that the less "pretty" symbols associated with "boyhood" may act to limit the range of angelic graphics for boys, and Walter (2016:7) notes that females are more often referred to as angels in life and death. Angel status then, whilst not exclusively reserved for females in child memorialisation, has for the above reasons assumed a stronger feminine symbolism, a gendered innocence, but given the less gender conscious nature of infant memorialisation, one that still works for males in this age group.

Although angels provided the primary symbolism for innocence, other Christian religious motifs also came to signify this quality and be associated with children's memorialisation in the nineteenth century. Doves (*n*=22; 2%; Table 7-42) were used at the four general cemeteries, with four found on child-only grave markers. The symbolism conveyed by the dove was determined by its pose. A diving position symbolised the arrival of the holy ghost (spirit): a more general religious message (Keister 2004: 79-80, 142-143), however a perched position (often with a piece of foliage in their beak) emphasised the dove's symbolism of purity (and therefore innocence; Figure 7 28), having in the biblical story returned to Noah's ark with an olive sprig following the purification of the world by God's deluge. This also associated the dove with peace (as achieved between God and humankind following this reset). Dove motifs were primarily recorded from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s and not confined to younger children, with examples on the child-only grave markers of 18-year-olds, and 17 to 19-year-olds first named on family grave markers for this period. This may suggest that these older children still retained a sense of innocence and purity in the eyes of their family even as they approached adulthood or that the symbolism for this age range is more concerned with the deceased being at peace in death. This duality of symbolism is also observable with the revival of dove motifs in the Children's garden from the 1990s. No statistically significant relationships were found between doves, plot type, and sex.

Another symbol, the Lamb, arising from John's referencing Jesus as "the lamb of God" in John 1:29 and 36 also came to symbolise the qualities of childhood gentleness and innocence in the nineteenth century. Although no lamb motifs were present in this sample, Degner (2007:61-62) found two examples in rural South Australia, one on a tablet and one a sculpture perched on a large neo-classical pedestal. The latter style is also known to be represented at West Terrace cemetery in Adelaide (Muller 2006:83; Nicol 1994:72). Instead, the symbolism of the lamb was found in grave marker inscriptions. Commonly used was the quote from Psalm 23:1, "The Lord is my shepherd" that alludes to God's guidance over his flock

(believers). In the context of child death the image of a lamb was highly sentimental and symbolic, with the animal's smallness, dependence and vulnerability easily equated with that of a human child of young age. At St Jude's the grave marker of two-year-old Lawrence Sells reflects the need to protect childhood innocence from threat with its imagery of a protective divine embrace,

He shall gather the lambs in his arms

and carry them in his bosom (c.1886)

The phrase offers consolation and reassurance to the family that the child, though gone, is safe and cared for in the afterlife. Even more strongly sentimental is 18-day old Isabel Singleton's inscription on her original grave marker, which has no details other than the phrase,

Tender shepherd though hast stilled

now thy little lamb's brief weeping (c.1883)

She was subsequently inscribed on a large family tablet erected on the family plot in c.1885.

Figure 8-7. Rose motif: Semicircular tablet with cut-away shoulders, marble, c. 1885, St Jude's cemetery facing north (Photo by author).

Innocence as an attribute of childness was also symbolised by floral motifs. Originating in France, floriography, or the study of the language of flowers, generated a large body of literature during the Victorian era that discussed both their symbolic meanings and the sentiments attached to them, although not always consistently (Hobbs 2002:242; Loy 2019:6-8). The use of flowers as communicative and primarily feminine symbols in middle to upper class culture inevitably spread to memorialisation practices in the Victorian era including the USA (Mallios and Caterino 2011:432), and saw the replication of flower types as motifs on grave markers through to the early decades of the twentieth century (Hobbs 2002:242; Keister 2004:40-67; Mackay 2012:38; Mytum 2004:80; Penny 2016). The three floral categories recorded in this sample were all statistically significant to family plots (flowers: 7%, $p = 0.0081$, (2%, 12%); Ivy: 6%, $p = 0.0153$, (2%, 11%); and other foliage: 4%, $p = 0.0376$, (1%, 8%); Table 7-52). However, given the multiple identities on family grave markers, linking floral symbolism to any one individual was not possible and their use may have been intended to reflect an aspect of the family more generally. On child-only grave markers roses were the most common choice for the four general cemeteries and all age groups (n=7; 3.6%; Table 7-56) and at the Children's Garden (n=16; 1.5%; Table 7-57). Although there was no statistical significance between the use of roses and plot type, the numerical dominance of roses on child-only grave markers throughout the study (Figure 7-35) suggests an association of this flower as an appropriate motif for children.

Because the human personality attributes symbolised by a flower can vary if the flower comes in different colours, the use of the rose for children in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth century was likely intended to reflect the expression of purity symbolised by a white rose (Keister 2004:54). Indeed, the dominance of white marble grave markers during this period allowed a coloured version of this symbolism to play out on child-only grave markers for the viewer (Figure 8-7). However, because roses can also symbolise other attributes applicable to a child's memorialisation, such as love (unfailing), hope (of re-union in the afterlife) and beauty (Penny 2016:10), the interpretation of their symbolism, particularly on contemporary grave markers, is less sure. Keister (2004:54) states that roses were used more generally on female graves regardless of age in the Victorian era, since some of their symbolism held gendered associations for woman such as purity. This trend was found for female children for whom the use of rose motifs was statistically significant on child-only grave markers (2%, $P = <0.0119$, (1%, 4%); Table 7-58). Interestingly, one slate child-only grave marker at Walkerville for a seven-year old male child (c.1843) had a rose bud with an arrow through it, symbolising the child's premature death. The use of other flower motifs for child-only plots was very small (*n*=11) compared to the greater variety found regularly on family grave markers through to the 1950s (Figure 7-34).The only other distinct flower types were individual examples of a Madonna lily for a 14 year old boy (c.1884) and a daffodil for a 15 year old girl (c.1878), representing respectively, purity and rebirth (the Christian triumph over death [Keister 2004:45-46, 50-51]).

Farrell (2003:86) argued that age and gender influenced the use of flower motifs in her study, with 'adolescents' aged from 13 years to 27 years (her definition) displaying the highest use (20%) compared to 10% for 'children' (actual totals not supplied). A direct comparison is not possible due to her differing age range and the non-differentiation of child-only and family plots, however for the oldest age group in this sample (13 to 20 years), only (n=9; 4.6%) of child-only markers had flower motifs. If the family plots with children of this age range are added the result becomes n=36; 3.35%. So, the use of flower motifs for children aged 13 years and above appears on face value to be lower in the four urban cemeteries than at Farrell's two rural South Australian sites. Certainly, both samples show a greater use of flower motifs for older children. Given the level of personalised information the symbolic language of flowers could bring, it seems reasonable that their use was more appropriate to embellish the grave markers of older children with more developed and therefore expressive personas, until the gradual decline of such symbolism after the turn of the nineteenth century (Hobbs 2002:264).

8.4 Domesticity

Childness was also observed in children's memorialisation through an association with the domesticity of the family home, a place that ideally represents safety but also dependence, calling again to the childness of vulnerability. It may seem contradictory that the developing middle-class imagery of the sleeping and content child, sculptures of which could be found in their homes, was able to survive their actual death and find its way into nineteenth century memorialisation. However, for parents who had been 'unable' to save their child, left helpless in the face of high infant and child mortality, consolation was sought by constructing a recognisable continuity for the child's afterlife predicated on the home.

For lower class families this represented an ideal barely obtainable in life, as Gutman (2012:251-253) points out, "working-class boys and girls did not expect to play in a nursery, sleep in separate bedrooms, or wear clothes purposefully made for them". In death such middle-class imagery was fair game and could be referenced by all classes to provide a consoling image of hope that the child was now in a better and safer place, free of the cares and struggles of earthly existence. The domestic imagery created spoke to changing community sensibilities towards death, steering memorisation away from the biological realities of bodily decay that had characterised the previous century's *Memento Mori* representations (Baugher and Veit 2014:127, Cherryson et al. 2012:19, 44; Mytum 2002:51-54; Tarlow 1999:183). A rare example of this former mindset lingers on the grave marker of the infant Keynes children at St Jude's (c.1874), pointing to the uncomfortable reality that "all flesh is grass".

The nineteenth century grave plot could be demarcated to symbolically suggest domestic space to promote the idea of the sleeping child and eventual family reunion through the materials used to enclose the plot. Cast iron fencing (11%, p = 0.0018, [4%, 18%]) and brick borders (6%, p = 0.0403 [0%, 12%]) were assessed as statistically significant for family plots (Table 6-12). Cast iron fences were used throughout the

nineteenth century before rapidly declining after World War One (Figure 6-11). Importantly, in appearance they were similar to the fencing used for the front yards of homes and brought to the grave plot that same domestic sensibility and functionality, protecting the boundary of the 'eternal' home and preventing unwanted access. Developments in iron manufacture during the nineteenth century made cast iron fences an affordable option for middle class families (Baugher and Veit 2014:133), and their use made a clear statement regarding the family's social status in comparison to less expensive or restrictive low brick borders. However, even a low kerb still clearly demarked the space to the extent that respectable people would not walk across it, and on a practical level it was easier to tend to and deposit grave furniture (Mytum 2004b:37). It was also not uncommon in nineteenth century colonial cemeteries for all classes to use painted wooden picket fences as well (again imitative of domestic fencing), few of which have survived to the present due to natural deterioration and removal by authorities (Mytum 2020:399-400; Nicol 1994:84). By domesticating the grave plot thus it became an extension of the family home, and a protective 'nursery' space for the 'sleeping' (or 'resting') child, with the grave plot resembling to some degree the idea of a bed with the grave marker akin to a bedhead (Tarlow 1999:134-135). This symbolism was realised in the nineteenth and early twentieth century sample through both motif and inscription.

Figure 8-8. Detail of sleeping infant: Rectangular scroll, marble, c. 1915, St Jude's cemetery looking north (Photo by author).

Only one sleeping child motif was recorded for the four general cemeteries. This is a late example (c.1915) at St Jude's of those first used in the nineteenth century (Baxter 2015:2-3; Nicol 1994:251; Stott 2019:53). The sculpted small infant is reclining horizontally on their right side in a position of repose, loosely covered with a blanket (Figure 8-8). Again, like the child-like angel figures, the legs, arms and chest are exposed to symbolise innocence. The 'bed' a scallop shell, is symbolic of journey, baptism and resurrection (Keister

2004 87; Penney 2016:11). Here death is visually expressed as a state of secure, peaceful rest; childness as the domesticity of the nursery. This figure was intended to stand out in the landscape and be immediately recognisable as a child's grave marker. The measure of childness is further enhanced by the addition of the older sister's nickname (see Section 8.5.1), and the end inscription "Gone to their heavenly home", whose plural tense indicates the grave marker was likely erected after the death of the second child. This phrase directly connected the two domestic themes of sleep (through motif) and "home" (through wording) to express a clear narrative for the departed children. Unfortunately, information about the Hooper family's social status was not found. Neither Degner (2007:70) nor Farrell (2003:81) listed any non-religious figural sculptures in their samples, and this, combined with the results for child-like angels, again shows that figural representation of children was not a common choice in South Australia.

Euphemisms linking sleep to death also suggested this idea of transition. The Linguist Crespo-Fernández (2013) undertook an analysis of euphemistic metaphors for death or dying, comparing the use of such terms on grave markers in English (Highgate cemetery, London, UK) and Spanish (Albacete Cemetery, Albacete, Spain). He found cultural differences in the two countries expressions with Spanish epitaphs more influenced by direct Judeo-Christian beliefs and national political history, whereas the English expressions were both more life-like and optimistic in their outlook. Crespo-Fernandez (2013: 107) found the English euphemisms for death as symbolic in two ways. Firstly that referencing the act of sleep mimics death in that the person is still and does not speak. Secondly, the sleeping state is a temporary one from which we awake, and so, in the religious context of resurrection is death. This links to the implied (or sometimes explicit) expression of death as a journey and therefore a continuance. Crespo-Fernández (2013:105) found English epitaphs focussed more on "the act of leaving", using euphemisms such as 'passed away', 'departed' and 'left', than the destination. These euphemisms for departure and sleep were also used for adults and no statistical significance was found between plot types or sex (Table 7-36 and Table 7-38). In the context of childness though, they assumed a different tone with the image of a sleeping infant invoking different qualities to that of a sleeping adult (resting after a full life). Still, these euphemisms for death were not essential in setting up the narrative of a journey, with 'died' still overwhelmingly used for the period from 1840 to 1919 (n=329; 77.2%) compared to (n=21; 4.9%) for euphemisms for death.

A more direct confrontation with the child's death through epitaph was particularly the case for accidental death (Section 7.10), in which the circumstances were often detailed, such as 11-year-old John (at Walkerville),

Who met with his death by

Accidentally falling from a cart (c.1860).

The identification of this situation in the child's memorialisation acted as a public statement by the family of how the child came to die; and explained their sudden loss from the community to alleviate any broader misunderstanding of the event. No reference to accidental death occurred in the sample after the 1970s, suggesting either that detailing such an event was no longer conceived as a necessary component of memorialisation or more simply that there were few accidental deaths contained in the sample after this time.

Although the destination was not always spelt out, the idea of a new celestial home was a commonly accepted theme in the second half of the nineteenth century during the so-called beautification of death period (Ariès 1982:473; Baxter 2019:38-39), when the idea of a domestic family reunion in the afterlife was popularised over a less distinct afterlife. In the sample this concept showed no difference between plot type and sex, and remained part of the memorialisation lexicon through to the present. This anticipated event connects the sleeping child into one continuous schema, as having departed and arrived, they assumed a state of waiting (whether resting or not). Consolation was derived from the knowledge that the child was now safe and cared for in a heavenly home seen as not dissimilar to their own. This sense of the child's vigil was articulated on the grave marker of 14-month-old Susie Prothero at St Jude's,

Hers the little hand that beckons

Ever to that radiant shore (c.1885)

Even more explicit of this scenario is the inscription on 10 year-old Fannie's grave marker at the same site,

Angels to their starry home

Called the gem we could not keep

There she waits until we come

Darling Fannie's gone to sleep (c.1885)

Mortality references (Section 7.9) that specifically evoked the child could vary this theme, with the narrative of reunion read between the lines. The Horseman family plot at Hindmarsh, for example, displays a popular verse for the memorialisation of children at that time (Nicol 1986:58). In the inscription, three-year-old Caroline, who was killed in a fire, addresses her parents directly,

Weep not for me my parents dear

I am not dead but sleeping here

Dry up your tears you shed in vain

You cannot call me back again (c.1882)

The seeming bluntness of the last line is moderated by the earlier reference to sleeping that links the imagery to the idea of the waiting child and eventual heavenly reunion. So the epitaph is actually consoling, suggesting the parents move on with their lives in the secure knowledge that their child, whilst temporarily lost to them is safe and will meet them again.

