A Marker to Remember: Transformations in Plot Attributes from 1870s – 1930s in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery

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Abstract

Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery (DHNC) is a non-denominational cemetery that contains over 18,000 burials from 1873 to 1937 when the last plot was sold, although cremated family members are still permitted in family plots. Unlike contemporary cemeteries that were separated into denominational or ethnic divisions, DHNC was divided into four classes of blocks based on the sizing of these plots and the height of their memorial structures. In this study only Extra-First, First, and Second class plots are investigated due to a lack of memorialisation of Third class burials.

This research identified the transformations in 23 attributes of 1407 markers and plots: morphology; iconography; inscriptive elements (such as the memorial inscription, lettering, language, and epitaph); marker materials; height; condition; class; date and decade; footstones and materials; fences and materials; concrete coverings; masons markings; and geographic affiliations.

Transformations in the commemoration of individuals and attitudes towards death are inferred through marker attributes, which are influenced by the agency, identity, and ideology of the community (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998). Identifying the stylistic and functional attributes of types of markers and memorials is important for understanding the transforming value of the deathscape to Dunedin’s communities. This study analyses the functional and stylistic transformations in markers and memorials in decades surrounding the First World War (1914-1918), specifically the transformations between pre-War and post-War decades. The study also identifies the implications of these changing attitudes towards death and commemoration in Dunedin society.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Cemeteries in New Zealand are a largely unexplored research topic in archaeology, and provide opportunities for gaining insight into early settlers of New Zealand. Cemeteries contain a representative sample of the population of an area, and the plots often reflect some of the beliefs and choices of the individuals interred in their plots or their immediate family. The context of Dunedin’s Historic Northern cemetery (DHNC) represents a stage of New Zealand’s past where burials became typically confined to marked burial grounds, either in ideological and/or ethnic partitions, or through socially segregated areas.

In this study of transformations in grave markers and memorials, the ‘deathscape’ or landscape of death refers to death, grieving, and burial processes, and includes the landscape of the cemetery or burial ground, and the markers and memorials found there (Boulware 2008, Marco 2015, Rainville 1999). This term therefore encompasses the vast and varied aspects of death and the socio-cultural areas it impacts. The deathscape in this study therefore links the multiple deceased communities present in the span of the cemetery to their contemporary living or deceased societies (Hurley 1998).

Research Outline

There has been a lack of archaeological investigation into New Zealand’s Historic cemeteries, and particularly any focusing on the social changes that developed from and surrounded the massive societal upheavals from the First World War (WW1). This period in New Zealand’s history was a time where society as a whole was developing its identity as a Dominion, and was then united under a foreign military cause. This investigation therefore concentrates on the decadal changes surrounding WW1 and influenza epidemic period, which have not been previously investigated in a non-denominational cemetery context.

This study investigates the research questions: ‘How do stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery indicate a shift in attitudes towards death surrounding the First World War?’ and ‘What are the implications of these changing attitudes towards death and commemoration for Dunedin communities?’
Research Case Study

New Zealand cemetery studies have predominantly been resource management motivated or a form of rescue archaeology. However, a few Archaeological Thesis projects have investigated the wider implications of transformations (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998). This study looks at Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery in a New Zealand cemetery and deathscape context (see Appendix 1: Cemetery Location). This cemetery has been investigated with acknowledgement of the relevant legal requirements of the time and district e.g. *The North Dunedin Cemetery Act 1872* (see Appendix 2: Burial Regulations in New Zealand).

Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery was selected as the study area due to the unique layout of the cemetery for the time period. The Northern Cemetery, unlike most contemporary New Zealand cemeteries, is not primarily divided into denominations or ethnic sections, but has four classes of plots. While the Northern Cemetery was chosen as the study area particularly for the representation of society as a whole through social class distinctions, the cemetery also represents the range and diversity of religious or ethnic affiliations within Dunedin society, which are present in separate sections in other cemeteries.

This study investigates the transforming function of markers and memorials through their stylistic variations. Identifying the patterns, types, and life histories of the markers and memorials is important for understanding their changing value to society throughout the cemetery’s past, and this may be accomplished by identifying additions or alterations to the markers and memorials and changing trends in marker types over the decades.

Cemetery markers and memorials have a multiplicity of functions. There is a separation between their utilitarian function as physical representations of a deceased individual and identification of their burial location, and their symbolism, which is indicated by their stylistic attributes (Hurt and Rakita 2006, Renshaw 2013). This relationship between style and symbolic function indicates the socio-cultural relationship between physical characteristics on the marker or memorial and the culture of the time. In this study, the functional and stylistic attributes of the markers were investigated the context of the changing socio-cultural communities of Dunedin.
Defining the ‘Cemetery’

Previous studies have suggested that there have been issues with the terminology surrounding death, including phrases such as ‘archaeology of death’, ‘deathscape’, ‘necropolis’, ‘cemetery’, ‘burial ground’ (Ardito 2009, Boulware 2008, Marco 2015, Rainville 1999, Rugg 2000). As archaeologists tend to exclude the social aspect of death, such as ritual processes of death and grief, and focus more on the burial contexts, some of these terms have been used only to refer to the physical burial, while other terms are inclusive of the emotional and ritual behaviours surrounding death (Rugg 2000). Identifying the correct terminology depends on what a study is focused on. For example, when considering the complexity of the social and cultural spheres of the mortuary landscape, particularly considering their overlapping and interrelated states, more inclusive terms should be used (‘cemetery’ and ‘deathscape’), while a study focusing solely on interpreting the physical remains should refer to the context (such as the ‘archaeology of death’, ‘necropolis’, and ‘burial ground’) (Stutz and Tarlow 2013).

The terms ‘cemetery’ and ‘burial ground or site’ along with ‘churchyard’ and more rarely, ‘necropolis’, have often been used interchangeably to define areas where burials are located (Rugg 2000). However, the definition of a cemetery has been developed and defined by several studies. Curl (1999) defined the parameters of a cemetery as separate from a churchyard, and where the primary purpose of the park-like area or defined landscape, is for the burial of the dead. This was later reinforced by Rugg (2000) in her study of cemetery definitions.

The terms ‘deathscape’, ‘necrogeography’, and ‘cultural landscape’ refer to the landscape of death, although ‘deathscape’ focuses on both the practices and material culture surrounding dying, death, and burial. ‘Cultural landscapes’ refer to human interactions with a particular landscape; while ‘necrogeography’ appears to be a mixture of both ‘deathscape’ and ‘cultural landscape’, and is used primarily in geographical studies (Ardito 2009, Boulware 2008, Francaviglia 1971, Marco 2015, Rainville 1999, Rugg 2000). Each of these approaches uses material culture and ethnographic analysis to interpret the landscape. This is discussed further in chapter 2.
This study uses the terms ‘cemetery’ to describe the physical location of the burials in the archaeological context, and the term ‘deathscape’ to include the wider context of the death, grieving, and burial processes that are included in the socio-cultural contexts of the Dunedin and New Zealand communities. ‘Cemetery’ is usually used to describe the more deliberate aesthetic layout of the burial area, which includes the positioning of the plots, paths, walkways, and plants (Loudon 1843).

Rugg (2000) investigates the various defining traits of cemeteries, burial grounds, churchyards, mass graves, and war graves using sources from various disciplines including history, historical archaeology, geography, sociology, and social policy. In comparing the usages of several authors including Curl (1999), Kolbuszewski (1995), and Meyer (1997), she notes the variety of functions and forms that make up cemeteries and other types of burial locations. Particularly key in defining the physical traits of a cemetery is the ability to memorialize and locate a particular individual in a specifically separated area. Rugg (2000) identifies that cemeteries are made up of sections of land that are separated by pathways or roads, with particular ascribed markers, such as blocks, which are used to locate an individual in a particular plot. These plots are commonly owned by the individuals or their families and are able to be reused to an extent; however, this may be different in particular areas based on the local legislation (Rugg 2000). In addition to the physical traits, she also evaluates the purpose and ownership of the cemetery, the sacredness, and the ability to protect and commemorate the deceased. In New Zealand, ownership of sacred spaces such as cemeteries are designated the responsibility of the local government, with plot upkeep carried out by family members (Cemeteries Act 1882).

The analysis of mortuary landscapes in New Zealand covers a large area of archaeology, including investigation within burial grounds of pre-‘historic’ and ‘historic’ sites (as defined by the presence or absence of historic documents). In New Zealand key social periods prior to this study include a pre-European period and an early contact and European settlement period. The periods of social change that this thesis investigates includes the provincial government and gold rush period, period of establishment and expansion in Vogel’s transportation network, the Long Depression and early 20th century, WW1 and influenza pandemic period, and finally the post-War Depression (Lenihan 2015, Olssen 1984).
The processes of investigating burial grounds in the above periods have been necessarily influenced by the cultures of the living communities whose relatives were buried in the landscape. Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery contains burials from individuals some of whose descendants have remained in Dunedin and as burials are still permitted in their family plots, this study does not include any sub-surface investigation or disturbance of plots.

**Chapter Outlines**

Chapter two provides the theoretical and background contexts for this study. This chapter outlines the theories of mortuary culture, particularly the defining traits of the mortuary landscape, and how agency, style and function, memory, and ideology may be applied to research in cemeteries. These theories have been used to interpret mortuary landscapes in previous international studies, which have investigated changes over time through the material culture of cemeteries. This chapter also identifies limitations of these studies and how these are addressed in the current study.

Chapter three identifies the social context of this study; particularly how New Zealand mortuary studies have influenced the current investigation. This chapter also investigates the social, political, ideological, and economic beliefs of contemporary Dunedin and New Zealand communities through the formation of identity, New Zealand’s involvement in WW1, and societal attitudes regarding aspects of the ‘deathscape’. The shifts in attitudes towards death within the Dunedin community were shaped by events in this period are also investigated in this study.

Chapter four explains the methods used in the investigation of transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, and how this investigation analysed the particular attributes and characteristics identified from studies in chapter two. This chapter explains the statistical analysis and observations of the patterns and types found in chapter five.

Chapter five explains how the qualitative and quantitative analyses of plot attributes and characteristics are used to evaluate and explain what transformations were occurring in the cemetery. Quantitative analyses indicate statistically significant patterns in some of the data, together with graphs and tables, and these are combined with observations of categories to
provide an interpretation of the transformations that occurred in the cemetery. The qualitative analysis identified patterns, consistencies and discrepancies in the format of the memorials that were not evident from the quantitative analysis. These trends indicate transformations in the popularity of types, and may suggest specific meanings including religious connotations, emotional ties, and beliefs in the afterlife.

Chapter six answers the research questions by discussing the statistical and observed results in relation to the historical material from chapters two and three, and evaluates the data with respect to the material culture, and the historical and archaeological context. This chapter also presents the conclusions of the research and suggests how further studies might expand or build on these conclusions.
Chapter 2: Theory and Background Studies

This chapter examines various theories and theoretical frameworks for interpreting mortuary landscapes. This study considers their applications of agency, style and function, memory, and ideology in a cemetery context, then explores how these frameworks have been studied previously in studies in Australia, Britain, and the United States of America (USA). This chapter explains what key stylistic attributes in markers and memorials have been investigated in these previous studies, and which attributes are indicative of transformations in community paradigms. New Zealand studies and legal documents surrounding the deathscape are also evaluated and compared to international standards of mortuary archaeology. The limitations of these studies are discussed in the context of this study.

Theories in Mortuary Studies

Applying simple theoretical frameworks to human social contexts has the potential for not accurately representing a community. Human communities can be seen as a complex web of many interacting and conflicting systems, with beliefs present in every decision and action of every individual (Urban and Schortman 2012). Frameworks used in a living or past culture are not necessarily applicable to another seemingly similar culture, and processes of analysing and understanding information used in the past may not accurately translate to a modern context. Fundamental aspects of that society should be considered when understanding the multivariate interactions that drive social changes. There is also a possibility that a single or any framework is no longer sufficient to apply to a modern society (Hurt and Rakita 2006). For example, relationships between religious transformations, social developments, political leadership, and economic fluctuations in New Zealand and globally are complicated and closely interrelated, with events and transformations in one sphere heavily influencing and being influenced by the corresponding developments and reactions to developments in the other (Hurt and Rakita 2006).

The use of a single theoretical framework is not sufficient for addressing the multi and varying interactions present in the socio-cultural context of Dunedin’s Northern Cemetery. In this study, this issue is addressed through choosing parts of a cognitive theoretical framework and through using parts of many interpretive frameworks to try and address the limitations of a whole paradigm, as suggested by Rakita et al. (2005). While a cognitive
framework has an inclusive approach to interpreting the data by including the ideology, symbolism, and role of the individual in their interactions with material culture, a focus on cognitive and symbolic interpretations falls short when dealing with a practical application (Segal 1994). In this study stylistic and functional variations within types of mortuary material culture are combined with cognitive and symbolic interpretations with the understanding that the agency of an individual is shaped by their global and local community ideologies and affiliated identity. These identities and ideologies are further shaped by the commemorations and memories of individuals within the community.

**Mortuary Terminology**

Consideration of the mortuary landscape as a whole has been a fundamental part of interpreting the material remains of a cemetery or burial ground. Burials do not just refer to the material remains of the deceased, but also include the relationship between the living and the dead through the attitudes and behaviour of the living in creating space for the dead (Gramsch 2013). The material culture of a burial is also more than the body of the deceased, rather it is inclusive of the below ground materials associated with the burial, the nature of the burial, arrangement of the burial itself and between other burials, and the spatial relationships of the demarked burial area and the wider burial landscape (Spars 2014).

In many studies, mortuary terminology is geographically linked or specific to a particular academic discipline (Ardito 2009, Boulware 2008, Marco 2015, Rainville 1999). As mentioned in chapter one, this study uses ‘deathscape’ and ‘cemetery’ for examining processes associated with dying, death and burial, and the physical landscape of the study area. This study considers Dunedin’s wider deathscape, and suggests there is a distinct difference between the definitions of a ‘marker’ and a ‘memorial’, where ‘marker’ refers to the labelling of a burial through a physical material representation, whereas ‘memorial’ refers to a ‘marker’ that is not necessarily directly linked in a physical setting to the interment. For example, Renshaw (2013) investigates the importance of body and place, and the identification of this separation in the context of WW1, so memorials that have been erected to commemorate war dead are separate from the burials’ markers.

Modern ‘Cemeteries’ were established in the late 18th and early 19th centuries outside of urban settlements e.g. York, England; Paris, France; Boston and Duxbury (MA), USA; and Sydney, Australia (Rugg 2000). Whereas previous burials were attached to religious centres,
sacred spaces, or in marginal land where commoners were often buried, cemeteries allowed for larger dimensions for the burial area. This meant that plots and burials were then able to accommodate the personality of individuals. While expanding settlements have surrounded older cemeteries, many have remained on the fringes of built up areas. This also means that it was necessary to implement a type of boundary that separated burial grounds from surrounding land. Rugg (2000) identifies that while these boundaries can protect the deceased from disturbances, they also serve the purpose of separating the living from the dead.

Grave markers and memorials are not static or single use materials, rather they represent an interaction between two types of societies - the living and the deceased (Francaviglia 1971, Hurley 1998). Contemporary living societies are reflected through the current state of grave markers at the period of observation, while markers may give insight into several contemporary living and deceased societies throughout their ‘life histories’ (Hurley 1998). This is because alterations or additions to the plots indicate either a new stylistic or functional attribute or reflect the decision to maintain a former stylistic pattern. Deceased societies may therefore be interpreted through attributes of the grave marker or memorial. Similarly, there may be multiple stages or ‘life histories’ reflected in the marker, depending on which particular living or deceased/past society it encapsulates in its primary form, and how many societies it reflects through later alterations or additions. The presence of these alterations show that many plots do not represent a single event, but rather a transformation over time (Hurley 1998).

**Style and Function**

Style or stylistic characteristics can be identified based on the socio-cultural context, while functional characteristics serve a useful or practical purpose. Dunnell’s (1978) study of ‘style’ compared to ‘function’ in evolutionary archaeology identified that the style or function of an object is subject to three main forms of bias - where one practice appears to provide better results; where successful or prestigious individuals or objects follow a particular practice; or where individuals or objects conform to a particular practice. These were visible in his study by the methods of transformation in evolutionary or random processes. However, researchers have since argued that these do not accurately identify the processes of transformations as a framework on their own (Hurt and Rakita 2006).
What Dunnell’s (1978) study doesn’t address adequately is the ability of an object to take on both stylistic and functional attributes. For example, extra-first-class and first class plots are useful in that many of them were apparently bought by and for ‘prestigious’ members of society who therefore were potential social movers, but who also had the financial resources to design their memorials and markers to be durable, to survive over time, and to reflect their socio-cultural perspectives.

This study will be testing these concepts from Dunnell’s (1978) research to identify the applicability of using style and function to define markers and memorials in a cemetery case study. The study will test whether the form of the markers or memorials would become more functional rather than stylistic, and whether the popularity of stylistic attributes would transform in different patterns to functional attributes.

**Agency**

Stylistic and functional variations of markers and memorials are present due to the agency of the individual(s) who chose that particular commemoration method. However, they also have agency in how they change the way the deceased is viewed by the community. As the contemporary community is a constantly changing group of people, how they interact with these markers and monuments is reflective of their attitudes towards death.

Agency has diverse theoretical applications that allow for the constantly changing meanings of attributes in the cemetery to be interpreted with acknowledgement of individual choice (Urban and Schortman 2012). Agency is a fluid concept that helps to explain how material culture, or ‘phenomena’, are always in the process of becoming, or always transforming. In this study, this is related to a changing intentionality over time in the design processes of the markers or memorials. It is through changes in style or function of the cemetery markers, deliberately or unconsciously by individuals, that socio-cultural transformations can be inferred. A limitation of interpreting ‘agency’ is that the current state of a marker may be representative of attitudes towards death and the deathscape, but it may also be influenced by socio-cultural considerations and migration patterns of locals.

Additionally, intentionality of choices can be related to the culture of constantly changing living and deceased communities, who create the ‘life-history’ of the artefacts. The current state of the marker or memorial is a living memory, which reflects the view of contemporary individuals, which may also be inferred through how the cemetery is treated by the community.
Commemoration and Memory

Lubar and Kingery (1993) provide a commentary on the sensory relationship between artefacts and their audience, which provides a link between audience and creator, and perhaps between living and past cultures. It is possible this sensory relationship is linked to the deliberate or unconscious remembering or forgetting of an artefact such as a cemetery marker (Bradley 2003, Dobres and Robb 2000, Laqueur 1993). In Prown’s (1993) terms, the marker or memorial is in itself the physical and symbolic form of a memory, as it holds the function of representing an individual or individuals in a symbolic form.

The attributes of a marker or memorial are a representation of how the living relatives or friends consciously and unconsciously see the deceased individual, or how they believe the individual would like to be represented. The current research investigates changes in attributes of cemetery plots, particularly stylistic or symbolic attributes, which may be used to identify changes in the commemoration of individuals. Also, a marker may represent a present or absent body, providing a symbolic memorial for friends and family to remember an individual or individuals (Moshenska 2014).

Ideology

Drew (2010) explains ideology as a theoretical concept with many linked branches that is expressed through unconscious beliefs, behaviours, and material culture. Therefore, ideology may be constructed in the consciousness of individuals who share common beliefs, which are expressions of their self-ascribed identities (Binford 1962). Like ideology, identities may be religious, social, political, economic, or a combination of these, so the beliefs form the identity, which in turn influences the ideology.

Ideology is a belief system primarily associated with and often identified as religiosity or religious narrative. The term ‘ideology’ has been used to describe theoretical social, political or economic principles, and the ideology of the current study period (1870s to 1930s) is also influenced by the religiosity of individuals (Edgar 1995).

Ideology has been the focus of many early studies in mortuary archaeology, as often iconography on markers or memorials are related to a particular religious affiliation or movement. Some of the most important early studies in mortuary cultures in the United States of America show this progression in understanding how ideology is related to
mortuary landscapes (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1965, Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, Dethlefsen and Deetz 1967).

Ideology has been investigated through indications of religiosity in marker characteristics such as morphology and iconography. For example, Edgar’s (1995) study of ideological choice was located in the Presbyterian section of Dunedin’s Southern cemetery to examine how the social, political, economic, and religious context influenced marker characteristics.

**Investigating Attributes of Markers and Memorials**

The material culture included within the cemetery, both under the surface in burials and cremations, and attributes of features above the surface are explored in relation to previous research within their respective theoretical frameworks. The elements that may be useful for identifying key transformations in the material culture of a cemetery over time are examined in this study.

The earliest studies into mortuary markers were carried out in Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States of America (USA), where headstones were drawn or photographed and their attributes described thematically. In these early studies there were few interpretations of social implications. These studies identified that many headstones had similar forms and design layouts, with similar fonts and stock pattern imagery carved into them (Griswold 1944, Hill 1894, Longfield 1948, Loudon 1843). The carvings could be classified into various common scenes, predominantly biblical or reflections of occupations in their nature, but it was also recognized that there were other images on a few headstones. In comparison, later studies investigated more varied attributes and moved from descriptive classificatory investigations towards more in depth analyses using more complicated theoretical frameworks (Rakita et al. 2005).

**Studies in the 1960s and 1970s**

In the USA, Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966, 1967, 1971) pioneered the study of iconography on headstones as evidence of social change, carrying out their investigations into the transformations from death’s head motifs to cherub forms and finally to willow tree and urn motifs. They reported that the basic layout of tablet forms showed a central motif on a domed headstone top, with thin domed panels on the left and right sides of the main inscription. In some areas, headstones had inscriptions on both or all sides of the marker;
while the 18th century form in cemeteries in Britain and along the eastern coast of America was commonly a slab of local stone with the inscription and central motif on one face. Dethlefsen and Deetz’s (1966, 1967, 1971) studies into transformations of iconography and deviations from the core motif forms are from Puritan areas in the United States of America that were influenced by the English colonization in the 17th and 18th centuries. They worked initially with headstones in Massachusetts, while their later studies were carried out along the Eastern coast. Their original study used seriation to explore the regional variations attributed to diffusion of the original concepts, which were then modified by individual stone carvers (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). They also discovered changes in stylistic variation across several regional cemeteries that followed the patterns of a ‘battleship curve’ or popularity curve in decade brackets until the 1830s, when stone carving became a specialist occupation (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971).

Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966, 1967, 1971) concluded that motifs changed through diffusion, local innovation, and the influence of folk-art, while basic forms followed the general trends present across the case studies’ states. Particularly for the death’s head and cherub motifs, in urban centres these could overlap while in rural areas there was a procession of one style to another. They discovered that death’s heads were representative of the virtuous and conservative Puritan values of the early settlers who adhered strongly to Biblical scriptures, while later motifs changed at the same time as the breakdown of these values. The cherubs represented a softening of perspectives towards death and may have been used as indications of social class in urban centres. The variations in popularity and form of these motifs changed across the states depending on the diffusion of local traditions, for example the spread of social statuses noted on markers and their proximity to urban centres. There was also an adoption of funerary practices from international trends, such as the socio-ideological movements in England; Georgian period Churchyard art; and the Great Awakening (1740-1760) (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971).

In the 1970s in the USA, studies of morphological characteristics tended to be included in wider investigations as evidence of mechanisms of change. For example, Francaviglia’s (1971) studies into necrogeography brought together the various aspects of the landscape of death or ‘deathscape’, which Rainville (1999) later developed in Hanover. He noted that attitudes towards death were reflected in the treatment of the cemetery as both a sacred and profane space that served an emotional and functional purpose to the community.
Francaviglia (1971) related aspects of architecture, sociology, psychology, and economics together within the mortuary landscape and the mixed-Protestant communities in the Minnesota, Wisconsin, and five Oregon cemeteries from 1870 to 1970. He investigated questions relating to the spatial patterning of cemeteries, architectural transformations within the cemeteries and over time, and concluded that the cemetery itself is a reflection of American society, a microcosm of the transformations in American mortuary culture.

Settler communities in the USA were varied in their religious affiliations, but originally had few ethnic differences. Therefore, Francaviglia (1971) argued ethnicity was less likely to motivate changes in their mortuary culture. He recorded grave markers for their forms and dates of construction and separated them into nine main descriptive categories including gothic shaped upright monuments, obelisks, cross vaulted obelisks, tablets, pulpits, scrolls, blocks, raised-top inscriptions, and lawn types. The categories included further descriptive elements such as the materials most commonly used, their heights, and a basic description of the elements that make up their forms.

Spatial patterning of the five Oregon cemeteries in Francaviglia’s (1971) study were displayed in a scatter graph and showed a trend in the popularity of headstone forms, moving from the gothic form to the lawn form from 1870 to 1970. While there were outliers in this trend, there is a clear grouping in each form displayed in decade bracket of the headstone forms’ popularity. Minnesota and Wisconsin trends follow this same pattern, however this is more difficult to discern, as there was less data and the data was less grouped (Francaviglia 1971).

Francaviglia’s (1971) investigation of the cemetery layouts in the same time period bracket showed that in the earlier family cemeteries, graves generally followed no patterns other than facing eastwards, while their hilltop locations appeared to be chosen due to Christian religious reasoning. However, the town cemeteries followed a strict grid-layout pattern reminiscent of town blocks, with ‘good’ and ‘bad’ area divisions similar to that of the community. Francaviglia (1971) identified four periods of transformations in cemetery layouts, expanding from a central point outwards for each cemetery. Gothic architecture and monumental mortuary markers characterized the Pioneer period of 1850-1879, which was followed by the Victorian period of 1880-1905 where ornate and classical monuments such as obelisks and columns dominated the cemeteries. The conservative period of 1906-1929 marked a gradual change from ornate architecture into more simplified designs - the monuments decreased in height and became less decorative. The last period in the study, the
modern period of 1930-1970 continued the trends of the conservative period even to the point where the markers were small squares inserted into the ground with no height at all. This progression through thematic morphological changes will be tested in this study.

Developments of Dethlefsen and Deetz’s methodology by later researchers included studying symbols and iconography as a proxy for investigating ideological or social transformations, varying from descriptive and thematic studies to explanatory investigations. Variations in motifs were identified by content and style, and were presented in various forms such as through the changes of popularity in particular motifs per decade, or displayed in battleship curves, or showing the progression of variations in particular forms across time and space in standardized patterns or drawn images (Mallios and Caterino 2007).

Studies in the 1980s

Research in this period developed the scientific data collection and documentation records of earlier studies, with the more interpretive studies that were characteristic of the 1970s. For example, the spatial patterning study carried out by Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) on 18th and 19th century headstones in South Carolina and Georgia investigated the mortuary ideology of the colonists who died in the area, whom they term Euro-Americans. They also compared their study to the results of the Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965) study in Massachusetts of the “Doppler-effect”, which documents changes of an event relative to its initial source. While Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) noted the existence of previous temporal studies of motif transformations as indicators of changing ideologies, and spatial studies that examined regional styles resulting from diffusion or stonecarvers’ migration, there were very few other temporal-spatial studies.

