COLONIAL EXPERIENCES OF DEATH AND BURIAL:
The landscape archaeology of West Terrace cemetery, Adelaide

By

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Abstract

This thesis considers how 19\textsuperscript{th} century attitudes to death and burial were articulated and experienced through the cultural landscape of the colonial sections (1837 to 1900) of the West Terrace cemetery, Adelaide. To achieve this goal the phenomenological perspective used in post-processual landscape archaeology has been employed. This involves a holistic approach to site analysis, with an emphasis on understanding how all elements of the cemetery landscape were constructed over time and how these choices were intended to communicate social attitudes and their underlying ideologies at both a private and public level. Through the process of visitation, of being in the landscape, the visitor is engaged in a reflexive perception of these attitudes, as communicated through the medium of material culture, in a dialogue intended to perpetuate social and religious belief and to reaffirm class based world views.

The study focuses on four targeted samples within its colonial boundaries to test this approach. The plan and layout of the colonial cemetery is analysed followed by a consideration of how the selection, placement, accumulation and display of material culture occurred within the site over the course of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The archaeology is further contextualised by considering the historical backdrop of Victorian attitudes to death and burial in Britain and how these views were transferred and expressed in the colonial landscape. These elements are then linked to the distinct cemetery visitation patterns employed in the period to reveal a dynamic landscape, a place of movement and experience. Historical documentation is also utilised to crosscheck the archaeological results.

The study uncovers a complex series of patterns in the selection of site, monument, and inscription, and concludes that a deeper understanding of the way
attitudes to death and burial were embedded in the 19th century cultural landscape of West Terrace cemetery can be obtained through a phenomenological approach. The historical cemetery is demonstrated to be a site of ideological and ritual belief processes, whose messages and meanings are recoverable through the holistic perception of ideological landscape construction, and seeing its artefacts as dynamic rather than static.
Declaration

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

Signed ……………………………….

Date……………….
Acknowledgements

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Also thank you to the always helpful and efficient staff at the State Library of South Australia, State Records, the Flinders University libraries and the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide.

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Stephen Muller, Adelaide, October 2006
Chapter 1. Introduction

A landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives…. It is story and telling, temporality and remembrance (Tilley 1994:34).

Phenomenology within cemeteries and burial grounds could be a very productive line of inquiry (Mytum 2004:11).

It is our Westminster, the place of our mighty dead (The Advertiser, January the 19th 1897, page 6).

This thesis asks how 19th century attitudes to death and burial were articulated and experienced through the cultural landscape of the colonial section of the West Terrace cemetery (1837 to 1900; see Figures 1.1 & 1.2). The key approach underlining this study is that landscape is a culturally constructed concept existing through human perception and activity, and that by this process of creation, its space and features are given meaning (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:3; Tilley 1994:10). The site acts as a medium through which these meanings can be communicated and interpreted by those physically negotiating the landscape (Panja 2003:499; Tarlow 1999:48; Tilley 1994:10).

This process of ideological reflection and creation through being in the world constitutes a phenomenological perspective (Pollio, Henley & Thompson 1997:8). We experience the phenomena that make up the landscape, and through perception and interpretation, make sense of our world. This subjective process involves all human senses. Consequently, the cemetery landscape, as a place of
repeated ritual visitation and material culture layering over time, is ideally suited to such a study.

**Figure 1.1: Map of Australia** showing location of South Australia and Adelaide (O’Byrne 1996:9).

The application of a phenomenologically informed landscape approach to this site seeks to improve our understanding of the interaction of cultural factors in the creation, perpetuation and change of 19th century mortuary ideologies. To understand the attitudes to death and burial so embedded, and how they were articulated, calls for an understanding of the totality of elements that form the cemetery landscape, and how they were intended to be experienced. Consequently, the tombstones, as the dominant material culture feature, must be interpreted not in isolation but as interactive components of the whole cultural landscape.

This approach allows for a dynamic understanding of the interrelationship of site phenomena, and, how these features combined to engage the participant in an
emotional and ideological dialogue (McGuire 1988). The cemetery is both a private space and a public place, and therefore this process operated at different levels of reflective intent depending on the person’s role in the discourse.

Figure 1.2: Map of Adelaide – West Terrace cemetery is shown in the lower left hand corner (HEMA 2001).

This study will look at the plan and layout of the colonial cemetery, and how the placement, accumulation and display of material culture occurred within it over the course of the 19th century. These seemingly static elements will then be linked to the use patterns of the site, to reveal a dynamic landscape, a place of movement and experience, through which the mourner and visitor interacted with the cultural features on show, constructing their worldview and promoting, affirming and perhaps challenging those promoted by the dead.