Another example at Hindmarsh is what Crespo-Fernández (2013:112) terms a less positive or negative metaphor, as the imagery presented linguistically indicates, "a *loss* and *the* end". The inscription on the child-only grave marker of 15-year-old Alice Shearing describes her passing honoured by her associates in life,

<center>
Gone to the grave is our loved one,

Gone with a youthful bloom

Lowly we bend, school mate and friend

Passing away to the tomb (c.1878)
</center>

Most notable is the lack of any implied consolation, what Crespo-Fernández (2003:112) terms "epitaphs of lament" that focus on the grief of the family, although the euphemism of 'gone' is a softer term for death it is given emphasis by its repetition in the epitaph. Another later example is the short and direct inscription on three-year-old Frank's child-only grave marker (c.1907) at Hindmarsh that grieves, "A little ray of sunshine gone".

The sentimentalised domesticity associated with reunion was understandably more commonly featured on family grave markers where the subsequent inscription of family members symbolically demonstrated this idea. From the turn of the nineteenth century, the pointed references to the child in such domestic scenarios are rare as the more evocative and overtly religious phrases of the Victorian cemetery declined. These were gradually replaced after the First World War with less expressive and simpler phrasing. Reunion could be invoked either in anticipation with "Till we meet again" or in culmination following death with "re-united", both usually placed at the bottom of the marker or on the plinth in bold lettering to emphasise the changed status of each deceased family member.

As a measure of childness, the idea of reunion was rarely used on child-only plots at the four general cemeteries, with only three references recorded for 11 and 18 year old girls at Cheltenham (c.1932 and c.1935) and a 19 year old women at St. Jude's (c.1961). The latter was married, and her grave marker suggests she died in childbirth as her "unborn" son is also inscribed. At the same time euphemisms increased in use. Although 'died' still remained the most common choice in the period between 1920 and 1979 (n=370; 63.7%), euphemisms for death in the same period rose to 10.2% (n=59), so the homely image of the sleeping child and potential for domestic reunion was still present but more subdued in its expression.

From the 1980s in the Children's Garden, the association between children and domesticity through sleep and reunion returned to a level of sentiment not dissimilar to that of the Victorian cemetery. The use of euphemisms for death at this site were on par with 'died' (*n*=112; 10.6% to *n*=110; 10.5%), although the majority used neither with the use of dates sufficing. Jessie's grave marker described both her ascension (journey) and the family's expectation of reunion thus,

<div align="center">

May God & the angels guide

You in your journey

Until we meet again (c.2005)

</div>

At times the language here had a colloquial feel, with expressions such as, "see you in heaven" (c.2004).

Differing waves of immigration since the 1950s have also seen alternative religious concepts, such as reincarnation, find expression with re-union in this sense turned on its head to occur in this world. Eng Lay's parents request that he,

<div align="center">

Let us know before you return

We await your rebirth

& return to us soon (c.1999)

</div>

The late 20th century saw a greater individualisation in religious belief and expression, with the adoption of so-called new age spiritual beliefs characterised as, "relatively open-ended, democratic and non-institutional, and eclectic, practical and lived" (Utrainen 2014:243), as opposed to the previous influence of formal, church-based religious practices that had progressively weakened over the course of the century. Singleton (2016) has commented on how 46% of the Australian population today believes in life after death but do not necessarily belong to a formal religion, so more individualised approaches concerning heaven and God (or some form of spiritual power) are in play.

The inclusion of Christian religious motifs on children's grave markers in the Children's Garden displayed a stronger focus on private family belief and grief rather than an obvious desire to advertise the family's religious identity publicly, unlike the more elaborate religious expression of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that linked social respectability to religious identity. In these more secular times this association is no longer of public importance. Indeed, traditionally religious symbols like the heart may instead represent an emotive secularism rather than religious meaning depending on the accompanying inscription, and angelic figures may also more directly symbolise the child's innocent nature and personality rather than any direct religious association. Domesticity has been reworked to meet the contemporary needs of grieving parents and families in the context of a mostly infant mortality experience, with children

not just associated with the domesticity of the home, but childhood more broadly using playfulness as a new measure of childness.

8.5 Play

When adults remark that an activity was 'child's play' they mean that it is both easy to do and simple to understand and these qualities inform the conceptualisation of Western childhood. Children's lives should not be unnecessarily hard, and they should receive the care and resources they need to grow and learn free from the stressors of adult life. Play represents this simplicity (linking to innocence) and speaks to the freedom children have come to enjoy following their historical disengagement from the requirement to work (Section 2.2). Play in the ideal sense represents separation from responsibility, and positions the child in a unique state which differentiates them from adults but that is also predicated on their dependence on adults, although paradoxically the skills learnt from the experience of play helps to prepare the child for the responsibilities of adulthood,

As part of the rising culture of middle class domesticity in the industrialising Western economies of the nineteenth century, childhood came to be strongly identified with ideas of play and the use of toys (Cross 2013:267), with spaces set aside in the 'safe' home as the appropriate venue for games and learning activities (Gutman 2013: 252), by which children interpreted and made sense of their world (Wileman 2005:42). Although child-sized furniture and toy motifs were used in nineteenth century memorialisation in the USA (Snyder 1992), no examples were found in this sample. Instead, the association of children with play appears a relatively new development in the Australian cemetery, encouraged by the bringing together of children spatially through the creation of child-specific areas, as also occurs in life at the playground.

The Children's Garden showed a clear development in commemorative expression for infants and perinates over the last three decades in line with changed social attitudes to their identity and interment (Section 3.3). The motifs, chosen from available catalogues (e.g. Australian Cemetery Supplies 2020:54-58), displayed a large variety of choices, with observed repetitions suggesting the most popular ones. These included animals in naturalistic and cartoon styles (reminiscent of an illustrated children's book or toy), as well as insects, birds and fish. Human figures were usually depicted as children or child-like angels (see Section 8.3.1).

Other motifs referenced toys, particularly teddy bears (Table 7-60). This was the only motif to show statistical significance in favour of male children aged one year or younger (5%, p = <0.0109, (1%, 9%); Table 7-61), although this toy, developed in the USA in 1906, has never been seen as gender-specific (Silverman 2004:806; Figure 8-9). As a toy the Teddy bears primary function was to provide a child with emotional comfort (Cross 2013:276) and its use here symbolically works in the same way (and actual

teddies were observed deposited on some grave plots as well). In popular culture Teddy bears are often characterised as male e.g. Winnie the Pooh, Rupert, Paddington and Sooty (with contemporary exceptions such as Amy and Lulu from the Bananas in Pyjamas children's Australian TV show) and this may explain why some parents associated them more with male children.

Figure 8-9. Teddy bear with heart motif: Rectangular plaque, cast iron and concrete, c. 1993, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park looking north (Photo by author).

Many of these motifs, whether of actual objects and things or fantastical creatures, such as fairies and super-heroes, suggest 'toy' offerings permanently 'owned' by the child due to their presence on the grave marker. It is also likely that some motifs had an additional (or primary) Christian symbolism, such as dolphins (salvation and love) and fish (eaten at the last supper and also a coded symbol denoting Christian faith; Keister 2004:86). The inclusion of these clearly child-themed and often toy-like motifs accentuates the measure of childness attributed to the deceased's identity, associating them with the freedom and happiness of play and the imaginative contentment it provides children, gaining them symbolic membership in the realm of childhood. The use of play motifs was not confined to grave markers in the Children's Garden. At St Jude's a stillborn boy's rectangular grave marker was adorned with a teddy bear motif (c.1997) and a nine year old girl's plaque affixed to a natural rock featured four butterflies (one in each corner; c.2002) showing the gradual spread of this practice into the general cemetery.

The Children's Garden also illustrates the evolution of an approach to child memorialisation using grave furniture first discussed by Scott (1999:38; Section 3.3) in the UK. To recap, there she observed, with the

creation of a secluded space in the cemetery for infants that, "The graves are covered in flowers, messages, soft toys and coloured windmills" (Scott 1999:25-26). Smith interpreted this as the parent's attempts to establish a stronger identity for children with such limited biographies, a view that is also applicable to the motifs on grave markers in the Children's Garden. She also saw in such actions a form of social resistance in a period where the memorialisation of 'such' children was intended to be quiet. This facet was no longer applicable over subsequent decades as these children achieved full personhood, empowered by parents seeking to engage in a relationship with their deceased child unhindered by social stigma or institutional bias, emphasising the "dynamic and relational" nature of personhood as a social category (McClelland and Cerezo-Román 2016:41).So, the addition of child specific artefacts suggestive of childness, was a late-twentieth century development in Western memorialisation, quite different from the grave furniture known for the nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, such as immortelles, flower vases and ceramic flowers. In the implied privacy of the Children's Garden numerous physical artefacts adorned the grave plots and their immediate surrounds. The assemblages consisted of objects that can mostly be categorised as children's toys, such as dolls, animals and play motor vehicles, as well as decorative or religious symbols, such as whirligigs, lights and angels (Table 7-68). Plots could have just a single object, or a carefully constructed enclosure of several items densely arranged around and on the child's grave (Figure 8-10).

Figure 8-10. Decorated grave plot: Infants section, c.2018, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park (Photo by author).

Only two categories were found to be statistically significant; being toy cars, trucks and other vehicles (4%, $p = <0.0001$, (2%, 6%)) and other toys (2%, $p = <0.0184$, (0%, 4%); Table 7-69), with both favouring male children. The former demonstrates the cultural perpetuation of gender stereotypes as such toys have traditionally been associated with masculine interests and employment, notwithstanding social changes in the community (Cross 2013:275). The latter category grouped together those artefacts occurring in small numbers individually (*n*=26), consisting of non-gendered items such as plastic blocks and letters, balloons and coloured baubles. Some appeared incomplete, suggesting they may have been damaged and moved during site maintenance, preventing reliable inference about their distribution. The popular addition of whirligigs and solar lights to the plots adds a combination of movement and sound in the day with the addition of light at night, imbuing the space with a sense of action and life. These additions both symbolise the presence of the child's spirit but also at night, lights acted as 'protection' from the dark 'outside', suggesting instead the safety of hearth and home. For the parent there could be consolation from the knowledge of their child's grave being lit in this way.
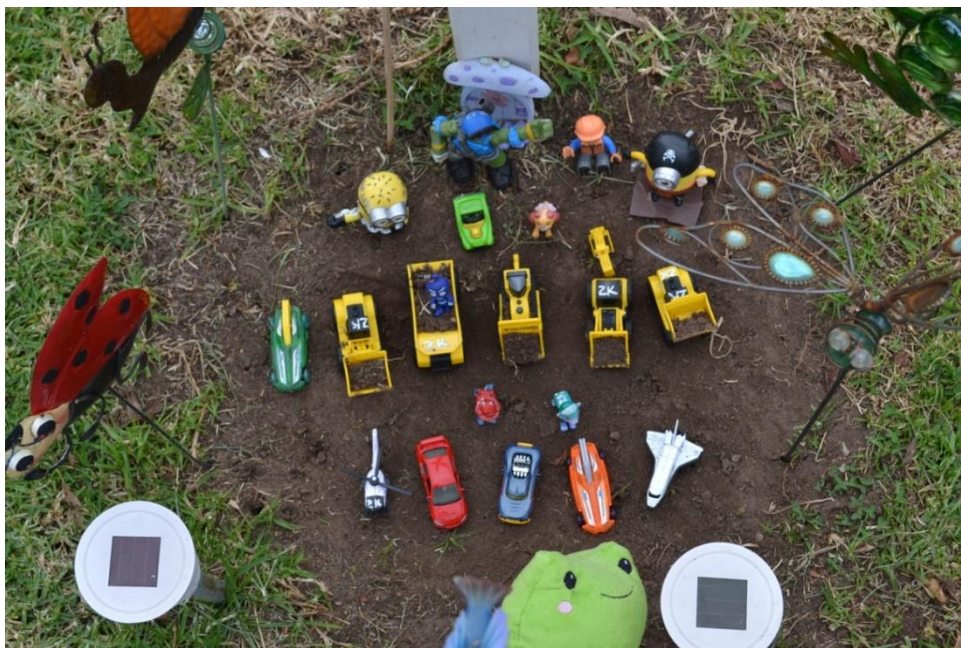
Figure 8-11. Ordered assemblage: Infants section c.2016, Children's Garden, Enfield Memorial Park (Photo by author).

The direct association of grave furniture with child-only plots represented a highly personalised degree of expression by the family. The material assemblages constructed may represent an immediate and highly planned tableau or the gradual accumulation of offerings as the result of visitation over time. Such practices within the regulated and classless uniformity of the Children's Garden allowed for the individualisation of plots and different measures of childness to be expressed. Furthermore, the option of

depositing such grave furniture on the child's plot was open to all families, as most of the material culture used, such as small toys, was readily affordable and could also include the use of natural elements like small rocks (some painted). It was also likely, depending on the age of the child, that some of the objects deposited had belonged to them in life, and their deposition symbolically re-united the object to its owner, acting as touchstones to memory, invitations to 'play' and conduits for 'experiencing' the child's presence.

In the case of stillborn or very young infants such material culture represents futurity as discussed by Sørenson (2010:128), as the toys and objects the child would have played with. Their use addresses a void in the child's and parents experience, in effect assuaging the child's absence with an 'experienced' interaction through the choice and arrangement of material culture on the grave. Sørenson (2011:165; Section 3.3) also commented on the utilisation of such objects as playthings by other children (such as siblings) during visitation, which may be a factor in the movement of grave furniture at this site. Interestingly though, counter to Sorenson's observations of Danish practices of this nature, one plot had a message that expressly asked visitors not to move anything on the child's grave. The maintenance of the assemblages ordered layout may perhaps give some parents in their grief, a sense of enduring control and care over their child through the preservation and maintenance of the grave's spatial appearance.

The positioning of some decorations made it difficult to relate them directly to the graves themselves, with trinkets and mobiles hung from trees and shrubs that border the site. These objects may relate to those grave marker plaques in close proximity affixed to the border kerb near the shrubbery, or may act more generally to highlight the place's special and distinct status from the rest of the cemetery using such childness. Only an oral history of such constructions can clearly answer this. Within the garden's space, each assemblage is both a private space and part of the collective ethos of the location, creating a place redolent of the playfulness of childhood in spite of its mortuary context. Such grave furniture was sometimes also observed on children's graves at the general cemetery sites' showing this trend has now extended beyond child specific locations. Historical children's grave markers can also receive such treatments retrospectively from contemporary concerned donors. This practice appears widespread as observed directly at the semi-rural Victor Harbour cemetery (South Australia) and in the remote, outback Cossack cemetery (Western Australia). In each case, toys had been deposited on nineteenth century children's grave plots, and this practice warrants further future investigation, although it was not observed in this sample.

For cemetery authorities this measure of childness is not without its challenges. The accumulation of material culture in the Children's Garden runs counter to the Enfield Memorial Park's ordered layout as historically influenced by the garden and lawn cemetery movements (Section 4.2.5). The ACA as site administrators have adopted a sensitive approach, leaving such assemblages in place and retaining displaced or deteriorated materials for collection by the family if desired. Those parents who chose to inter

their child in the company of other children, as opposed to a family plot, immediately differentiated them from adults and opened their memorialisation up to varying measures of expression through childness subject to each family's memorialisation choices both when establishing the grave plot and in accordance with their subsequent approach to visitation. The atmosphere realised in the Children's Garden was very different from the traditionally more sombre spaces of adult memorialisation.