Gorman and DiBlasi’s (1981) methodology for investigations in two East Coast States of the United States of America was characteristic of a scientific approach and initially separated the spatial and temporal variables to characterise the religious, social, and economic factors. Separate variables were evaluated for random drift effects and statistical relationships between the variables and factors. Their study included two congregational cemeteries, 2 Episcopal cemeteries, one French Protestant cemetery, and one Interdenominational cemetery. However, despite their religious differences, their study revealed that the communities held the same mortuary values across both states. They reported that differences in iconography were not motivated by social factors such as immigration,
borrowing of ideas, and status, but the importing of carved New England gravestones did impact the mortuary setting. Variables noted for each of the 311 headstones evaluated were based upon previous studies; central motif, denomination, date, age, sex, occupation, birthplace, headstone material, and carver. It is notable that they rejected religious motivation as a reason for regional motif transformations.

Until stone carving became a specialized trade in the late 18th and early 19th century, the morphology of the headstones was predominantly up to the discretion of the purchaser and the individual stone carver, and was subject to human error and regional artistic differences (Schoemaker 1988). These carvers were not necessarily stone carvers by profession, but were primarily employed in a related trade such as masonry or building. In spite of the lack of stone carving as a profession, most markers followed a particular pattern in the construction and layout of the morphological attributes. In hand made markers, masons were able to demonstrate individualization in their particular style and interpretation of the dominant themes permeating mortuary culture in America.

Schoemaker’s (1988) study applied Dethlefsen and Deetz’s (1966) framework to 19th and 20th century Mormon headstones in Utah, and identified the increasing standardization of headstones. He argued that design elements became influenced by the users’ preferences as opposed to previous traditions where headstone designs were left to the discretion of the stonemasons, as also reported in other studies (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, Mytum 1994). This practice spread through Britain and America with an increasing demand for stone more durable than sandstone, such as marble and granite, since these required different handling and cutting techniques such as sandblasting. This specialization of the stonecutting trade allowed for designs that were more complicated and professional, where previously stonecutters could be identified through design characteristics (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, McCormick 1976, McCormick 1979, Mytum 1994). Schoemaker was able to identify the recurring stylistic elements that made up the standardized headstone of one particular carver by the location of inscriptions and motifs on the face, including the placing of the name, symbols, and epitaph (Schoemaker 1988).

Trask (1988) identified that grave markers were not always erected immediately after the death of the individual, especially in the early 1770s, or areas where stonemasons were rarely present and headstones were an expensive luxury. She identified the markers’ later dates from their stylistic attributes. This may not always be possible for cemeteries that do
not have a predominant style, or are influenced by many different styles, thus introducing an unidentifiable bias in studies on marker style. In the present study there have been many different influences in the styles of markers and memorials, which have made it difficult to try and identify markers’ dates from their stylistic attributes.

**Studies in the 1990s**

In the 1990s, exploration of ideology and ethnicity in cemetery studies was inferred from the location, form and material of the deathscape, and class distinctions were investigated to identify more about the individual.

Stone’s (1991) study of Dutch culture in Long Island, through 4,500 gravestones in 164 cemeteries, evaluated 44 variables for their connection to the ethnic and ideological history of the area. However, the term Dutch was used to refer to all non-English after 1674 when the English controlled Long Island. Stone recognized the cemetery as a microcosm of society, and likened the cemetery to an open museum with material culture artefacts in their social or cultural contexts. The influences from Puritan New England and Poly-ideological New Netherland affected the diverse ethnic and ideological affiliations in Long Island.

Of the total database developed, 53% of the cemeteries were church burial grounds, 25% were family or neighbourhood burial grounds, and 20% were village denominational burial grounds; the non-denominational cemeteries only made up 3%. The ideological affiliations are indicated in this study by the Puritan churches, which later became congregational and Presbyterian churches; Anglican churches; Quaker churches; and Methodist churches in Long Island. Other structures have not survived such as Dutch reformed congregations and Lutheran, Anabaptist, and Baptist churches. The early Dutch and Quaker burials in these burial grounds were identifiable to some extent, although many markers apparently weren’t expected to have survived, as the forms were either slightly shaped local stone tablets, field stone markers, or plain markers. While some grave markers reflected their heritage through surnames, or Dutch language inscribed in the stone, this is only a very small portion of the database.

Stone (1991) determined ethnic variation through the formatting of the inscriptions. Dutch heritage was expressed in the headstones of women through the presence of both their maiden name and their married name, as opposed to the English women’s headstones, which only inscribed their married names. It was noted that while English women’s headstones did not mention their maiden names, they did describe the individuals as the daughter or sister of another person. This is a reflection of women’s social status in English society, that they
were considered on headstones primarily as a relative of a male person (Stone 1991). Similar customs were noted in the present study, where females were often mentioned only in relation to their male relative or husband.

Mytum (1994) noted a transformation in 19th and 20th century headstones in Anglican church parishes and Nonconformist burial grounds, Pembrokeshire, including changes in calligraphic style fonts to typographical style. He also noted that the text itself held two traditions. The old tradition was characterized by directness of language, suggesting the mortality and morality of their culture, while the new tradition explored the commemoration of the deceased. This new tradition of commemoration followed contemporary social influences in marker layout e.g. Welsh Nationalism, and included details such as kinship ties, place of birth or death, or occupation, and was also used to display the individual’s character (Mytum 1994). The new tradition also marked an increase in variation between social classes, with increased differences in headstone morphology, such as the presence of a footstone, or a body-stone placed over the coffin. Similarly, the pediment headstones, which had a triangular section at the top, had a standardized form and iconography with slight variations in design elements inspired from architectural elements. These types of headstones were described in decade brackets (1750-1950), and also in Welsh, Bilingual, and English inscriptions.

Mytum (1994) divided the inscription into separate elements, an introductory phrase (or memorial phrase), followed by the name and kinship relationships, and the ‘who died’ details, aged ‘x’ years, and sometimes ended with an epitaph quote or phrase. He then explored the implications of particular decisions regarding the inscription, such as language choice, especially in the introductory phrase. For example, these comparisons are often displayed as two battleship curves for the north and south of the Landsker or Welsh speaking divide, showing the English phrase ‘In Memory Of’ compared to the Welsh ‘Er Cof Am’.

Also in Europe, Bennett (1994) investigated social status in a 20th century Greek cemetery. This study was an anthropological investigation of the modern culture of Lehonia, and of individuals’ identity within that society. The study looked at the cemetery as a reflection of the unity of the Greek orthodox community. She noted how equality and inequality in the cemeteries also extended to funerary practices, where class distinctions were present in the initial cemetery layout. While this seemed at first to be accepted, the small village of
Lehonia came to hold the cultural view that all deceased community members were important and that the dead should be treated equally and with great respect. The early implementation of mortuary distinctions was rapidly criticized by the community, which forced the separations to be removed. This view may have been prompted by the layout of the older cemetery, where there were no class distinctions, and where burials were more egalitarian in nature. That is not to say the community itself was egalitarian: Lehonia’s social structure was strongly hierarchical, and was particularly concerned with who was included, or not included, in the community.

In the new cemetery, when class distinctions were in place, they were characterized by very different headstone forms, with first class burials marked with great monuments, second class burials held temporary stone markers, and third class burials were only memorialized by small wooden crosses. These headstones also reflected the place in society of the deceased by their location within the cemetery. However, the move back into egalitarian mortuary practices was not without its exceptions, as religious divisions were deemed acceptable, and physical divisions or fences were present on almost every plot. In the present study, the visual representation of equality and inequality has been explored through the monumentality of markers, fencing of the plots, and ‘class’ segregations of the plots.

21st Century Studies

In the 21st century, studies developed these varied theoretical frameworks in order to more accurately represent the community.

Mytum and Evans (2002, 2003) noted a transformation in 18th and 19th century inscriptions at Galloon and Killeevan, Ireland. The earliest headstones were incised in capitals, with the design elements expanding to cover the whole headstone form. While Killeevan initially only had a Church of Ireland place of worship, Catholic churches were later established in the county. In their study, the introductory phrases in the cemeteries most commonly emphasised the location of the individual’s body, or commemorated the individual who erected the headstone.

The basic layout of a headstone or marker included an introductory phrase at the top with an image, followed by the details of the burial or burials. In this study, the phrasing of the introductory phrase was significant as the most common phrase was ‘Erected by’, indicating the importance of the living person who paid for the headstone. This is explored in the current research.
The language of the marker was important because this indicates the literacy of individuals buried there, despite the Gaelic heritage of the area, the headstones were all in English with a rare Latin inscription. Similarly, the iconography present on the markers showed a relationship between iconography and religiosity, particularly in the inscribed IHS, which indicated an affiliation with the Catholic denomination. These headstone inscriptions indicate occupancy of one or two individuals, with marker inscriptions in ledger form or on large raised slabs.

The ‘life’ of a headstone serves several purposes, primarily to record and commemorate, but also to indicate social and ideological transformations in the communities, and the changing functions of markers over time. Mytum (2003/4) investigated the changing roles of Irish headstones through time and space, an investigative method known as ‘artefact biography’, which refers to various types of headstones including single event markers; single inscription markers with continued use without headstone modification; multi-use markers with chronological gaps; and markers noting small and large-scale movement. His functionalist approach to studying grave markers investigated the use-life or life history of headstones; however, in this case, the life history was inferred from the placement of the headstone in the ground. The inscriptional elements, where the headstones had additional information inscribed after their initial use, along with the markers’ condition, repairs or upkeep, and their location provided details on the life history of the marker.

Mallios and Caterino (2007) conducted one of the most comprehensive studies in terms of details recorded, although their focus was not on the interpretation of inscriptional information. The intention of their study was to collect comprehensive data about the older headstones in the San Diego County area, including details about age, sex, number of burials, dates of burials, inscriptions, and signatures. Their San Diego County Gravestones Project collected data from approximately 133 cemeteries and 300,000 graves from the 19th and 20th centuries (Mallios and Caterino 2007). However, at the time of publication only 44 cemeteries had a complete set of data collection and analysis. The aim of the project was to identify whether staged transformations over time and regional boundaries were consistent across the county, and therefore allowed for the approximate dating of undated grave markers through the identification of their particular styles. The study examined how ideas of mortality changed across the county with supporting data presented in the form of
battleship curves, in similar style to studies by Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966, 1971), and as regression analyses based on Binford’s (1962) research.

The battleship curves show a steady progression through both urban and rural cemeteries from monumental forms, to markers embedded in the earth. Regression analysis showed rapid change in headstone form in urban cemeteries, and a slower change in rural cemeteries. However, this change was identifiable in backyard plot cemeteries, which showed less of a pattern of predominant forms across the decades.

Mallios and Caterino’s (2007) study discovered 6 categories of particular stylistic forms. This study discovered a clear progression through the 6 categories over time in the Mount Hope cemetery, compared to the 43 other cemeteries (see table 1). The cemetery context of the 1890s was consistent with the increased size, artificiality and individuality, and reflected variation in religious denominations (Mallios and Caterino 2007).

Table 1: Categories of marker styles in the Mount Hope cemetery (Mallios and Caterino 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Marker Styles</th>
<th>Decades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tall vertical statuesque monuments (obelisk, columns, spires and statues)</td>
<td>1890s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rectangular vertical slabs (tablet styles and block headstones)</td>
<td>1890s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Slant markers (stone markers 60 degree angle to the earth), pyramid markers, and slanted pulpit tablets</td>
<td>1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bevel markers (30 degree angle markers)</td>
<td>1930s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Above the ground level raised tops, or horizontal slabs</td>
<td>1940s and 1950s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Flat rectangular stones inserted flush with the earth</td>
<td>1940s and 1950s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following period, called the modern plain period, occurred after bitter and resigned World War I attitudes towards death circulated through the American culture, where death and grief became less shocking, due to the huge losses in the war. As shown in table 1, the
headstones of this period slowly flattened into flush markers and slab markers, which are simplified and uniform in shape.

Veit’s (2009) study also tested a variation of Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) methodology in their study of New Jersey’s 18th and 19th century headstones. After discovering that the urn and willow motif did not follow the original study’s patterns, and that instead, there was a presence of religious or ethnic monograms and neo-classical designs, they expanded the investigation to cover gravestones from 1680 to 1830. For example, one of the original Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) studies connected the iconography with socio-religious transformations, such as the Protestant ‘Great Awakening Movement’, where the iconography moved from Deaths heads to Cherubs. Utilitarians and Methodists began to use the willow and urn motifs in the later transformations. However, Veit (2009) doesn’t agree with this conclusion, and argues a lack of connection between ideology and iconography.

Veit (2009) argues that the transformations were more likely motivated by economic reasons rather than religious factors, which made gravestones more easily obtained because they could be mass produced. Veit (2009) also argues that the cherub motif was a reflection of the cultural revival of Greek and Roman archaeological discoveries. His investigation across New Jersey discovered significant regional variation, such as the lessened effect of the Great Awakening movement in the central and northern areas of Northern America. In the central-eastern parts of New Jersey, the trends followed the Dethlefsen and Deetz patterns of death’s heads and cherubs more closely, but monograms replaced willow and urn motifs in popularity. They reasoned these changes to be a result of consumerism, affordable grave markers, and even the transforming of architecture in the Classical revival, rather than religion. This was evidenced by the variably priced graves, an increased number of grave carvers, and iconographic themes present on markers.

**Previous Studies to Investigate Attitudes towards Death**

Several American studies that investigated attitudes towards death looked into how cemeteries are able to reflect a changing social context (Boulware 2008, Hijiya 1983, Jackson 1977, Rainville 1999). Jackson (1977) noted that a domestication and sentimentalisation of death happened through the mid 18th and mid 19th centuries. This transformed the presentation of death from being a tragic ending towards a sentimental and emotional celebration of the journey of life or of life after death (Jackson 1977). He also
argued that this sentimentalisation in British North American mortuary landscapes was the first of two major events in the mortuary landscape. The second was a progressive reduction in the level of family care given by the living to the dying and dead. This was well underway by the end of the 19th century. This removal of the dying process from the household and family, combined with death becoming a relatively less common occurrence, transformed the processes of death and burial into an unusual and often shocking occurrence. In its cultural context, where small close-knit communities lived in close social proximity to each other, the whole community now felt the loss of an individual more than previously, when the mortality rate was a lot higher. These two processes are evaluated in this study within the socio-cultural context of Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

Jackson (1977) suggested that in the mid 19th century the language used on grave markers and death notices indicated a softer or more ‘romantic’ approach to death. Previously, death had been portrayed as an escape from the harshness of life and towards the peace of death, a theme that continued through the American Civil War (1861 to 1865) and into the decades following.

Jackson (1977) argued that in the 1830s as death became something to be feared rather than accepted, popular attitudes towards death became more romantic, as shown by the ‘rural cemetery’ movement and later the ‘beautification of death’ movement. In these movements, the burial site held more significance than previously, and the locations where individuals were buried were recorded, tidied, and landscaped. These transformations came about due to urbanization, advances in medicine and health care, the increasing trends towards secularism, and a growing inclusion of the dead within living communities (Jackson 1977).

In this study themes of domestication and sentimentalisation of death can also be identified. These coincided with a reducing mortality rate and the influences of international trends such as the ‘beautification of death’ movement, which permeated through New Zealand communities and were often expressed in trends in marker styles.

In Hijiya’s (1983) study, the trends in marker styles from 1670 to 2001 span several themes such as plain style, deaths head, angel, urn and willow, monumentalism, or modern plain style, which he interpreted as corresponding accordingly to resignation, awe, confidence, mourning, defiance, and ignorance. The monumental style of the 19th century, and the modern plain style have expanded beyond the boundaries of America, as these styles may also be identified in New Zealand (Hijiya 1983). Interpretations of marker themes present in this study will be discussed in chapter 6.
Similarly, Rainville (1999) concluded that the beliefs held by members of society about death and dying held a strong influence on how the material culture of the cemetery was displayed. In particular, the style, material, and basic form of the markers were strongly influenced by social ideology or affiliations to a particular ethnic community. While grave carvers were given design freedom, they were influenced by the social ideology of the time, their attitudes towards the deathscape, and the values and beliefs of the family.

Boulware (2008) investigated the material culture of the St Paul’s cemetery in Oregon and identified the effect of local historical developments on the material culture of this nineteenth century cemetery and compared this with other contemporary cemeteries in the region. She identified that cultural patterns were visible through a cemetery’s visual landscape and that age and ethnicity were influencing agents that contributed towards these patterns, while gender was not so significant. These factors affected the survival of markers with regard to the presence or absence of inscriptions for individuals, particularly as younger members of the family did not have elaborate burials, while older and more distinguished members would be memorialized in grand displays. She also discussed the selection processes for occupying a plot in St Paul’s cemetery as compared to others in the region and showed how this decision of how to use the plot space influenced the mortuary landscape. The cemetery itself could be seen to uphold the significance of contemporary family values in their monumental and elaborate displays or their absence.

Jalland (2006) documented transformations in the institutions and practice of death in Australia over the twentieth century, and investigated social changes that influenced how Australians perceived death and the impact of a death on an individual level, over this period. The changing traditions of commemorating individuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries coincided with a decline in previously common practices of religious rituals associated with the deathscape (Jalland 2006). For example, the initial use of ‘In Memoriam’ notices as a public announcement of recent deaths began in the 1880s in Australia and was occasionally present in New Zealand newspapers as early as the mid 1860s. Many forms of this phrase are present on the headstones of cemeteries with markers, including Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.
**Limitations of Previous Studies**

As previously noted, archaeologists and historians have developed and modified methodologies for studying cemeteries and burial grounds, and explored the social implications of the transformations they discovered. These have led to many debates over the appropriate methods to use, the limitations of various methods, and the assumptions made by those studying the mortuary landscapes. For example, the balance of studying individual headstones versus the cemetery as a whole depends on the aim of the research, such as uncovering personal histories compared to the investigation of the wider social trends of the community.

There has also been much debate over whether the headstones of individuals are representative of those particular individuals, or their immediate community. As headstones are erected after the death of the individual, they are not necessarily reflective of the individual; however, family plots are more representative as they reflect the views of the family unit as a whole, or more likely, the surviving head of the family (Veit 2009). The presence or absence of decorative stylistic elements, and their material compositions, have occasionally been used for indications of the wealth or status of individuals. However, as noted previously this may not be an accurate representation of the individual. Other decorative elements of the plots such as fences, footstones, and the presence of concrete covering the plot were side notes or briefly mentioned, but often not with any particular regard to the composition of the plot as a whole. In this study, these plot attributes are identified across the plot classes.

Some earlier studies may have been biased by the apparent date of the marker not corresponding to the date of the death on the marker (Trask 1988). Similarly, Mallios and Caterino (2007) noted that the non-stone grave markers in the San Diego Graves Project were often replaced after their previous non-durable markers were no longer present, while others were refurbished prior to the project’s development. This is what they used to account for the slight bulges in the battleship curves displaying morphological transformations. Another limitation in recording is a potential bias in the inscription (Mytum 2004). As many societies portray women and children as a relation of a man, or a wife of a man; in family graves, women and children were not always commemorated on the headstones. In the present study these difficulties were also noted.
Mallios and Caterino (2007) also noted the damage of markers, where a fallen tablet headstone was recorded as a flush marker as it had become embedded into the ground. To mitigate this bias, they explained that the meaning and purposes of markers changed over time and with that, the way they interact with the living also changes. The problem with this method is that some headstones had simply fallen over and were recorded as their previously upright form, while others were recorded in their new flush form. This difference between accidental or deliberate damage and relocation occurring was and is very difficult to identify.

The ‘life-history’ of a plot can be used to explore the various meanings an item possesses over time (Mytum 2003/4). For example, family plots were reused many times over a period of several decades to inter the members of one extended family. The type of plot (family plots, double plots, or single plots) studied can give an indication of how many times the plot has been reused and whether the meanings of any attributes were transformed over that period of use. Additions to the main marker, or changes added to the marker (specifically additions made to the inscription), indicate how the transitions from the earliest inscription to the most recent inscription transform the meaning of the mortuary space.

In summary, these studies primarily address issues of morphology, iconography, or inscrip-tional elements and their transformations, either in geographical or chronological contexts. While there are a few studies that begin to investigate other attributes of the plots, these are primarily focused on documenting rather than explaining these attributes. The transformations in how markers and memorials have been interpreted has clearly been divided into three main characteristics – iconography, morphology, and inscrip-tional studies, with other characteristics of the markers and memorials noted within the study in varying detail and interpretation. Ideology has often been seen as an integral part of the design of markers and the motivating force behind transformations, often at the expense of other influences (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, Dethlefsen and Deetz 1967, Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971, Francaviglia 1971, Gorman and DiBlasi 1981). While these studies address in detail the transformations across time and space, particularly in America, these sorts of studies have not been previously carried out in New Zealand cemeteries on a large scale. Studies such as Higgins (1998) and Edgar (1995) investigate single aspects of their cemetery samples, and are not cohesive enough in the attributes they
investigate to provide a comprehensive comparative study. This study addresses this gap in the literature by recording 23 plot attributes across plot class separations. Investigations into New Zealand mortuary contexts, and the legal documents by which cemeteries in New Zealand were bound to follow, have also been used to provide a socio-political context for this study of Dunedin’ Historic Northern Cemetery.
Chapter 3: Case Study Context

This chapter analyses the socio-cultural context associated with the decades of this study by looking at three specific periods—Pre WW1, WW1, and Post WW1. The decades surrounding the WW1 period marked a progressive change in the social, political, ideological, and economic beliefs of contemporary societies (Lenihan 2015, Olssen et al. 2011, Sutch 1966). In addition, this chapter identifies previous cemetery studies in New Zealand. As such, this chapter provides the social context to answer the research question:

‘How do stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery indicate a shift in attitudes towards death surrounding the First World War?’

Formation of Identity in New Zealand

Dunedin and other New Zealand communities’ values were changed through the growing importance of individual identities, stemming particularly from New Zealanders’ involvement in the Boer, Crimean, and First World Wars (WW1), and changing societal attitudes regarding aspects of the ‘deathscape’. Shifts in attitudes towards death within the Dunedin community were shaped by events in this period, which encouraged a variety of methods that memorialized, commemorated, and portrayed individuals with their multiple allegiances and personal identities. In this study, the ways that individuals may have represented their identity in a mortuary landscape are investigated through types and stylistic or functional variations of the markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

What is Identity?

Identity is what makes an individual consider themselves as a part of a community (Palenski 2010). The community’s values and shared perspectives are what shape the beliefs of the individual, and in turn are transformed by shared experiences. These transformations and influences of a society or in an ideological community are how a socio-ideological context is formed (Drew 2010).

Identity is a fluid and transforming concept that has a different meaning to each individual within a community group. However, identity is not an exclusive or unitary concept, and individuals are capable of having many different identities that co-exist within them, perhaps
related to the various communities they belong to. The ways that New Zealanders have displayed their heritage and presented their identity represent how they wish to be viewed and remembered by other individuals or groups, both those that do and who do not share that identity (Kuzma 2003).

During the study period, Pākehā New Zealanders (New Zealanders of European background) regarded the nation’s relationship with the British Empire, and later with the commonwealth, as important parts of their identities. The study area in the Otago region of New Zealand had strong ties to Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales where religiosity formed a fundamental part of an individual’s identity (Kuzma 2003, Olssen 1984).

The identities and social allegiances of the Presbyterian Scottish community that settled the area later conflicted with those of Anglican British settlers (Kuzma 2003, Lenihan 2015, Olssen 1984). The identities of immigrants showed strong ties to their homelands in both their living communities and the deathscape, where the traditions and practices of death and burials were strongly influenced by their heritage, and later by their new community values (Kuzma 2003).

This advertisement of identity within the landscape of death is a very permanent display, and shows an ongoing relationship between the living community and the dead. Within the landscape of death, strong ties to belief systems, religious declarations, and other social groups are evident. The methods of commemoration and the meanings of those variations reflect the relationship between the communities of the living and the dead. These attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs are part of the social context of the marker, where the agency of the individual or their family allows them to represent themselves to others within and outside of their community.

The Development of a New Zealand Identity

Several historians have attributed the formation of definite collective identities to key events in New Zealand history. Palenski (2010) and Kuzma (2003) investigated the development of New Zealand identities during the 19th century and early 20th century through material culture, historical accounts, newspapers, images, poetry, and literature. Palenski (2010) argues that these key events did not shape this New Zealand identity; rather they provided affirmations and encouraged development of existing identities formed in the mid-19th century. Palenski (2010) and Kuzma (2003) argue that the Boer war of 1899-1902, the Rugby tour of Britain in 1905-6, and WW1 (1914-1918) together advertised and affirmed a
New Zealand identity (especially among New Zealanders of European ancestry) that had formed through increased communication and interaction within the country. This was promoted through newspapers and the establishment of a single government in place of the provincial governments of the early 19th century; the political separation from Australia; the use of symbols and sporting logos; and pride in sporting prowess at Rugby and Cricket. These developments took place progressively over the mid to late 1800s.

Palenski (2010) identified that by defining the including and excluding characteristics of national identities, it would become an inadequate concept in that there would still be individuals who did not fit the criteria but were still part of that community. Commonalities of interests or beliefs, and a sense of belonging to a physical or conceptual location shaped these identities, in spite of individual differences, and these identities shaped, and were shaped by the interactions of all the collective individuals. Evolution of a national identity was also shaped by the changing importance placed on allegiances to the British Empire, and the emergence of New Zealanders who were native-born into this identity (Kuzma 2003). The New Zealand identity was partially formed through the development of an ‘us’ and ‘them’ attitude (where ‘us’ were predominantly New Zealand-Europeans, and ‘them’ referred to most other people) and this development was influenced by the events that Palenski (2010) described, most of which occurred outside New Zealand borders. In this study identity is taken to be a fluid concept with many possible layers.

Other means of advertising national identity and allegiance was through literature that celebrated the New Zealand natural environment and a cultural association with particular symbols, such as the Silver Fern, which not only became a sporting logo, but also a military symbol (Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010). The New Zealand coat of arms and the flag were other means of claiming and advertising this identity. These did not mean (to the Pākehā or New Zealand Europeans) that their British allegiance or identity was any less important, but as Palenski (2010) identified, an identity was not exclusive but could be layered with other allegiances or identities. For example, local, regional, provincial, national, multi-national, and international allegiances could all exist simultaneously and were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In this study, identities are represented and exemplified through the cemetery deathscape. One such identity that had a strong influence on the stylistic choices of individuals, their families, and their ritual practices, was an indication of their religiosity and ideology.
New Zealand Ideology

The ideology of the pre-war New Zealand society was strongly related to Christian values supported by the predominant Church affiliations. These declarations of religiosity or an ideological affiliation became visible in the stylistic variations of the markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

The New Zealand census identified individuals’ religion in the 1896, 1900, 1901, 1911, and 1916 reports. Consistently through these accounts, around 40% of the total population claimed affiliation with the Church of England; Presbyterian affiliations were noted consistently at around 23-24%; Methodists made up 10% of the population, approximately 2% claimed Baptist affiliations, and 14% of the total population claimed affiliation to the Roman Catholic faith (Hill 1985).

Evangelical Christian movements had been popular in England during the late 1800s, but were initially slow to pick up adherents in Otago. In addition to the charitable services and support provided by them and the ‘Sallies’ (Salvation Army), other denominations began adopting educational and socially progressive sections to their services.