Chapter 2 looks at the theoretical framework underpinning post-processual landscape archaeology through its use of phenomenology, and discusses the
potential for such an approach in cemeteries. Historical archaeological studies of cemeteries, relevant to this approach, are than considered including a brief overview of work undertaken in Australian cemeteries.

Chapter 3 provides a summary of Victorian-era attitudes to death and burial, highlighting the main issues behind the development of the public cemetery in Britain and its colonies. Against this backdrop, the founding and early planning of West Terrace cemetery in the 19th century, the religious division of the site, its built environment and contemporary perceptions of the cemetery landscape will be illustrated.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology of the archaeological fieldwork undertaken at West Terrace cemetery. The chapter discusses the archaeological survey and recording methods used and outlines the rationale behind the selection of the four targeted sample areas and how they were recorded.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the fieldwork. This information includes tombstone/plot age, orientation, material, form, height, fencing, key wording and motifs, with a summary of the main points observed.

Chapter 6 considers these results in relation to each sample area, to interpret, discuss and critique how a phenomenological landscape archaeology has revealed attitudes to death and burial, and their articulation within the broader site context. The cemetery as both a private and public place of social perception is clearly evidenced.

Chapter 7 concludes with an appraisal of the theoretical approach applied, with an emphasis on understanding the process of movement and experience, and tiers of communication. Suggestions for future study directions to further develop
our understanding of the historical archaeology of cemetery landscapes are suggested.
Chapter 2. Theoretical Background

Landscape is open to a variety of different interpretations in archaeology today, particularly in relation to the investigation of places that suggest a ritual and sacred significance, such as the cemetery. This chapter will discuss how the concept of landscape has changed in archaeology to develop a post-processual landscape archaeology promoting the use of phenomenology. The chapter then looks at some particularly applicable historical archaeology, already undertaken in overseas cemeteries, and concludes with a consideration of current archaeological approaches in Australian cemeteries.

2.1 Concepts of Landscape

Traditionally, landscape has been seen to represent a visual perspective, such as a painted scene or a picturesque view (Hanks 1979). Landscape is also commonly associated with the practice of altering and reconstructing the environment aesthetically, for example to landscape a garden. However, in archaeology, landscape has come to have multiple meanings such as human dwelling areas, or geographical features such as a regional topography (Thomas 2001:166). Consequently, archaeologists may use the term descriptively to denote a single site or place, the remains of several settlement sites over a large geographical area, or the environment within which a site itself is located (Tilley 1994:3). Landscape can also be an ideological representation and experience, as exemplified by recreation in the gardens of landowner’s estates of the idealised and romanticised images of landscape painting (Thomas 2001:168).

Landscape as a product of mind and therefore ideology can be deliberately structured to express social meaning. For example, the large impressive design and central location of the Australian Parliament House in Canberra projects and
articulates the symbolic power of the Nation to the onlooker. Individuals and communities conduct their daily lives within, through, with or around this space (Thomas 2001:181). It is this ideologically layered concept of landscape interpretation (Hallam & Hockey 2001:84) that has sparked a theoretical debate about the nature of landscape and its interpretation during the 1970s and 1980s, notably in geography and subsequently archaeology (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:3). This development can be seen as part of the post-processual response to the processual or New Archaeology that developed in the 1960s and 1970s (Johnson 2002:12-33, 98-115).

One of the criticisms levelled at processual theory was that, in developing archaeology along scientific lines, archaeological space became abstracted from human relationships (Tilley 1994:7). Postprocessualists argued that landscape under the New Archaeology had become an abstract container, a mere backdrop or surface canvas to human action, a universal and objective space containing useable resources, such as stone for tool making or water for survival, awaiting rational exploitation. Landscape studies involved a strong economic and political focus on how people utilised the resources of their landscape, sought shelter within it and were influenced by the environmental risks it contained (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:1). This allowed for the collection and comparison of primarily economic archaeological data and the development of models of subsistence (Johnson 2002:103).

This approach was criticised by the postprocessualists, who felt that placing an emphasis on resource use to the exclusion of other social factors imposed contemporary 20th century western capitalist attitudes, such as exploitation and commodity onto the past and constituted a minimalist and empiricist interpretation of landscape (Johnson 2002:103; Tilley 1994:2). This position appeared to exclude the
archaeological capacity for deeper consideration of the ways that ancient peoples may have viewed and thought about their surroundings (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:1; Bender 1993:9; Thomas 2001:165; Tilley 1994:74).