8.5.1 Playgrounds and nicknames

Western playgrounds were initially a late nineteenth century response to provide 'appropriate' play spaces for working class children, for whom the middle class ideal of a dedicated play space (or personal room) in the family home was unlikely (Gutman 2013:258). Over time they have come to symbolise a place of play for children generally and, since the 1980s, have been referenced in inscriptions at the Children's Garden (n=9; 0.9%; Table 7-24). The use of this concept in inscriptions entangled play with other measures of childness, such as domesticity, as well as more general religious concepts, with the playground linked to, and a feature of, a domesticated heavenly realm. For example, Caleb's family expressed,

May heaven be your

Playground in God's care (c.2006)

It is worth remembering that many of these children never reached an age old enough to have used an actual playground, so the linkage between play and heaven also suggests an evolving continuity in the minds of the parents of an afterlife in which their child will attain such an experience. This anticipation by the family was only heightened by the imagery created in the Children's Garden, where the mention of the playground resonated with the playful motifs and grave furniture used there. The resulting landscape, littered with toys and colourful play objects paradoxically suggests both the reality of the children's absence and yet at the same time their presence. It is as if the children, tired out by their play had only recently set their toys down and retired for a nap. From such imagery families could draw consolation that their child was 'with' other children, within the 'community' of the playground (Figure 7-44). Playgrounds as seen in their historical development also denote a safe space, even though they are outside of the domesticity of the home. By symbolising the burial space in this way the Children's Garden also assumed a sense of symbolic security, that the children were safe there together notwithstanding the reality of their situation.

The modification of a child's name is another aspect that speaks to the playfulness of childhood. Familial affection was communicated through the use of nicknames and hypocoristic titles (petnames; Morgan et al. 1979:31-35). These were statistically significant for child-only plots at the four general cemeteries (2%, p = 0.0327 [1%, 4%]; Table 7-25), indicating their particular applicability to children. Nicknames represent an additional name that reflects an aspect (as perceived by others) of the individual, whereas a petname

emotionally alters but retains the person's actual name, whether the first or last name (Hanks 2006:624-625). In life nicknames can be both positive or negative, and indicative of the power exercised by both adults upon children and by children upon other children within social relationships (Morgan et al 1979:3-115-119). Petnames often receive the addition of a y or ie ending that, particularly for younger children, is intended to add an affectionate tone (De Klerk and Bosch 1997: 292, 300). Within the context of memorialisation both linguistic devices were intended to add an emotive and personalised aspect to the representation of the deceased child.

Figure 8-12. Children's petnames on vases: Scroll/rock tablet, marble, c. 1914, St Jude's cemetery looking north (Photo by author).

The use of actual nicknames on grave markers for the four general cemeteries was rare (*n*=3; 0.3%) and mostly inscrutable, e.g. 'Tossie' (c.1903), 'Doubie' (c.1904) and 'Bunty' (c.1941), although the latter can also be used as a full name. Doubie may represent how two-year-old Dorothy pronounced her own name, what Morgan et al. (1979:34) terms "child-created formations", which parents and siblings then adapt as a nickname for the child. The hypocoristic alteration of actual names to petnames was also limited (*n*=7; 0.7%), but used for all age groups, with 'Effie' the youngest and earliest example at one year of age (c.1893) and 'Kitty' the oldest at 16 (c.1926), with both styles concentrated mostly in the first four decades of the

twentieth century. The last example recorded c.1942 was, "Bobby" (from Robert). Nicknames and petnames were not seen again until the 1980s in the Children's Garden, their absence during this period reflective of the increasingly formal and formulaic nature of expression on the grave markers of this period.

As if to offset this increasing sameness, from the 1920s through to the 1960s, petnames and sometimes nicknames were also inscribed on vases added to the plot as functional grave furniture, adding a measure of informality in comparison to the child's formal name on the grave marker (Figure 8-12). Inscribed vases could also have the child's actual first name, family identity (e.g. 'son') or the identity of the giver to advertise their connection to and love for the deceased. These vases were more commonly found on family plots (n=176; 16.4%) then child-only plots (n=31; 2.9%), although those with 'other' categories of expression (mainly short religious phrases), were statistically significant to the latter (2%, p = 0.0295, [1%, 4%]; Table 7.65) suggesting a preference for familial identities for plots with multiple family interments. The combined phenomenological experience of grave marker and vase created an enhanced sense of the child as an individual, particularly on family plots, with the child's name in whatever form adding sentiment to the tableau. Rather than simply depositing flowers on the grave plot collectively these vases allowed for the differentiation of visitation practices with the apportionment of such 'gifts' on an individual basis. On family plots, the child's vase when used in conjunction with parents vases (inscribed as 'father' and 'mother') spatially recreated the components of the family unit in three dimensions, and the vases uniform size (usually 20 cm square) also had a symbolically levelling effect, removing the size distinction between adult and child (Figure 7-49). So, simultaneously the child was remembered as an equal individual but also a part of the family lineage. Spatial configurations could change, with the addition of further vases over time altering the presentation into an expanded familial display. These vases showed an enduring popularity across the four general sites during this period. From the 1970s the advent of grave marker designs that included built in vases as part of the plinth or slabs saw their use fall out of favour. This was compounded by a subsequent increase in the regulation of grave furniture by cemetery authorities in response to both aesthetic and legal concerns. The ACA for example, does not allow for any glass, ceramic or terracotta grave furniture unless built into the grave marker due to concerns about breakage and potential injury to staff and visitors (ACA Undated:3).

From the 1980s onwards in the Children's Garden, nicknames were primarily used over hypocoristic alterations and several (n=6) also use the adjective of 'little' or incorporate the notion of smallness in other ways. Examples of recorded nicknames incorporating 'little' include 'pucius' (Polish for 'powerful one'), 'pumpkin', 'sweet', 'punchinella' (referencing the smallness of this traditional folk figure), 'ant' and 'monkey'. Other names symbolic of smallness included 'spud', 'kipper', 'walnut' and 'munchkin' (a cultural reference to the small figures in the 1939 film The Wizard of Oz and the book that inspire it). The informality and emotionality contained in these choices sits within the context of the more individualised

responses to grief in the West over the last four decades as previously mentioned (Jalland 2006:351-371; Walter 2010:203-208).

8.6 Temporality

Temporality is a key aspect of childness as it represents the boundary within which all the other measures discussed so far—smallness, innocence, domesticity and play—exist. This is because childhood by definition is a temporary state of existence, the perception of which dictates the applicability or otherwise of this theme in response to age and social status. Society expects children to grow and become adults, but children who die never leave this state, as, even though their time in life is ended, they symbolically continue to exist as children in death through memory. Baxter (2015:2) in her study of rural garden cemeteries in the United States observed nineteenth century examples of temporal wording on children's grave markers that spoke to a foreshortened life and the loss of futurity, however these phrases appeared in low numbers in the four general cemeteries sampled (*n*=5), preventing statistical testing. In age, they ranged from a likely stillborn (c.1961) to a six-year-old (c.1931), and were scattered across the chronology (the earliest c.1875 and the most recent c.2007). The latter example at Walkerville, a one-month old infant, reflects the rise of temporal phrasing for infants in the decades since the 1980s. This was most strongly evidenced in the Children's Garden at Enfield. There it is used almost exclusively for children aged one year or younger, including stillborn, with no statistical difference by sex (Figure 7-12, Table 7-20).

The first set of phrases recorded there, 'Here for a short moment' or 'time' are child-focussed and signify the loss of anticipated time. Referencing any form of temporality on the child's grave marker attributed even the briefest of lives with a sense of having existed and therefore identity, with temporal shortness situating the deceased's childness. Such phrasing works against the sad, ephemeral nature of the child's life by verbally fixing them to a point in time. Linked to this idea are the phrases 'no opportunity' or 'taken' that verbalise the parent's thoughts regarding the shortness of their relationship with the child, and also, the lost futurity of what the child could have achieved in the world, representing a mutual incompleteness. One of the earlier examples at Cheltenham (c.1961), had a similar sentiment and read, "Only a brief meeting" followed by the date of death, suggesting a stillbirth.

Use of the term 'stillborn' on grave markers prior to the 1980s was rare, with just two examples. Although this may display a preference to avoid the blunt reality of the term, it more likely reflects sensitivity to cultural prejudices (religious and historical) regarding the child's inclusion in normal memorialisation (Section 3.3), and during much of the twentieth century the increasingly institutionalised approach to managing the death of stillborn and perinates by hospitals (Faro 2014:14; Scott 1999:26). In such a context, those families who did assume control of such interments sought a more private expression, much like the term 'in infancy' was used in nineteenth century memorialisation as a coverall, rather than using the specific age of the child.

'Taken' can be found originally in nineteenth century inscriptions of a religious flavour, with the bud (child) plucked early and taken to heaven by 'early doom' (e.g. for other South Australian cemeteries see Farrell 2003:80; Degner 2007:77). Its implication of divine intervention equates it with other, more general Christian religious phrasing recorded, such as "Thy will be done, "God knowest", "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away". All provide consolation that the child's death was not random but part of a larger, yet unknowable plan; a view summarised in another popular paraphrase originating from a 1890s church hymn written by Maxwell. N. Cornelius, "Someday we'll understand". The social value of children was emphasised inscriptionally by this purposeful heavenly collecting, as children became, "Jewels for his kingdom" and "twas an angel visited the green earth and took the flowers away". Children as flowers can also be seen in the originally nineteenth century metaphor of a bud plucked before it could bloom. Only two examples of this older style of phrasing were found (one male and one female). "Little Hazel" at Cheltenham, in keeping with the importance of the temporal theme, was given a precise age of 6 years and 11 months. Although similar to its nineteenth century predecessor, the tone is notably softened with the substitution of 'bloom' for 'doom' and reads as follows,

Called from those who love her

Plucked like a flower in bloom

So good, so bright, so happy

Yet called away so soon (c.1931)

The phrase retains its religious connotation of the child being called to heaven, but also references socially desirable characteristics commonly associated with the ideal child, such as good behaviour, intelligence and happiness. These characteristics and the use of smallness ('little'), show a high degree of childness for this grave marker at a point when such nineteenth century influences on memorialisation were beginning to wane. In comparison to 'taken' one example of 'only lent' was recorded at Cheltenham (c.1946) for a nine day old infant, which, whilst sitting within a subdued religious context, is almost rebellious in the family's presumption to the deity, and also speaks to the idea of re-union, as the phrase implies that the child will return to their possession.

The second category 'long awaited/anticipated/wanted' is more contemporary, observed only since the 1980s on the grave markers of perinates and stillborn (Figure 7-12). All but one example was recorded at the Children's Garden. Instead of referencing the point of loss as with the first set of phrases, the focus is on the period of time before it, the pregnancy. These expressions read as proclamations, expressing both the parents' feelings of anticipation so abruptly curtailed by the child's death; and a reaffirmation to the

child of their commitment to them posthumously. Temporal phrases could also be used in combination, as in the following example for twins "Born asleep",

Beloved and long awaited

Babies of …

Here for a moment

Loved for a lifetime (c.2007)

The Children's Garden, despite its more informal displays of material culture is not a place for casual wandering, and this sense of assumed privacy at times lent the inscriptions an emotional rawness quite distinct from the more sentimental styles discussed. For some, the articulation of temporality was intensely grief focussed and lacking in the consolation found in other epitaphs. Jemima's grave marker reads,

She lived unknown &

Few could know when

Jemima ceased to be

Oh the difference to us (c.1993)

Another example is for twins, who were born and died on the same day,

Oh early vanished from

A parents eye, born but to

Wake affection and to die (c. 1992)

In each case the effect of the child's brief temporality is highlighted emotively.

The cultural normalisation of perinatal and stillborn memorialisation since the 1980s created a need for new approaches to express the identity of such short lives. Sørenson (2011) has commented on the challenge presented by the truncated nature of such child biographies for families, but also notes that child identity can still be perceived and constructed even in such temporally limited contexts:

> A stillborn child or a child that died in very early infancy can of course be experienced, by the most immediate family and the parents in particular, as having manifested an individual persona and the mother especially may have sensed the temperament of the child in very personal and manifest ways during the pregnancy. (Sørenson 2011:166-167)

Accordingly, some expressions in the Children's Garden spoke to a precise temporal biography, telling in a few words the moments of the child's brief life and hinting at the physical experience of the mother, with phrases such as "18 weeks gestation" and "lived 14½ hours". These temporal embellishments are one solution to this biographical challenge, with the attribution of childness based on temporality itself.

8.7 Emotion

Whilst emotion in its broadest sense is inherently present in the visceral response to death, the degree and nature of its expression through funeral ritual and memorialisation is enabled or constrained by social and cultural expectations of appropriateness. These boundaries are not fixed but respond to changing conceptualisations regarding the psychological recovery of the family and the maintenance of social stability. Tarlow (1999:20) in her study of memorialisation practices in post –reformation Orkney (UK), argued, that "the emotions and understandings of the bereaved should be considered" as part of the archaeological analysis of mortuary choices. She argued not just for greater recognition of how emotion ordered personal relationships in the past, but also how this influence was both negotiated and represented in the material culture arising from death. From her research she observed changes in the level of sentiment on grave markers over time which she felt showed social reconceptualisation of both personal and familial identities, characterised from the end of the eighteenth century as "essentially individual and sentimental…personal and emotional ethics" (Tarlow 1999:73-74). Her approach emphasised the need to examine the grouped sets of emotional values represented archaeologically by grave markers. Importantly, whilst her approach was a response to a perceived deficit in the interpretation of commemorative choices based on social class and power (Tarlow 1999:175), she was not saying such interpretations were wrong but rather insufficient, with the recognition of an emotional dimension as one way of enlarging understandings of individual experiences and motivations. Consequently, the interpretation of past emotional expression and beliefs, as reflected through material culture, has become a legitimate archaeological approach. Further, Barclay and Reynolds (2016:9), in developing an approach to the history of emotion, noted that, "Children are often emotionally fraught subjects, inspiring communities to feel and behave in particular ways". Their point, which accords with Tarlow, is that the expression of emotion is culturally regulated, so in the case of memorialisation, the construction and expression of such sentiment for a child is contextually different to that of an adult and subject to "particular historical moments and cultures" (Barclay and Reynolds 2016:5). This measure of emotional difference is another characteristic of childness.