The first school in Otago was controlled by the Presbyterian church, although the high cost meant that most children could not afford to attend (Sutch 1966). The ‘Bible-in-schools’ movement was supported by Methodist and Baptist churches, and later the Christian Perfectionism movement and Womens’ movements developed to assist other disenfranchised and impoverished social groups during the 1880s (Sutch 1966). These social transformations attributed a new importance to the concept of ‘family’ and also highlighted separations between social classes. These changes influenced funerary practices, which may be visible in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

Socio-political changes in Dunedin’s Community

Dunedin, like many parts of New Zealand, was surrounded by pastoral landscape and was a picturesque location that attracted individuals and families. The Otago association under the New Zealand company authorized a settlement in the modern location of Dunedin, which was designed to reflect the piety of the Presbyterian Church, and its Scottish heritage as a ‘New Edinburgh’ (Olssen 1984, Sutch 1966). Olssen (1984) reports that the settlement was intended to attract young and respectable families, and was also intended to enable a restructuring of Britain’s rigid social structure. The appointed administrator, Edward Wakefield, systematically targeted British families of middle social classes to immigrate to
avoid the problems that developed in similar situations such as America and Australia. Incentives were provided in the form of free passage to single and married male workers and single women aged 15 to 35, to entice them to New Zealand. In 1861, when gold was discovered in Central Otago, social structures inevitably degenerated in Dunedin. During the 1860s Gold rush, there was very little social moderation of civilians and their activities (Olssen 1984, Sutch 1966).

Attitudes towards migrants among Dunedin’s established citizens’ in the late 1880s became a contentious issue where prejudices ran rampant within these communities. Identities were transformed and created by these prejudices during the study periods in this investigation. Anti-Irish sentiments remained from the original settlers who immigrated partly to escape the increasing presence of Irish in Great Britain (Olssen 1984). As a result of these attitudes, quotas were introduced for immigrants from Ireland and other undesirable locations. The presence of non-European, particularly Chinese, gold miners disrupted the social equilibrium as goldmining declined. Increasing anti-Chinese sentiments were reflected in harsh immigration legislation and increased taxes, and were not repealed until 1944. This is visible in the layout of Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, where there are only a few Chinese markers. Other non-English language markers are scattered around the cemetery, while the Southern Cemetery has sections dedicated to separate national identities within Dunedin’s community.

The establishment of identity through literature is especially present in Otago, for example the marker of author Thomas Bracken is present in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery and the city claims ties to Robert Burns (Kuzma 2003). The growing importance of literature and learning was also demonstrated when the provincial solicitor James MacAndrew established an industrial and reformatory school in 1869 to educate and provide a future for neglected and criminal children by teaching them useful skills early. This became one of the first social interventions by the government to address the issue of poverty, unemployment, and marginalized individuals. Previously, churches, families, neighbours, or charities had performed this role, for example the Plunket society (Sutch 1966). Free primary schooling became compulsory nationally in 1877, and by the 1890s Otago advocated for schooling up to aged 14, but secondary education had expensive fees until government subsidies for education were put in place in 1902 (Sutch 1966). That at least some of Dunedin’s society was literate is reflected in the wording on many of the First and Extra-First class markers.
Dunedin’s society pre-1870 had gradually changed from missionary pioneers to an ethnically diverse demography between the initial settlement and the end of the gold rush, where many citizens were left without income due to the loss of the goldfield markets (Lenihan 2015, Sutch 1966). Prior to 1876 when the Provincial governments were merged into a national government, Dunedin was the financial center of New Zealand, with the Gold Rush providing a strong motivation for immigrants to converge on the area. Alongside the move of the political center from Auckland to Wellington in 1865, the economic hub moved from Dunedin to the North Island, further reducing Dunedin’s attractiveness as an immigration destination (Olssen 1984).

**Dunedin’s Socio-Economic Climate**

After the long depression of 1887-1900, Dunedin once again developed into a major economic and political centre of Southern New Zealand between 1900 and 1910 (Lenihan 2015). Structural and architectural developments occurring particularly in the Exchange and city centre allowed for easier access and communication. The implementation of Julius Vogel’s railway network laid 640km of railroad between 1873 and 1876, including the line between Christchurch and Dunedin (Sutch 1966). This access to efficient transport increased the standard of living for the wealthy, but also increased the disparities between the social classes (Olssen 1984). The establishment of the Public Works department marked a major change in the services provided by the provincial government, and the desired immigrant demographic became labourers and skilled workers, where previously it was primarily exploratory religious groups and individuals searching for a new life (Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010).

The department of health was established in 1900, and employed sanitary inspectors nationally with health services supplemented by charity, but fees for hospitals meant that poor, unemployed, or otherwise marginalised individuals were still limited in their access to health professionals (Sutch 1966). Attitudes towards death changed due to the decreasing frequency of death in the community. As the individuals became healthier with the development of sulfonamides in the 1930s, and a better understanding of diseases, communities implemented better hygiene practices, and community health standards increased (Jalland 2006). This practice reduced the commonality of death for the wealthy, so
death affected people more when it occurred, but death was still common among the poor. WW1 transformed this attitude as death became common for the wealthy once more.

From the turn of the century, jobs for New Zealanders in the workforce became increasingly specialized in urban areas, and this was partly due to the push for of modernization through urbanization, industrialization, and commodification. However, there was a concern that increasing modernity would cause harm to New Zealand’s utopian overseas image, of an unspoiled classless society (Loveridge 2014). New Zealanders promoted this utopian image through poetry, novels and newspapers (Andrews 2009, Kuzma 2003, Loveridge 2014, Palenski 2010). Loveridge (2014) and Sutch (1966) suggest that this ideal classless society was never a strong reality.

In addition to the economic and perceived social benefits of bringing modernisation into the homes of New Zealand, increasing communication and access to information allowed for a more rapid dissemination of news. This ensured the general populace had access to information that they would previously have been unaware of for many days or even months. For example, New Zealand had been unaware of the Crimean War until 96 days after its start in the 1850s, but due to new communication techniques, the country could become aware of issues mere hours after they occurred. In 1866 the North and South Islands were linked through telegraph and cable lines across the Cook Strait, and later in 1876 and 1877, New Zealand was linked internationally to Australia and the wider world network through telegraphs and telephony (Loveridge 2014). Economic improvements also made it more possible to afford elaborate funerary arrangements, and improvements in communication meant that the developments of WW1 could reach and influence New Zealand more quickly than previously.

**New Zealand’s role in the First World War**

New Zealand’s involvement in WW1, also known as the ‘Great War’, resulted from political ties with Britain, which had declared war on Germany and her allies on August 4th 1914. It was expected by most people in the British Empire that Britain’s colonies and dominions would provide aid. New Zealand was a colony of Britain until it became a dominion in 1907, and the country became a member of the League of Nations from 1926 and then joined the British commonwealth from 1931, which in time reduced these affective ties (Kay 2001). However, New Zealand’s legal and emotional relationships with Britain continued to
strongly influence the involvement of men and women in several conflicts (Chen 1982). The increased development of nationalism and continuing ties to Britain through New Zealand’s involvement in the British Empire and Commonwealth contributed to a sense of identity and pride that was partly dependent on the Britishness of the everyday citizen (Loveridge 2014).

**New Zealand’s relationship with Britain**

The relationship of Dunedin citizens to Britain and Europe is represented in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery where individuals’ birthplaces are often inscribed on their markers. Dunedin had strong ties to the British homeland, particularly Scotland, and proudly displayed this heritage in this and other ways. New Zealand’s involvement in WW1 was both an expression of allegiance towards Britain and an advertisement of New Zealand’s socio-political separation from Britain. The 1907 declaration of independence from Britain represented an affirmation of New Zealand identity, and an increasing independence from the British Empire. This was as much a declaration by politicians including Richard Seddon, William Massey and Sir Joseph Ward as it was a reality among the people (Kay 2001).

In the political sphere, New Zealand was reliant on Britain’s security forces and military support, although there was a quiet political opposition to many of Britain’s policies (Kay 2001). However, prior to 1914, New Zealanders, especially on a local scale, understood that national defences could not be undertaken alone, and that Britain would provide aid to the Empire. This thinking heavily influenced the identification of the nation with their imperial protectors, and motivated an increasing sense of duty and identity in young men and women (Chen 1982, Kay 2001, Palenski 2010). This loyalty to both New Zealand and Britain’s Empire is likely to have provided another reason for the populace to involve themselves in warfare and military training (Loveridge 2014).

Jalland (2010) and Loveridge (2014) identified several motivations behind British and New Zealand men joining the war effort. As Loveridge (2014) explained, the church was strongly involved in the social and community pressure for young men to fulfil their duties to the nation and empire, and volunteer for military service. Many young men volunteered as a way to see the world (Pugsley 2014). New Zealanders who travelled overseas suddenly encountered experiences that they were completely unfamiliar with. Locations such as Egypt, Gallipoli, Britain, and France had much larger populations than many rural New
Zealanders were experienced with, and many of the New Zealand and Australian soldiers enjoyed the ability to act freely (Pugsley 2014).

The official military cemetery markers of WW1 showed an increasing New Zealand identity in the iconography present as the Latin cross on these markers included the silver fern in the center of it. This showed that while New Zealanders were a dominion of Britain, they were New Zealanders with their own country, culture, and people. (See Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; North Otago Times, 23 April 1918, Volume CVI, Issue 14102; Mt Benger Mail, 4 Dec 1918, Advertisements p3; Oamaru Mail, 5 September 1918, Volume XLVIII, Issue 13550)

New Zealand’s relationship with Australasia and the Pacific

During the Gallipoli expedition of WW1 (1914-1918), local and national allegiances to New Zealand were expressed alongside allegiances to Australasia and the British Empire. These were expressed through New Zealand’s involvement in the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC). Over 100,000 volunteers and conscripts joined the British or Australian forces overseas, and more were being trained back home in New Zealand (Pugsley 2014) (See Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Oamaru Mail, 14 December 1920, Volume XLIV, Issue 14865, p2).

There was also a fear that there would be a Pacific occupation, motivated by the fear that Germany would attack through its own imperial occupation of Samoa. The very real possibility of the war coming to the nation from the Pacific, and to the British Empire from Europe caused alarm and increased support from the New Zealand populace, unlike previous conflicts. However, when New Zealand troops landed at Apia on the 29th August 1914, they were met without resistance from the Samoan locals (Eldred-Grigg 2010, Loveridge 2014, Pugsley 2014).

WW1 was a time when citizens at home were heavily invested in the war effort, and the scale of volunteering and conscription was much larger than any military endeavour in their personal history (see Appendix 5: Conscription and the effect on society). Every town and local community knew several people who were involved, and every community lost people; the war was not just an overseas expedition, but its effects and implications permeated through the whole nation (Chen 1982).
Attitudes towards Death in New Zealand

Death was inevitable in conflict, and the influenza pandemic, which followed WW1, was another blow to the New Zealand’s society of that time. Conformity of burial markers to a military standard in WW1 was also noted as it was the first time in military history that the deaths of individual citizens were recorded (Laqueur 1993). However, the bodies of fallen soldiers could not be legally repatriated back to their families, and visiting the graves of loved ones became a pilgrimage for the families of deceased New Zealanders (See Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Oamaru Mail, 14 December 1920, Volume XLIV, Issue 14865, p2, Otago Daily Times, 9 November 1926, Issue 19942, p7).

Increasing battlefield tourism and the need to visit sites of conflict by the relatives of the missing or those buried overseas has been argued to be related to the role of the body in the grieving process (Moshenska 2014). The transference or dislocation of grief and mourning to symbolic locations, such as memorials or family graves, disrupts traditional grieving processes and closure. This is because while a communal or national memorial may be sufficient for the public display of mourning, a grave or familial marker is often necessary for the grieving process of the relatives or loved ones of a missing or deceased individual (Moshenska 2014). Such practices are evident in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, particularly for individuals who have been interred elsewhere as a part of military service (See Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Southland Times, 15 August 1917, Issue 17737, p5).

The Influenza Pandemic and First World War

The influenza pandemic occurred at the end of WW1 and was exacerbated by the transportation of soldiers back to their home countries. Poor health conditions, hygiene, and cramped spaces aboard the transport vessels for military personnel promoted the swift spread of influenza throughout the world. These unnecessary deaths occurred just after what has been termed New Zealand’s bloodiest battle, and influenced the changes in funerary practices in New Zealand and around the world and also attitudes towards death (Kay 2001).

While the first deaths associated with the Influenza Pandemic occurred in March 1918 in US military camps, the news did not reach New Zealand until the first deaths were already occurring on board the HMNZT Tahiti, in September 1918 (the term pandemic refers to an epidemic that has reached beyond its local or national level, and affects humans on a
worldwide scale) (Summers et al. 2010). Johnson and Mueller (2002) estimate as much as 50 million people died worldwide from the pandemic, which they report is much higher than other estimations of 20-40 million deaths worldwide. Johnston and Mueller believe their number to be conservative due to the huge numbers of unreported or unknown deaths. Summers et al. (2013) explain that influenza mortality in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) was thought to be as high as 5.1% of all deaths associated with WW1. Influenza was most commonly deadly to the elderly and young children who do not have the ability to fight the virus; however the influenza of 1918 was deadly on a much larger scale. The pandemic appeared in two separate waves with the returning soldiers of WW1 and killed over 300 people in New Zealand from October to December 1918.

In Australia and New Zealand, the role of caring for the dead and dying was transformed during WW1, where previously it had largely been the role of the family – mainly female companions and nurses. From the 1920s the dead were considered to be the responsibility of doctors, hospitals, and funeral ‘homes’ (Jalland 2006). Death and dying was no longer held in the homes of families, but with the construction of hospitals and care facilities, the dying could be cared for away from their friends and family. Rituals associated with death were increasingly separated from the family environment, and with the fading of death as a common occurrence, traditional funerary processes were practiced less (Jackson 1977).

Traditional social values were promoted to give hope to society during WW1 and the later influenza outbreak, as it became obvious that a significant portion of the population would be affected. Social values such as heroism, duty, honour, and service to the nation were encouraged, and precautions were taken to protect communities (Jalland 2006). Cities where ships were docking sent arriving vessels to quarantined areas, such as Quarantine Island in Dunedin. Service Personnel and other arrivals were required to pass an inspection or a quarantine period to be allowed on the mainland. However, many individuals did not make it to New Zealand alive or well, and deaths on board caused difficulties due to the lack of space; proper funerary processes; and the long journey time (Lenihan 2015). One memorial in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, Lt. P. Logan’s memorial (Block 141, Plot 11), bears on his inscription that there is also a memorial for him in Gallipoli, but that he was buried at sea (Latitude 26°16 W Longitude 40°15 N).
After the war the British authorities refused to repatriate the bodies of military personnel back to their homeland on the basis that they were unable to do so for all social standings, and that there were overwhelming numbers of deceased or missing personnel from the British Commonwealth. This policy was revised on 19 November 1918, when the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC), later titled the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), banned the exhumation and repatriation of the war dead back to their countries, but allowed the exhumation and reburial of isolated graves into mass cemeteries. This removal of the individual from their place of death and burial into cemeteries alongside their comrades and officers facilitated group identity and conformity, while providing easier access to the dead for families (Dendooven 2014). However, this conformity of military markers did not allow for families to show the individuality of the deceased or their loved ones, unless they took the opportunity to add their military service personnel to their family plots’ markers as some have done in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery. (See Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette, 6 April 1921, Issue 1278, p2)

**Attitudes towards Death in Conflict**

During WW1, traditional deathscape rituals were disrupted by conflict, and many individuals could not be buried in the same way they would back in their homeland. Many individuals’ bodies were not able to be discovered and were referred to as ‘the missing’. The term ‘the missing’, is used to refer to the masses of personnel who were unable to be identified. This situation became politicized through the international emotional connection between families who were unable to receive closure. The connection has been enacted through formal ways of commemorating these individuals, particularly in former countries of the British Empire, where many countries have erected a ‘Tomb of the Unknown Soldier’. For example, in New Zealand, the symbolism of the ‘Tomb of the Unknown Soldier’ is intended to stand for all of ‘the missing’. However, many families have also chosen to commemorate their relatives on their own family headstones to give them an individual presence and recognition.

In WW1, physical or mental harm to the human body was an almost inevitable outcome. Also, new and cruel forms of warfare against both military personnel and civilians, such as the use of poison gas, transformed how warfare affected attitudes towards death (Carden-Coyne 2014, Pype and De Gryse 2014, Spars 2014). The original treatment of WW1 deaths
were mechanical and anonymous, with the focus on finding identifying characteristics or items to send to the family, which was also a focus during the later reburial and relocation of bodies into marked cemeteries. The temporary wooden crosses at the burial sites of WW1 graves have mostly been replaced with permanent markers by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, using Portland stone headstones. The wooden markers were sent to the next of kin if requested.

During WW1 there was a law requiring 7lb (3kg) of a person to be identifiably present for proof of death, although in reality, the presence of fragments essential for life were accepted in lesser quantities (Moshenska 2014). The illusion of weighting the coffin, combined with censored discussion and reporting of casualties generally reduced public awareness of the reality of death (Moshenska 2014). This situation might otherwise have caused much consternation to the families of the deceased, if they had known that some of their relative had not been identified and buried in one place. Moshenska (2014) identified how the absence of a whole body can be disruptive to grieving processes in many societies and may cause psychological damage for the relatives and loved ones of the deceased. Therefore, the illusion of a body within the coffin, particularly in the instances of a wartime burial, may have helped provide emotional closure. The ambiguous morality of fabricating this proof of death was an issue faced by military representatives, on a case by case basis, who weighed the unrealistic hope, and little likelihood of discovering the whole body, compared with the reality of death (Moshenska 2014). In the present study, markers which included the mention of individuals not present in a plot also provides this illusion, and a representative location for grieving families to commemorate their deceased.

**Individualisation in Commemoration**

Individualisation in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery has been related to the memorialisation that occurred with the decreasing frequency of death and the increased separation of death from the space of the living. However, WW1 marked a period when occurrences of death increased once more and communities were confronted with death as a normal part of life. The relationship between the living and their treatment of deceased soldiers, compared to treatment of those who survived conflict, is emphasized in Laqueur’s (1993) comment regarding the Second Afghan War (1878-1880). In this situation a single marker for a Major commemorated the burial site of 962 soldiers. In the same battle, a pet dog survived and returned to England where he was given honours by Queen Victoria and
later preserved in a Museum. While the men who served their country were not even named at their burial site, the dog was named and memorialized. When the Boer War was declared, the commemoration of individual soldiers was officially acknowledged as an issue, but not necessarily addressed effectively. Soldiers were buried where they fell, so their graves were scattered and the crosses were unable to be adequately cared for.

Laqueur (1993) explained how the naming of individual soldiers was not considered a priority until the 1914-1918 world war. This acknowledgement of the individual and their role in the war as a whole was on a scale that had never before occurred, and many of the common soldiers therefore have individual graves and identifiable markers. Family members were then able to go and visit the graves of loved ones who fell in battle, rather than to mass graves or impersonal memorials. However, for New Zealanders, this still meant a trip to Europe, which for many was not feasible.

Prior to WW1, the social status of an individual was what determined if they were commemorated as an individual or among the wider common soldiers. Upper class citizens were remembered at an individual level, while the common men were not remembered individually within their class, and were not necessarily noted beyond the number of deaths and survivors. Laqueur (1993) identified that where the heroes of the Crimean War were buried, their graves were unmarked and progressively lost to the encroaching environment. However, in WW1, the heroes of the war were noted by their actions and were commemorated in records and by their families, but official military graves were still not differentiated from their group. This progression towards individualization is seen in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

**Previous Studies in New Zealand**

Hurley (1998) investigated cemeteries across the North Island including Waikumete and Hillsbrough cemeteries in Auckland; Karori and Bowen St. cemeteries in Wellington; Tolaga Bay cemetery in Poverty Bay; Mount View cemetery in Manawatu; Mangaweka and Otorohonga cemeteries in King Country; and Patea cemetery in Taranaki. By sampling cemetery information nationally, and using census data to determine the population’s attendance at churches, Hurley (1998) was able to form a theoretical representation of changing religiousness in the New Zealand population. The religious associations of epitaphs and symbolic declarations of faith were assumed to be representative of the
religiosity of the individual or individuals, or their surviving family. This paves the way to explore ideological research questions in more detail in New Zealand cemetery studies. Hurley (1998) used the dimensions of form, space, and sentiment to investigate religious affiliations, where the space described the type of grave and the sentiment was noted as religious, affiliative or occupational. Hurley (1998) determined that the archaeological record showed a decline in religious sentiment over time, moving towards affiliative descriptions, which increased steadily over time. Similarly, there was a transformation from family graves as the predominant form towards single graves - thrice the number of single graves was present in the 1970s compared to the 1870s.

In referring to historical records such as census data, declarations of religious sentiment did not vary much from 80% over the century from 1870 to 1970, although church attendance steadily declined. Hurley (1998) suggested that transformations in religious practice were more of a change in how faith was perceived, and a social trend towards a humanistic and individualistic society is also reflected in the transformation from family graves to single graves.

In Auckland, Higgins (1998) investigated attributes and changes over time in the Symonds Street cemetery, and inferred that the cemetery was based on the living’s perspectives of the dead. He explains that it is the living who make decisions of the markers and memorials, and of the stylistic aspects of the cemetery and its plots. Therefore it is the living and their social sanctions that are reflected throughout the deathscape of the cemetery.

Higgins (1998) used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) throughout the cemetery to investigate the applicability of a landscape archaeology framework in a New Zealand cemetery case study. He identified how the attributes of space, plot size, occupancy, gender, and kinship were reflected in and were reflective of the religious segregation of the cemetery, and had wider social implications.

Higgins (1998) identifies that there were some problems with using a landscape approach in an experimental study, and suggests that similar studies use a conventional typological study instead. He also suggests that stylistic analyses should be carried out with the mortuary markers, which has been tested in this study. As a result of Higgins (1998) acknowledgement of these limitations, this study tests the use of typological and stylistic frameworks. These could form the basis for further studies to integrate landscape, stylistic, and typological approaches over several cemetery layouts. Another limitation of his study
that he identifies is that he did not analyse the epitaphs themselves, which has also been addressed in this thesis.

Higgins (1998) further suggested the use of a multidisciplinary approach using multiple theoretical frameworks, while Hurley (1998) warned that the archaeological analysis must always come first despite the occasional need to delve into historical accounts. As such, while this study has used socio-historical, anthropological, archaeological, and geographical sources to investigate the different ways that cemetery environments have been studied, the methods of analysis are fundamentally archaeological. This study follows Higgins (1998) where he suggests that investigating the cemetery and its relationship with the surrounding city over time could yield a better understanding of the cemetery’s transforming role in society and the surrounding landscape.

After completing a pilot study in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, Edgar (1995) identified that the Northern cemetery did not include the time frame he aimed to study which was the earlier Scottish migrations, and he was unable to control for denominational differences, therefore he investigated 209 plots in the Presbyterian section of the Southern Cemetery.

Edgar (1995) collected similar data to this study, and as such is the most contemporary research noting plots from the 1850s to 1950s. The attributes he collected were: monument form, material, colour, height, width, thickness, design motifs, inscription, inscription location, inscription application, legibility, style, mason, surrounds, and observations of other noteworthy matters. He noted that there were specific types present in the sample including block, war stone, headstone, coped stone, nameplate, plaque, wall plaque, top-piece stone, pedestal stone, 3D cross, and other. For each of these, he noted the number of pieces, faces, height, and frequency. This study has used similar classifications in order to provide a comparable investigation between the Southern and Northern Cemeteries of Dunedin.

With regard to materials used, Edgar (1995) discovered that while New Zealand granite was transported from Fijordland, Stewart Island and the West Coast (Knight and Wales 1988), other types of granite were occasionally shipped from overseas. While sandstone was locally sourced, the marble may have been sourced either from Nelson, or overseas. Edgar (1995) presumed the pressed-letter form of inscription (a common form, which has also been
termed appliqué in this study) to be a logical method used to add a visible inscription onto the denser and more visually reflective materials.

Edgar (1995) recorded the method that the inscription was inscribed in (carved, relief, incised, 3 dimensional), and whether the whole form of the marker conveyed the motif. He also recorded five categories of iconographic design elements that have formed the basis of the present study: Flowers; Urns; an Open Book; a Ribbon; and Arabesque, vines, and leaves. Written inscription styles included incised, relief, and pressed letter methods of attaching small metallic letters to holes in the marker, which are also present in the present study. Edgar (1995) also analysed sections of the inscriptions including epitaphs (which were at their most popular between 1870 and 1890), nativity references, and separate surnames.

The fencing, or plot surrounds types noted were: stone pavers; low concrete borders; iron bars; iron fencing; gravel wall; stone wall; posts; and ‘none recorded’. Plot surrounds were recorded in the decades of the study and also correlated to the morphologies. The final attribute he noted was the class of the plot, which was solely based on financial separations. These class distinctions were used to classify transformations in forms, material, decoration, inscription, and the plot surrounds. This study has used similar classifications for the transformations present in the cemetery.

By condensing the variability of the markers into specific groups, Edgar (1995) was either unable to separate subtler transformations between the markers, or perhaps there was not a wide variety of marker types. While this method of grouping data made the predominant forms obvious, it did not allow for a broader cross-examination of the results. However, an advantage of this type of grouping was that it allowed the researcher to compare attributes easily as there were few stylistic variations recorded. This study has addressed this by merging stylistic variations into typological categories, and identified the stylistic variations within these types.

Edgar noted that there was a large proportion of monumental structures during the 19th century, with a trend towards increasing conformity in markers in the 20th century (Edgar 1995). Over the 100-year study period, Edgar (1995) reports an apparent shift in Dunedin settler society from the importance of family prevalent in Victorian society, which was expressed through grave type and elaborate markers, until the turn of the century when there was a change towards minimalist marker types. These trends were reflected in the form of
monuments in the Southern Cemetery and in the social policies put forward by the
government, who encouraged an egalitarian society (Edgar 1995). The Nameplate markers
were minimal and still reflected the family, but they lacked information on the individual,
which led to an increase in plaque markers after the 1910s. These trends will be tested in this
study with a larger sample in a more specific time frame.

Cruickshank and Campbell (2015) carried out a restorative project in the Hutton Street
cemetery in Otahuhu, Auckland to mitigate the damaged caused by material dumped in the
grounds. Although there were many types of normal deterioration over time from the
environment, the deliberate destruction of the markers was the focus of this project. They
identified several key elements of a plot including the headstone, kerbing, pavement, and
fence, and as the focus was on documentation and recording, there was a high level of detail,
with photos and scale drawings of the plots. They categorized damage into mild, moderate,
and serious, and reported on each individual affected grave. Individuals and families have
been buried in this cemetery from 1848 until (at the time) 2004, and many of the plots had
multiple burials within them. The recorded graves were described in detail, photographed,
the damage recorded, and finally the headstones were restored.

Cruickshank and Campbell (2015) noted that there was not a general protocol for excavating
or recording cemeteries in New Zealand, and created their own recording form. They
adapted descriptions and definitions from Mytum (2000) to create a form for cemeteries
focused on their particular project of documenting information and recording damage. This
was not sufficient for the present study, which modifies and integrates their recording
scheme and others to create one that is more suitable.