Rather than seeing landscape as an abstract vessel separate from human action, it was argued that emphasis should be placed on landscape as a medium through which thought and action were articulated in the past. By recognising that human understanding of the landscape is subjective and formed through personal experience and interaction with the natural and cultural environment, the artificial separation of the “material and the ideal” could be rejected, allowing archaeologists to ask questions of how people used landscape as a medium for the creation of ritual and ideological meanings, as well as for economic survival (Johnson 2002:103; Renfrew & Bahn 2000:398; Tacon 1994; Tilley 1994:9-10).

If landscape is primarily seen as the cultural construct of a subjective reality invested with meaning through human thought and action, then it follows that such space is dynamic and reflects changes in human activities and beliefs (Hallam & Hockey 2001:5; Tilley 1994:10-11). The landscape becomes “the arena in which and through which memory, identity, social order and transformation are constructed, played out, re-invented, and changed” (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:10). If such changes are manifested through material culture, then the capacity for archaeology to identify and interpret such processes is heightened. For archaeology, the concept of a culturally constructed landscape perception meant the opening up of a broader range of questions about site use, and the messages people articulated and experienced through their landscape.
2.2 Phenomenology

An influential development in this theoretical push was the adoption from philosophy of a phenomenological perspective towards landscape (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:4). Although there are different models of phenomenology (see Macann 1993), the position brought to landscape archaeology primarily reflects the work of the French philosopher, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961). Ponty’s phenomenology involves an emphasis on the ‘the primacy of perception’ as the main human function, a process that can occur only through the foundation of the human body (Macann 1993:160).

This interrogation of perception attempts to understand how people experience and make sense of their world, through the physical act of being immersed in and moving through that world, a participant yet separate (Pollio et al 1997:8; Merleau-Ponty 1968:xvii). Merleau-Ponty argued that human self-consciousness creates a gap between the individual and the world that they strive to bridge through the use of cognitive, sensory and physical skills. The five senses and physical movement through space by bodily mechanics such as walking or running, allow people to perceive their environment. There are also the internalised thought processes of memory, emotion, belief and intent, which can be influenced through sensory and physical experience (Tilley 1994:12).

By applying phenomenology to landscape archaeology, the focus becomes to understand how people construct, move through, perceive, experience and articulate the site as an ongoing reflective and reductive process at a deeper philosophical level, providing new insight into the spatial landscape. In attempting to understand past human action and experience, the archaeologist, subject to the same process of
bodily perception, must also participate in a phenomenological discourse with the site.

A criticism of this approach is that it seeks to extract data by knowing the minds of past peoples, going beyond the evidence into the imaginative (Fleming 2006:278; Johnson 2002:86; Tarlow 1999:25). Despite Crumley’s confident assertion that it is not ‘if’ but ‘how’ mind is recoverable (Crumley 1999:270), clearly it is not possible to know the exact thoughts of past peoples (Ashmore & Knapp 1999:5; Tarlow 1999:25). However, as Tilley says, “cultural meanings are only unimportant for those who choose to make them so” (Tilley 1994:2).

In the case of landscape it is reasonable to start from the premise that something of what a site meant to people, and how it was physically accessed and used in the past is recoverable archaeologically, and that a phenomenological approach may provide an interpretation of sensory perception that allows inferences about past human behaviour to be made (Thomas 2001:181). We should not stop asking questions of the archaeological evidence for fear that the answers may seem hard to obtain.

Fleming’s recent criticism of post-processual landscape archaeology, particularly towards pre-historic sites, does raise valid questions about the use of a phenomenological approach (Fleming 2006). However, his major concern, that hyper-interpretation has led to conclusions beyond the archaeological is mitigated within the context of historical archaeology where historical sources can act as a cross check on the archaeological data (Mytum 2004:179).

The development of socio-symbolic landscape archaeology, including non-western perspectives, has led to its application at a number of diverse ancient sites (see Ashmore & Knapp 1999; Bender 1993:1; Renfrew & Bahn 2000:398). For
example, Uluru, the giant sandstone monolith in Australia’s Northern Territory, rises up from the surrounding flat desert to dominate the horizon. To the local Anangu people the rock represents a landscape of sacred significance, ritual sites, and a topography containing important traditional stories, messages and symbols (see Tacon 1999). For non-Indigenous Australians and foreign visitors, who carry different cultural views, the landscape takes on different meaning. It may be seen as a place of great natural beauty, or a product of heavenly creation. A different phenomenology is also at play as some visitors climb the rock in defiance or ignorance of Indigenous beliefs against such a defiling movement in the landscape.