Statistical analysis (Section 7.3) showed several interesting trends in the use of emotion. For the four general cemeteries, emotional expression on grave markers for family plots (14%, p = <0.0001, [9%, 19 %]) was statistically significant for that total sample. So although an emotive style could be used for both plot types, it was more commonly applied on family grave markers than child-only grave markers. The first part

of the sample (1840s to the 1920s) saw an emotional style used for 83.8% of family plots (n=388) compared to 64.9% (n=37) for child-only plots. So, 28.1% (n=16) of child-only plots were inscribed in a purely factual style (essentially name and date of death). In the following period (1930s to the 1970s) the overall use of an emotional style increased to 93.4% (n=348) for family plots and 76.6% (n=72) for child only plots, a ratio of three in every four. Both periods when tested individually retained their statistical significance of emotional expression towards family plots (19%, p = 0.0038, [6%, 32%]) and (16%, p = <0.0001, [8%, 24%]). So roughly a third in the first period and a quarter in the second period of children in child-only plots were commemorated without emotive expression on their grave marker. In turn, the use of a factual style was statistically significant for grave markers on child-only plots for the four general cemeteries (12%, p = <0.0001, [7%, 17%]), and when looked at by age group it was most commonly used for infants (n=18; 40%). Although, the factual style was less costly due to its reduced number of letters, a comparison of its use against families of known occupation in the sample did not indicate any obvious class influence on selection. Remember also that motif use (which would include those with an emotive effect) were also statistically significant towards grave markers on family plots (8%, p = 0.0434, (1%, 16%); Section 7.11).

The degree to which emotional expression is absent on child-only grave markers during these two historical periods, counter to the greater emotional expression afforded them on family grave markers, does not of course indicate that the family were not attached to the child. Rather, families chose to express their loss differently. Nineteenth century child-only grave markers in this factual mould generally use the following layout, as exampled by three-month-old Catherine's tablet at St. Jude's,

In

Memory of

Catherine Sophia

Jaffrey

Died Jany (sic) 18th 1862

Aged 3 months

In Catherine's case the lack of any additional family reference beyond the family name, such as 'daughter of', presents her more as an undifferentiated individual than a child, however, the absence of any emotive wording or motif did not necessarily preclude the expression of childness. Catherine's grave marker stands at a height of just 65 cm: her infant status symbolised by its smallness. Nor did such factual presentations of children preclude a more ornate grave marker, such as three-month-old Harold's (c.1903) at St. Jude's, the

son of a successful businessman, that consisted of a cross with a 'rock of ages' base and scroll for the inscription, allowing a more religious affect to his memorialisation.

The generally more succinct style of grave marker inscriptions from the 1930s to the 1970s reduced the wording of these factual inscriptions on child-only markers even further. Three-day-old Natalie's regular sized rectangular marble plaque at St. Jude's (c.1976) reads,

Natalie Nathan

20. 1. 76

23. 1. 76

Infant daughter

Of…

Baxter (2015: 11) in her work on nineteenth century children's grave markers in Chicago, USA, drawing on Smith's (1987:91) idea of a descendent focussed approach as opposed to consoling expressions designed for the survivors, felt the lack of elaboration spoke to an emphasis on personhood within the family. She said,

> These elements all send a message that children, regardless of age and gender, are integral to the family and are acknowledged as a person who is a part of the collective family history (Baxter 2015:11)

The two examples shown here suggest a desire to focus on the child as a valued family member without the use of further emotive or other (e.g. religious) embellishment. This suggests a number of possible motivations, such as a preference to keep the emotive grief of loss private rather than public, or from a secular perspective to acknowledge the permanent loss of the child free from any Christian expectation of reunion, and therefore religious addition or overt sentimentalism. Pragmatic aspects such as cost would have also influenced some families. What is sure is that such memorialisation was socially sanctioned and constituted a culturally acceptable option within the range available at the time of interment.

Returning to those children's grave markers where emotion *was* used for the four general cemeteries, age per say was not a significant determinant with 81% of children aged between 13 and 20 years receiving some form of emotional embellishment (n=40) compared to those aged two to 12 (n=36; 80%), with children aged one or under lower but still well above half (n= 57; 67.1%). Nor was the child's sex a factor (Table 7-12 and Table 7-13). But the way emotion was expressed towards children did vary between these two historical periods in line with broader social trends. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the measure of emotional childness was high as inscriptions were more sentimental in nature and often used

more words or several lines of verse to express notions of affection and loss. In a practical sense this restricted such engravings to those who could afford them, particularly middle-class families. In comparison, after the First World War emotional phrasing became more standardised in the face of the mass production of grave markers that increasingly allowed working class families greater participation in the expanding consumer focussed economy (McGuire 1988:465). Grave markers were more affordable, but the measure of emotional childness was lower as expressions became more succinct, such as 'beloved' and 'missed'.

Four types of emotive phrasing were statistically significant to child-only plots: 'Always/forever in our thoughts/remembered/loved' (5%, p = 0.0002 (2%, 8%); 'Always/forever in our hearts' (5%, p = 0.0002 (2%, 8%); 'Missed' (4%, p = 0.0001 (2%, 6%) and 'Cherished, treasured, beautiful' (3%, p = 0.0407 (0%, 6%). The first three phrases, whilst also used for adults, all speak to a sense of timelessness and were mostly used for children aged five years and under from the 1980s onwards. As the majority of these children were infants, perinates and stillborn, the implication of timelessness and absence they contain take on a more poignant aspects when contrasted against the short lives of these children. 'Cherished' and 'treasured' also spoke to continuance, with the emotional value of the child situated in the present rather than past tense. 'Beautiful' is perhaps the exception, being more suggestive of a preserved memory than a perpetual state. The significance of this suite of emotional phrases lies in their contextual suitability to the memorialisation of children generally (hence their use for all age groups) but also a particular applicability to the short lives of deceased infants and perinates in a period of lower child mortality. The emotional value of a child is not extinguished and may even be accentuated by their death.

The measure of childness observed in this sample (as grouped thematically for discussion) speaks to Western cultural understandings of children and childhood: the ideas of smallness and vulnerability; of innate innocence and pureness; the connection to family and home; an idealised playful happiness; a temporally finite period of one's life and, a special and different emotional relationship. As the above discussion illustrates, the observation of these qualities varies from child to child and between different historical periods in accordance with social ideas of mourning and memorialisation and their influence on the personal choices of families. Having staked out this claim for a diverse measure of observable childness in the memorialisation of children, in the final chapter the study looks at the way social status, class and age can affect the degree of its representation, why the measure of childness has varied in the Western cemetery since the mid-nineteenth century, and ultimately what these qualities says about the value and role of children in Western society over time. The future applicability of childness as a method in archaeology, including beyond the cemetery is also considered.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION: THE RISE OF THE VALUED CHILD

9.1   A varying childness

The thematic qualities of childness discussed in the previous chapter are both a product of and subject to the structuration process. But this model of socio-cultural reproduction is not simply a linear conveyor line producing identical products. Although broad social ideals are maintained, individual and historical circumstances impact on the level of expression realised. This variation is evident in the degree of smallness, innocence, domesticity, play, temporality and emotion observable in the memorialisation of children, and the extent to which the deceased was represented as a child or not at different times and places in the sample. Both the observation and absence of childness is therefore informative, as in such variation can be seen the points at which the child's identity and social status undergoes change, from infant to child, and child to adult. Indeed, even the historical moment in which new categories of children were legitimised into being is observable through childness as evidenced by the clear memorialisation of stillborn and perinates since the 1980s.

In attempting to understand the differing measures of childness observed for children in the cemetery over the last 180 years, the role and influence of age, familial status and social class were important. In Figure 9-1 status, class and age should not be viewed as equivalent factors. Whereas familial status and/or social class could influence the level and type of material expression on grave marker and plot, affecting the ultimate degree of childness observable, age served as an indicator of culturally suitable associations of childness to a particular individual or not, e.g. the differences in memorialisation afforded an infant as opposed to a youth.
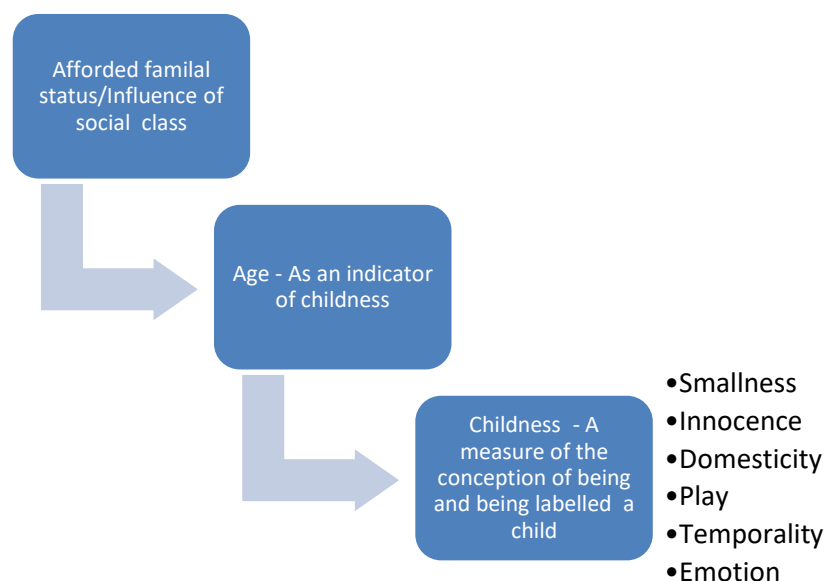
Figure 9-1. Influences on the measure of childness.

9.1.1 Status and class

The choice of grave plot type, grave marker and the positioning of children within the order of the inscription indicated different representations of their familial status and social class. The biographical approach to material culture previously raised (Mytum 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Stephens 2013), has a particularly strong interpretative potential within this context. Mytum (2004a:115) describes the tripartite nature of a grave markers 'life' as its selection, production and erection; initial stage of visitation and immediate significance to the family, and then its subsequent generalised significance as part of the cemetery landscape with occasional family visits. As with a human biography, by reading this chronology of events, both from the material culture itself and in some cases the additional availability of historical or oral documentation, choices inherent in the biographical sequence of the grave marker can be better interpreted. Further, that the life stage of the object, its active or general status, can be inferred by the degree of events it has been subsequently subjected to or continues to experience, such as the addition of a new burial and inscription, a new memorial to the plot, or the maintenance of grave furniture all add to the plots biography and can change its temporal status and role (Mytum 2004a:111). The biographical approach then provides a useful framework in which to discern such sequences as they relate to the production of grave markers for children, and their inclusion and ordering on family grave markers. .

During the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the establishment of a child-only plot immediately assigned the deceased child a greater sense of individual identity, expressed both spatially and materially. This reflects broader social changes arising initially in the middle class regarding the greater individualism of children within a more enclosed nuclear family structure as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2). Because of this perceived personal uniqueness, the child could not simply be replaced by another. This choice then, represented in part the family's emotional desire to not delay the memorialisation of their child, rather than including them on a later family grave marker. It also served to provide a heightened emotional focus on the individual (as opposed to the more diffused and variable spread of emotion found amongst the multiple inscriptions on family grave markers) as, "To erect a monument is a way of showing how much an individual has meant to you, and showing that to the rest of the community" (Tarlow 1999:131). From the perspective of observing childness, those child-only grave markers erected on such plots and therefore closest to the time of the child's death provide a more direct understanding of the social context of their commemoration than those added later.

The establishment of a child-only plot was also a comparatively bigger economic outlay for families in the long term as it was expensive to erect individual grave markers for each child (Farrell 2003:44). These plots in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries advertised the family's class status (Mytum 2004:128). This is supported from the sample, as of the eleven child-only grave markers for whom family occupation was identified the majority (*n*=9) were either professionals, businesspeople or skilled tradesman, with only two families involved in clearly working class employment as labourers (Table 6-32). Cannon (1989:438) has

argued that a main driving force in the construction of the grave plot during the nineteenth century was a desire first by the middle class and then copied by the working class (to the extent their social desire and economic capacity allowed) to emulate the memorialisation choices originally made by the upper class, and by doing so assume some of the status bestowed by this dominant ideological symbolism (Cannon 1989:438). So, expenditure on the grave plot and grave marker could mask the family's class position in society by suggesting a higher status than was actually the case (Parker Pearson 1982:102), particularly over time, as the memorial for most became the only tangible representation of their 'status' as actual knowledge of their circumstances faded. In colonial Australia though, the lack of an established upper class saw bourgeois middle class values dominate memorialisation but heavily influenced by Victorian forms and styles.

The choice of child-only plots was a consistent feature of the four general cemeteries surveyed, representing a ratio of close to one in five (n=194; 18%) showing that while the memorialisation of children in family plots was dominant, child-only plots were hardly unusual. However, such plots should not be viewed uncritically as always representing a desire to create an individual child space. Families may have originally intended to establish a family plot but not realised this goal due to changed circumstances; for example, five-year-old Gwen's plot (c.1887) at St Jude's is large enough to suggest it may have been intended for future use, but her family's move from the area meant they were ultimately buried elsewhere (The Advertiser, 26 May 1942:7). By comparison, at the same site five-day old Emmeline as previously mentioned, had been promptly memorialised with her own grave marker in a clearly large family plot (c.1882). The Hackett's ran a successful horticultural business locally so were well able to exercise such expense (Holt 1991:177; State Library PRG 421). Her grave marker stood alone until the next family burial in1904 and by the end of the 1950s another five grave markers had been added to fill the space, displaying a line of 'standing' symbolic family members as suggested by Stott (2019; Section 8.2.1). Again, this suggests a combination of social class advertisement and a desire to memorialise the child as a treasured individual without delay. Baxter (2013:109 and 2015:10), commented how American children could be memorialised individually at the time of their death and then incorporated onto a collective family grave marker erected later. She evidenced this from the observation of children's grave markers, with earlier dates than the primary burial on the collective family grave marker, remaining in situ on the grave plot even after their inclusion on a family grave marker. However, this study found little evidence of such practice. Of 114 family plots containing child-only grave markers in addition to a communal family grave marker, only one example for an 18-day-old girl at St Jude's (c.1883) was recorded.

For those children inscribed on a family grave marker, their positioning in the order of names inscribed showed their status in the family hierarchy. Children were either shown by the order of death, identity status within the family (in different ordering combinations) or after the father (always listed first) for patriarchal orderings. The most common choice overall was the order of death, including during the highly

patriarchal period of Victorian society (Table 7-5), in which the child is represented with an equal status rather than relegated to a hierarchical position. Again, this speaks to the increased sense of uniqueness attributed to the individual, including children, in Western society since the eighteenth century (Cunningham 2005:59; Gittings 1984:9-10; Stearns 2006:58; Haveman 1999:284). By comparison, the other two ordering options suggest a clear preference to indicate familial status differences. Although all three representations were always in use on family grave markers, their relative popularity came in and out of fashion. At the turn of the century patriarchal and family ordering overtook the order of death in popularity before the latter regained its position from the 1920s to the 1950s. Finally from the 1960s, despite being a period when the structural inequality of gender was being challenged, patriarchal and family ordering again overtook order of death, although all three options as they pertain to children were much reduced in numbers due to the increasing practice of child-only memorialisation.

Figure 9-2. Deferred child commemoration: The grave marker was erected c.10 years after baby Edith's death in 1928 - Gabled tablet, marble, c. 1938, Hindmarsh cemetery looking west (Photo by author).