Twohill (2001) investigated 19th century European cemeteries in Thames using definitions
based on Pratten (1987), with a primarily focus on briefly documenting and describing the
Church Missionary Society churchyard cemetery at Parawai, the cemetery in Grey Street,
the Shortland cemetery, and the Tararu cemetery. Headstones were noted with their
inscriptions and lettering styles but with very few further interpretive elements about what
these attributes might represent or indicate. Twohill (2001) explained that they show the
transformation of the township of Thames from its initial start as a trading post and into a
mission settlement. The later period cemetery populations covered the transformation from a
gold-mining town and port into a rural service center, while the Shortland, and Tararu
cemeteries contained graves from the Victorian period. The Grey street cemetery (gold
mining period) had a short period of occupation due to its unsuitable location and soil content.

Petchey et al (2017) provide a preliminary report of the recent bioarchaeological and archaeological project in St John’s cemetery Milton, Otago, which investigates a range of research based inquiry methods. They analyse the biological remains and mortuary material culture to identify funerary practices, and restore identity to the early settlers of the Milton area by the bioarchaeological analysis. The cemetery is an Anglican burial ground that had been attached to a church, but has fallen into disrepair. With the involvement of community groups the cemetery will be refurbished and unmarked graves will be marked in a modern lawn cemetery format. This research is contemporary to the present study, and provides another insight into the funerary practices between 1860 and 1971.

**Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery**

Previous mortuary studies in New Zealand have investigated several key themes: the transformation of ideology or religious affiliations over time in the study area; spatial patterning in a cemetery; and the relationships between the living and dead communities. However, these studies have predominantly been carried out in religiously or ethnically segregated cemeteries, not in a non-denominational cemetery. This study seeks to investigate the transformations of attitudes towards death through the socio-ideological affiliations of individuals and the relationships between the living and dead communities, in the study period of 1870s to 1930s.

**Mortuary Developments in Early Dunedin**

Previous studies of cemeteries around New Zealand and international investigations influence the ways in which people are able to study mortuary contexts; there are few studies that investigate aspects of the societies that designed and were interred in these cemeteries. This study has potential to expand the range of inferences that are available from cemetery studies and could suggest trends or nation wide patterns of social transformations from mortuary material culture.

McDonald (1965) described the early development of Dunedin as a popular destination in New Zealand for overseas immigrants. With the increasing numbers of individuals relocating to the area and the expectation of future immigrants, the town required basic services including a cemetery or burial area, and accommodating this need was an
immediate concern. The first cemetery at the corner of Arthur Street and Rattray Street was soon unable to accommodate the rapid increase of population, and plans for other cemetery sites were soon underway, starting in 1857 (McDonald 1965). By the late 1860s, the Arthur Street cemetery space was filled; broken and decayed headstones were removed, and the area levelled out. In 1880 a monument was erected inscribed with all the known names of buried individuals, which remains in the former cemetery (Edgar 1995, McDonald 1965).

Early cemeteries in Dunedin segregated religious denominations and ethnically affiliated groups of the mortuary community (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Otago Daily Times, 29 May 1878, Issue 5079). In 1857 the Dunedin Town Board took over management of the cemeteries in the area from the Provincial Council, and while the Arthur Street cemetery was still in use, two other areas were designated for the establishment of new cemeteries (Deed and Bauchop 2013, McDonald 1965). One of these areas was in the southern end of the 550-acre town belt, and the other area was in the northern end of the town belt, near the botanical gardens. This study investigates the cemetery located in the marginalised land of the northern end of the town belt. Although the Southern cemetery was opened for use in 1857, a cemetery in Green Island opened in 1865 and a cemetery in Andersons Bay in 1867, the area in the northern end of the town belt was highly debated over, with many citizens not wanting a cemetery in that part of that area (McDonald 1965).

An 1868 council bill that proposed designation of that part of the town belt for a cemetery was repeatedly opposed and then thrown out. However, issues regarding aesthetic and recreational values were raised, which reflected the beautification of death movement that was gaining momentum in British and American cemeteries (Bell 1990, French 1974, Loudon 1843). An argument that a cemetery could be used for recreational space was opposed by many who disliked that the Southern Cemetery had appropriated part of the town belt at the other end of Dunedin. However, due to necessity, in 1872 an area of 20 acres of the northern end of the town belt was designated for a new burial ground (North Dunedin Cemetery Act). This came at a much needed time because an epidemic of Scarlet Fever which broke out in 1875 put further pressure on the city to find spaces to bury their dead.
Northern Cemetery Context

A pilot study was carried out in 2013 in the Northern Cemetery as an indicator of possible research areas in a non-denominational burial ground (Lane 2013). This study investigated the viability of further studies in a class-segregated cemetery, and which research areas would yield the most information and indicate transformations in contemporary society. Although the pilot study was ultimately too small to provide information about Dunedin’s social transformations, it was able to identify possible areas of further research and suggested a larger research sample for studying these varying characteristics (Lane 2013).

The initial framework of this study used similar attributes to Edgar’s (1995) ideological analysis of the Presbyterian section of Dunedin’s Southern Cemetery, and Hurley’s (1998) analysis of religious belief and practices through family plots within a denominational cemetery and church attendance. These studies were primarily used to identify how previous studies have been applied in New Zealand’s socio-cultural context. Although several of the literature gaps were highlighted in these studies, which focused on religious and ideological attributes, not all of these gaps were applicable to Dunedin’s Northern Cemetery.

Despite many historical analyses of this period, archaeological studies are less represented in reports due to the more recent time period, and therefore, more difficult application of the field. This is because a legal protection of archaeological sites is only in effect up to 1900 (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014 2014). As this is a relatively recent temporal context for this archaeological study, the research has not used excavation as part of the fieldwork, but has focused on the visible, above ground attributes of the plots as the basis of analysis.

Plots Divisions in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery

According to Town Clerk J. M. Massey’s announcement in the Provincial Gazette on the 29th January 1873, there were four types of allotments in the Northern Cemetery. Plot class sizes were designated in imperial measurements, and the costs of burial allotments and interment fees were noted in Pounds (£), shillings (s.), and pence (d.). Burial allotments could be purchased with additional interment fees for every individual with fees separated for individuals over or under 10 years old (see table 2). The third class plots were unpurchased allotments and were used to bury the citizens who were not able to purchase a plot; the council covered all associated costs. Second class plots had height and enclosure
limitations, but these appeared to have been ignored in many cases as markers above 6 inches have been erected and fences enclose the plots (Deed and Bauchop 2013).

Table 2: Burial and Allotment fees by Plot Class (Otago Provincial Gazette Vol. XVII. March 19. 1873. No. 839)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plot Class</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Allotment costs</th>
<th>Interment costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;10yrs.</td>
<td>&gt;10yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra-First class</td>
<td>16 ft. x 10 ft</td>
<td>£10</td>
<td>£0-16-6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
<td>8 ft. x 10 ft</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>£0-16-6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
<td>8 ft. x 4 ft</td>
<td>£1-5s-0</td>
<td>£0-12-6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third class</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>£0-12-6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Controlling for Socio-economic Class

The identification of ‘class’ in Dunedin is difficult due to the multiplicity of social attributes that class affiliation consists of. In order to represent class well in this study, a clear definition of ‘class’ is required. This study uses the cemetery’s ‘class’ as the ascribed class of each individual because it provides more control over social representation of Dunedin’s society than by using a cemetery with denominational divisions.

This study investigates the context of the migrant and newly urbanized populations of Dunedin, as these are the people who were buried in the Extra-First, First, and Second class plots in the Northern cemetery of Dunedin. There were Maori prisoners from Taranaki who were buried in the 3rd class plots, however these plots are not examined in this study. Any possible individuals with Maori heritage buried in other class divisions are not identifiable as being of Maori descent.

One restriction on the investigation into class was the lack of Third class burials in the study due to their lack of surface presence in the cemetery. As noted in the Northern Cemetery Act 1872 and the Provincial Gazette article by Twohill (2001), the third class plots were unpurchased plots for those who could not afford the costs of burial. This area in the cemetery remains covered by dense bush and trees across the entire third class blocks section. There are also plots that do not have a plot marker present in other classes, and plots that did not survive intact or legible. Markers that were made of a more durable material are better suited to lasting in this physical landscape, while softer stones are frequently illegible.
or broken. This damage was also affected by the location of the plot within the cemetery and the weathering it was exposed to, as the condition of the plot now indicates.

‘Class’ in this study was originally defined by the dimensions and cost of the plot rather than any socio-economically ascribed value of the individual or individuals. However, we may infer from this interpretation, in the context of late 19th and early 20th century Dunedin, that cemetery plot class was a personal affiliation of the individual(s) or their family, rather than an ascribed value (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998). The separation of plots into dimensional categories provides an arbitrary means of controlling for socio-economic class and provides a representation of a wide range of contemporary Dunedin society. This limits the bias of religious affiliation influencing indications of socio-economic brackets in society, as the plot classes may be compared with each other to identify personal affiliations. Identifying trends in the data indicates which class the social movers are originating from, which classes are following those trends, and in what ways.

It is important to realize that the representation of plot class is not an absolute indication of the socio-economic status of the individual (Dunnell 1971). An individual may have chosen to be buried in a class they did not occupy in life; the class affiliation may have been socially sanctioned and policed by their peers; the family may have changed their economic circumstances; or it may have been their socio-economic class at some point in their life. If this position is inferred from the theoretical concept of class used in this study, then other aspects of the plot must be evaluated to identify what personal value the individual and their families placed on the plot. For example, there may have been religious or economic reasons for the layout of their plot, or their heritage and previous cultural values may have influenced the stylistic attributes of the plot. Investment in the style of a family plot or plots may have been for the advertisement of socio-economic status, or through a desire to display their ideology or culture. In this case, identifying other attributes of the plot helps to identify whether the class value is associated with socio-economic status, religious affiliation, or their heritage. Also, by comparing these affiliations to the historical context, the separation of personal affiliation, and affiliations ascribed to an individual may be achieved through noting other trends and patterns.
Therefore by investigating the statistically significant transformations and changes in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery alongside the shifts in attitudes towards death and the transformations in Dunedin’s community, we are able to see how these transformations interacted with each other and how they indicate a relationship between the plot’s typological and stylistic variations and Dunedin’s community.
Chapter 4: Methodology

The research questions for this study investigate the stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials surrounding WW1, and how these transformations indicate a shift in attitudes towards death in Dunedin society. In this chapter, the methods for sampling, data collection, and statistical analyses are explained. These analyses are then used in chapter 6 to infer the implications of these changes and how they might indicate a transformation in society’s perceptions of death.

The classifications in this case study were identified by the dimensions of the plots, with the costs of the plots and burials separating Extra First class, First class, Second class, and Third class. However, there is a problem in the recording or representing of third-class plots as these plots were ‘unpurchased’ by individuals - the council covered burial costs for such plots. As these plots and burials were as cost-efficient as possible, the Third class section of the cemetery did not permit any burial markers, nor were they as distinct from each other. In the time since the plots were filled to capacity, the vegetation covering the individuals has grown unheeded and at present, the area is indistinguishable from surrounding bush land. Due to the lack of markers or memorials, this section was not included in the sample.

The fieldwork faced problems with the condition of the markers and memorials and selective preservation methods, particularly in the form of taphonomic and recovery biases, where many markers or memorials were illegible, weathered, or were face down in the plot. Alternatively, the depositional bias inherent in the Third class plots and the plots without headstones meant that not all plots in the sample could be analysed for all attributes.

This study focuses on stylistic transformations between the decades surrounding the pre-WW1 period (1870 to 1910), WW1 and influenza epidemic period (1910 to 1920), and the post-WW1 period (after 1920). This provides a framework through which the transformations in plots can be analysed with particular interest in the physical attributes of the markers and the meanings behind them. Plots that included military markers or memorials, or any mention of military service were investigated with a particular focus on their stylistic and functional attributes. This study particularly identifies a typology of military markers, and suggests that there is a distinction between civilian and military markers during periods of conflict (see Appendix 3: Newspapers Articles).
This study also investigates contemporary social transformations recorded in historical sources such as newspaper articles, and the legislation relating to cemeteries, crematoriums, and burial grounds. Similarly, New Zealand and Australian societies have been critically evaluated by several scholars with indications of how Australasian society changed during these disquieting periods, providing triangulation of the historical sources (Eldred-Grigg 2010, Jalland 2010, Loveridge 2014, Pugsley 2014).

In order to answer the primary research question, the analysis of plot markers and memorials, their mortuary art, and the inscription characteristics in each of the plots were separated into the three plot classes in the sample, and compared through the three periods studied (through each decade in the period). The fieldwork was designed to test the null hypothesis, that there was no change in the characteristics, and to test a series of premises formed from the legal documentation, historical newspapers, and archaeological literature. These identified the implications of transformations in cemetery markers and how these related to contemporary social transformations and socio-cultural attitudes towards death.

An important part of the background to the investigation was the knowledge that there are living descendants of the deceased buried in this cemetery who continue to visit these plots. The site area is also a contemporary burial ground, with many different cultures and beliefs present in the living and deceased communities, which meant that the fieldwork had to be carried out with respect and care. None of the plots were disturbed in any way.

**Sampling Methodology**

The sampling process was two-part in order to ensure that many of the military burials and memorials were included in the investigation, and that the sample included not just Dunedin society as a whole, but also Dunedin service personnel.

Initially, the sampling method used a stratified random sample following the representative method used by Edgar (1995), which ensured the distribution of block samples were similar to the plot class distinctions present within the cemetery. The blocks were divided into these ascribed plot classes and then were selected for the sample by the use of a random number generator. In order to select a manageable number of graves that amounted to approximately one third of the cemetery and limited the chance of various biases, the sample included all the graves in the selected block numbers (Table 3).
Table 3: Number of Plots in Study Sample from Plot Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plot Class</th>
<th>Total no. of Blocks</th>
<th>No. of Blocks in Sample</th>
<th>No. of Plots in Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extra-First class</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>185</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reasons behind this selection were that half of the total number of first-class and second-class cemetery blocks (44 and 49 respectively) would be unmanageable for the study. However, there is a need for sufficient plots to provide statistical significance. The number was cut to a round number of 30 blocks, which is approximately one third of each class. However, the number of extra-first class blocks was not as large (only 12 blocks total), so half the total number of blocks was considered reasonable and manageable. Having any fewer of the extra-first class blocks in the sample would run the risk of not giving a representative sample of the total compared to the larger portions of other classes, but also these plots have a rich variety of attributes, which may have otherwise been missed.

Within these selected blocks, all plots were included to reduce the chance of sampling bias. The plots were identified and analysed for their headstone form and decoration, inscription and attributes, and their plot components, following Edgar’s study. This range of elements was identified for each plot to ensure as descriptive and detailed an analysis as possible. General traits of the plot such as the grave type, condition of the plot, class of plot, date and decade of headstone, additions or changes and associated items were noted. For the morphological attributes, the headstone/ marker form, materials, and height were identified, while for iconographic attributes, the primary and secondary iconography were noted. Inscriptions on the markers consisted of several attributes that were identified if possible, such as the inscription lettering, memorial form and descriptive terms in the inscription, and the main inscription epitaph. Other attributes were noted to identify stylistic transformations, which included the presence or absence of a footstone and its material, the presence or absence of a fence and its material(s), and the presence or absence of a concrete covering. Masons markings on the headstones and fences, and notations of any affiliations to a geographic location were noted to identify any patterns or types in markers and memorials.
Secondly, the burials of returned service personnel were identified through the registered First and Second World Wars (WW1 and WW2) military markers in the Sextons Cottage. However, not all the commemorated military personnel were recorded in the Sextons cottage list. There were also memorials in the cemetery that commemorated service personnel who died overseas or who were never recovered, or who were buried elsewhere in New Zealand but were memorialized on their families’ markers. By identifying the known burials associated with the World Wars, and discovering others not included in the stratified random sample by walking through the cemetery and visually identifying inscriptions mentioning personnel, the investigation was able to include a range of burials that were not known to be associated with the New Zealand military action, but which commemorated service personnel. Not all of these were included in the sample but provide further data for comparisons between the military markers and civilian markers that mention military relatives.

**Fieldwork Methodology**

While collecting the data, there were several variables that were either present or absent in the plots, while others had stylistic elements indicating multiple variations on typologies. For consistency in recording, if there were multiple markers present, the marker with the earliest date on the ‘front’ facing surface was recorded as the ‘main’ headstone representing the plot. The predominant directions of other markers within the plots determined the identification of the ‘front’ of a particular marker. Similarly if there were multiple faces with inscriptions on the marker(s), the surface facing a viewer standing on the pathway running parallel to the block, was noted as the ‘front’ or ‘center’ face, with alternative surfaces marked as ‘left’, ‘right’, or ‘back’. The first recorded memorial inscribed on the ‘front’ face was inferred as the first burial and the associated date and description of death was inferred to be the date of construction for the headstone or marker.

Any additional headstones or obvious changes were noted, as were any additional items associated with the plot. While there may have been multiple epitaphs and forms of memorialisation in the inscriptions, the first burial was used and the main epitaph was noted. This may have been the first of multiple epitaphs, or a phrase separated from the main inscription at the base of the marker. Any additional epitaphs were noted in the documentation process of data gathering, but otherwise not included in the sample, to record only one epitaph for each plot. This was done to reduce the data collected to a manageable amount.
Many plots in the sample were one of several that included family members. Any plots that were obviously attached to another were treated as one plot, such plots included ones that were enclosed by a fence, or those that had a headstone centered between the two areas.

To supplement the fieldwork, there is an online database (Southern Heritage Trust) where the number of burials included within the plot are shown. Unfortunately, the recorded burials are searchable by only name and/or date, but not by plot number or class, so not all plots could be cross-referenced to the database. There are notable typographical discrepancies between the database and the inscriptions. In these cases where there is a difference between the markers and database, the information on the marker (if legible) was recorded for analysis. These difficulties were also present in the Sextons records where the records did not necessarily have complete corresponding burial information for plots. For this reason, Sextons records were not used to fill in missing information for plots without dates and there were sufficient plots with decade information to indicate trends.

There are multiple typologies that give an indication of patterns in the morphology, iconography and inscriptions of plots, which are the variables of the investigation most likely to correlate to social transformations (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998). However, there are also variables that give indications of stylistic or functional transformations, the agency of individuals and their families, the ascribed or affiliated class, their geographic affiliations, and other social indicators.

For each plot their ascribed class affiliations were recorded to indicate variation across these socially ascribed boundaries. Since the cemetery is divided into classes based on the sizing of the plots, these are logical divisions to ascribe to the sample in order to test differences.

For the morphology, the primary factor for analysis is the basic form, with other factors including the marker material and the height. Iconography was noted in primary and secondary factors in data collection although the primary iconography was analysed as the predominant statistical indicator. Inscriptional elements identified were divided into the memorial form, the inscription description, and the epitaph notation with the memorial form as the main factor statistically analysed.

**Statistical Analysis**

In order to limit the variables to a manageable amount, several types of forms, iconography, or memorials were grouped with others of similar attributes. However, these stylistic variations were noted in the qualitative analysis. For example, in the data collected, there
were several headstones or markers with a book form or a scroll form. As they both have similar purposes and meanings, they were grouped together to consolidate the data into manageable categories (types). Similarly, in the iconography data, many floral attributes were grouped together, particularly those with variable or multiple flower or leaf types. This reduced the number of variations of the same type of iconography for the data analysis.

The inscriptions from markers and memorials were digitalized to preserve their current state and provide a searchable and observable dataset. The inscriptions were also visually and categorically analysed for patterns, trends, and anomalies in the data, while the quantifiable dataset from the plots was analysed using Chi Square analyses with the Monte Carlo method. These provide the opportunity to find statistically significant relationships between results and also to test the Null Hypothesis (VanPool and Leonard 2011).

**Hypothesis testing**

Hypothesis testing is used to test the acceptance or rejection of the null hypothesis, which predicts that there is no difference or variation in a sample of a population. The probability where the null hypothesis is rejected is an arbitrary value based on the research design. In this case, the probability value chosen was at 0.05, as this is the value suggested by VanPool and Leonard (2011), where probabilities greater than 0.05 are seen as failing to reject the null hypothesis (and an alternative hypothesis is proposed) and probabilities less than 0.05 reject it. This is also referred to as the alpha value (\(\alpha\)), and when this value is presented as a percentage, it is referred to as a significance value. For example, one null hypothesis is that there is no variation between the numbers of each form across the decades in each class. If the alpha value is less than 0.05, then we conclude that there is variation in this case.

As hypothesis testing is based on probability, there is a chance of committing type 1 (\(\alpha\)) or type 2 (\(\beta\)) errors. The type 1 error is when the statistical analysis results in the null hypothesis being rejected when it is true, and the type 2 error accepts the null hypothesis when it is false. In this research, there is a likelihood of a type 1 error occurring in 5% of the results, due to the 0.05 probability value. Unfortunately to reduce that probability or alpha value (\(\alpha\)) would mean an increase in the likelihood of a type 2 error occurring (VanPool and Leonard 2011).
Chi Squares

Chi Square tests are a form of hypothesis testing. They allow for the comparison of the observed results with the statistically expected results, thereby testing the relative frequencies of two factors or criteria by comparing them under the assumption that there is no relationship between their frequencies ($H_0$), i.e that the frequencies of the two factors vary independently (McDonald 2014). Firstly, the Chi Square test indicates if the distributions between the factors are statistically significant, and then symmetric measures are calculated to test how strong the statistic is. The IBM SPSS statistics program was used to calculate these tests using the Monte Carlo method for the Chi Square tests, as it is more appropriate for the type of data present, where some expected values may be zero, and there is no theory that can predict the expected values (McDonald 2014). The Contingency Coefficient tests the strength of the statistics, by calculating their measure of association.

The Chi Square test determines if the distribution of one factor is random compared to the other factor. In this case, the layout of the rows compared to the columns of the table is not important, as it will give the same statistical response. It does not indicate if there is a significant difference between the levels in the factor, but rather if there is an effect of one factor compared to the other. We initially assume that the sample frequencies of the various types vary independently and therefore have no effect on each other; this is the null hypothesis. To reject the null hypothesis, a Chi-Square distribution table with the degrees of freedom and range of alpha level intervals are compared to the experimental frequency results. If the p-value is lower than the expected probability, then the null hypothesis is rejected (VanPool and Leonard 2011). In this study this means that the changes in frequencies of the types affect each other over the decades.

In the measures of association of nominal-by-nominal data, Contingency Coefficient values closer to 1 rather than 0 indicate a strong measure of association between the frequencies of the types. These have been calculated for each Chi Square table.

Patterns and Typologies

In this study, attributes are analysed individually and then patterns and typologies are observed with comparisons between data, so that the statistically significant influences of each attribute may be identified separately. This analysis investigates common themes in the data, where there was insufficient data for quantitative analysis. These patterns are then used
to discover themes such as the rise of individualization; aspects of memory, such as remembering, forgetting, and commemoration; the balance of style and function; personal agency; and the interactions between the living and dead as key methods of bridging the gap between the material culture and the statistical results of the analysis e.g. Edgar (1995), Higgins (1998), Hurley (1998) and Lawrence (1995).

The premises to be tested with the dataset relate to the distinction of the class brackets and whether they are noticeably different; whether there is a notable transformation in the attributes of the markers (form, iconography, and inscriptions); and whether agency or memory are attributes that should be investigated further.

While many similar studies use ‘class’ and ‘socio-economic status’ interchangeably, the use of ‘class’ in this study is an ascribed value based on the dimensions and costs of the plots as identified in the Provincial Gazette and in Lane (2013). ‘Class’ is a social construct based on identity and personal affiliations, and the affiliations ascribed to individuals by others. The four ‘classes’ for the study are based on how the society valued their dead, and how they wished to be perceived by their peers.

The results of these qualitative and quantitative analyses are explained in chapter 5 and discussed in chapter 6.
Chapter 5: Statistical Descriptions and Analysis

This section discusses the statistical analysis of the data collected from the Northern Cemetery using the variables explained in chapter 3. VanPool and Leonard (2011) emphasize that the archaeological record is made up of phenomena including material culture and modified landscapes, while the observations that archaeologists make are referred to as data. The qualitative variables primarily use nominal categories (discrete variables) to analyze the numerical patterns in the data, with ordinal and interval measurements for a few variables.

Nominal variables refer to variables where data are ascribed a number as a label, or where numbers of variables are documented by a ‘count’. In this chapter, pivot tables of the data were used to identify counts of each variable for further analysis.

Ordinal measurements refer to variables with a particular order, for example ‘class’ may be divided into Extra-First class, First class, or Second class. In ordinal measurements, the difference between two of the variables may not be the same as the difference between two other variables such as Extra-First class and First class, and First class and Second class.

Interval measurements refer to measurements with consistent divisions between the variables, for example decades are separated by a consistent number of years with an arbitrary ‘zero’ or initial variable (VanPool and Leonard 2011).

The observations and statistical analyses are explained in the first part of the chapter with sections on plot distribution, grave types, marker morphology, marker iconography, memorials on grave marker, other variables noted in chapter 4, anomalies, and life histories of markers.

The second part of this chapter discusses the patterns or ‘types’ present in the sample. It was observed through the data collection that there were several types present consistently, with stylistic variations within these types. While they may not be obvious in the statistical analyses or graphs, these patterns are identified and explained in this section.

Statistical Analysis and Observations

In this thesis Chi-Squares are used to test if there is a significant difference between the observed and expected data. If there is a larger than expected difference between these two values, we may infer that the difference is statistically significant influence of the levels in the factors. Using the statistics program SPSS with the Monte Carlo method, we may
identify if the differences between data values are significant. The Monte Carlo method is applicable to this study as it is able to work with data containing no values in the category. A contingency coefficient gives a measure of the strength of relationships between data values.

**Plot Distribution**

A limitation of the sampling method used is the lack of equality in numbers of markers across the decade brackets. While the sample was evenly collected across the class brackets, there was no way to control for the decade of the marker before the data collection process. To mitigate this problem, some data are presented as a percentage, or compared with the average number of plots within the decade to limit any misunderstanding of the data.

![Figure 1: Number of Plots by Decades and Individual Years within each Decade (individual years shown in colours as in the side key)](image)

By grouping the data into decade brackets, it is clear that there are fewer burials as time goes on. As the key events are WW1 and the Influenza epidemic, we are identifying changes that occurred before, within and after the 1910-1919 decade. Although the specific timing of WW1 and epidemic is 1914-1920, social transformations were occurring in New Zealand society prior to the outbreak of war, and the decade bracket gives a larger sample from which to analyse the specific changes that developed. By identifying the predominant transformations present in the Extra-First class, First class, and Second class brackets, we may infer what social changes were associated with these transformations.
Table 4: Number of plots within Decades by Count and Percentage of Total (Not including markers with no decade indication)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decades in Study</th>
<th>Count of Plots</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870-1879</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1889</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1899</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1909</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1919</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930+</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A limitation of the sample is the fewer number of plots in the later decade brackets. As shown in figure 1 and table 4, there are a larger number of plots in the 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900 brackets, peaking in 1880 with a steady decline after that decade. Of the total number of plots 32.9% are between the 1870 and 1910 brackets (35.4% between 1870-1914) and 3.1% from 1914 to 1920. However, 56.3% of the plots have no decade indicated either through a lack of marker, or lack of date recorded on it, or in cemetery records. To provide sufficient plots in each group for statistical analysis, this study has used decade groupings, as it was more useful for the transformations to be identified through their decade brackets within the three periods than by these three periods where the data would be uneven. As there are fewer plots in the sample after the WW1 decade (1920s decade onwards), any conclusions made regarding this period may be less reliable than those from before 1920.

**Grave Types**

The plots were divided into their class divisions based on their dimensions, and also into the number of burials within the plots. These burial divisions noted single burials, double burials (2 individuals), and family plots (3 or more burials). By comparing the numbers of burials with the types of plots, a pattern emerges that may indicate the reuse of a plot. Figure 2 shows that in Extra-First class plots, a total of 90 (76.9%) plots had family burials, 9 (7.7%) were double burials, and 5 (4.3%) were single burials. Of these 9 family plots and 2 double plots did not have identifiable decades, and an additional 13 (11.1%) grave types were unable to be identified. In First class plots, Figure 3 shows a total of 360 (58.9%) plots had...
family burials, 69 (11.3%) were double burials, and 38 (6.2%) were single burials, while (23.6%) were unable to be identified. These included 142 family plots, 21 double plots, and 6 single plots with no identifiable decades. In Second class plots, figure 4 shows a total of 226 (33.3%) plots had family burials, 92 (13.6%) were double burials, and 66 (9.7%) were single burials. Plots with no identifiable decade made up 110 family plots, 41 double plots, and 16 single plots and unidentifiable grave types totalled 295 (43.4%) (see Appendix 4: Distribution of Grave Types across Class and Decades).

Figure 2: Grave Types by Decade in Extra First Class Plots

Figure 3: Grave Types by Decade in First Class Plots
Proportional to the number of blocks as a whole in the Northern Cemetery, there were fewer blocks in Extra-First class (12) than First class (82) or Second class (91) blocks. The total number of Extra-First class plots (16 x 10ft) recorded was 117 and the average number of plots in each block was 16.71 with a range between 6 and 24. This class bracket had the most variety in forms, iconography, and inscriptive elements, and there was a notable height difference between markers in this class and the other class groups. In contrast, the total number of plots recorded in First class (8 x 10ft) was 611 and the average number of plots in each block was 19.09 with a range between 8 and 43. The total number of plots recorded in Second class blocks was 679 and the average number of plots in each block was 22.63 with a range between 4 and 42. The Second class plots were standardized at 8 x 4ft. Due to this smaller size, 2 of these plots could fit into the same space as 1 First class plot, and approximately 4 Second class plots could fit into the same space as 1 Extra-First class plot. This difference in size meant that proportionally, there were a larger number of Second-class plots than First class or Extra-First class plots in the sample.

As recorded, 289 plots were attached to 1 or more adjacent plots (20.5%). These include plots that were surrounded by a fence, have a centered marker, or are grassy areas that have no noticeable separations. Notably, Second class plots were more likely to be attached with another plot than the First and Extra-First class plots. Second class plots have 233 (80.6% of the total 289 attached plots) plots associated with other plots, while the 44 First class plots
make up 15.2% and 12 Extra-First class plots make up 4.2%. This means that 10.3% of the
117 plots in Extra-First class, 7.2% of the 611 plots in First class, and 34.3% of the 679 plots
in Second class are attached to other plots.

A large number of the plots in the Second class blocks do not have a grave marker present in
the plot and either use a fence or concrete cover to distinguish them from other plots, or
there may be plants added to the plot. Unfortunately, many plots in this type do not have any
indicator of occupancy and the only means of recording was by noting the lack of
characteristics.

**Marker Morphology**

To identify the predominant marker forms in each of the class divisions and the
transformations over time, the data were divided into class brackets as defined by the plot
sizes, and crossed with the decade brackets containing the years ’0 - ‘9. In several graphs,
there is a large discrepancy between the most common form and the uncommon forms. The
plots with no markers and no date inscriptions made up 18 (15.4%) of Extra-First class plots,
192 (31.4%) of First class plots, and 324 (47.7%) of Second class plots (figure 5).

![Figure 5: Marker Forms in Classes without Identifiable Decades (Not including plots with
‘No’ markers)](image-url)
In plots with markers present, the most common forms of markers in plots with no date inscribed were Tablets and Nameplates in First and Second class sections. In Extra-First class plots, the most common form was the Pedestal type followed by Tablet type (Figure 5). Although there are no Nameplate markers without decade inscriptions in Extra-First class, this type made up 74 (12.1%) of the First class plots and 99 (14.6%) of the Second class plots.

The condition of the plot was noted even in plots with no markers. These were included to identify if the plot itself was in good, good/ weathered, weathered, or broken condition. It was very rare that a plot with no marker or memorial present was in anything but good condition, but there were a few plots where the earth was subsiding, while plots with markers that were located on a hill or slope were likely to be in poor condition. Slope erosion and subsidence was also a factor in the condition of plots in all classes.

As seen in table 5, 62 (53.0%) of the markers and memorials in Extra-First class plots were in good condition, while 28 (23.9%) were good/ weathered, which means that it was weathered in places or slightly weathered but still in quite good condition. The rest of the Extra-First class markers were 12 (10.3%) broken and 15 (12.8%) weathered. In First class plots, 273 markers were weathered (44.7%), with 124 (20.3%) good/ weathered and almost equal amounts of markers that were either good (109 or 17.8%) or broken (105 or 17.2%). Of the Second class markers, 272 were weathered (40.1%), with fairly even amounts of good (177 or 26.1%) and good/ weathered markers (151 or 22.2%), and 79 broken markers (11.6%).

Table 5: Conditions of Markers and Memorials in Extra-First, First, and Second class plots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Extra First Class</th>
<th>First Class</th>
<th>Second Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broken</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good/ Weathered</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weathered</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>1407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures 6, 7 and 8 indicate the most popular forms of markers in each of the ‘class’ sections of the Northern Cemetery and also the average number of plots present in each class, which changes by decade. The Average line indicates the proportion of plots in each decade, which allows an indication of which plots occur in frequencies above average for that decade, and which plots may indicate slighter fluctuations in social transformations. The average is calculated by the number of plots divided by the number of forms present in each decade.

While there is a range of basic forms, not all of these forms are present in each of the classes. Most notably, there were also stylistic attributes noted as present within the sample, These have been merged into ‘Types’ based on their main form. Other forms that were present in very small numbers were merged into an ‘Other’ category.

Figure 6 represents the marker forms present in Extra-First class plots, and how these change over time. The Pedestal Types in the Extra-First class bracket is clearly the dominant form throughout the study period. However, there is less of a separation between form types after 1910. Stylistic variation present within the types show that there were personal characteristics or affiliations displayed, while most of the ‘other’ forms consisted of uncommon plots styles not consistent with the other predominant forms, and are below the average indicator.

There is a drop in the popularity of Pedestal types between 1900 and 1910, which appears to be a sharper than natural decline of the most popular form indicating a notable change in the most popular form type.

The marker forms in First Class plots (figure 7) were more varied due to the larger proportion of plots present in the class bracket than in Extra-First class. The most popular form of marker in First class plots was the Tablet type with the popularity of the Pedestal type as the second most popular form during the 1870-1910 section, when the Wall Plaque became the second most popular form. While the Tablet type is the most popular, peaking in the 1880s, and then steadily declining in popularity until the 1920s, the Pedestal type briefly becomes the most popular form in the 1900s. The popularity of other forms shows the variation present in the study, but these forms are less popular options. Other forms present in the First class bracket were probably a reflection of personal choice, or may have reflected a social minority. The ‘Other’ category included the less common forms such as the Tomb form.
Figure 6: Marker Form by Decade in Extra-First Class Plots

Figure 7: Marker Form by Decade in First Class Plots

Figure 8 shows that the Tablet type was by far the most popular form in Second Class plots until the 1920s, at which point the Wall Plaque became briefly more popular. The wall plaque and pedestal type forms become popular from 1880 when the pedestal type remains at a consistent popularity while the tablet type steadily declines. Almost all other forms are below the Average line, which indicates a variability of choice in marker form types. The
other category is notable as its presence indicates that there were other choices present, but not in large quantities.

Figure 8: Marker Form by Decade in Second Class Plots

Comparing the three classes (figures 6, 7, and 8), all the most popular forms had a dramatic increase in popularity peaking in either the 1880s or 1890s, and then sharply decreased in relative popularity around 1910. There was a notable transformation in the decisions of individuals and their families occurring from the 1880s through to the 1910s. These three decades indicate a significant drop in the relative popularity of the predominant form to a point where there is no distinguishable popular form among the variety of forms present. The line of average shows that the less popular forms had a reasonably even distribution across all the decades for all three classes.

It is notable that the tablet was popular across the classes in the same patterns in the First class and Second class plots, peaking in the 1880s and 1890s, and dropping off in popularity in the 1900s, but the pedestal type was most popular in Extra-First class, peaking in the 1880s. It is possible that the cost of pedestals prompted these changes. The styles in first class and second class appear to be very similar, however the more elaborate forms reduce markedly in number as the decades progress with very few in second class plots.

The statistical significance of the variation between the frequencies of each form across the decades in each class can be tested using Chi Square test with the Monte Carlo method. As
observed in appendix 5, the significance values are all less than p=0.05, so the results are statistically significant. The contingency coefficient for Extra-First (0.77), First (0.74), and Second (0.75) class plots are on the higher spectrum between 0 and 1, which means that there is a strong association between the frequencies of each form across the decades in each class.

**Marker Iconography**

As figure 9 shows, 792 (56.3%) plots in the class brackets do not have dates present on grave markers, of these, 22 (18.8%) of Extra-Frist class, 296 (48.4%) of First class, and 450 (66.3%) of Second class plots have no form of iconography. The most popular iconography form present in markers without any date shown in First class is Floral types followed by Shield (and Cloth) and then the third most popular forms are Book/ Scroll and Rope/ Ribbon. In Second class the most popular iconography forms are Floral types followed by the Cross types. The only iconography present in Extra-First class plots has a Floral theme. While the range of themes noted was quite extensive, this was reduced to a manageable number by grouping floral types. These were probably indicative of varying personal choices.

![Iconography Styles](image)

*Figure 9: Iconography Styles without Identifiable Decade Brackets*
Flowers came in forms including Daisies, Daffodils, Grapes, Lilies, Pansies, Passion fruit, Roses, Violets, Wreaths, Bouquets, and multiple other flowers that were either unidentifiable, or were present with others (see table 6). Leaves included many of the flower species’ leaves, Ivy leaves, Vines and Berries, Palm Leaves, and Other unidentifiable species.

Floral themes in New Zealand’s mortuary context were often seen as symbols of the living’s emotional connection to the deceased through religious rituals associated with the deathscape (McMillen et al. 2017, Seaton 1985, Svendsen and Campbell 2010). They were an example of the cycle of life and death, but have become commercialised in the modern funerary process (Pearson 1999). In the mortuary context, iconographic representations of specific flowers have particular interpretations, often with ideological connotations. For example, Daisies are symbols of innocence, purity and loyal love; Daffodils represent Easter; Grapes are symbols of peace and abundance; Lilies show purity and sincerity; Pansies indicate thoughtful remembrance; Passionfruit represent faith; Roses have a variety of meanings depending on their colouring; and Violets represent modesty (Lehner 1960).

Various Christian motifs include the IHS Christogram, a Dove with an olive leaf, a pile of rocks (which acts as a base for a cross), and a lamb. Other notable symbols include a Freemasons symbol, an Australian military symbol (AIF), and the New Zealand Military symbol of the Silver Fern.

Table 6: Floral Iconography in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Floral Iconography</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daisies</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Daisies Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers</td>
<td>Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daffodils</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of Daffodils" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grapes</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of Grapes" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilies</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of Lilies" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pansies</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of Pansies" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passionfruit</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image of Passionfruit" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Violets | ![Image](image2.jpg) |

| Wreaths | ![Image](image3.jpg) |

<p>| Bouquets | <img src="image4.jpg" alt="Image" /> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaves</th>
<th><img src="image1.png" alt="Image of leaves" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ivy leaves</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image of ivy leaves" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vines and Berries</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image of vines and berries" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm Leaves</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image of palm leaves" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures 10, 11, and 12 indicate the most popular Iconography types present on grave markers in where dates are present in Extra-First class plots, First class plots, and Second class plots.

As shown in Extra-First class plots (figure 10), there was no clearly dominant iconography types. However, there were a few emerging trends above the average line. Initially, the most popular iconography type present in the 1870s was no iconography, which declined in popularity from the 1880s to the 1920s, but has become more popular after the 1930s. There was an increase in the Floral type between the 1880s and 1900s, declining in popularity after. There was also a declining trend in the other types from the 1870s onwards, and all other types fell under the average line. Unfortunately the sample size was not extensive in this class size, and the average numbers of plots in each decade bracket were numbered under 10 for almost every variable. The variety of the types shows a range of choices was available, however, there was a large variety within the floral type. A large number of different flowers and leaves were combined into a common type due to the difficulty in identifying particular types and also due to their varied meanings within an overarching floral theme.
Figure 11: Iconography Styles by Decade in First Class Plots

There were a larger number of plots in each of the First class division (figure 11) compared to the Extra-First class plots, with a corresponding increase in the variety of iconography forms, and there were also emerging trends of the popularity of particular types. Between the 1870s and 1920s, the Floral type and plots with no iconography were the most popular forms, with the floral theme peaking in the 1880s, and no iconography remaining the most common form in the 1870s, and after the 1900s. The Cross types, including Latin and Celtic crosses, the Greek cross, and other Ornamental forms were the third most popular type, peaking in the 1880s. Other types were consistently present below the average line.

The Second class iconography styles (figure 12) had two predominant themes. In the 1870s to 1900s, the most popular form was no iconography, but the Floral theme remains the second most popular theme until 1910s, when it became the most popular theme. In the 1870s to 1890s, and again after 1910s, the Cross theme became the third most popular form with other forms present below the average line indicating variability.
There was a very sudden drop in almost all the most popular iconography types in the 1900s to 1920s, and a sharp increase in the use of Floral themed iconography or no iconography between 1870s and 1900s in First and Second class plots. Variations in forms of iconography were useful to identify the range of styles, but as they never rose above the average line, they may either represent social minorities or personal choice. There was a remarkable consistency of the popularity in the less popular types across all three classes across all decades.

The variations between frequencies of each iconography type across the decades were tested for significant differences using Chi Square test with the Monte Carlo method. As observed in appendix 5, the values of the First and Second class plots are less than p=0.05, so the results are statistically significant. The Extra-First class plots are slightly above the significance boundary as the p value is 0.052, which is possibly due to the smaller sample size. Also, as the contingency coefficient for Extra-First (0.74), First (0.67), and Second (0.68) class plots are on the higher spectrum between 0 and 1, there is a strong association between variations between frequencies of each iconography type across the decades.

**Inscriptions on Grave Markers**

The inscriptive attributes include the main memorial forms, the style of lettering used, the language of the inscription, and the epitaph (final inscription). The memorial section of the inscription is the heading dedication to the first individual, and is the one most likely to be
affected by social transformations. Memorials were inscribed in incised, embossed, applique (or pressed letter style), or guilded lettering.

Figures 13, 14, and 15 refer to plots with decade information, and the plots with no decade markers are represented in Table 7. In table 7, there is an large difference between the numbers of markers with no memorial, or with just a [Name] on their marker compared to the small number of other inscription Memorials. Table 7 also shows that there are over twice the number of plots without markers in Second Class as there are in First class, but almost equal numbers of [Name] inscriptions.

Table 7: Memorial Inscriptions without Dates by Class separations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memorial Inscriptions (with no date)</th>
<th>Extra-First Class</th>
<th>First class</th>
<th>Second Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[None]</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Name]</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Loving Memory Of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In/To The Memory Of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred to the Memory of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (In Memoriam)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In figure 13, it can be seen that there was a steady decline in the popularity of the phrase ‘In Memory Of’ from 1870s to 1910, and a steady increase then brief drop in the phrase ‘In Loving Memory Of’ between 1870s and 1910s before rising again in the 1920s. The phrase ‘In Loving Remembrance Of’ is popular between 1870s and 1910 when it falls out of use, with it being the second most popular form in 1900s. The sole use of a [name] as the marker steadily declines in popularity from 1870s to 1930s onwards. Other themes in this class appear erratically and there does not appear to be enough data to show any further trends besides these observations.
Figure 13: Popular Memorial Inscriptions by Decade in Extra-First Class

Figure 14: Popular Memorial Inscriptions by Decade in First Class

Figure 14 indicates the predominant Memorial inscription forms present in First Class, which show clearly that the most popular phrase is ‘In Loving Memory Of’ from the 1880s onwards. In the 1870s both ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’, and ‘In Memory Of’ are equally the most popular form. However, these two steadily decline in popularity to below the Average line, ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’ in the 1900s, and ‘In Memory Of’ in the 1920s. ‘Erected by… [type]’ peaks in popularity in the 1880s but declines below the average line in the
1900s, and the [Name] form rises from below the average line to peak in the 1900s. Other forms indicate the variety of memorial inscriptions used.

Figure 15 shows the trends of the popular memorial inscriptions in the Second class plots. ‘In Loving Memory Of’ became the most popular form in the 1880s, and remained so consistently onwards. However, in the 1870s, as in the First class plots, ‘Sacred To The Memory Of’ was briefly the most popular form then peaked in the 1890s before suddenly falling out of use. The phrase ‘In Memory Of’ was the second most popular phrase in the 1870s, and increased sharply in the 1880s almost as high as ‘In Loving Memory Of’, and remained the second favorite phrase until the 1930s. In the 1930s, the [Name] memorial became the second most popular phrase, where it slowly declined in popularity from its peak in the 1890s. There was a variety of other phrases, but they were not necessarily indicative of the social transformations as they are present in negligible frequencies.

The variations between frequencies of each memorial type across the decades were tested using the Chi Square test with the Monte Carlo method to identify if there are significant differences between those variations. As observed in appendix 5, the values of the First and Second class plots are less than p=0.05, so the results are statistically significant. The Extra-First class plots are slightly above the significance boundary as the p value is 0.051, which is possibly due to the smaller sample size. In addition, the contingency coefficient for Extra-
First (0.78), First (0.76), and Second (0.74) class plots are on the higher spectrum between 0 and 1, which means that there is a strong association between variations between frequencies of each memorial type across the decades.

Figure 16: Lettering techniques from 1870s to 1930s across all plot classes

From Figure 16, lettering styles on markers show that the initial most popular form was the Incised style, which peaked in the 1880s, followed by the appliqué or pressed letter style that peaked in the 1890s and remained the most popular style until the 1930s. The other styles show little variation in popularity over the decades.

**Fences and Concrete Coverings**

In 95 (81.2%) of the Extra-First class plots, 477 (78.1%) of the First class plots, and 425 (62.6%) of the Second class plots, there were fences surrounding the plot (see table 8). Fences were present in 997 (70.9%) plots in the sample, and were made up of several forms: iron fencing without curbing; curbed edges made of concrete or concrete stylized edges with stones inlaid on the walls (made from bricks and concrete); concrete curbs with iron fencing; wood and iron fencing; or wooden posts with chains. These followed the population trends as shown in figure 1 across the decades.

When noting the plots that had a concrete surface or cover, it was observed that 45 (38.5%) of the Extra-First class plots had the concrete surface or cover, while only 217 (35.5%) of the First Class plots and 127 (18.7%) of the Second class plots used a concrete covering (see
These were consistent in numbers across the decades in First and Second class plots.

Table 8: Popular Fence materials used within each of the Class Divisions across the Decades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Fence Types</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
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<td>74</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>1407</td>
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</table>

Table 9: Presence and Absence of Concrete Coverings across Class Divisions and Decades

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Concrete Covering</th>
<th>1870</th>
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<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930+</th>
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<td>74</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>792</td>
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</table>
Footstones

Table 10 shows that 24 (20.5%) of the Extra-First class plots included footstones, 139 (22.7%) of the First Class plots included footstones, while only 70 (10.3%) of the Second class plots used footstones. These were almost all in the form of nameplates, with the only exception noted as a plaque. However, it is important to note that not all plots that included footstones also contained a headstone marker.

Table 10: Popular Footstone materials used within each of the Class Divisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Footstone Types</th>
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<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
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<th>1910</th>
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<td>74</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>1407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Epitaphs

There were only 303 plots with epitaphs present, made up of 51 (43.6%) of the Extra-First class plots, 155 (25.4%) of the First class plots, and 98 (14.4%) of the Second class plots. Hymns and Verses from the Bible were common epitaphs ascribed to markers with religious affiliations. Other religious phrases were not attributable to a particular Christian denomination; however there may have been phrases that were popular with several or particular denominations. The epitaphs were not repeated frequently enough to be statistically analysed. There were 87 different forms of phrases with Christian denominational or religious connotations, while only 54 different non-religious epitaphs in various forms (See table 11).
Table 11: Examples of Popular Epitaphs across Plot Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples of Popular Epitaphs</th>
<th>Sentiment Themes</th>
<th>Plot Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Until the day break and the shadows flee away’ (Song of Solomon 2:17)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Extra-First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Suffer the little children to come unto me’ (Mark 10:14)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>First and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Blessed are they who die in the Lord for they rest in peace’ (Revelation 14:13)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Extra-First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Asleep in Jesus’ (from ‘Asleep in Jesus! Blessed Sleep’ by M. Mackay 1832)</td>
<td>Hymn</td>
<td>First and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see the lord’ (Matthew 5:8)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Father in thy gracious keeping, leave we now thy servant sleeping’ (from ‘Now the Laborer’s task is O’er’ by J. Ellerton 1875)</td>
<td>Hymn</td>
<td>First and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Thy will be done’ (John 3:16)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I know that my redeemer liveth’ (Job 19:25)</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Deeply Loved’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Gone but not forgotten’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Not lost but gone before’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Peace Perfect Peace’</td>
<td>Peace/ Rest</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘At Rest’</td>
<td>Peace/ Rest</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘So Loved, So Mourned’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Extra-First and First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Though lost to sight, to memory dear’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Extra-First, First, and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘A few short years of evil past we reach the happy shore, where death divided friends at last shall meet to part no more’.</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Deeply Mourned’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>First and Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Deeply Regretted’</td>
<td>Loss/Remembrance</td>
<td>First and Second</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Markers also used different terminology to refer to the deceased. Phrasing such as ‘Who Died…’, ‘Died…’, ‘Who Accidentally Drowned…’, ‘Who Passed Away…’, ‘Who Accidentally Died…’, or ‘Who Fell Asleep…’ changes depending on how the author of the inscription wishes to convey the individual’s death. Another means of expressing individuality was through inscribing an individual’s place of origin on the marker, usually
near to their date of birth. Affiliations to locations on markers were not present in statistically useful numbers, but were a feature on several markers.

**Life Histories of Markers**

Several markers have had considerable changes made to their plots or forms. Extra headstones or markers were present in 15 (12.8%) Extra-First class, 51 (8.3%) First class, and 23 (3.4%) Second class plots, and Otago Roses markers were present in 7 (6%) Extra-First class, 15 (2.5%) First class, and 12 (1.8%) Second class plots.

There were several other additions to plots. Bouquets, Information boards, Poppies, and Cuttings were present on one or two plots per class. However, plants were frequently added to the plots – 16 (13.7%) Extra-First class, 161 (26.4%) First class, and 177 (26.1%) Second class plots. The only other addition that was present on several plots in the sample were small white stones present in 3 (2.6%) Extra-First class, 24 (3.9%) First class, and 28 (4.1%) Second class plots. These were not present frequently enough in plots to be statistically analysed.

Additional inscriptions on markers were not recorded for analysis due to the variety in those additions and there was a methodological decision to analyse the first inscription as representative of the earliest stylistic choices. Usually, if there were additional inscriptions present on the marker, they followed the same style as the original inscription, with a few variations. Markers of a different style that were attached to the main form were noted as an additional marker or memorial.

Marker inscriptions used particular language when describing further individuals. In several instances individuals were identified as ‘wife of…’, ‘husband of…’, ‘brother of…’, ‘sister of…’, ‘son of…’, ‘daughter of…’, ‘grandson of…’, or ‘granddaughter of…’. This description was not necessarily present with the first inscription, but was observed as present on several additional inscriptions.

**Variations in types of forms and stylistic attributes**

There were a few plots that could not be characterised to the extent that would accurately represent them. An example of this was Larnach’s Tomb; the Gothic tomb that occupied First class plots 4, 5, 6, and 6A of block 100. Its monumental architecture had many different iconographic elements and architectural forms within the tomb itself, but the data
only recorded the predominant form, iconography, and inscriptions rather than the multiple other stylistic variations present.

Unfortunately, there were many markers in bad conditions that were illegible and weathered badly, which meant that their attributes could not be identified and were not marked as present. Another problem was with the markers that were broken or face down in the ground. These could not be analysed beyond visible attributes.

This has led to a few difficulties with the data collection method. If a part of an inscription is recorded, it indicates that there are more inscriptional attributes, which may not have been legible or visible (the exceptions being nameplates that only have a name inscription). Also, if a memorial has an identifiable form, then it is likely to also have iconography or an inscription, which may be illegible.

**Identifying Patterns and Typology**

There were some very distinct ‘types’ of markers that were present within this sample, identifiable through the same characteristics that were present on multiple markers in conjunction with each other. Similarly, there were several markers that were present in multiple forms with variable attributes, but with the same base characteristics. Between the basic forms, memorial inscription, and in some instances the iconography, patterns emerged of stylistic variations in choices made by the deceased and their families. There were correlations also between and within the Inscriptional attributes.

The main memorial inscription was the section of the marker whose frequencies could be statistically analysed (see Appendix 5). However, other elements of the inscription, such as the lettering form, the language of the inscription, and the epitaph, showed patterns that were observable, in the data as described below.

**Mason Styles**

Many masons were only represented in the data by one or two markers so these were unable to be statistically analysed. However, in several markers with masons markings, patterns emerged regarding what styles particular masons provided. The most represented mason was ‘T Thompson & Co’, who made both capped and uncapped tablets, pedestals, and pedestals with sculptures from granite and sandstone. Of the 29 markers, 3 had sandstone footstones, 27 had concrete or iron fences, and 7 had concrete coverings over the plot. Inscription memorials were primarily In Loving Memory Of’, In Memory Of’, or ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’ in incised or appliqué lettering. The company was bought from H. Palmer in
1904 (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Otago Witness, 21 December 1904, Issue 2649, p42).

Alternatively, ‘C. Munro’ made sandstone tablets with incised or lead appliqué lettering forming a range of memorials. Only 1 of the 23 markers had a footstone present in the plot, and only 4 markers were made of granite, with 18 made of sandstone. However, the business advertised its closure in 1908 (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Otago Daily Times, 13 June 1908, Issue 14239, p16).

Other masons were not so strongly represented; ‘Bingham & Co.’ only had 7 markers from granite or sandstone with a variety of pedestal, tablet and sculpture forms. Almost all of their examples used the inscription memorial ‘In Loving Memory Of’ in gilded or appliqué lettering. Fenced plots made by this company mostly did not have large headstone markers but several had small sandstone markers and footstones in the form of nameplates with embossed lettering.

‘Turner & Hendra’ only had 4 sandstone markers in the sample, with 3 appliqué and 1 incised lettering, and inscription memorials were either ‘Erected By…’, or ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’. ‘Bergamini & Reid’ masons made pedestal markers from sandstone, with fences in all 3 plots, but no footstones or concrete coverings. All 3 markers used the inscriptions memorial “In Loving Memory Of”. The company advertised their stock including imported Carrara marble in the Lake County Press, and several regional newspapers including the Tuapeka Times, Evening Star, and the Clutha Leader (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Lake County Press 1 August 1901, Issue 973, p6, Advertisements Column 2).