In the case of patriarchal and family status ordering styles in the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century, the death dates for most infants or young children often indicated their delayed memorialisation in comparison to others on the grave marker (although 'others' could include older children), providing insight into the foundation biography of the grave marker. This delay enabled the establishment of a patriarchal ordering sequence. For familial combinations the relegation of previously deceased children below the more recent death is socially pragmatic, as it is was that individuals 'present'

death event that took precedence for the family at the time of memorialisation. The creation of the grave marker though provided the opportunity to symbolically retrieve children lost many years before, and to publicly bring them back into broader family memory and membership through their inclusion on the monument. On grave markers with multiple inscription faces, status differences could be further symbolised by the child's positioning on the side as opposed to the front of the memorial, leaving them literally in the shadow of other family members. In some cases, even once a grave marker was erected, not all previously interred children were included, as evidenced by a comparison of inscriptions with burial records (Hindmarsh Cemetery 1996). As such children were registered, so publicly recognised, and interred in accordance with normal practices, the reason for their exclusion from the grave marker may be purely pragmatic (depending on space and cost) or indicate a degree of status diminution at least in the need for public remembrance. In the sample, it remained common practice for infants and young children's commemoration to be delayed pending a parent's death well into the first half of the twentieth century (Figure 9-2), despite the mass-production of grave markers increasing both their availability and affordability for all classes.

The later death of another sibling could also impact on the timing of the establishment of a grave marker, with this secondary death prompting the parents to act rather than continue the postponement of such memorialisation. The establishment of a memorial for both children at the same time can be inferred from the listing of the more recent death first or the use of the plural phrase 'children of' adding to the overall biography of the grave marker. This practice is distinct from the addition of a secondary inscription event (for a newly deceased child) to an existing child-only grave marker. In cases of multiple child deaths (as noted for the nineteenth century) several years could elapse prior to erecting a grave marker that encompassed *all* the children, indicated by the chronological gap between the last inscribed death date and the first. At Walkerville for example, the Milner's child-only grave marker lists five siblings in order of their deaths ranging from 1864 to 1886. Both styles of sibling influenced child-only grave markers were observed in the four general sites.

Overall, these practices suggest a socially acceptable flexibility concerning the memorialisation of children compared to adults. In this sense the death of a child was more liminal, and therefore of different social status, although in the case of patriarchal ordering, woman too could assume this liminality. Such delay should not be read as a lack of affection for the child (and inadvertently resurrect the old thesis of Ariès), rather the inclusion of the child many years after their death represents the opposite: the retention of memory and the continuing importance the child as an individual held by the family. After World War One as the collective family grave marker declined in fashion, the now smaller grave marker was focussed to accommodate the husband and wife, a practice McGuire (1988: 454) termed spouse oriented. This arrangement still allowed for the addition of Infants and young children who had died early in the marriage,

however the surviving children (now adults) would instead be commemorated on their own, separate spousal or individual grave markers.

Sex and age were also used to fill out the child's familial identity. At the four general cemeteries, 77.8% of children (*n*=790) received an identity either denoted by their family title (e.g. daughter) or referencing their developmental age as a baby, infant or child (Section 7.4). These could be combined to further situate the child's family position, such as 'baby daughter' (Figure 7-9). In a status sense though, these terms were secondary to the degree of differentiation achieved by the child's ordering in the inscription, although their high use showed the social importance of explaining the child's role within the family to the non-related visitor. This spelling out of the family framework also served the broader purpose of structuration, by reinforcing the cultural norms it represented, whether the parents were conscious of this consequence or not.

The size and elaborateness of the grave marker and plot in the period from the nineteenth century to the 1920s also sought to advertise the family's actual or desired social status and class identity (Baugher and Veit 2014:133-134, Cannon 1989, Hems 2016; Lull 2000:578-579; McGuire 1988; Parker Pearson 1982) achieving a phenomenological landscape effect for the visitor (Muller 2006, 2015). A comparison of grave marker forms, used by families with identified work occupations between 1840 and 1930 (Table 6-31), showed some differentiation based on size rather than form. Tablets, crosses, pillars and horizontal slabs were chosen across this vocational range, but the largest and tallest style—the obelisk—were used by families from middle to lower middle-class backgrounds, such as professionals, farmers, small businesspeople and a clergyman. By comparison, the smallest and lowest forms—plaques—were associated with working class labourers, tradesman (who could be perceived as working or middle class depending on whether they were an employee or employer, and the skilled or unskilled nature of their trade) and a small businessman. The only statue/sculpture for who the family's occupation could be identified was for a large business owner.

Although this is a crude analysis given the small percentage of occupations identified, this snapshot suggests that within the context of the family plots observed, class differences were more likely to manifest at the extreme ends of height and size where the practical facilitation or restraint of economic expression and social differentiation is most pronounced. This is opposed to the space in-between these two extremes, where the competitive, emulative process of this period, combined with the offering of standardised grave marker forms, inscriptions and motifs by masons and undertakers, blurred the lines between class perception in life and an aspirational social status in death. Emotional expression also acted upon these choices (Tarlow 1999:29), as class and status alone cannot explain all of the differing degrees of memorialisation found in the cemetery (McGuire 1988:437). In the memorialisation of children, the plot type created, their ordering on the grave marker and the elaboration and size of their or the family's grave

marker were all ways in which the child's familial status and social class could be differentiated within the historical context and biography of their memorialisation. These choices could also influence the degree of childness ultimately observed depending on the level of status differentiation desired by the family and realised materially.

9.1.2 Age as an indicator of childness

Age was a key determinant in the characteristics of childness observed, as it indicated those qualities most likely to be associated with children at certain times during the course of their childhood. Smallness, innocence, domesticity, play, and temporality as discussed (CHAPTER 8) were more commonly seen in the memorialisation of infants and younger children, whereas emotion was commonly found for all age groups. Older children, particularly those in the 13 to 20-year age group, either retained lesser degrees of childness or attained full adult status on their grave markers. In the latter case, seven individuals aged between 18 and 20 years had their employment recorded (all males). Six had served in the military (Figure 7-21), with three killed in World War One and three killed in World War Two. Having enlisted, fought abroad and died, these young men had undergone a rite of passage to adulthood. However, their youth had also been eternally preserved through their premature death and could be referenced. Eighteen-year-old E. M. Gilpin's grave marker at St Jude's (c.1941) proclaims, "He poured out the red sweet wine of youth" a line borrowed from the World War One poet Rupert Brooke's *The Dead.* The non-military male example, 19-year-old John, was a factory worker interred at Hindmarsh and commemorated with an adult identity as a workman on a tribute plaque,

John W. Young.

Died 7 Dec 1919

Aged 19 Years

A Token of Esteem

From his fellow workmen at

Islington Paint shop

Young women, once married, were also afforded an adult identity. Nineteen-year-old Beatrice's inscription at Hindmarsh reads,

Sacred to the memory

Of

Beatrice

The beloved wife of James Northey

Died May 30th, 1886

Aged 19 years and 8 months

Figure 9-3. Adult identity for a 17-year-old: Semicircular tablet with acroteria, marble, c. 1935, Cheltenham cemetery facing east (Photo by author).

Adult identity was also realised through the use of personality inscriptions for older children (17 to 20 years old). These embellishments, despite low numbers (*n*=8), were statistically significant to child-only plots (2%, p = 0.0327 (1%, 4%)) showing the desire to tell something of the older child's effect on family and community. Two styles were used, either an emotive appraisal, such as 'To know him was to love him' or 'Loved by all', or verses listing positive and mature character attributes such as nobility. The first style spoke to the emotional impact of the older child upon the community due to their greater longevity and therefore effect upon it, in comparison to the briefer lives of infants and young children. The second style effectively reproduced phrasing akin to a published obituary. Hems (2016:93) notes how for adult males in

the latter part of the nineteenth century, the qualities of thought and good character assumed importance over physical ability as reflected in the middle-class obituaries of the time, whilst female obituaries focused on domesticity and the achievements of motherhood. Although the earliest examples of such character reference memorialisation were not recorded until the 1930s, these still drew on these gendered qualities for older males including an unusual tribute from an entire rural district rather than the family (Figure 9-3). The reappearance of the 'loved by all' style at Hindmarsh in the 1980s was also on the grave markers of older males, but an examination of contemporary obituary websites shows such phrasing is now used for both males and females (The Advertiser 2020; National Post 2020).

9.2   Change over time

The childness observed during the three different periods examined: the Victorian and Edwardian (in Australia, Federation) eras (1836 to the 1920s); post-World War One to the late twentieth century (1920s to the 1980s), and the late twentieth to early twenty-first centuries (1980s to 2018), showed significant degrees of variation. Each period was subject to broad cultural changes concerning the response to and management of death in Western society that affected the balance between the dual public and private nature of the cemetery. These three periods, as the results demonstrate, should not be viewed as having hard chronological borders, with some forms and styles of material culture overlapping during these conceptual transitions. Although the Western cemetery (and churchyard before it) has always combined private space (the grave) within a publicly accessible setting, since the advent of the public cemetery in the late eighteenth century, one aspect has usually been more dominant than the other. Families brought their prevailing understanding of this balance to their memorialisation task, influencing the realisation of the grave spaces interpretation by both private and public audiences. The following chronological overview looks at how this affected the childness observable through memorialisation.

9.2.1   1836 to 1920s

The cemetery in this period was notable for the high degree of individuality displayed through the diversity of its grave marker forms, styles and sizes, as well as plot arrangements and the introduction of site landscaping (Arnold 2006:123; Mytum 2004: 50-51). Evolving within the context of a rising capitalist, urbanised middle-class, in which the acquisition of material culture reflected either actual class or aspirational status, the cemetery from the mid to late nineteenth century was conceptualised not just as a place for private visitation but also public recreation and education (Linden-Ward 1992; Martin 2006:339-340; Murray 2003a:130), allowing open access to all (Jalland 1996:1; Morley 1971:68-69). This European ideal, particularly as envisaged in the British context, was adopted and adapted in Western colonial societies such as Australia to varying effect (Murray 2003a and 2003b:51). In 1854 for example, John Monck the sexton of Adelaide's West Terrace cemetery remarked that the public in their hundreds enjoyed pleasure walks in the cemetery, especially on Sundays (The SA Register 18 Oct 1854:3, 4 Nov 1854:3). The

cemetery (and therefore death), rather than being separate from daily life, was instead a part of it. Australia's emerging colonies had also inherited the Victorian ideology of the good death that stoically confronted the effects of a high mortality rate with the need to prepare for the inevitability of one's own death (Jalland 1996:19, 28; Section 1.1.1). These imported cultural notions acted as a solace when faced with death in the new and strange colonial environment. The public nature of the cemetery then, meant that families were well aware that their memorialisation choices would be exposed and subject to comment by their peers, with the grave plot in the sense of structuration representing prevailing ideas of social respectability and appropriate taste that reflected back upon the standing of the family.

Parents, exposed to this period of high child mortality faced the likelihood of losing multiple children to an early death. Their response, as evidenced by this study, was contrary to the disinterest thesis posited by Ariès for periods of high mortality (Section 2.2), to actively commemorate their children, influenced in tone by the gradual sacralisation of the child occurring since the eighteenth century (Zelizer 1985:12). This conceptualisation, combined with the expressive mourning etiquette and socially competitive nature of memorialisation in this period, created an individually unique and therefore irreplaceable child the affirmation of which ideally required differentiation in death. The result was a higher measure of childness observable in the material culture assembled. As shown, the conscious use of grave marker size to reference the developmental size of infants and young children was a particularly distinctive aspect of this approach, both as stand-alone miniatures and offset against taller adult grave markers on family plots. This represented a trend to the embodiment of grave markers more generally as symbolic representations of the deceased connected to the regulated nature of visitation at this time, and predicated on the maintenance of a form of relationship through the co-presence of visitor and grave marker. Smallness more generally characterised the memorialisation of infants and young children through inscription and motif. Yet despite the heavily gendered nature of Victorian society in funerary roles (Jalland 2002:138-140), no clear differences in the treatment of male and female children were apparent, as also found by Baxter (2015:11), with the emphasis instead on their child identity and membership of the family.

Childness was also seen in the highlighting of the key components of the now developed childhood ideal: the innocent and natural child and their association with the safe domesticity of the family home. These qualities went hand in hand with the heightened emotionality of the times to produce the consoling imagery of sleeping, safe and sinless children, supplied with or providing angelic oversight (as cherubim traditionally acted as messengers between God and humankind; Wileman 2005:96) and awaiting family reunion in a heavenly home (Sections 8.3 and 8.4). For those families of a more secular than religious nature remembrance and reflection had to suffice instead of the hopeful, Christian scenario, "since they could only look backwards to recapture their lost children, rather than forward to heavenly reunion" (Jalland: 1996:362).

Baxter (2015:11) has commented that the memorialisation of children in the nineteenth century was "much more "quiet" on the cemetery landscape". By this she meant that children's grave markers were often small and plain, lacking motifs and verse, and that more generally there were few child-specific elements used in comparison to the wide range of choices available for adults. But, as argued here, small grave markers in fact provided a visually clearer symbolic indicator of child presence in the landscape, and the adaptation of 'adult' inscriptions and motifs for the memorialisation of children created a suite of options that when used in this context expressed childness. So much so that previously general religious motifs like lambs and doves came to assume a strong association with children. On reflection then, the 'presence' of children in the Victorian cemetery, whilst different, appears "louder" than first thought. Older children (Youths), who in contemporary terms would be viewed as adolescents (Stearns 2006:61), could still be included in the idea of the sleeping/resting child and the religious conceptualisation of reunion in the afterlife, but were too old and worldly to reflect qualities of smallness and innocence. As part of the family they did retain their association with the domesticity of the home, and some as discussed had assumed adulthood, predicated along the gendered roles of the time (employed males and married females).

9.2.2 1920s to 1980s

Driven by a combination of factors, the public nature and expressive individualism of the Western cemetery was already in decline by the late nineteenth century. These included a reaction to the extravagance and cost associated with Victorian funeral ritual, the gradual move towards cremation (with the different commemorative options this would allow; Nicol 1994:182; Rugg 2006:214), and a decline in devout religious faith (Jalland 1996:358-381). Tastes had changed and Victorian memorialisation was now, "neither dignified nor decent" (Rugg 2006:219). The sentimentalised imagery of the 'good death' and the 'beautification of death' finally faded before the carnage of the First World War. They were replaced by a more stoic response to loss felt necessary to cope with and continue supporting the war effort (Walter 2010:132-133). High sentiment and large, elaborate symbolism was reserved for the mostly young men killed in action, and the idea of the 'noble sacrifice' that found expression on their grave markers, and elaborate federal , state and local war memorials, and ultimately created a new form of war cemetery (Jalland 2002:305; Rainville 2015). The flu pandemic of 1918 also took many a youthful life. Walter (2010:131) has also suggested that this decline was influenced by changes in the status of women, for whom the burden of familial respectability was greatest. Female suffrage and emancipation during the 1890s and into the early twentieth century freed woman from the restrictive obligations of patriarchal Victorian mourning ritual (such as having to dress in mourning colours and remain at home for a defined period whilst the husband went out and re-engaged with society), so they could grieve in ways of their own choosing.