The 2 ‘Frapwell & Holgate’ markers were pedestals, which did not give enough information to form a pattern, although they advertised extensively in newspapers (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Lake County Press, 30 Jan 1919, Issue 2770 p6). The two ‘Henderson & Percus’ sandstone capped tablets, which were similarly interesting, did not provide enough repetitive information. Unfortunately, the rest of the masons noted in the sample were not present in more than 1 or 2 instances (See Appendix 7: Masonry Markings in this study).

**Fenced Areas and Concrete Slabs**

Various styles of fenced areas included: curbed edges made of concrete; concrete stylized edges (made from bricks and concrete) with stones inlaid on the walls; concrete curbs with
iron fencing; iron fencing without curbing; wood and iron fencing; and wooden posts with chains.

Plots with only a curbed fence present were predominantly in the form of a concrete barrier, with no associated marker. Some fenced areas used Concrete and Iron to make the fence barrier, but these were not as common as the curbing. Several fences in the sample also had a makers mark present, so that the concrete curbed areas were identifiable as having been made by ‘Pettit Roslyn’ and ‘H. S. Bingham & Co.’. Similarly, some fences with a concrete base and iron fencing were identified as having been made by ‘Alfred Lilly Blackburn Makers Dunedin’ and ‘W. Faulkner Maker Dunedin’. Other fenced areas in these styles did not have any masons markings.

Some of these plots had a concrete slab covering the entire plot, while others had a concrete covering within the boundaries of the fence. In comparing the total number of plots with a concrete covering with the total number of plots with fences present to test for correlations between the two attributes, it was observed that 53 (3.8%) plots had both a concrete cover and a fence, while 744 (52.9%) had a fence but no cover, 136 (9.7%) had a concrete cover but not fence, and 274 (19.5%) had neither a fence nor a cover.

Of the 570 (40.5%) plots that were fenced by concrete curbing or stylized concrete fencing, many were commonly associated with headstone markers, which included 145 Nameplates, 13 slant markers, or 49 wall plaques. However, 181 plots did not have any marker associated with this type of fencing.

**Nameplates, Slant Markers, and Plaques**

Nameplates, slant markers, and plaques were the only markers that fitted within the limitations of 6 inches as noted by town board requirements (Deed and Bauchop 2013). These would have been the only allowed options for markers in the Second class plots. However, as some markers recorded in Second class plots have clearly exceeded this height restriction, there must have been leeway in the memorialisation of markers.

Across all classes, the nameplate ‘type’ was primarily the form used as a headstone and/or footstone to mark family plots. In all except for a few anomalies, this type used an ‘Embossed’ lettering style and with the family name only. The markers were predominantly in a sandstone material, with a few exceptions such as one concrete nameplate, and 22 granite nameplates. There were no iconography elements in the nameplate type, but some plots included white stones or plants within the boundaries. Of the 181 plots with nameplate
markers, 61 of them had a concrete cover on the grave, while 120 did not, although these were equally spread between the first and Second class plots. 101 of the 181 nameplate plots were present in Second class plots, with 78 of them in first class plots.

![Image](image_url)

Figure 17: Sandstone Nameplate with concrete curbing and a Rose marker

Slant marker forms were predominantly made of granite, with a few in the form of sandstone. Their forms were either less than 30cm high, or in a slightly more upright position, just over 30cm tall. The 41 slant markers were primarily used for marking ‘Family’ plots, with seven denoting ‘Double’ plots and five denoting ‘Single’ plots. Of the 23 plots that used a fence, their fence type were either of concrete, or concrete and iron. Only five slant marker plots included any form of iconography elements, although none were the same type, and lettering and variations in memorial styles spanned all types of forms.
Plaques were predominantly attached to a wall fixture at the head of the plot. This basic style was very similar to the slant markers in form and layout, as they are both thin slabs of stone inlaid into either a wall or concrete foundation. Plaques were predominantly made from Sandstone, Granite, or Metal, with one of each marble and concrete in the sample. Of the 73 Wall Plaques in the sample, 45 were made from Sandstone, 20 from Granite, and six from Metal. Their most popular period was during the 1910s and 1920s, although they remained present throughout the sample periods. While
only four marked Single plots, and 14 marked Double plots, they were quite popular in marking Family plots. 12 markers were smaller than 30cm, while only four were larger than 1m, with the rest between 30cm and 1m in height. Only 11 of the 73 plots with Wall plaques did not have some kind of fencing, with concrete being the most popular form in 49 of the plots.

Figure 19: Wall Plaques with a concrete cover and concrete fencing surrounding the plot.

**Pedestal Styles**

Pedestal markers were predominantly made from successively smaller blocks placed on top of larger blocks, with the exception of column pedestals. These styles are present alongside block markers, where there is only one block forming the marker. However, this could be regarded as a simplified stylistic variation of a pedestal marker. This marker style is one of the most complex types, with the most variations in the cemetery.

At the base of the pedestal, the pedestal style was either square, or circular, depending on if it was a pillar or column. The inscription was present on the main body of the pillar or column, with additional inscriptions extending below the original, and on other sides of the
pillar, or other portions of the column. If the pillar or column was capped, then there was the option of vaulting the cap, which created a crown effect and many markers with this attribute added floral themed iconography to the vault. Above this was the option of a sculpture, pillar, or obelisk. Some obelisks were also capped at the top.

The most common styles of these sculptures were pillars with urns and optional cloths, or pillars with obelisks, or crosses. These types of pedestals were monumental and often exceeded 3m tall. They were commonly found in Extra-First class, and first class plots. Pedestal styles also comprised the base of a Cross marker style, or were used to elevate other sculptures, such as Angels, Women, Children, Scrolls, or Urn and cloth sculptures. While only 16 of the 197 pedestal type plots included a footstone, 84 plots had a concrete cover present over the surface of the plot.

There was a notable correlation between the pedestal style of marker and the material of the marker. There were 72 of the pedestals in the sample were made of Red or Black Granite, and these were present in various stylistic variations. However, 108 markers were made from Sandstone, with 3 made from Marble, and 14 from mixed materials.

Of the 197 pedestal markers in various forms present in the sample, 146 contained Family burials, 32 marked Double burials, and 14 marked Single burials. 163 of the 197 plots contained various forms of fencing, including 18 plots with iron fencing, 59 plots with concrete fencing, and 93 plots with both concrete and iron fencing. While the most popular forms of inscriptive memorials were ‘In loving Memory of’, ‘In Memory of’, and ‘Sacred to the Memory of’, only 125 of the 197 memorials included some kind of epitaph. 93 of the plots with Pedestals used a lead appliqué lettering style, 77 used an incised method, while 22 used a gilded form of lettering.
Figure 20: Shows a Pedestal with Obelisk and Sculpture (Shroud)

**Tablet Styles**

Tablets were most commonly made of sandstone. 255 tablet markers out of 337 were made from sandstone, with other forms present such as Granite, Concrete, and Marble.

The capped tablet style was formed from the basic tablet form with a wider capstone attached to the top forming an overhanging stylistic head. These caps either included the memorial, or were completely covered by the primary iconography. Only 13 capped tablet plots included iconography, and all were some form of floral arrangement. Although there
were three granite markers in this style, the rest of the 27 plot markers were made of sandstone.
The capped tablet style was very popular in the 1870s for use in family plots, with 18 of the 27 erected in the 1870s. This style was more than 1m in height, and although only 1 plot had a footstone, all except for 4 plots included a fence in either concrete, or concrete and iron.
The inscriptions were predominantly in the incised form, with four indistinct styles. With inscriptive memorials in variations of ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’, ‘In Memory Of’, and ‘Erected by…’, and epitaphs present on 11 of the markers, while this style came in various forms, there were several consistent attributes notable.

Uncapped tablets came in various styles and heights; a tablet form was either between 30cm and 1m (65 plots) or larger than 1m (269 plots). In a few instances, the tablet formed the base of a sculpture such as a Celtic or Latin cross.
While there were 35 tablet plots with an unknown number of burials contained within, there were 55 plots with Double burials, 189 Family plots, and 58 Single plots. There were 307 tablet plots without a footstone, and only 30 with one, while only 107 had a concrete cover. Tablets were predominantly made from sandstone, probably due to their ease of carving, and while 255 plots used sandstone tablets, 78 plots used granite tablets, with 2 of each concrete and marble.
Iconography styles were primarily associated with a floral theme, which was quite typical of all markers that had iconography present. There were ranges of styles represented within the sample, including various floral types (either a single form, or many in various arrangements) such as bouquets, wreaths, or stylistically arranged. Also noteworthy was the single marker that contained the Freemasons symbol. Various Christian motifs were present on marker forms including various forms of Celtic and Latin crosses, the IHS Christogram, a Dove with an olive leaf, and a lamb.

In terms of the inscriptions, 111 tablet markers used lead appliqué lettering styles, 12 markers used Embossed lettering, 18 used gilded lettering, while 168 markers used an incised form of inscription.
The most popular form of memorial inscription on tablet markers was ‘In Loving Memory of’, followed by ‘In Memory of’, and ‘Sacred to the Memory of’. While having no memorial was also common, the next most popular forms were either the name of the individual, or some form of ‘Erected to/by…’. In terms of the epitaphs present on tablet markers, 192 of
the 337 markers did not have any form of epitaph. The most popular forms of epitaph were variations of ‘At Rest’, ‘Thy Will Be Done’, ‘He Giveth His Beloved Sleep’, ‘Peace Perfect Peace’, and ‘Rest in Peace’.

![Image of cemetery with various markers](image)

**Figure 21**: Left: Capped Tablet, Right: Pedestal with Sculpture (Latin Cross) with concrete curbing and Iron fencing.

**Military Types**

While there were relatively few present in the cemetery, the military memorials or markers follow strict regulations in their official morphology, iconographies and inscriptions. Military graves are standardized to maintain a sense of comradeship (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Southland Times, 15 August 1917, Issue 17737, p5).

The common forms of Army markers in the Northern Cemetery are Tablets made of grey Granite, with a Service Number or Rank at the top of the marker, with a simple, ‘Died’ and the Date they passed, and may contain the Age of the individual at death. There is a Latin cross with a silver fern leaf inside with the letters N.Z.E.F. present to show the affiliation of the individual. The markers are erected on a concrete base and separate from other markers in the plot.
Lettering is incised and painted white with a strict layout starting with the service number or conflict the individual served in. Markers were not permitted to have any deviation from the two standard forms, although spouses were able to be included on an additional granite block attached to the base of the tablet. The other Army memorial forms noted in the sample contained the same information as above, but were on a Bronze plaque or inscribed on a black granite plaque.

Other Military service plaques or forms have similar attributes, such as a Navy marker that has an anchor rather than the silver fern, or a personal marker that is intended to appear like a military marker, but is not the same as for the World War 1 and 2 personnel and Army veterans.

Notable symbols present on these markers included an Australian military symbol (AIF), and the New Zealand Military symbol of the Silver Fern (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Otago Witness, 24 August 1920, Issue 3467, p21; Cromwell Argus, 19 May 1919, Volume L, Issue 2624).

Military markers were also attached to more embellished headstones with stylistic morphologies, Iconographies, and inscriptional memorials. These were family markers or commemorated other relatives. There were 43 markers recorded that included a military affiliation on the marker or inscription, and only 22 of these were in plots with other markers or memorials, or noted the military personnel on their family’s markers (see Appendix 8: Military Markers in this Study). The plots with official military markers consisted of 1 Crimean War veteran, 5 from the South African War or Boer War, 30 from WW1, and 4 from WW2, and 3 Navy personnel.

Military markers were not always the sole marker in the plot, and 30 of the military personnel markers had other markers present in the plots. The types included stylistic variations of pedestals, obelisks, slant markers, pillars, plaques, tablets, slabs, and a combination of these types. While the civilian markers for military personnel were dominated by the iconography of Latin crosses, there were also other styles such as obelisks, angels or cherubs, columns, flowers, and stars.

The civilian markers for military personnel were predominantly granite or Bronze metal, with a couple of sandstone and marble markers, and 14 had footstones present. Memorial inscription forms Were either the impersonal details of their military service, or some variation of ‘In Loving Memory Of’, ‘In Memory Of’, ‘Sacred to the Memory Of’, ‘In
Loving Remembrance Of’, ‘In Memoriam’, or a personally written inscription. The Crimean veteran was notably tragic as his inscription read “Last Crimean Veteran In Otago”, and his was one of 6 markers or memorials that did not mention their service number. These 6 markers or memorials either included the individuals’ military titles or their involvement in conflict.

Figure 22: Grey Granite Tablet Military Marker (Army)

In summary, the main types of markers, and their stylistic variations, were described and analysed to determine the statistical significance of the transformations, if possible. Attributes such as fences, footstones, and concrete coverings were observed across the plot
classes and examined in comparison to the patterns observed. Patterns were also observed in the sample where characteristics were present together in several notable types, such as low concrete fenced areas with nameplates, slant markers and plaques with high concrete fences, pedestals with elaborate iconography and morphological variations, and tablets in a range of distinctly different styles. There were many variations of the main marker types, which meant that stylistic choices were unable to be statistically analysed, but were noted in the data collection.

These variations are discussed in Chapter 6, where the patterns are analysed for the transformations present in particular periods. This explores the research question, ‘How do stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery indicate a shift in attitudes towards death surrounding the First World War?’
Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions

This final chapter considers the Northern Cemetery data (from chapter 5) in relation to the research questions. As defined in chapter one these are:

‘How do stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery indicate a shift in attitudes towards death surrounding the First World War?’ and ‘What are the implications of these changing attitudes towards death and commemoration for Dunedin communities?’

This study investigated 23 attributes of 1407 plots in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery. The cemetery represents a reflection of community attitudes towards death and commemoration without the pressures of displaying ideological affiliations that may not have been closely adhered to, but which still influenced New Zealand identities. The markers showed transformations over time within typological categories, which may indicate the predominant attitudes towards death in Dunedin’s community, while the stylistic variations may suggest influences of agency, individuality, and personal identity within the commemorative context. This chapter discusses how commemoration may be a reflection of changes in attitudes towards death in Dunedin’s communities, which influence the wider deathscape of Dunedin.

Stylistic and Functional Transformations in the Cemetery

Stylistic and functional attributes are used in this study to identify how patterns in typologies and their variations change over time. The changes in stylistic and functional attributes of markers were considered in the context of socio-cultural transformations in Dunedin’s deathscape during the study period. These transformations were influenced by the agency of the living and dead communities, the emerging identities and ideologies in Dunedin during the study period, and how the living chose to commemorate the deceased (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998).

In this study, functional attributes of the marker provide information to identify a deceased individual, which varies depending on what the community considers necessary for commemoration, while stylistic attributes and variations may indicate conscious or unconscious indications on that community’s attitudes towards death. Marker types appear
to reach a peak popularity and may then be replaced by something more popular, or follow trends of particularly popular types from other classes, or marker types might appear to conform to particular styles or similar types (Dunnell 1978).

The cemetery is separated into class sections, which provides a view of Dunedin’s social stratification through the late 1800s and early 1900s, and includes many of Dunedin’s social movers (table 2). In this study, plots were noted for their attributes over time, attributes that increasingly reflected the individual as typological patterns changed and stylistic trends emerged (Edgar 1995, Hurley 1998). It is clear from the plot distribution that a large portion of the sample died between the 1870s and 1920s, which is also the period of greatest social change in Dunedin (Olssen et al. 2011). There was a formation of new identities and affiliations during this period where Dunedin settled into the role of provincial capital and as a place where social changes were likely to become apparent earlier than in rural areas (Jalland 2006, Olssen et al. 2011, Sutch 1966).

**Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery Landscape**

Andrews (2009) explains how 19th century English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish immigrants desired to transform the environment to suit their image of a utopian society. This study supports this as cemeteries were designed to be functional spaces, providing a clean and attractive environment to bury family and friends in, but also when the cemeteries were filled and closed, they could still function effectively as peaceful recreational spaces (Higgins 1998, Loudon 1843) (see also Appendix 2: Burial Regulations in New Zealand). This study suggests that the types of markers and attributes of the plot across this cemetery landscape are reflections of how individuals have been remembered by their friends and families (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998). The markers also represent a physical reminder of the deceased and provide an accessible location for commemoration and remembrance. It is important to consider the social context of when the individual died to understand how the attributes might reflect contemporary attitudes towards death, although some of these markers may have been erected some time after the individual’s death (Trask 1988).

The stylistic variations of markers in the late nineteenth century and the peaceful garden layout of the Northern Cemetery seem to reflect the ideology of the “good death” or the “beautification of death” movements, through the morphology, iconography, and often the
language of the inscription (Francaviglia 1971, Jalland 2006, Rainville 1999). In comparisons to international studies mentioned in chapter two, advertisements in New Zealand papers for masons and contemporary headstone suppliers indicate that stylistic variations present on several of the pre-1910 forms are very similar to those in American or British cemeteries, with a classic or gothic flair (Boulware 2008, Francaviglia 1971, Mallios and Caterino 2007, Mytum 2003/4) (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Lake County Press, 30 Jan 1919, Issue 2770, p6). Plant additions such as flowers and bushes or trees in a plot are common in cemeteries that follow the ideology of the ‘beautification of death’ movements and are themselves memorials with a commemorative purpose (Svendsen and Campbell 2010).

The landscape of the cemetery, which includes pathways, hedging, seating areas, foliage, and a park-like atmosphere of peace and remembrance further exemplifies elements of the ‘beautification of death’ movement (Jackson 1977, Loudon 1843). The most prominent and visible plots are the Extra-First class plots, which appear only alongside the main pathway through the cemetery. First class plots are located along the lesser pathways and Second class plots are accessible only by the small footpaths between the blocks. Within this layout, in Extra-First class, First class, and Second class plots, the individual can be identified as being separate from the masses, in contrast to earlier burial practices. Rugg (2000) suggests that the ability to identify one single person amongst a population became a fundamental quality in defining a cemetery, where the separation of burial areas by pathways or roads and the ability to own, reuse, and personalize a section of land are also contributing qualities. This importance placed on naming the individual has been identified as being a fundamental part of commemoration from WW1 onwards (Laqueur 1993). This is an important part of changes in social attitudes towards death.

‘How do stylistic transformations in grave markers and memorials in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery indicate a shift in attitudes towards death surrounding the First World War?’

In this study transformations in the types of plots and in plot attributes indicate that the decades surrounding WW1 reflected and were influenced by changes in the attitudes of Dunedin and wider New Zealand communities.
Within plot types, there are clear variations in plot attributes, particularly in morphology, where the same base form is present with multiple stylistic attributes, some of which have been noted as being popular in cemeteries overseas, while other forms have been chosen for apparently personal reasons. These have been noted in other New Zealand studies as recognisable typological classifications that correspond to particular social trends (Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998, Edgar 1995). Stylistic variations of these main types show a movement towards personal agency and an expression of individual identity applied by the Dunedin citizens, which indicates that there were design choices made available to individuals that might correlate to socio-cultural transformations in Dunedin and New Zealand (Figures 5 to 15) (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Lake County Press, 30 Jan 1919, Issue 2770, p6).

As the study aim is to identify indicators of social change in plot attributes, the prominent marker attributes are analysed separately. The most common typologies, noted in chapter five, are predominantly based on their morphology, which vary significantly across class divisions and over decades (see Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results).

While the most popular morphology types in First and Second classes show very similar changes over time, the Extra-First class bracket follows a different pattern (figures 6, 7, and 8). However, the consistent presence of the less popular forms across the decades in comparison to the changes identified in the most popular types is particularly important to consider, as these indicate stability in societal attitudes towards death and commemoration as well as change.

The Northern Cemetery displays a selection of markers made by masons, which demonstrates the variety of types and stylistic variations that were available to a contemporary Dunedin community (See Chapter 5 and Appendix 7). While the main types of markers are fairly consistent with those reported by other studies, the variations of styles do not appear to be specific to a particular mason (Boulware 2008, Edgar 1995, Francaviglia 1971, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998, Mallios and Caterino 2007, Mytum 2003/4). Marker and fencing attributes were not necessarily both made by one mason, as there are several plots that have different marker masons and fence masons. However, it was not possible to calculate statistical significance between masons and markers or fences because there were not enough identifiable masons to analyse characteristics based on particular materials or forms. The increasing demand of available but personalised markers and the commercialisation of memorials and death rituals are visible through the transition of
monumental architecture towards markers with functional rather than stylistic traits and less elaborate attributes (Figures 6, 7, and 8).

**Grave Types**

In this study, Single and Double graves seem to be present in relatively similar numbers over time across all classes (figures 2, 3, and 4). There is less of a difference between counts of grave types in Second class plots, but family plots are visibly separate from single and double plots in the Extra-First and First class plots (figures 2, 3, and 4). The popularity of the family grave is the dominant type across all class divisions despite the slowly increasing trends towards individualisation in other attributes. However, both Edgar (1995) and Hurley (1998) found patterns of decreasing family plot frequencies in their studies.

When another family member passed away, providing that the families could afford to, and were still caring for the plot, there was a strong likelihood that the deceased would be interred there. This may also explain why there are fewer plots established in later decades, if family members were buried in existing plots (figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and table 4).

**Fenced Areas and Concrete Slabs**

Fenced areas and Footstones or Nameplate headstones were commonly associated with each other, forming a popular type within the cemetery. However, fenced areas were found to be present in decreasing percentages across Extra-First class, First class, and Second class plots over time, and visually create an ‘us’ and ‘them’ separation between plots and between the living and dead communities. Concrete slabs were also present on plots with a fenced area, particularly the concrete curbing (table 8, 9, 10, and see ‘Fenced Areas and Concrete Slabs’). Unfortunately, there is insufficient data to correlate the presence of a fence and a footstone and/or concrete cover. In this study, the clear marking of an area as being inclusive of particular family members by a fence reinforces the significance of family values and identity in the class segregations (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998, Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010, Sutch 1966).

Edgar (1995) defined several forms of fences or ‘Plot Surrounds’ in his study of Dunedin’s Southern Cemetery. The current study looks at the presence or absence of a fence and the material it was made from over decades. In the Fenced area types identified, the variations of different iron or concrete forms were observed over the study period. The notable patterns that Edgar (1995) identified were the separate fenced area and nameplate types, with an
observation noting the association between larger headstone markers and iron fencing. In Edgar’s study, there were a few other plots noted with various forms of fencing but these were present in numbers less than 10. Other sources noted that fences were not considered a strong indicator of social inequality or transformations, so they were not explored (Cruickshank and Campbell 2015, Edgar 1995).

In this study there is a clear reduction in fencing from Extra-First class through to Second class plots (table 8). This may be because the Northern cemetery requirements as laid out in 1858 stated that the Second class plots were not permitted to erect a fence (Deed and Bauchop 2013). In addition, Second class plots were not permitted to have markers above six inches from the surface of the ground. As this is not a reality in the Second class plots, these rules were not strictly adhered to. This could indicate that some distinctions between social classes were imposed, but not always successfully, in Dunedin’s community.

Footstones in the Northern Cemetery were present on 233 (16.6%) plots across all classes noted in the study (24 or 20.5% of Extra-First class plots, 139 or 22.7% of First class plots, and 70 or 10.3% of Second class plots). This is another attribute that is not normally investigated in studies, so there are not many indications of what these forms of memorials might represent (Mytum 1994). As the footstones in this study are predominantly Nameplates, they may have been indicative of an increasing egalitarian ideology (Edgar 1995). This study suggests that footstones are not necessarily functional attributes for the plot but may represent the importance of commemorating the family name. In the fenced area type, many footstones were present as part of the fencing structure alongside or in place of headstone markers.

Concrete slab coverings appear in all classes in the study, with a decreasing percentage from Extra-First class plots to First class plots and Second class plots, and across the decades loosely following the trends of the plot distribution (figure 1 and table 9). This study found no evidence of requirements or restrictions for concrete coverings in the Cemetery. Concrete coverings were generally thin and not durable, and while it was possible to remove the covering and add an individual to the plot, it was also costly to re-cover the plot. The concrete cover may represent a similar function to body stone or coped stone markers identified in other studies for their tomb-like structure, but in this study the concrete covered the entire plot (Edgar 1995, Mallios and Caterino 2007).
Nameplates, Slant Markers, and Plaques

Changes in frequencies of nameplates, slant markers, and plaques showed an increasing trend towards the simplification of memorials, and the commemoration of the individual versus the family (Bennett 1994, Edgar 1995) (Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results). While nameplate markers (generally surname only) indicated a trend towards minimalistic structures, they also remove the individual from the record as they erase any mention of first name, gender, age, relationships, or achievements. As chapter five explains, the nameplate and fenced area type of plot is very simple and reserved, following the trends towards less opulent displays of wealth and prestige. This study suggests that the lack of detail is a reflection of the separation of emotive displays from the deathscape.

This marker type was the only type that fitted within the original Second class parameters identified by Deed and Bauchop (2013). The lack of a timeframe for the majority of plots with this type of marker makes it difficult to identify the transformations in trends; however, it is clear that this type was a popular choice in both First and Second class plots. This may have been related to socio-economic limitations, a religious preference for a simple burial, or the importance of the family name over the individual. Because of the lack of date indications on most of the Nameplates, it is not possible to identify when the marker was initially erected to use Nameplates as an indicator of social change.

Tablet and Pedestal Types

The monumental markers such as Pedestals and Tablets were the most popular marker types in Extra-First, First, and Second class plots throughout the study decades until the 1910s (figure 6, 7, and 8). While there were still Tablet and Pedestal markers of varying sizes being erected in plots during the 1910s and 1920s, their relative popularity decreased over time (Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results). This trend indicates a decline in this method of advertising socio-economic wealth through burials, particularly in Extra-First class plots.

There are wider varieties of Tablet forms in Extra-First and First class plots than in Second class plots possibly due to the relative financial and stylistic freedom, and the restrictions on Second class plots (Deed and Bauchop 2013). This study reinforces the conclusion that Extra-First class plot morphology appears to be a means of advertising the prestige of the individuals or families buried in these plots (Edgar 1995). Pedestal forms are a physical
means of elevating a particular sculpture or form to be noticed from a distance, and Pedestal forms with Obelisks and Sculptures are very eye-catching in the cemetery, visually indicating the wealth and prestige of those buried in the plot. This trend was noted in this study in the Extra-First class and First class plots, but the elaborate elevation of monuments is only present in very small number of plots in the Second class section. Edgar (1995) claims that the larger sculptures present on tall markers, with elaborate fences and iconographic elements in Classical, Egyptian, or Gothic styles are statements of socio-economic status, which is supported by this study.

The Urn theme in Dethlefsen and Deetz’s (1966) study was associated with a willow and represented a breakdown of traditional Puritan values, while Mallios and Caterino’s (2007) study suggests Classical, Egyptian, or Gothic styles represent their revival in mortuary architecture. In this study, Urns on the top of a marker, and Classical, Egyptian, or Gothic styles, are more likely to represent the burial of wealthy individuals rather than a breakdown in Presbyterian values during the late 19th century. There are very few indications of religious affiliation in this cemetery, and in the census data of those decades there is little change in the percentage of New Zealand population claiming affiliation to the Presbyterian faith (Hill 1985).