This changed approach to death also saw the private management of the corpse by the family (another responsibility associated with women), and its attendant domestic rituals prior to the funeral, increasingly

removed from the control of the family and the domestic home space, as improved access to hospital care saw more people die in this institutional setting. Within this medicalisation of death lay the increasing influence of psychoanalysis, most influentially Freud's ideas concerning the effective negotiation of grief to avoid pathological emotional impairment, arising out of the experience of war (Doss 2008: 19-20; Otto 2014:581). Within this context the prolonged nature of Victorian mourning rituals were no longer seen as psychologically healthy, with implications for the level of conspicuous consumption previously associated with the funeral and burial. The developing funeral industry responded to such changes by assuming the care of the deceased from the family (Rugg 2013:219-220), and cemetery authorities too sought ways of addressing the practicalities of burial within these broader attitudinal changes. New cemetery design assumed a more pragmatic emphasis focussed as much on maintenance as mourning with the advocacy of open, lawned sites and the modification of existing sections to allow for this new aesthetic of ordered efficiency and uniformity. The cemetery from the 1920s assumed a more private nature, with visitation primarily reserved for family and friends rather than the more public access of the previous period.

This more stoic approach had implications for the way in which children were now memorialised. Significantly declining child mortality rates meant parents no-longer expected to bury their children, however when such a loss did occur the child's memorialisation was informed by this less elaborate and privately focussed approach to grief and loss, with a reduction in the individuality of grave markers and more restrained expression on them (Rugg 2013:229). As illustrated by the sample, the adoption of shorter and more uniform grave marker forms and styles eliminated any obvious sense of class differentiation and individualism in the cemetery (although there were rare exceptions). At Hindmarsh for example, new sections filled up with squat marble and granite grave markers, although the latter introduced a greater variety of colours (Section 6.6.1).

Streb (2019) and Streb et al. (2019:337), studying cemeteries in the border region of Luxembourg and Germany dated between 1900-2010, argues that where grave markers displaying identical features are co-located in the cemetery this is indicative of families being influenced by and adopting, "elements based on existing artefacts and spatial proximity" (Streb et al. 2019:337). His point being that the spatial agency of other existing grave plots is another potential influence on the commemorative choice employed by the family. However, as his method is reliant on recording all grave markers in situ, the targeted nature of this sample (child memorialisation) prevents further analysis of this idea here other than to acknowledge its potential application to this less competitive cemetery milieu, and the need to further test this approach in other regions and for other time periods (particularly those like the Victorian era where diversity not uniformity was more common in the western cemetery).

Although the mean height of child-only grave markers continued to be lower than family grave markers the obviously conscious use of grave marker size to symbolise infants and young children was no longer

evident. However, on family plots children could be represented by low 45° angled plaques (square, rectangular, shield or heart shaped) whose relative smallness must have been seen as a socially acceptable size for infants and young children (Figure 9-4). The inclusion of such plaques in relation to a larger tablet, although primarily pragmatic to accommodate the available and increasingly more uniform plot space, still suggests a sense of smallness and therefore a degree of childness.

The sameness created in the cemetery landscape during this period, has also been interpreted as representing a more emotionally detached approach to memorialisation based on a broader cultural avoidance of discussing death (Jalland 2006:3; Mallios and Caterino 2011:455)). The death-denial thesis subsequently applied to the period from the First World War to the 1980s for the reasons already outlined, holds that for much of the twentieth century Western culture sought to deny death, made it taboo as a topic, and therefore resisted association with it, including its spaces and places (Maddrell and Sidaway 2010:60; Tradii and Robert 2019:377). This interpretation has its critics. Tarlow (1999:147) felt that it was not so much the attitude to death that had changed but rather a revaluation within the context of the times as to how best to express the loss of a loved one, and Rugg (2013:215-216) pointed out that family agency was often subject to the new site regulations that inhibited desired levels of expression and promoted uniformity. Whilst debate continues as to the degree to which this phenomenon took hold and influenced social behaviour (Robert and Tradii 2019; Tradii and Robert 2019), within the context of memorialisation *in* the cemetery, emotive terms in inscriptions were still consistently observed throughout this period, despite the sample showing a lower level of general expressiveness. Rather than emotional detachment, the expression of affection was tailored to fit the more private nature of grief taking hold of memorialisation, allowing for brevity of expression to replace the longer, sentimental verses of the Victorian cemetery. Yet the continued use of 'beloved', 'love' and 'missed' (albeit still powerful in its simplicity) still provided what Rugg (2013:231) terms "deep consistencies" in aspects of the memorialisation practices between the two periods.

The conciseness of expression is also used to denote the personalities of both young and older children, by adding the single adjective 'loving' to the child's familial position (e.g. daughter or son), providing a positive quality to the deceased, and one strongly attached to and expected of children. Its use was mainly seen for older children aged 11 years or more, with just one example solely referring to an infant. This may suggest that the addition of 'loving' really was suggestive of the actual nature of these older children, whose character had had a chance to develop and become known in life. This interpretation may also explain why the use of 'loving' in this way, has such a low use in the Children's Garden (*n*=11; 1%) where most children's lives were too brief to establish defined character traits. Religious expression was also now more truncated, with the previously expressive verses that linked the child in death to a state of sleep and home-like domesticity commonly reduced to single verbs such as "resting", and the idea of a family reunion simply expressed as "re-united". The position of such expression on the grave marker is also telling, as often

inscribed on the plinth it applied to all those inscribed, replacing the direct association to the child with a family focus. So while there is continuity in the expression of emotional love for the child, the idea of the dead as sleeping and eventual re-union, these ideas and the sentiment attached to them is compressed, giving them a lower measure of childness. This is because the differentiation of children from adults, during this generally more restrained period of expression, appears less important than their coalescence within the family.

But childness being a measure still displays variation, as some families still chose to signal identity within the concise language of the time. This is illustrated by Figure 9-4, in which two different families (c.1936) used the same small, plain, rectangular marble plaques as grave markers for their children in different ways. Two-year-old Ronnie's grave marker has elements observable as childness, using his affectionate petname rather than his formal name, the euphemism of sleep for death, and child-like language in the dedication ("From Mummy & Daddy"). By comparison, Donald is simply presented as an individual family member, his name laid out in very straightforward adult fashion, in what Smith (1987:91) described as a descendant focussed approach concerned with the deceased's enduring memory, rather than providing consolation for the living (Section 3.2). Only his inscribed age of 19 months tells of his child status. Both grave markers when read indicate a child, but only Ronnie's provides verbal triggers that emphasise his childness and therefore difference. This conciseness of expression was also seen on the small, inscribed vases, popularly used as grave furniture during this period (Section 8.5.1). Likewise motifs in the sample, particularly for child only grave markers, were much more limited in variety then in the Victorian cemetery, and repeatedly used the more general symbolism of books, crosses, and ivy (attachment, affection and immortality; Keister 2004:57). The exception to this general Anglo-Celtic trend of restraint was by the families of post-World War Two immigrants from southern and eastern-Europe, who preferred longer epitaphs often written in their first language. These inscriptions displayed a higher level of emotional sentiment more comparable to the previous period. This degree of cultural variance was confined within these new cultural communities and did not affect the dominant Anglo-Celtic trend.

Finally, the emphasis in the nineteenth century of maintaining a continuing connection to the deceased had in the broader cultural response to death been challenged by the Freudian idea of grief as a process, through which the living had to let the dead go in order to resume healthy psychological functioning (Walter 2010:207).The cemetery, once a public and social space was now separate from the community and had assumed a more functional role. In turn the highly regulated grave visitation of Victorian times was replaced by the private wishes of the family, who could exercise their choice of regular or occasional attendance without social scrutiny and in accordance with the level of relationship felt for the deceased. The grave marker was still an important part of memorialisation, but its existence rather than its elaboration was the important thing. Consequently, for many families in the sample, the memorialisation of the child's family identity (as a son or daughter), and their expression of love for them through

remembrance introductions or concise emotional embellishment appeared sufficient. The measure of childness observable in this period is low and subtle in its expression. This quieter differentiation between children and adults also reflected progressive changes in the rights of children after World War One, as international recognition and legislative advancements reduced the social distance between child and adult (Section 1.1.1).

Figure 9-4. Contrasting examples: childness (left) and its absence (right). Only age indicates Donald's child status - Plaques, marble, both c.1936, Cheltenham cemetery looking west (Photos by author).

9.2.3   1980s to 2018

By the 1980s, the steady decline of child mortality rates since 1900 had left infants as the group most vulnerable to premature death (AIHW 2019; Taylor et al. 1998:30). The establishment of child-specific areas in South Australia, such as the Children's Garden at Enfield Memorial Park, date from this period ,notwithstanding some earlier international antecedents (e.g. Buckham 2008:170; Nolin 2018; Schechter 2009:149). This development shows three observable archaeological changes. Firstly, it was no longer seen as acceptable to delay child memorialisation. Secondly, stillborn and perinatal children including those who died in utero were increasingly seen as individual beings fully deserving of socially appropriate interment and memorialisation. Thirdly a more individualised approach to grief and memorialisation had developed in the mass-consumerism of the late twentieth and early-twenty first centuries, based on the idea that, "Everyone grieves differently" (Walter 2010:207), overturning the Freudian influenced orthodoxy of the previous period and questioning popularised ideas of stages of grief as pioneered by Kubler-Ross (1970). Also in practice these children's sites situated infants and young children away from other family members to create an exclusive child space within the cemetery. Such publicly open and normalised cemetery space for such children was a radical rearranging of the traditional cemetery landscape. Child mortality rates were now so low that parents proved less psychologically prepared for such an eventuality. In this context, child-

only spaces provided a new way in which families could manage their personal grief response unburdened by the norms of the 'traditional' cemetery landscape outside the boundaries of these special places.

In the Children's Garden, smallness returned as a more conscious symbolic element. All the grave markers were uniformly small in size and alluded to the smallness of the children memorialised there, whether rectangular plaques, attached to a concrete plinth and set flush with the ground surface (Figure 4-11 and Figure 8-9), or mounted directly onto walls, kerbing and sitting ledges as the site developed. This visual symbolism was further distinguished by the children's age, with smaller grave markers for the perinatal section compared to larger grave markers in the infant section. This reflection of childness speaks to the structural level of society as the size choices were a product of the cemetery authorities' administrative guidelines rather than individual parental choice. However, the chosen size still reflects what at the time of the sites establishment in 1986 was viewed as a socially acceptable memorial choice for children, including new categories of children previously rarely afforded open and full burial rights, within the context of the general style of memorialisation employed at the Enfield Memorial park.

Notably, the site's position as a roundabout encountered on entering through the main gates made it a prominent and unhidden location, demonstrating the socially changed attitudes to the interment of stillborn and perinates . Initially, the plaque inscriptions adopted a uniform phrasing, as the cemetery authorities oversaw the interment of historical remains (Kym Liebig pers. comm. 2019). These graves are represented by those with death dates prior to the site's establishment in 1986 as in the following inscription,

<div align="center">

In memory of

Baby

Berry

7th May 1958

</div>

Whilst the size and style of the grave marker and plot were regulated, parents, as they started to use the site, developed a culture of memorialisation which challenged the previously restrained tones of the twentieth century cemetery. Spaces at the Children's Garden came to be characterised by a high level of emotional expression and an enhanced measure of childness through the use of child-specific inscriptions, motifs and grave furniture. In addressing their loss families drew on both traditional themes originally seen in the Victorian cemetery, but also brought a contemporary suite of inscriptions and motifs reflective of the notion of childhood and its association to play (Section 8.5). In addition, the use of child-specific grave furniture, such as toys, gave the space a symbolic sense of the playground or nursery (Silvén 2018:30).

The aspects of childness more commonly observed in the memorialisation of infants and young children in the Victorian cemetery, such as smallness, innocence and domesticity, were also re-asserted and extended in the Children's Garden. This speaks to Jalland's view (2006:371) that in contemporary Australia's more secular society families were both creating new ritual practices and adapting older ideas and symbols to meet their contemporary needs. Otto (2014), in the United States, has noted how in the aftermath of the 9-11 terrorist attacks in New York City rituals of collective loss harked back to a more Victorian approach to loss and mourning, "long out-of-fashion and, in fact, long pathologized by physicians, psychoanalysis and a scientized society" (Otto 2014:573-574). So, the Children's Garden represents one aspect of a broader re-orientation in Western mourning practices over the last four decades towards a more emotionally expressive form bound to the use of material culture. Practices that operate outside of explicit official sanction, both in a planned way as in the Children's Garden or spontaneously in response to a tragic event, such as a roadside shrine to a fatal car accident (Ashton et al. 2012; Byrd 2016; Doss 2008; Gibson 2011). Similarities in the sorts of material culture used in both contexts suggest contemporary understandings of a symbolic language of grief and remembrance. This post-modern trend to a more individualistic memorialisation is illustrated in the Children's Garden, where qualities of childness that have endured in socialised consciousness over time have once again become viable commemorative messages.

9.3   Understanding the value and role of children from memorialisation

This study commenced with a consideration of the multi-disciplinary debate concerning the conceptualisation of children and childhood in Western culture since the late-medieval period, and its influence in the development of the archaeology of childhood (CHAPTER 2). What was not contested was the reduction of the Western family to a nuclear unit centred on the importance of the child by the nineteenth century (Ariès 1973:8-9). Consequently, the way children have been represented in the Western cemetery since the mid-nineteenth century displays a series of foundational qualities that speak to their social value, role and place in society arising from this structural change. More broadly, there is acceptance that the perception of childhood as a different time from other periods of life, the emphasis on parental love and care for the child, and grief at their loss constitute a, "remarkable set of continuities over the centuries" (Barclay and Reynolds 2016:10). These themes were subject to different interpretations and responses by families and communities in accordance with their historical circumstances, and all were visible archaeologically through the material culture of memorialisation.

The middle-class idea of childhood that had coalesced by the mid-nineteenth century, and then gradually adopted by working-class families as their situation allowed, represented an idealised image of the child and their place in society. The measure of childness observed in children's memorialisation indicated the degree to which the deceased assumed these ideal characteristics. The value retained by the memorialised child operated on two levels. The first was their intrinsic worth to the family unit at the personal level, as

evidenced by the desire to commemorate and remember them relative to the parent's social and economic capacity. The second was their symbolic social value to the community. Set within the model of structuration, the expression of childness for each of the three time periods studied consistently reinforced the importance of the child's foundational role in the continuance of the nuclear family: the primary building block of Western capitalist society. A conscious understanding of this larger structural purpose was more apparent to the Victorians, given their more openly competitive and emulative society and this naturally played out in the cemetery as well.

For many parents though, particularly after World War One, when class and status became less of a factor in memorialisation, as opposed to life outside of the cemetery gates, the structural reaffirmation of the family as an ideal was less conscious, although the desire to affirm *their* family was. This represents an example of Gidden's idea of unintended consequences within the process of structuration, where conceptual expression at the personal level also unconsciously reinforces social and cultural ideas that informed the action in the first place. The reproduction of the family structure on the grave marker ideologically advertised and preserved this recognisable and socially accepted idea as well as the gendered nature of the roles that went with it. When multiplied across the cemetery this projected a sense of cultural continuity. Given changes to the traditional gender structure of the Western nuclear family in the early twenty-first century, based on the sexual orientation of parents, future memorialisation in whatever form it takes will in time reflect and support these social changes. The child's foundational role could also be linked to other structural factors, such as religious faith, by their association with Christian ideas, particularly in the nineteenth century where an advertised adherence to Christianity (notwithstanding the denominational conflicts of the period) equated the deceased (and family) with the valued characteristics of social respectability and morality.

As the sample showed, families while cognisant of prevailing social ideals regarding children and childhood did not uniformly memorialise their children. As discussed in the previous section, complex influences acting upon the broader society found expression in memorialisation, and saw variation in the measure of childness observed in the five cemeteries from the 1840s to 2018. Figure 9-5 provides a schema of childness to illustrate such variation. It shows that the observation of childness across the sample's chronology was strongest for infants and young children (aged up to six years) in relation to smallness, angelic innocence, domesticity (when motifs are used), play and temporality (the latter two mostly observed since the 1980s). Older children (from seven to 20 years) can also be associated with innocence (including purity) and domesticity. Emotive expression runs through all age groups. In addition, familial status is commonly used for all ages whereas class status is mostly confined to the Victorian and early-twentieth century periods. The degree of childness drops away as the child matures and this was notable as early as the age of seven, with children from this point less differentiated from adult family members. Some qualities of childness are also no longer (or less) applicable with age, such as smallness, that was used

mostly for children under five (with the oldest example by age used in an inscription for a 10-year-old c.1865). As shown, some individuals in the upper age range of 17 to twenty years had already achieved adult status at the time of their death based on occupation (soldier, factory worker, or mother); although no hard age thresholds for this transition were observed. At the other extreme some clearly young children were memorialised with no observed childness but as an undifferentiated individual (or family individual).

Childness[1] = Measure				
Quality	Symbolises	Role	Age = Indicator	Material Culture
Smallness	Biological size Vulnerability	Infant or young child	According to developmental size (usually infants and children under 5)	Marker size, inscription, Motif Grave furniture
Innocence	Purity, gentleness/ association to the angelic	A good child, heavenly attributes	0-6 (Inscriptions and angel motifs) 0-20 (other motifs all ages)	Marker form (angel) Inscription Motif Grave furniture
Domesticity	Home and family	Safe[3], secure, sleeping, awaiting reunion	0-1 (motifs usually represent infants) 0-20 (euphemisms and reunion used for all ages)	Marker form (sleeping child) Plot Fencing/arrangement Inscription Motif
Play[2]	Childhood experience/freedom	Playful, happy, learning	0-6 (grave furniture may occur for some older children)	Inscription Motif Grave furniture
Temporality[2]	Prematurity	Denied futurity	0-5 (Mostly infants)	Inscription Grave furniture
Emotion	Parents –child relationship	To be loved and to express love in return	0-20	Inscription Motif Grave furniture
Status = Influencer				
Familial and social	Familial position/class	Prescribed by gender[4] and family	Represents familial and class status at time of death and may indicate age range in absence of actual age i.e. "in infancy" 0-20 (17-20 Sometimes seen as adults)	Grave plot (Type and size) Position of child's name on marker Marker (type and size)
[1]Based on sample [2]Primarily observed from 1980s onwards [3]Or saved from sin in the Christian religious context as a believer through the family's religious association [4]Gender may influence older children's memorialisation				

Figure 9-5. Schematic of childness as a measure (with status as an influence, age as an indicator).

By making these observations of childness in memorialisation explicit, the nature of the parent/child relationship and the valued attributes of the child that supported its structuration are revealed to us. From a historical perspective the transfer of Western (predominantly Anglo-Celtic) ideas about children and childhood to colonies like Australia is both understandable and from a needs perspective essential, as European colonials initially sought to re-create the cultural norms from whence they had come to ensure

both their economic and psychological wellbeing. The European nature of the Australian colonial cemetery is a clear indication of this pursuit. It is a sign of the increasingly interconnected global capitalism of the twentieth century that post-colonial memorialisation continued to follow mostly Western international trends until the 1980s, when a more individualised expression appears in the cemetery, including the use of Australian cultural references, such as motifs of gum nuts and leaves on the grave marker of three-year-old Seth at Walkerville.

Although at one level the study suggests a high degree of continuity in the role and value of the child through memorialisation, the spatial separation of children from adults at sites such as the Children's Garden over the last four decades symbolises the culmination of the rise of the individual and unique child. This is a status bestowed on all children in the early twentieth-first century, backed up by an international framework of rights and protections. The resulting enhancement of children's social status and citizen rights has allowed them an increased sense of individual agency depending on age, in their relationships with adults, and interactions with an increasingly online community of peers. The idea of a 'good' childhood remains a powerful ideal, the absence of which is commonly associated with poor adult social functioning. The individualism implied in the contemporary child's enhanced status and social value explains the more creative sense of child memorialisation and heightened degree of childness applicable to all children in contemporary memorialisation.

9.4   The future application of childness

In further progressing our understanding of children and childhood a number of future projects could be considered using childness as a measure. Within cemetery studies, it would be interesting to look at children's memorialisation in other Australian states and territories to identify any regional and historical variations (as well as commonalities). Also within Australia, the examination of child memorialisation in the period of European colonisation predating South Australia (commencing with New South Wales in 1788) would address the historical gap in this research. Additionally, investigation of the memorialisation practices for Indigenous children, both traditional, post contact and contemporary, may be an area of potential, dependent on cultural sensitivities and importantly, the agreed consent, participation and cultural oversight of an interested Indigenous community. An understanding of Indigenous attitudes towards child memorialisation and conceptualisations of 'childhood' would provide a more inclusive approach to understanding the value, role and status of children in the broader Australian context.

The relationship between memorialisation, class and social status also deserves further attention. An interesting test project would be to select a chronologically suitable, manageably sized and well-preserved cemetery and undertake an exhaustive biographical study of its population, akin to Farrell (2003) but with a specific child focus. This could allow for mapping of the site's class distribution and a statistical comparison of material culture against each family's social background, and as it relates to the representation of their

children. More detailed historical (or contemporary) research into family interactions with monumental masons and the influence of funeral directors would also be welcome to better understand the commercial influence on family memorialisation choices regarding children.

Finally, it would be interesting to test childness as a measure in the analysis of archaeological sites where the direct agency of children could be investigated. One potential area could be that of playgrounds, as spaces used by children; designed by adults (increasingly with input by children and families), and linked to ideological aspects of childhood concerning safety, freedom, experience and learning.

9.5 Conclusion

Childness has proven a productive measure in the interrogation of the material culture assembled for children in the cemetery, as it allows for comparison of historical conceptualisations of children and childhood to be compared with the contemporaneous archaeological assemblages subject to these ideologies. Examination of the material culture for these qualities allows for inferences to be made about social and cultural understandings of children, and to account for variations in the degree of childness observed between different individuals and in different time periods subject to prevailing trends in grief and mourning practices. This approach recognises the complexity that goes with the family's management of such an unnatural loss through the words chosen, the motifs used, and the objects and spaces created.

The relative degrees of childness observed for the memorialised child over the last 180 years, from virtual absence to subtle presence or extreme representation, illustrated differences between contemporary families, influenced by variables such as status, class, religion and for children approaching adulthood, gender. More broadly the choices made were influenced by the cultural structuration of society in its attempts to manage loss and grief in ways that helped both the psychological repair of families and through this the maintenance of social order and values. It may seem obvious, for example, to state that families loved their children and therefore that emotion was commonly expressed in their memorialisation, but as the archaeological results showed, emotive expression was articulated in different ways and could be as discreet as a single word or as verbose as a long, intense sentimental verse (including emotive motifs), depending on the historical period, age or status of the child. It could also be absent. It is these differences that childness as a measure highlights, and illustrates the challenge reflected in the material culture of death as families sought to memorialise their lost child in their chosen way but within and subject to these broader social and structural continuities.

Understanding the memorialisation of children contributes to our understanding of children more broadly as significant participants in society and culture, both historically and in the contemporary world. This is because the identities created for them by their grieving parents and families provide archaeological insights into parent-child relations, and the social value and role accorded to children more broadly. Today,

the focus on a positive and appropriate childhood has never been stronger, providing children with both an enhanced status and increased influence on social policy and community development. Understanding how children came to attain such status forms a significant focus and vindication of the archaeology of childhood. In the search for such answers, the memorialisation of children over the last 180 years reflects the rise of the valued child in both life and death.

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APPENDIX A: CEMETERY RECORDING FORM

HEADSTONE RECORDING FORM

SITE/LOCATION: _____

RECORDER/S: _____

DATE OF RECORDING: _____

DENOMINATION:
- ☐ Catholic
- ☐ Anglican
- ☐ Presbyt.
- ☐ Baptist
- ☐ Methodist ....
- ☐ Uniting
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Unknown
- ☐ Other:

GRAVE REF: _____

E _____

N _____

MAIN FAMILY NAME
_____

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: / **DATE OF DEATH:**
1. ....
2. ....
3. ....
4. ....
5. ....
6. ....
7. ....
8. ....

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

Nat. Trust Guide No.: _____

MARKER SHAPE (sketch):

OTHER ASSOC. PLOTS?
- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes

Name/Ref. No:

ORIENTATION:
- ☐ North
- ☐ Northeast
- ☐ East
- ☐ Southeast
- ☐ South
- ☐ Southwest
- ☐ West
- ☐ Northwest

MONUMENT SIZE:

TOTAL HEIGHT: _____ (cm)

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

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

COLOUR OF HEADSTONE:
- ☐ White
- ☐ Pink
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Grey
- ☐ Other: ....

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

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:
- ☐ Vase
- ☐ Flowers
- ☐ Toys ....
....
- ☐ Photos/pictures ....
- ☐ Statues/dolls ....
- ☐ Plantings
- ☐ Shells
- ☐ 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
- ☐ Figure
- ☐ Lamb
- ☐ 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
- ☐ Factual
- ☐ Biographical
- ☐ Religious

TENSE/ AUTHOR:
- ☐ Written in first person ('I', 'me')
- ☐ Written in third person ('He', 'she')
- ☐ Written by parents
- ☐ Written by spouse
- ☐ Written by friend/other

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
- ☐ No embellishment
- ☐ Other (specify):
....
....
....

PHOTOS:

MASON:

TOWN:

APPENDIX B: GRAVE MARKER FORMS AND STYLES

Tablets: Also referred to as upright slabs and stelae are assigned 24 styles by the National trust. The three most common styles are rectangular, cambered (with the top gently curved) and semicircular (with a clearly semicircular top; Figure 1). Semicircular grave markers can also have shoulders, acroteria and cut away shoulders. To manage the large number of tablet variables, square grave marker tablets are included in the same category as rectangular grave markers and are presented as rectangular or square. Rectangular or square grave markers can also have shoulders. A contemporary style, rectangular with wave, was also added. This style has a waved top.
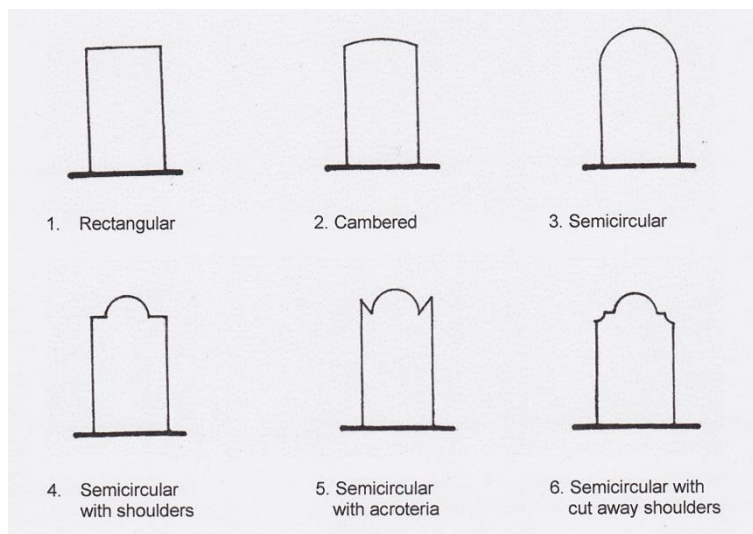
Figure 1. Tablets Rectangular, Cambered and Semicircular grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:121).
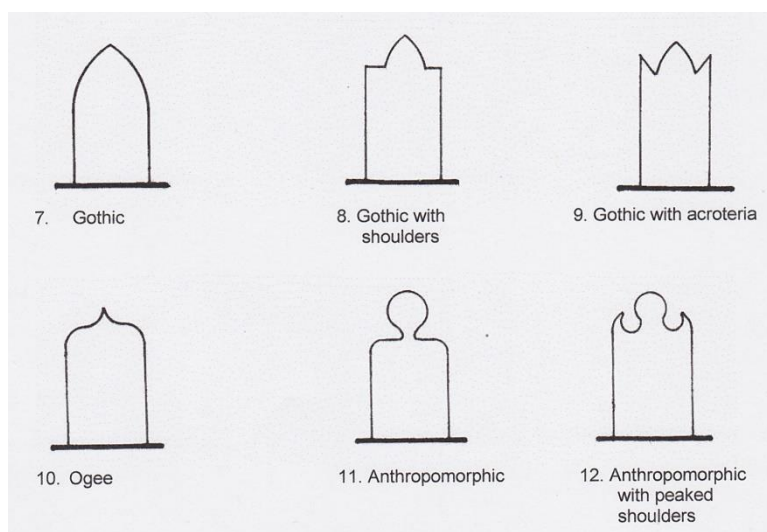
Figure 2. Tablets Gothic, Ogee and Anthropomorphic grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:121).