Prestige bias is one of the means of spreading stylistic attributes (Dunnell 1978). Morphology in the Extra-First and First class plots indicate clearly dominant types with several specific variations in style, which change over time towards less ornate forms, but these changes occur after the 1880s (figures 6 and 7). Second class plots show the same most popular form as First class plots’ but changing after the 1890s (figure 8). This suggests that agency in Second class plots was available at a later period but individuality was primarily expressed through variations in Tablet types.

**Military Markers**

There are no previous studies in New Zealand that explore the difference between military markers and civilian markers that mention military personnel, which are primarily memorials. Due to the scarcity of military markers from before WW1 it is not possible to comment on trends of individuality or style. However, in this study there are clear differences seen between military and civilian markers for military personnel.

There is a difference between what constitutes a marker and a memorial. Markers are used to locate the resting place of an individual or individuals, while a memorial is a symbolic
location for the commemoration of a deceased individual (Moshenska 2014). Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery is an example of how military service may be memorialized in a burial ground that has not interred the returned servicemen in a separate section. Military memorials are present in plots with or without another marker present, but are surrounded by civilian plots. The distinct characteristics of the standard military markers are clearly identifiable in plots, but there are also many other plots that commemorate service personnel who are family members, whether they are present in the plot or if it serves as a memorial. Military markers do not show indications of transformations over time due to an intentional decision to promote an egalitarian social class in death among service personnel (Dendooven 2014) (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Cromwell Argus, 19 May 1919, Volume L, Issue 2624).

While official military markers were present in the cemetery, there were also family markers and memorials, which followed the predominant trends and commemorated personnel (see Appendix 8). On family memorials, the methods of commemorating military personnel are slightly different in the format from both the official memorials, and the other family members. Personnel on civilian markers are noted by their service number, or the notation where they were killed, or by their affiliation with a particular military group (figure 22). In many of these family markers, due to the lack of a body, these are not burials, but they function as memorials or local locations for commemoration (Moshenska 2014). The need for an illusion of physical presence is strong in the grieving process; as such many markers in the cemetery serve as a memorial, a symbolic location for the remembrance of their deceased family member or for a friend to privately grieve.

The choice not to commemorate a family member with an official marker may have been for personal reasons, considering that the New Zealand government and Veterans Affairs Association provides funding for veterans to receive an official headstone (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Mt Benger Mail, 4 Dec 1918, Advertisements p3). However, the individual may also have been buried elsewhere in New Zealand or overseas and only one official marker was permitted.

All ‘missing’ individuals are commemorated on memorials closer to where they died, and also back home in New Zealand. New Zealanders commemorate their dead on memorials near to the battlefields where they fought, organized nationally by the New Zealand government, as repatriation is not an option (Dendooven 2014). In these cases where the
individual is ‘missing’, the families do not have the option of commemorating an individual at a gravesite in New Zealand or overseas, so memorials are even more important for the grieving process.

The official military markers (see chapter 5 ‘Military Types’) perpetuate the national narrative by reflecting the individual as part of a group identity with no descriptive or personal changes allowed on the markers (Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010). However, there were complaints raised during the design process for the official marker that there was no room or allowance for a personal touch, which is also visible in this study where many plots have both the military memorial, and a personal memorial with a more emotional connection in the memorial language, morphology, or iconography (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; North Otago Times, 23 April 1918, Volume CVI, Issue 14102).

**Iconography in the Deathscape**

Iconography is a decorative element associated with the plot, which indicates stylistic choices made for the deceased by the living. Iconography serves no structural purpose on a marker but may serve as an emotional connection to mitigate the harsh reality of death, and therefore provides insight into the attitudes towards death of the community (Francaviglia 1971). In this study it is important to consider that many symbols have developed or changed meanings over time. While there are some symbols or images that were intended to convey a particular socially acknowledged affiliation, such as an organization symbol, some images have acquired new connotations over time, and may have an unintended correlation or meaning (Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010).

In this study variations of themes of flowers and leaves (figures 9, 10, 11, 12, and table 6) are a common feature of memorials and markers, and aside from a clear preference for floral iconography, which changes significantly over time, the less popular types are relatively consistent in their presence across the decades (Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results). These suggest an underlying consistency in social attitudes towards death over the study period. As iconography is not something that is easily modified, it is assumed that the iconography present on the marker or memorial was present in its original form. Flowers were of great importance in communicating sentiment in Victorian times, and were used to express emotions when it was inappropriate to express a sentiment aloud (Lehner 1960). As shown in figures 10, 11, and 12, there was a general reduction over time in flower
motifs present on markers, while other types were present in relative consistency across the decades. This may show the reduction in understanding the significance of these iconography, or a reduction in a social need to express sentiment in this way.

Religious affiliations were an important part of identity in New Zealand, and churches had a strong influence on social transformations in the study periods (Hill 1985, Olssen 1984). For example, Seaton (1985) discusses the link between religion and flowers during the 19th century, and explains that they were finally accepted by churches in religious and funerary contexts despite their previously pagan associations. In this study many markers followed trends that the local communities were familiar with, particularly from Europe, so New Zealand flowers were not featured on markers in the study period (table 6).

Leaves noted on the markers (included in the floral type) also had particular religious connotations (figure 12). Palm leaves have New Testament associations in particular (Matthew 21:1-11.) while Ivy leaves have multiple meanings that may or may not have been intended as religious, such as the Holy Trinity, or metaphorically clinging to a loved one (figures 9, 10, 11, and 12) (Lehner 1960).

The cross is a common symbol throughout the study period across all the classes. The religious meaning of the cross derives from the crucifixion in Christian theology, although different denominations have transformed the Latin crucifix into a specific style that has particular meaning to their community. There are various forms of the cross present in this study (see figures 9, 10, 11, and 12) including specific styles of Latin crosses, Celtic crosses, Ornamental crosses, a Tau cross, a Pattee cross, and a Greek cross. Various Religious motifs include the Angel and Cherub figures and an IHS Christogram, which has many interpretations of its origin, but is a strong Christian and Catholic symbol. These indications of religiosity are not present in sufficient frequencies to identify patterns across the decades.

The iconography of the Dove with an olive leaf is present on multiple markers (figures 9, 10, 11, and 12) and has strong ties to the Old Testament of the Christian Bible symbolizing new life (Genesis 8: 10–12). Similarly in several plots, a pile of rocks acts as a base for a Cross and is an image that follows New Testament symbolism of a strong faith and Christian lifestyle. The lamb symbolizes the ‘Lamb of God’, which is another name for Jesus (John 1:29, Rev. 5:12), but the lamb sculpture is commonly used to represent a child who has died, while the Dove, aside from its prominent symbolism in the Noah’s Ark story (Genesis 8:10–
12), symbolizes purity, peace, and the Holy Ghost (Lehner 1960). Edgar (1995), Higgins (1998) and Hurley (1998) do not all follow the same typologies present in this study so comparisons between this study and previous studies are difficult to make.

In this study, Military markers are uncommon before WW1, but they are more frequent during the 1910s than other decades. Other affiliations include the Australian military symbol of the sun rising over a crown (AIF), and the New Zealand Military symbol of the Latin Cross and Silver Fern. While there may be other individuals buried in the cemetery who were associated with military and social organizations, only one marker inscribed the Freemason symbol as a means of showing an affiliation to Freemasonry. Naval affiliations were represented with anchors and/or ropes.

The symbols of the Latin Cross and the Silver Fern have their own separate meanings, but when placed together in this particular format, they represent New Zealand military. The marker is standardized for all military personnel, and therefore is not an indication of personal preference, but is an indication of national identity. In using a Latin Cross for the nation’s military symbol, there is also an indication of a nationally recognized religion in New Zealand.

**Marker Language in the Deathscape**

Memorial inscriptions form a dialogue with the audience and often indicate the religiosity or other affiliations of an individual through the language used (figure 13, 14, and 15). However, when language on markers becomes popular and colloquial the phrase loses its original meaning or gains another interpretation. Language on markers and memorials are often an indication of identity through the content of the inscription.

Inscriptional elements included the Memorial form, the descriptive text, and the epitaph, however only the memorial inscription shows enough of a pattern to be statistically analysed (Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results). The lettering form was also a decision left to the discretion of the individual. The memorial form is the most important section for stylistic variation as the way a memorial inscription is dedicated shows how the individual or their family wishes to commemorate their dead. In other studies, the memorial inscription is indicative of the domestication and sentimentalisation of the deceased, as it is the language that describes the person directly (Jackson 1977, Jalland 2006). While the morphology and iconography may be interpreted as advertisements of identity, the inscription is a deliberate communication between the living and dead communities.
As with international trends, the memorial language in this study shows that there is a transformation of the most popular inscription language over time (figure 13, 14, and 15) (Mytum 1994, Mytum and Evans 2002, 2003). This shows a transformation from a formal tone towards more emotive language, referring to the deceased in more descriptive terms. For instance, in New Zealand between the 1880s and 1890s there was a significant rise in the phrase “In Loving Memory Of” and a decline in “In Memory Of” coinciding with a period of social change (Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results). Terms of endearment in the memorial form and the increase in the descriptions of the deceased indicate a transition towards the commemoration of individuals rather than families. As death became less expected in the community with an increasing ability to survive health issues and the roles of caring for the dead shifting into hospitals and hospice, people were affected differently when a loved one died (Jalland 2006). This was particularly devastating during and after WW1, where every community was affected.

In this study, phrasing such as ‘Sacred to the Beloved Memory of…’ and ‘In Sacred Memory of…’, use emotional and religious language to commemorate their deceased (Figures 13, 14, 15, and Table 7). However, while ‘Sacred’ is a religious term, it may not represent the religious nature of the individual buried, but may be an ascribed religiosity of family members or due to a social affiliation. Epitaphs are a better source for inferring religiosity (Edgar 1995).

As Mytum and Evans (2002, 2003) suggest, phrases such as ‘Erected by…’ and ‘Erected to the memory of…’ show where the individual and their family place the most significance, it shows what purpose the memorial is serving. By focusing on who created or paid for the marker, the language shows that the marker is about providing a memorial for the living more than the deceased. There is an emotional memorial in a Second class plot, where the phrase ‘Dearly Beloved Daughter of…’ is very individualized, but is more of a reflection of the attitudes of the living rather than the deceased. Whereas phrases such as ‘In Affectionate Remembrance of…’, ‘In Loving Remembrance of…’, and ‘In Memoriam…’ use more formal language but place importance on using emotional language where the focus is on the dead. ‘In Loving Memory of…’ in various forms is one of the most common memorials in all the class separations.
Markers that inscribed an individual’s or family’s name on the memorial portion made up 389 (27.7%) of the total number of markers, and of these 181 (12.9%) headstone markers were in the form of nameplates. Where the marker is only noted by a ‘[Name]’, there is a lack of acknowledgement of an individual. These are commonly found on family plots, where the focus is not on the individual but on the family.

As Edgar (1995) and Mytum (1994) suggest, references to a place of birth or community are important expressions of identity or community, which have been noted on several markers in this study. These are not present enough to analyse statistically, but were observed on several plots. The single French plot with the memorial ‘En Memoir…’ shows the strong ties to their homeland and deliberate separation from the New Zealand identity, further emphasised by inscribing the marker completely in French (Kuzma 2003).

‘What are the implications of these changing attitudes towards death and commemoration for Dunedin communities?’

The Northern Cemetery was one of the first examples of a non-denominational cemetery of the late 1800s. Due to its uniqueness in the region, the observation of religious sentiments in Epitaphs and iconography, while of interest in the interpretation of the plots, was also significant to identify possible changes in the predominant ideology or identities of contemporary Dunedin (Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010, Sutch 1966).

In addition, the landscape of death identified in this research looks into the typological and stylistic variations associated with the cemetery, and the socio-ideological belief systems that can be interpreted from the physical and symbolic attributes of the plots (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998).

In the late 19th century, death was a common occurrence, particularly among children, the sick, and the poor, who were likely buried in Third class plots (Sutch 1966). This was also reflected in other classes in the lack of emotional inscription phrasing, particularly in the monumental memorials, which appeared to be displays of wealth and prestige in the Extra-First and First class plots. Elaborate structures such as pedestals and tablets were the most popular forms in these classes, and their placement in the cemetery near pathways and roads ensured their visibility. They also exemplify the beauty and utopian image of a park-like cemetery (Andrews 2009).
There is a rapid decline in elaborate commemoration of deceased individuals between the 1880s and 1930s, with a brief increase in the popularity of statement plots in the 1920s, after WW1. Edgar (1995) identifies an emerging disparity between the Presbyterian upper class memorials and the middle and lower class markers in the 1870s with the elaborate commemoration at its most popular in the 1890s. This trend is also reflected in this study.

In the early 20th century, the expectation of early death reduced for the wealthy, but death was still a common part of life for the poor, even with social interventions such as more available healthcare through the Department of Health, and employment for all through the Public Works department (Jalland 2006, Olssen 1984, Sutch 1966). During and after WW1, all citizens were forced to accept that death and the commemoration of individuals became a major focus for those who lost relatives (Jalland 2006). This study shows that attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies surrounding death changed markedly due to these pressures, as reflected in changes in markers and memorials over that time.

While Veit (2009) suggests that there are economic rather than religious motivations for change in mortuary traditions, this study suggests that social, political, religious and economic constraints combine to motivate change. Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) suggest that changes in iconography are not motivated by religious or social factors such as immigration or status, but that their study’s transformations were related to commodification and the import of mass produced markers. In this study, many markers were made in New Zealand, and while commodification may have influenced changes over time, these may also be related to community reactions to egalitarian social policies, and economic limitations. Immigration may have had a stronger effect on marker forms in denominationally segregated cemeteries, where community groups with shared identities were buried together (Edgar 1995). This study uses class distinctions and monumentality as socio-economic indications to ensure that community groups with shared identities are represented indiscriminately. Also, commodification is visible in the typologies throughout the cemetery, where specific types have several stylistic variations. The stylistic variations of these typologies show agency through plot attributes.

As shown in Edgar’s (1995) study, there was a fall in the significance of family values from the 1870s to the 1930s. He concluded that there was a decline in Victorian values such as the Family unit, and identified a notable rise in individualism followed by a trend towards
conformity. Similarly, Higgins (1998) and Hurley (1998) have both presented discussions regarding the decline of faith, ideology, and the family values prevalent in Victorian society and a trend towards secularism. In comparison to those studies, in this study the values of family appear to permeate through Dunedin mortuary culture for much longer than they report. Figures 2, 3, and 4 indicate that while there is a large difference in the number of family plots compared to the single or double plots in Extra First class and First class plots, the popularities of grave types in the Second class plots are more equally distributed. While the number of family plots reduces in comparison to the number of single and double plots in all classes, it remains the most popular grave type for the entire study period. The continuing value of family may also be considered evidenced by the large number of plots with Fenced areas and nameplates or slant markers, where the family name is the sole or an emphasised form of memorialisation.

Iconography and inscriptive trends also reflect transformations in the socio-ideological context of Dunedin. The slowly declining importance of family values with the sudden significance of individualisation in WW1, and community sentimentalisation of death further reduced the disparity in attitudes towards commemoration between the upper and lower circles of society as evidenced by the trends noted in this study (Edgar 1995, Laqueur 1993).

Edgar (1995) claims that elaborate typologies are predominantly present on the early settlers’ markers and memorials. Edgar also notes their Scottish heritage and a correlation with family values, and the lack of a similar pattern with other nationalities. This study has shown that family values are not restricted to the Presbyterian Scottish families, but are present in all classes across the decades. As Kuzma (2003), Lenihan (2015), and Olssen (1984) indicate, mentioning a place of birth on a memorial shows that the individual or their families are expressing their need to maintain a link with that location or identity. This study suggests that this may be due to the need to perpetuate the feeling of home, a lack of cohesiveness with the New Zealand identity, or a desire to place the deceased in a final resting place that shows ties to both their New Zealand home, and a previous home.

Dunedin’s Presbyterian Scottish settlers and Anglican British settlers had strong religious identities. Markers showed indications of Christian symbolism and Biblical phrasing in their iconography, but also in the epitaphs. Of the 1407 plots in the sample, 141 plots had
epitaphs and 87 of these used religious phrasing or terms with religious connotations. For example, epitaphs included hymn sections, verses, references to Christian Ideology, or non-religious references to the individual, or to loss and remembrance. However, epitaphs were not common enough in specific phrases to show any patterns over time. Themes were also present across all the classes and did not follow any patterns (table 6). Religious sentiment is an indication of personal or familial religiosity, and indicates the importance of religious belief when confronted with the processes of death and grief. While the inclusion of a religious sentiment may not be an indication of the individual’s personal belief, it is an indication of the inscription author’s belief that the individual should be portraying religiosity. Non-religious phrasing in epitaphs often follow themes of loss, remembrance, peace, and rest. This is particularly important in the epitaphs of children where these concepts help the living to deal with the upheaval of death and process their grief by sentimentalising death to mitigate the loss (Jalland 2006). The memorialisation of children on markers may indicate the family’s financial capability, as many children died young in the study period and were often not commemorated.

The disparity between the poor and wealthy increased with the repetitive swings between economic stability and hardship in Dunedin. Provincial and Nationwide issues affected Dunedin’s community and their memorialisation: the prosperity associated with the central Otago gold rush was followed by the loss of these business opportunities; Vogel’s solution to widespread unemployment of building Railway networks and public services was followed by the long depression; and independence from Britain was followed by WW1 (Olssen 1984, Sutch 1966). All of these indicated that social and economic uncertainty were important factors in economic life of New Zealanders.

The ability to source expensive materials such as Italian marble (as opposed to Nelson granites) and coloured granites showed the position of New Zealand within the international market (see Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles; Lake County Press, 30 Jan 1919, Issue 2770, p6). With WW1, this sourcing was limited and therefore some of the motivation towards smaller and less showy markers may have been derived from the practicality of smaller markers, and the difficulty in sourcing international materials. Local resources were less affected by this restriction in trade.
Marker trends in the decades surrounding WW1 followed the ideologies of the emerging New Zealanders. At the time of the restriction of unnecessary items, social trends towards minimalist funerary arrangements and less elaborate grave markers marked a turning point in attitudes towards death and commemoration in New Zealand (Jalland 2006).

Lubar and Kingery (1993) connected artefacts to emotional reactions. Similarly, Buchli and Lucas (2017) suggest that the role of memory and commemoration between a marker and the audience is a physical representation of the memory of an individual (Laqueur 1993). In this study, cemetery markers show this relationship in the physical presence of the marker, the attitudes inferred from the commemoration, and the landscape of the cemetery as a whole. In the case of WW1, there were several items that later became associated with commemoration, but also may have meant something different to an individual. This includes the changing role of the Silver Fern, which is a New Zealand symbol, but also associated with Army markers.

**Identity in Commemoration**

The continuing decrease in monumental architecture after WW1 may also reflect the financial constraints after the War, an increasing separation from the British Empire, the growth of a New Zealand Identity, or a related change in socio-economic status, ideological affiliations, and a community movement towards secularism with less of an emphasis on advertising wealth or status. All of these factors were present in contemporary society.

As Edgar’s (1995) study in the Presbyterian section of the Southern cemetery suggests, there is a range of marker types present in this study, so one particular type is unlikely to represent a single identity among the community. This also suggests that wider social trends or the combination of political, social, and economic trends may be responsible for transformations in markers.

Pearson (1999) and Hurley (1998) also suggest that the identity of the individual after death is not necessarily a reflection of the individual in life, but the product of many perspectives in the memories held by the mourners. In this study the commemoration and presentation of an individual after death is reflected through the duality between intention and practice, in both the agency of living mourners, and the deceased’s intentions. These both influence how funerary rituals were intended to be understood, as opposed to the perspectives and understanding of a person outside their community (Pearson 1999). This was one of the
ways that individuals included or excluded themselves from others to form communities based on their shared identities in Dunedin.

This study suggests that these transforming interpretations and meanings surrounding identity indicate the continued interaction and dialogue between the living and dead communities and add a new dimension to the understanding and analysis of the material culture of death. Also, as noted earlier in this study, agency and ideology play a significant role in the representation and interpretation of a deceased individual’s identity.

**Implications of this Study for Further Research**

There is still much we do not know about the poorer communities of Dunedin. Archaeology and historic accounts uncover marginalized communities who may not have resources to survive in both records. For example, the Third class plots in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery are known to exist and there is some information about them, but there are no above ground memorials. To investigate these individuals and families would require historical resources specific to their community, and interactions with social groups that did keep records and documents. Most of the surviving records are kept in the Sextons cottage or Hocken library archives (where Dunedin’s burial records are preserved). This is an area for further study.

This study provides a basis for further research in Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery and Dunedin’s community where recording the entirety of the plots would allow for further clarification of trends identified in this study. Alternatively, by focusing on a specific trend or decade, transformations in the number of stylistic variations of marker forms may be examined further. Investigating attributes associated with each particular type and stylistic variation in more detail, as opposed to the grouping of themes within the data, would give an indication of the changing thematic attributes of the cemetery.

In comparing marker information to burial records, changes in individual marker inscriptions and investigations into familial relationships could provide information specific to a family unit. Another use of this research in combination with other New Zealand studies would be to infer social change in communities where historical records are not complete.

The role of gender on the markers is a topic that also requires further exploration. The language used to describe men and women on markers can change, such as the slightly
possessive nature of language referring to both men and women, the presence or absence of a maiden name, and the detail of their relationship to a closest male relative or husband. For example, in this study individuals were referred to as the ‘son of…’ or ‘father of…’ [an individual], ‘mother of…’ [child], ‘wife of…’ [husband], or ‘daughter of…’ [father]. Differences in the commemoration of males and females should be investigated to identify changes in marker wording over time (Edgar 1995).

Another use of this research may be to tie the data to GPS and GIS data as done by Higgins and suggested by Hurley, and to use the database created to identify further patterns and trends on a National scale (Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998). The other side of GIS research would be to investigate the variations of attributes visually across the whole cemetery to see the patterns and trends of this population rather than the sample.

**Concluding Remarks**

In this study the themes of style and function, agency, and ideology are strongly associated with the commemorations of families and individuals, and the memorialisation of absent individuals in a cemetery. This ties in with the deliberate revitalization of social memories in the decades surrounding WW1 (Edgar 1995, Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010).

As seen in chapter five there are common popular types, which show a notable change over time, with several less popular types consistently present in each class across the decades. The decreasing trends of popular monumental types show markers were more elaborate and expressive in the late 19th century where funerary practices were displays of prestige and wealth, this changed in the 20th century towards less elaborate markers after WW1 (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998, Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010). During the WW1 decade, memorials to Military personnel were inscribed on existing family markers to provide an accessible location for commemoration regardless of the presence of the deceased. This reflected the importance being placed on the commemoration of deceased individuals for the living.

Identity and individualization were emerging trends in the secularization of society, yet the effect of WW1 was to induce a distinctive inflection from the previous trends in many typologies (figures 5 to 15). Individuals indicated their identities through commemoration in inscriptive references such as their memorial inscription, birthplace, military careers, or epitaphs, so there are clear indications of agency in Dunedin’s settlers and an emerging New
Zealand identity. In Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery, the commemoration of an individual in a community was influenced by layered social, economic, political, and religious identities, which in turn influenced commemoration in Dunedin’s deathscape (Edgar 1995, Higgins 1998, Hurley 1998, Kuzma 2003, Palenski 2010).

From The North Dunedin Cemetery Act 1872, the provincial gazette, and the physical remains of the cemetery and Sexton’s cottage, it is clear that Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery was designed to be a place of relaxation and recreation, while also fulfilling the needs of the populace for a burial ground. It follows the traditions of the beautification of death movement, but in contrast to the Presbyterian section in its Southern counterpart, the Northern Cemetery has a wider selection of forms and stylistic variations that are reflective of the nuances of Dunedin society as a whole, rather than the ideology of the predominant religious affiliation (Edgar 1995).
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Location

Map Point A: Location of Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery
Appendix 2: Burial Regulations in New Zealand

Legal requirements regarding burial sites were initially included in the Cemeteries Management Act 1877, then the Cemeteries Act 1882, with three amendments in 1885, 1895, and 1898. These were followed by a new Cemeteries Act 1908 and its amendment acts in 1912, 1922, 1926, 1950, 1953, and 1959. The new ‘Burial and Cremation Act 1964’ was reprinted in 2014 and is the current legislation regarding cemeteries and burial grounds. Every legal burial ground in New Zealand was required to be marked as a cemetery, for example the present study is enacted by The North Dunedin Cemetery Act 1872.

Legal papers in New Zealand between 1877 and 1882 indicate how cremation became an increasingly important method of interring the deceased, as in 1882 sections included the ability to be cremated ‘under direction of will’ where the previous legislation in 1877 did not include this option (Cemeteries Management Act 1877, Cemeteries Act 1882).

In the present study, there are both burials and cremations present in the sample plots. However, burials were no longer permitted after the cemetery was closed in 1937 and only cremations could be added to family plots. As such, there are remaining members of the community who may be cremated and their ashes buried within their family plots, while other family deaths have been only noted on the marker.

Cemeteries were required to set aside sections for denominational use if groups of citizens petitioned to the “governing body”. The “governing body” in 1877 was declared to be any Roman Catholic Bishop of any diocese, any Superintendent of any Wesleyan Methodist Society, the Senior-Office bearer of any denomination or sect, or ten adults of any denomination or sect (Cemeteries Management Act 1877).

In the Cemeteries Management Act 1877 (s.13), it was noted that for a year after an individual was buried, the friends and family could purchase the plot exclusively or for a period of time. This was changed to a two-year period in 1882, although plot maintenance remained in the duty of the plot owners. Any planned monuments were required to be approved by the cemetery’s trustees before construction could begin.

The Cemeteries Act 1882 declared that a cemetery was “any place set apart for the interment of the dead generally, irrespective of denomination or sect” (s. 2). This is the legal definition used in this study. Section 23 explained that the Trustees could erect a fence or enclosure with gates in any area of the cemetery, and was responsible for ensuring that the cemetery was able to function as a cemetery, both physically and aesthetically. The layout was open for interpretation by the community, with walks, avenues, roads, and shrubs as optional trimmings.

Amendment Acts in 1922 and 1926 set restrictions on the practicality of cremations and the erection of crematoriums, and in 1950 the first mention of a ‘Lawn cemetery’ appeared in New Zealand legislation (Cemeteries Amendment Act 1922, Cemeteries Amendment Act 1926, Cemeteries Amendment Act 1950). These legislative documents ensure that after closing a cemetery, it is to be treated as a public reserve under the management of the local governing body.

In New Zealand, current regulations applicable to cemeteries and the discovery of human remains are explained in the Pouhere Taonga Historic Places Trust Archaeological Guidelines Series (Koiví Tangata Human Remains 2010). Similarly, the most up to date Legislation include the Coroners Act, Burial and Cremation Act 1964), Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014), Protected Objects Act, and the Te Ture Whenua Maori Act.
Appendix 3: Newspaper Articles

A DESIGN FOR A HEADSTONE.

LONDON, March 3rd.

Brigadier-General G. S. Richardson states that the Imperial War Graves Commission has submitted specimens of headstones which are to be used in war cemeteries.