Gothic tablets, curve at the shoulder to form an arched top (Figure 2). They can also have shoulders or acroteria. Ogees have a smaller, narrow point. The anthropomorphic style as the name suggests gives the grave marker a symbolically human-like shape. They can also have peaked shoulders. Gabled grave markers have a low pointed top (Figure 3) and can also have shoulders and peaked shoulders. Pedimented grave markers are topped with a triangular shaped gable reminiscent of classical (and Baroque) architectural styles. Stepped grave markers have stepped tops and cruciform grave markers are cross shaped as opposed to cross grave markers that are clearly actual crosses.
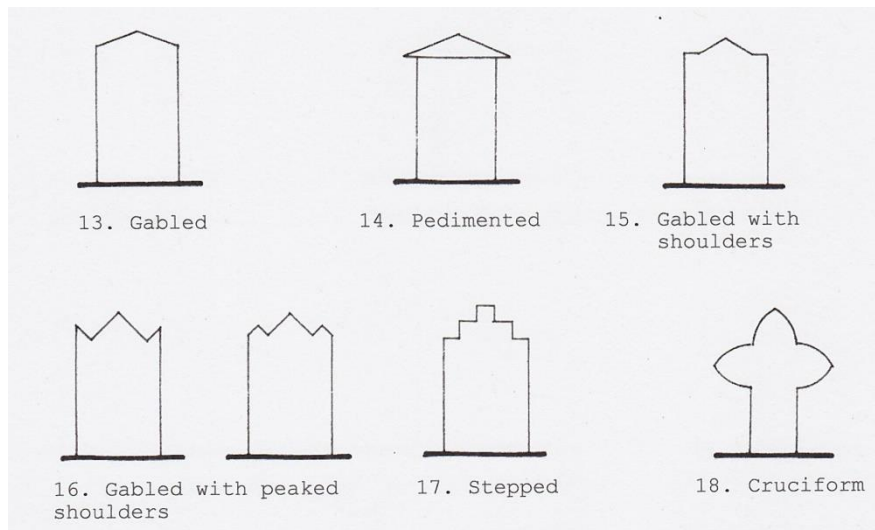
Figure 3. Tablets Gabled, Pedimented, Stepped and Cruciform grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:122).
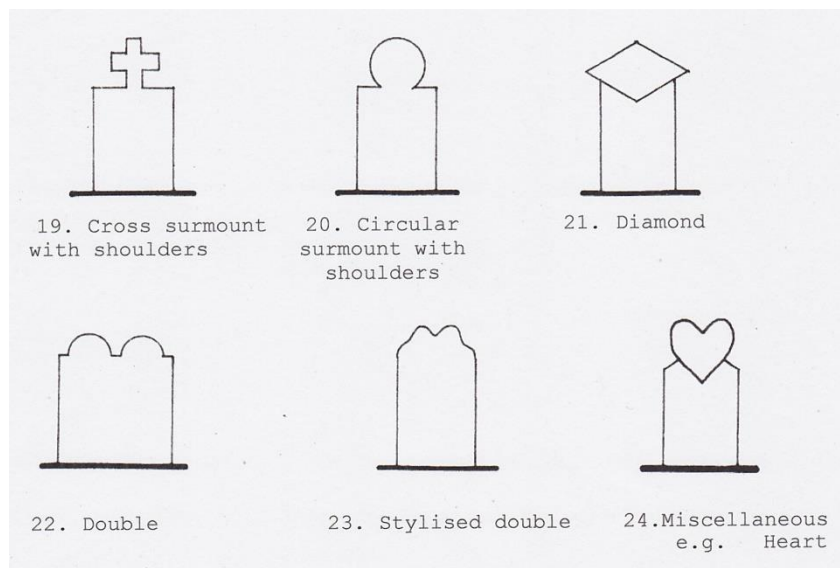

Figure 4. Tablets Cross and Circular surmount, Diamond, Double and Miscellaneous grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:122).

Surmounted grave markers can be topped by a cross or circular shape, the latter similar to the anthropomorphic style (Figure 4). Diamond grave markers are topped with a diamond shape. Doubles are a single grave marker that appears as two joined markers but can also appear in a stylised style. Miscellaneous cover those tablet styles that don't fit elsewhere. A contemporary example was the angular with curve, with irregularly angled sides and a waved top.

Crosses: Latin cross grave markers can take a circular, rustic or roman style (Figure 5). The Roman/Latin cross with its usually three stepped bases symbolised the biblical ascent to the site of Calvary, the hill upon which Jesus was crucified. The distinctive Celtic cross grave marker, although often associated with those of Roman Catholic faith, was also used by non-Catholics (Mytum 2004:67).
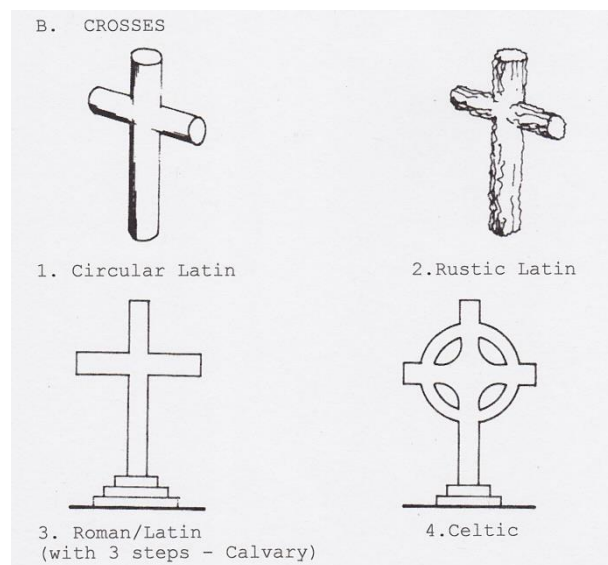

Figure 5. Latin and Celtic cross grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:123).
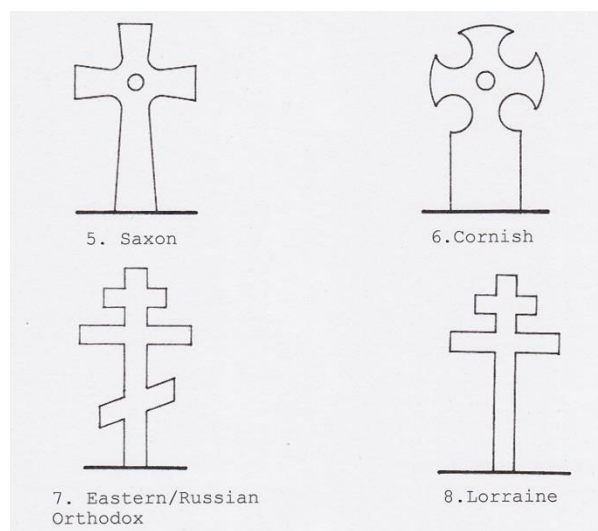

Figure 6. Saxon, Cornish, Orthodox and Lorraine cross grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:123).

Saxon grave markers have angled lines and Cornish grave markers a circular cross style (Figure 6). Lorraine and Eastern/Russian Orthodox cross grave markers, whilst similar, are distinguishable by the diagonal addition on the orthodox cross. In addition to these categories, was added a cross standing on a rustic, rock-like base, (symbolising the rock of ages and adherence to faith) and sometimes accompanied by another motif.

Pillars: Pedestals, often with a Champhered base, are used as stand-alone grave markers but can also serve as the base for obelisks and columns (Figure 7). Obelisks are tall and taper to a pointed top, their style directly referencing those produced by the ancient Egyptian civilisation (Keister 2004: 16). Columns too suggest ancient imagery, of Greece and Rome, with their classical appearance either intact or broken at the mid-point, symbolising a premature death (ref). They may also be adorned by another classical motif, a wreath. In addition to these categories was added pedestals topped by a book (symbolic of a bible, the deceased's life story and, if open, the expressive heart [Keister 2004:112-113]) or a cross.
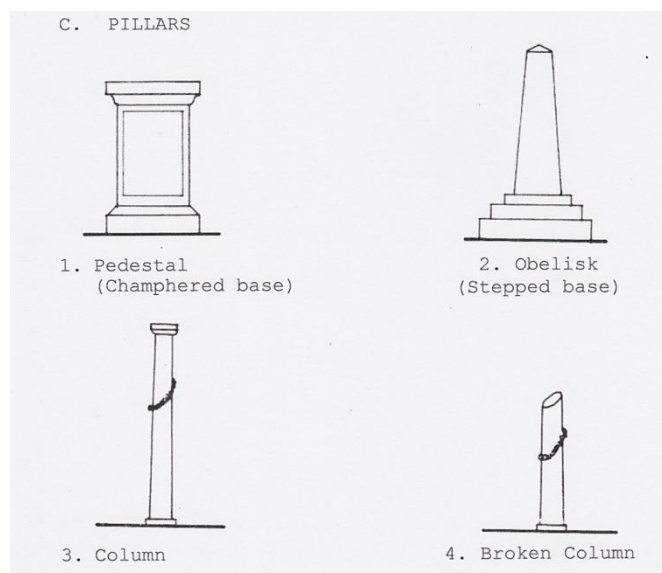

Figure 7. Pedestal, Obelisk and Column grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:124).

Sculptures: Urns, symbolising death, mourning and remembrance, are also classical symbols suggestive of the ancient Roman custom of cremation (Penney 2016; Figure 8). An urn could also be presented as draped in a cloth. They are one of the most commonly used classical revival motifs (Keister 2004:137; Mytum 2002:36).

Angels appear as either adult or child-like (cherubim) figures and can also be associated with other motifs such as the cross. Added to these categories were other religious figures.
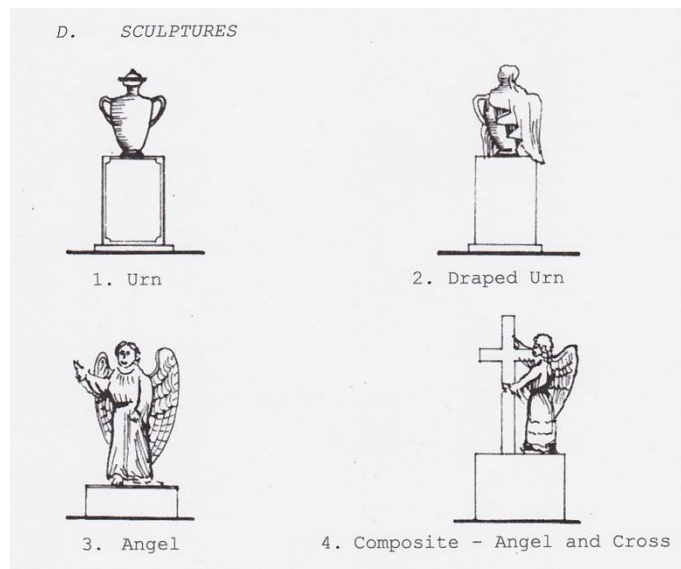
Figure 8. Urn and Angel grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:124).

Horizontal slabs: Horizontal slabs come in a variety of styles including tables, altar, sarcophagus, coffin and slab and desk (Figure 9). Not included by the National Trust is the horizontal, rectangular grave slab that both covers and protects the grave and demarcates its boundary. Often just used as a form of grave furniture, these slabs when inscribed directly or with a plaque attached become grave markers.
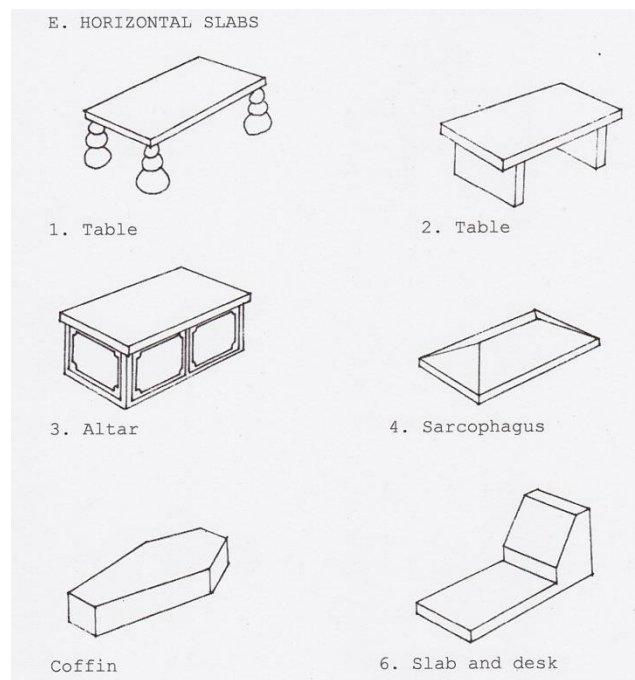

Figure 9. Horizontal slab grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:124).

Plaques: The National Trust refers to plaques as desk decorations shown fixed to an angled desk grave marker (Figure 10), but many are in fact free standing or affixed horizontally or vertically. To account for this, all orientations of this style are referred to collectively as plaques. Plaques appear in several different shapes, such as rectangular, or in the shape of a book, heart or shield.

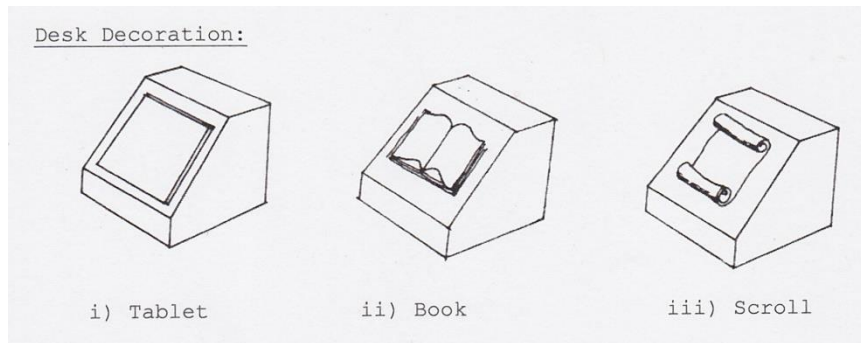Scrolls can occur as both plaque and tablet grave marker styles.

Figure 10. Plaque and scroll grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:124).

Miscellaneous: There are always some grave markers that don't easily fit into a category. The National Trust guide cites the styles in Figure 11, to which are added vases only and the use of natural rocks.
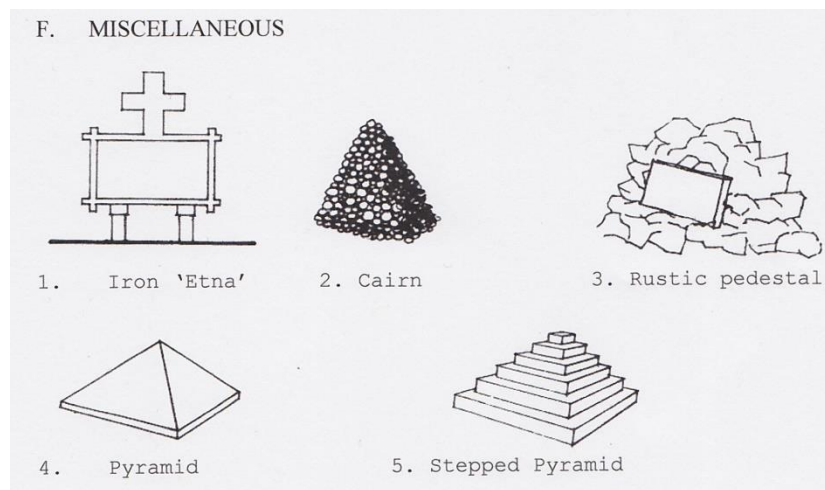

Figure 11. Miscellaneous grave marker styles (Reproduced with permission from the National Trust of NSW 2010:126).

APPENDIX C:
LIST OF FIELDWORK VOLUNTEERS

Adrienne Wright

Alex van Wessem

Angela Gurr

Deborah Starcevic

Harry Bayliss

Paige Timms

Jane Arragon

Maddy Peston

Goran Blazevic

Jarryd Scholtz

Jenna Walsh

Jessica Barnard-Brown

Alex Del Gaudio

Jo Biggs

Melanie Munt

Melanie Hazeldine

Shay Hannah