Each grave will have its headstone, to replace the present wooden cross, which has been erected over all graves as a temporary measure. The headstone will be uniform in dimensions—that is to say, 24 in height and 18 in breadth, but will not necessarily be identical in shape. Each will bear the name, rank, and regiment, and the date of the death of the man, and, if desired, a national emblem. It remains for the Dominions concerned to decide the particular design of the headstone, which will be adopted for its graves, and what should be put on them as a national emblem.

Besides the individual headstones, each cemetery will contain a general monument to the fallen. Arrangements have been made to photograph the graves of all New Zealanders so far as they have been located. It is, of course, obvious that the general scheme of marking graves will prohibit the erection of private headstones, which very many relatives desire to do.

a) North Otago Times, 23 April 1918, Volume CVI, Issue 14102

Replying to Mr Ell, the Prime Minister said Cabinet had decided that the country would provide a headstone for every New Zealand soldier who died at home or abroad.

b) Mt Benger Mail, 4 Dec 1918, Advertisements p3

HEADSTONES FOR NEW ZEALAND SOLDIERS.

(Special to the Oamaru Mail.)

WELLINGTON, September 4th.

For over a year the Minister of Defence has been dealing with the question of providing suitable headstones for the graves of New Zealand soldiers. The subject has been a difficult one to handle, for the graves are scattered in several parts of the world, and as the number is unfortunately large, the element of expense has had to be considered, while at the same time care has to be taken to provide adequate and decent stones. The Public Works Department, as an experiment, produced a concrete headstone, apparently intended to be laid flat on the grave. It bore a cross in relief, with the initials of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the four angles of the cross. Near the foot was a marble slab, about 12 inches by 10, on which the name and rank of the deceased soldier could be chiselled. The specimen was exhibited in the lobby of Parliament Buildings, and was not long there before the slab fell off. The design and the material failed to appeal to members' ideas of what was suitable, and nothing was done for a time with the concrete construction. Now a much more suitable material, New Zealand marble, is being experimented with. Some of the proprietors of marble quarries in the Nelson district have furnished specimens of headstones in marble, and the samples submitted are infinitely more handsome and appropriate than the make-shift concrete. The slabs are turned on two or three inches thick, 15 in wide, and 3 ft 6 in high. They are intended to be set up vertically. Towards the top is a panel of "sparrow-pecked," or rubbed, surface, surrounding the cross and the initials "N.Z.E.F." The remainder of the slab is polished, and it is suggested that the soldier's name and rank should be placed on a bronze panel. The marble looks well, with its beautiful grain, and the whole effect is infinitely better than the concrete, while the lasting properties will be at least equal to cement. Another good feature of the marble headstone is that, thanks to the up-to-date cutting machinery in the Dominion, these slabs can be turned out polished at a price which compares favorably with the concrete moulded headstone. Another advantage is the use of a New Zealand material of great beauty.

c) Oamaru Mail, 5 September 1918, Volume XLVIII, Issue 13550, p5
The design for the headstone that is to be erected over graves of New Zealand soldiers who died during the war has been approved by Cabinet. The High Commissioner inspected some headstones after his arrival in Britain, and it is on his recommendation that Cabinet has reached a decision. The approved headstone is a cross, thirty inches high by fifteen inches wide. The circle at the centre contains the inscription: "New Zealand," surmounted by a fern leaf. The name, rank, and regiment of the soldier will be inscribed on the cross. The High Commissioner is sending a specimen of the cross to New Zealand. A draft design that has been received suggests that provision will be made for an inscription to be provided by the relatives, but this point is not quite clear yet.

d) Oamaru Mail, 14 December 1920, Volume XLIV, Issue 14865

(Per Press Association.)

WELLINGTON, December 13.

The Minister for Defence has been informed that the Anzac Memorial is to be erected at Lone Pine, where one of the bitterest fights of the Gallipoli campaign took place. All the bodies on Gallipoli have now been gathered into twenty-five cemeteries. The erection of the memorial and of the headstone in Gallipoli cemeteries is to be started in the spring of next year. The preliminary road construction is at present in hand.

e) Oamaru Mail, 14 December 1920, Volume XLIV, Issue 14865

britain's gracefull act.

ADOPTION OF UNIVERSAL HEADSTONE.

(Special to the Times.)

WELLINGTON, August 14.

In the House to-day, Sir Jas. Allen referred to the graves of New Zealand soldiers in Britain and elsewhere. He said he had received a letter from the High Commissioner reporting the decision of the Imperial Government to provide free of cost the land required for the graves of New Zealand soldiers dying in the United Kingdom. Before the Imperial Government came to this decision, a plot of ground had been purchased in Brookwood Cemetery, and reserved as a burial place for New Zealand soldiers dying at Walton and at Hospitals within easy access. The Imperial Government having taken over the liability for all ground allotted to the New Zealand soldiers for graves, this particular plot at Brookwood was included in the arrangement, and if necessary additions could be made of ground adjoining the plot.

A letter from the War Office contained the following statement: "The question of the burial of the Dominions' soldiers dying in the United Kingdom has been brought to the notice of the Government, who have decided that all Dominion officers and men dying in this country should be buried in single graves. Any land acquired for this purpose will be provided at the cost of the Imperial Army funds. The Government are convinced that it is the unanimous desire of the Mother Country to be allowed to undertake this charge, and to assure that the last resting place of these soldiers who have died far away from their homes may realise the wishes of their relatives and kinsfolk overseas, and be worthy of the cause in which they died, the Department of the War Office concerned has been instructed to enter into communication with you so that effect may be given to this decision with the least possible delay.

Sir Jas. Allen added that he and the Minister for Internal Affairs had been considering designs for a memorial headstone which could be placed on the graves of New Zealand soldiers here and abroad. Some models had been prepared.

Hon. R. H. Rhodes: "Quite a number of headstones have been erected in Egypt already."

Sir Jas. Allen: "I don't know that permanent stones have been erected. We will have permanent stones as soon as a design has been settled. The New Zealand soldier's headstone will be the same all over the world."

f) Southland Times, 15 August 1917, Issue 17737, p5
CEMETERIES AT MESSINES.

(SPECIAL TO DAILY TIMES.)

AUCKLAND, November 8.

The excellent condition in which the graves of New Zealand soldiers at Messines are kept was described by Mr. E. Morgan of Onahanga, who has returned from a visit to the battlefield. He said the cemeteries were laid out in well kept turf with borders of flowers, each of the graves of New Zealand soldiers being marked by a neat white headstone. Mr. Morgan saw a fine memorial stone, which commemorates the capture of Messines from the German by the New Zealand troops, and specimens of New Zealand ferns are growing around this memorial.

g) Otago Daily Times, 9 November 1926, Issue 19942, p7

Crs C. Weaver and H. Hull have intimated that they do not propose to seek re-election at the forthcoming municipal election.

The many local friends of the late Mostyn A. Fluming, who was killed on active service in France will be interested to know that advice has reached his mother to the effect that the body of her son was removed from an isolated grave and laid to rest in Poelcapelle British Cemetery, 5½ miles north east of Ypres. The exhumation was carried out with all reverence, and at a later date a permanent headstone will be erected. The deceased was town clerk of Alexandra when he enlisted, and his memory and service to his country is commemorated by the framed photograph hanging in the public library.

In response to the request of several ratepayers Mr. S. B. Craft, storekeeper, has consented to nominate for the position of borough councillor at the forthcoming election.

h) Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette, 6 April 1921, Issue 1278, p2

The exhumation of a visit to the Dunedin cemeteries may be made of interest to the general reader. Not a visit, but it understood, paid as a follower in the train of mourners after one "gone over to the majority," when the interest is personal and painful, but a visit paid by way of a stroll, when the stroller has no dear or near ones to sorrow over, and when, therefore, the interest is general and if somewhat sad and not touchingly so. There is an inclination to be melancholy and moralising, of course, over such a theme; but melancholy is out of place in a morning paper, and as for the moralities, were not the good people of Dunedin born oversided with them lately. The question, Can morality be taught in secular schools? is now unanswered; and while it remains so it would be unwise to start the query. Can it be also taught in cemeteries? At any rate we shall not trouble our readers with a moral lecture, or anything of that sort. What we shall do is to take those who choose to follow for a pleasant walk around the silent streets in our cities of the dead, seeing what it is to be seen and gossipping therewith, as our friends in the Presbyterian Synod would say. We shall take the

SOUTH DUNEDIN CEMETERY

first. It is the principal and largest one. There are four divisions, for even in death they are divided according to their beliefs in life. First, there is the Episcopalian quarter. Next comes the Presbyterian quarter; or perhaps it should be called the general cemetery, for besides Presbyterians and all dissenters, it has a general plot, where those whose religion is not known, or who are pagans, "go down to their fathers." The Roman Catholics have a plot for those within their fold, and the Hebrews have also the exclusive right to a small portion of the general block. Entering the Episcopalian portion we are at once struck by the records upon the tombstones of deaths by drowning. Dunedin harbour, that lies so peacefully fronting the graves, has most of those to its account, but two stones that stand out prominently tell of lives lost further field, or to speak more correctly, alone. James Ballour, the quiet, unsuspecting, and widely respected Colonial Marine Engineer, alone here, a victim to the angry sea at Timaru, while a fellow member of the profession, in the person of Thomas Paterson, who fell to his cost the treachery of a New Zealand river, has a resting place beside him. Two young men lie not far away who were "drowned by the up

i) Otago Daily Times, 29 May 1878, Issue 5079

IN MEMORIAM.

WE have Purchased from Mr. H. PALMER, of Prince street, his LARGE and WELL-ASSORTED STOCK of MONUMENTS, HEAD-StONES, CROSSES, and STATUETTES.

The above have been Purchased at a Large Discount of Landed Cost, and we are in a position to offer For Sale AT PRICES which CANNOT BE EQUALLED.

The above have been Purchased at a Large Discount of Landed Cost, and we are in a position to offer For Sale AT PRICES which CANNOT BE EQUALLED.

Designs sent on Application.

THOMSON & CO.,
Morsay place (opposite First Church).

j) Otago Witness, 21 December 1904, Issue 2649, p42
Recently Alfred Larkin, erry, a well-known practioner of Tooms, New South Wales, was engaged in scrub-cutting, when a tree fell on him, causing him to an extended hospital stay.

Visitors to Duncan will find excellent accommodation at Watson’s Commercial and Hotel, High Street (next to Grand Hotel). Suites for ladies and mixed crews. Charges—6s and 6s per day, 20s and 30s per week. Special arrangements for permanent boarders.

Concerned drunkards are summarily fined in many parts of the state. The Argentine Republic has taken a similar course. The young man is generally a mischievous individual. He likes his clothes, boots, etc., to be smart and stylish, and in this he is wise. A man is very often judged by his personal appearance: a person who is a clown in dress is apt to be a clown in work. Neatness and trimness in attire do not cost more than the opposite. We are showing a particularly attractive type of boot, which we have called "The Young Man's"—it is so up-to-date and handsome. The shape is the latest and the leather fine glazed kid. The soles are rubber and the uppers full galoshed, while it may be said of others with the popular medium round toe or the smart sharp toe. The price is £1 8s 6d, and it is really such good value, and will give such long-lasting satisfactory wear, that we can unhesitatingly recommend it—Coxman House, the depot for high-grade footwear, Princes Street.

A new method by which the audience at a theatre can show its approval or disapproval of a play without disturbing the performance is being introduced by the Italian dramatist, Tavistock. Before leaving the theatre every person is to drop a ticket into one of several boxes marked "good," "indifferent," or "bad." During next few weeks we offer the following inquests in the show room: Fifteen ladies' stylish tacked jackets, three-quarter length, at £1 10s each; 21 ladies' tweed coats, full length, new creation, at £1 6s 6d; 19 fashionable and saleable hats, good-looking, with tails, 6s to £1 6s, and satin heads with bases, 30s to £1 10s. Some inwards pears are being trimmed and scented for electric light poles on the railway opposite the power house. Some tomatoes grow in the heart of the barn. The carpenter who is at work on the same tree live in a pole, the end of which is hollowed out that it was the heart of a tree. The grubs were, like the big white one found in white pine, but not so large.

Aeolepsis in the German Army.—According to the German newspapers, the Prussian Minister of War has decided to modernize the apparatus supplied to the Army Medical Department for the preservation of artificial light. The signal lamp hitherto employed to indicate the position of the field hospitals and dressing stations at night, and also the lights used inside them for operations and the dressing of wounds, are not considered to be effective in view of present necessities. The hand lamps employed in rendering fires safe and in searching for the wounded on the field of action are equally regarded as unsatisfactory. The Minister of War has accordingly ordered the Army Medical Department to be supplied with aeolepsis apparatus for all the purposes mentioned, or with improved aeolepsis apparatus in cases where the gas has been adopted already, and for each company and hospital train to be also provided with one special aeolepsis lamp for surgical operations.

This light is supplied by the New Zealand Acetylone Lighting Company, 32 Octagon, Dunedin....

Otago Daily Times, 13 June 1908, Issue 14239, p16
ITALIAN MARBLE WORKS
Bergamini & Reid,
SCULPTORS,
Lower High Street, Dunedin,
AND CAREARA, ITALY.
Direct Importers of CARRARA MARBLE.
Manufacturers of Headstones, Monuments, and Marble Table Tops,
in any design.

INSCRIPTIONS CUT AT CEMETARY,
and all kinds of Cemetery Work done.

COUNTRY ORDERS PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO

l) Lake County Press 1 August 1901, Issue 973, p6, Advertisements Column 2

m) Lake County Press, 30 Jan 1919, Issue 2770 p6

n) Otago Witness 24 August 1920, Issue 3467, p21

HEADSTONES-APPROVED.
(From Our Own Correspondent.)

WELLINGTON, August 16.
Cabinet agreed to-day to the design of the headstone that is to be placed on the graves of all New Zealand soldiers who fell in the war. This matter has been discussed at great length, and remained unsettled until Sir James Allen reached Great Britain and had time to inspect some of the stones which have been erected already. He cabled a few days ago recommending the Government to agree to a particular design, and this has now been done. The headstone is to be a plain cross 8½ ft. high and 1½ ft. 2 in. wide. A circle at the centre of the cross contains the words “New Zealand,” surmounted by a fern leaf. The material is to be Portland stone, which is reported by experts to be sufficiently durable. The name, rank, and regiment of the soldier will be inscribed on the cross, and provision may be made also for an inscription provided by the relatives. The crosses will be provided and placed in position by the Government.

Gravestones of a uniform pattern are to be placed over the graves of all Australian soldiers who died on service abroad, irrespective of the rank the soldiers held (says the Sydney “Morning Herald”). On each headstone will be inscribed the name, regiment, and date of death of the soldier, surmounted by the rising sun badge of the Australian military forces. A large plain cross, or in the case of members of the Jewish faith, the star of David, will also be engraved on the headstone. The Imperial War Graves Commission will afford relatives of deceased soldiers an opportunity of providing at their own cost for suitable inscription for headstones in the nature of a text or prayer not exceeding three lines or sixty-five words.

o) Cromwell Argus, 19 May 1919, Volume L, Issue 2624
WELL CARED FOR.

The excellent condition in which the graves of New Zealand soldiers at Messines are kept was described by Mr E. Morgan, of Ouchunga, who has just returned from a world tour, which included a visit to the battlefields of Belgium. The cemeteries, he said, were laid out in well-kept turf, with borders of flowers, each of the graves of New Zealand soldiers being marked by a neat white headstone. Where known the names were inscribed on the stone, but in other cases the inscription, "To an unknown warrior", has been carved. Mr Morgan also saw the flag memorial stone which marks the scene of the battle at the village of Messines, which was captured by New Zealand troops. Specimens of New Zealand ferns are growing around this memorial.


A DESIGN FOR A HEADSTONE.

LONDON, March 8.

Brigadier-General G. S. Richardson states that the Imperial War Graves Commission has submitted specimens of headstones which are to be used in war cemeteries.

Each grave will have its headstone, to replace the present wooden cross, which has been erected over all graves as a temporary measure. The headstone will be uniform in dimensions—that is to say, 2ft 6in in height and 1ft 6in in breadth, but will not necessarily be identical in shape. Each will bear the name, rank, and regiment, and the date of the death of the man, and, it is hoped, a regimental badge, also if desired, a national emblem. It remains for the Dominions concerned to decide the particular design of the headstone which will be adopted for its graves, and also what should be put on them as a national emblem.

Besides the individual headstone, each cemetery will contain a general monument to the fallen. Arrangements have been made to photograph the graves of all New Zealanders so far as they have been located. It is, of course, obvious that the general scheme of marking graves will prohibit the erection of private headstones, which very many relatives desired to do.

q) North Otago Times, 23 April 1918, Volume CVI, Issue 14102
**Appendix 4: Distribution of Grave Types across Class and Decades.**

Table of Extra-First class Grave Types by Count and Percentage

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extra First Class</th>
<th>Family</th>
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<th>Total</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
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Table of First class Grave Types by Count and Percentage

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<th>Total (%)</th>
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### Appendix 5: Chi Square IBM SPSS Statistics Results

**Chi-Square Tests for Morphology form**

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<th>Value</th>
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<th>Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)</th>
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<td>Upper Bound</td>
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a. 148 cells (81.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 92208573.
c. 119 cells (82.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
d. 126 cells (87.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
e. 85 cells (94.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .1.

**Symmetric Measures for Morphology form**

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c. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 92208573.
### Chi-Square Tests for Iconography form

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a. 209 cells (89.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1487459085.
c. 189 cells (92.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
d. 179 cells (93.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
e. 82 cells (91.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

### Symmetric Measures for Iconography form

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<td>.047</td>
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c. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1487459085.
### Chi-Square Tests for Memorial Inscription form

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<th>Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)</th>
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a. 158 cells (81.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 205597102.
c. 158 cells (87.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
d. 149 cells (88.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.
e. 127 cells (97.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

### Symmetric Measures for Memorial Inscription form

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<th>Monte Carlo Significance</th>
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c. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 205597102.
Appendix 6: Conscription and the effect on Society

Prior to the First World War, young men were trained in military actions as a compulsory part of their youthful education. In New Zealand, the 1909 Defence Act pushed for by Sir Alexander Godley made military training compulsory for all young men after they reached 18 years old (Pugsley 2014). The sense of community and conformity that this represented was encouraged for several years before enlistment became compulsory.

The push for war was not solely from particular ‘elites’ in society, but was also promoted through the actions and beliefs of the populace, and their need to be a part of a larger ideal. Loveridge (2014) showed how shared identities, and the development of communities motivated the populace to volunteer. The war was framed as a national concern, and it was emphasized that the involvement of New Zealand people was fundamental to the success of the Empire. He emphasized how conscription of soldiers was not as undesirable as retrospective opinions have suggested. Although some accounts suggested that the lack of information from the front lines caused the need for conscription, there were young men still volunteering until the war’s end in 1918 (Loveridge 2014).

Conscription was not a new idea, and had been enacted in 1845 to force Maori who were British subjects to participate in military service (Mytum 2000). Although recruitment in 1914 was initially voluntary for non-Maori citizens, due to the falling numbers of volunteers enlisting in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, the National Registration Act 1915 was passed and included a census to identify the number of military eligible men in New Zealand.

The National Registration Act also set out the reasons why ineligible men could not participate. As part of this act men between the ages of 19 and 45 were required to inform the government of any voluntary military experience and whether they were willing to join the army and in what capacity (National Registration Act). In addition, any men who did not comply with the act, or who sent false information could be fined between £5 and £100 and imprisoned for up to 6 months. Following this act, The Military Services Act 1916 with the Expeditionary Forces Act 1915, set up the First and Second reserves who consisted of all eligible men residing in New Zealand who were British Subjects. All of these social pressures contributed to the changing socio-cultural landscape, which influenced the deathscape of Dunedin’s Historic Northern Cemetery.

Conscientious objectors or ‘military defaulters’ were tormented by others if they refused to sign up under the Military Services Act 1916 and were publically shamed in many occasions. Conscientious objectors in New Zealand faced ostracism, violence, imprisonment, and the withdrawing of civil rights. They were refused public office, electoral enrolment, employment in Crown funded positions, and many were physically imprisoned or assaulted during the war period (Loveridge 2014). This was designed to force conformity on the civilians’ as well as the military (Loveridge 2014).

In this mindset, many members of society saw military service or the soldier as the ideal character, and their social status as being elevated by their participation in the national effort. In this sense, military service was to be celebrated and advertised as a key part of their life. Men who joined the war effort were encouraged to conform to an ideal in character and personality in life and in death, and those who died during conflict were buried in graves that had no individuality, although their names and ranks were recorded. This accorded with the prevailing military ethos of only the leaders being known as individuals, and the other ranks as faceless machines (Loveridge 2014).
With over 135,000 men conscripted and 70,000 volunteered, the absence of military men and associated personnel left a large gap in the population. Of this number, 18,166 men and women were killed in the First World War. This was 5% of the total military aged population, which was the highest percentage of Britain’s dominions. The high numbers of casualties compared to the number of men who volunteered or were conscripted impacted everyday life throughout the country, and almost every town and city has a list of casualties or ‘Roll of Honour’ from their area, and a military area in their local cemeteries (Pugsley 2014). In Dunedin, there is a military section in the Andersons Bay cemetery, but not in the Northern Cemetery.

The empowerment of women in the ability to provide for themselves and their families shifted the social perspective of their roles in the community (Loveridge 2014). During the 1880s and 1890s many females had paved the way for women to occupy roles such as mayoral positions, educators, doctors, and barristers, while an increasing number of women were finding positions of white-collar employment (Loveridge 2014). As the men were predominantly overseas during the war, and the ones who refused to go were not allowed to return to work, women and children took over the jobs traditionally reserved for men. To keep New Zealand functioning, women were trained into positions they would not have gained without the war, for example, in farming, engineering, clerical posts, telegraph operations, and in family businesses. This strongly contributed to the changes in society that are evident in the mortuary practices.
### Appendix 7: Masonry Markings identified in this study

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<th>Fence Masonry</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘B. Arwell’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bergamini &amp; Reid’</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘H. S. Bingham &amp; Co.’</td>
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<td>‘D. Robertson’</td>
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<td>‘Heartwell’</td>
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<td>‘Henderson’ / ‘Henderson &amp; Percus’</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘J. Simmonds Melbourne’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘J. Swan &amp; Co. LTD. Dn’</td>
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<td>‘O’Brien &amp; Griffin’</td>
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<td>‘Parsons Ch. Ch.’</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Wainwright’</td>
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<td>‘R. Miller &amp; Sons, Dunedin’ / ‘R. Miller’</td>
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<td>‘Reid’</td>
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<td>‘T Thompson &amp; Co’</td>
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## Appendix 8: Military Markers in this study

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<td>1026 Lt. S.L. Jones 4th Contingent Died 16.6.1957 Aged 84 Yrs.</td>
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<td>NZEF</td>
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<td>James P. Heenan 1015 S.A. War Pte 4th (Rough Riders) Contgt Died 8.8.1901 Aged 28 Yrs</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NZMF</td>
<td>822253 Sgt A.M. Douglas Guards Vital Points Died 15-2-1944 Aged 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>8A</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>74 Spr F.A.Maitland 3rd Field Engineers Died 19-5-1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NZEF</td>
<td>97456 Spr D.H. Beck Engineers Died 21-1-1919 Aged 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>NZEF Rifle Artillery</td>
<td>4307- -np- F.H. Young Rifle Artillery Died 24-4-1938 Aged 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>NZEF</td>
<td>61279 Pte M.C. Hayden Home Service Sect Died 24-11-1918. Aged 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>20-23</td>
<td>NZEF</td>
<td>9/1214 S.M. A.D.F Mason Otago Ntd Rifles Died 15-7-1928. Aged 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>In Loving Memory Of George Watkins Died 6-12-1928 Age 95 Last Crimean Veteran In Otago Robina (Wife) Died 8-8-1911 John (Son) Died 31-5-1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NZEF</td>
<td>49568 Pte H.C. McCallum Canterbury Regt Died 12-4-1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Main Body</td>
<td>8/607 Pte Hugh McVicar Main Body Reported Missing At Gallipoli May 2nd 1915, Aged 35 Years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Great War Veteran 42504 Pte C.O. Megget Otago Regt Died 31-8-1952. Aged 56. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42502 Pte W.J.M. Hare Otago Regt. Died 29.9.1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NZEF</td>
<td>55766 Pte A. Mackay Otago Regt Died 3-4-1920 Aged 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5th Otago Mounted</td>
<td>In Loving Memory Of John H. Fee, Sergent 5th Otago Mounted Died Of Wounds Gallipoli, 9th August 1915 Aged 29 Years. Also Ernest W. Fee, Corporal 5th Otago Mounted Died Dunedin, 2nd April 1920 Aged 38 Years. -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1481 NZEF 16813 Pte J.C. Biggar Home Service Sect Died 23-1-1918.
1482 NZEF 23603 Pte P. O'Driscoll Otago Regt Died 26-8-1918. Aged 42.
1483 NZRF (Rifle Brigade) Major A Digby Smith D.S.O N.Z.R.B. 1877-1953
1484 NZEF 65183 Pte D. Melville Training Unit Died 5-11-1917
1485 NZ Forces On a Ridge in Gallipoli A Stone Erected By His Comrades Bears This Inscriptor "19th May 1915 Lieut. P. Logan [Age 22] 11th Squadron A.M.R. N.Z.Forces Mortally Wounded and Buried At Sea [From Hospital Ship Soudan] When Hit By A Bullet On The Head. While Leading His Troop During The Big Assault On Our Stronghold, He Immediately Called For His Troop Sergent [Sgt Allsopp] Handed Over His Troop To Him And Then, Having Completed His Duties, Fell Back Unconscious And Never Spoke Again. He Died Respected By All, A Brave Soldier And Gentleman." Preston Logan Born 25th May 1892 Buried At Sea Lat. 40'15 N. Lon. 26'16 W.
1487 N.Z. Infantry The World War 2-2780 Pte W.S. Dunkerton N.Z. Infantry Died 14-7-1918 ?
1488 NZEF 53-75 Pte W.J. Cameron Auckland Regt Died 17-8-1950 Aged 71.
1490 18th Reinforcements 29752 Private Sydney George Duke, 18th Reinforcements Son of Above Died of Wounds Received In Action 3rd June 1917 Buried At Boulogne
1491 NZEF 19/205 Pte W. Olson Samoan Relief Force Died 2-7-1920 Aged 44.
1493 5th Contingent Lous J. McKechnie 2692 S.A. War Pte 5th Contingent Died 23.7.1901 Aged 24 Yrs
1494 5th Contingent This Stone Is Erected By The New Zealand Soldiers' Graves' Guild To The Memory Of Private. Peter Neilson Late 5th New Zealand Contingent Died 1.10.1901, No 1
1496 NZEF 8/2124 Pte J. Scanlan Otago Regt Died 12-6-1917.
1497 NZEF 4/646 Capt A. Beekman Engineers Died 15-6-1916. Aged 42
1498 NZEF 4/646 Thomas Holmes Nisbet Lieutenant Otago Infantry. Killed In Action At Gallipoli 7th August 1915 Aged 23 Years.
1499 NZEF 53180 Pte L. Gough Otago Regt Died 11-6-1920

See also Appendix 9: Digital Resource
Appendix 9: Digital Resource

Digital Resource file: ‘Northern Cemetery Data 2018.xlsx’

File contains all primary data for this research.