Landscape archaeology has predominantly, though not exclusively, been applied to pre-historic sites. A phenomenological approach has been used as a way of understanding the spatial siting and social significance of prehistoric monuments in the landscape. Some recent examples include associations between monuments, vegetation and seasonal visibility, differing perceptions of the same monument by the builder and viewer linked to environmental conditions, and changing perceptions of prehistoric alignments based on different vantage points (Cummings & Whittle 2003; Panja 2003; Peterson 2003). Historical landscapes, particularly those of acknowledged ritual and ideological association would appear ripe to further test such an approach to interpretation.

2.3 Landscape archaeology and cemetery studies

The location of a cemetery and the layout and design of its material culture, such as boundaries, gates, pathways, buildings, graves and plantings, combine to form a richly constructed cultural landscape. The social influences at work in the construction of the cemetery landscape are diverse and planned, reaching beyond the
site’s primary function as a place for the hygienic disposal of the dead. It is a liminal landscape, a transitional space between life and death. The cemetery provides a locus of experience for the visitor, confronted by the totality of elements that form and inform perception, couched in an emotional context that we should not ignore (Tarlow 1999:21).

Historical archaeology in the cemetery, whilst still developing in Australia, has formed a recognised area of archaeological inquiry in the United States and Britain for several decades, since Deetz’s examination into typological frequencies over time in gravestone motifs (1977) and the subsequent realisation of the adaptive and culturally reflective community systems at play there (Dethlefsen 1981:137). Of particular interest to this study is the Marxist approach to cemetery landscapes (McGuire 1988; Parker Pearson 1982).

Parker Pearson’s earlier work on mortuary practices in a Cambridge cemetery saw the memorialisation of the dead as “social advertisement” of “the material expression and objectivation of idealised relationships” in the class struggle (Parker Pearson 1982:110). McGuire, following a similar line, argued that the deliberate spatial arrangement, choice of form and inscriptions on the tombstone, demonstrate is a clear intent by those involved in these choices (the deceased, the family, the community) to project ideologies of death, family and social status, to the visitor in the form of a dialogue (McGuire 1988:436). He suggested that the perpetuation of ideology, itself a masking distortion of true reality, was driven by class struggle and power relations, designed to project and sustain the world view and class interests of the deceased. However, McGuire acknowledged that class alone cannot account for all the variation observed in the cemetery (McGuire 1988:437).
Equally useful was Tarlow’s investigation of emotion as an important determinant in the form and inscription of tombstones, in which she cautioned against the inadequacy of power centred models to fully explain the choices that construct the funerary tableau (Tarlow 1999:29).

Connah, in the late 1980s, lamented that there had been few attempts to apply an archaeological approach to cemeteries, as had occurred overseas (Connah 1993:150). However, an increasing archaeological interest in historical Australian attitudes to death and burial can be seen in a number of recent studies, covering such issues as pauper’s burials, tombstone iconography and inscriptions, and the expression of emotion through material culture (Denny 1994; Farrell 2003; Keirs 1988; Marin 1998; Matic 2003). There are also an increasing number of articles in Australian archaeological journals, covering such diverse topics as Chinese burial customs (Abraham & Wegars 2003), reburial of excavated historic human remains (Anson & Henneberg 2004), and early historical burials (Haslem et al. 2003, Paterson & Franklin 2004).

Recent historical publications have also covered historical and contemporary death and burial issues from an Australian perspective (Jalland 2002; Kellehar 2000; Nicol 1994), providing valuable reference for archaeological work. The small numbers of Australian cemetery histories tend to focus on grave inscriptions for genealogical research goals, but can contain brief historical outlines and other useful information concerning the Australian burial context, such as the symbolism of headstone form and motifs (e.g., Dunn 1988, 1991). Lemon & Morgan’s (1990) history of the Williamstown cemetery (Victoria) and Weston’s excellent work on Sydney’s Rookwood cemetery provide detail on site design and planning (Lemon & Morgan 1990; Weston 1989:30-31).
Much archaeological work undertaken in Australian cemeteries has tended to focus, quite legitimately, on particular elements in the cemetery rather than the total landscape, such as Marin’s analysis of tombstone inscriptions across several country cemeteries and churchyards in South Australia (Marin 1998), and Matic’s work on pauper burials in St Mary’s churchyard in suburban Adelaide, in which he acknowledges ideological and spatial forces at play in the treatment and placement of the deceased poor (Matic 2003:17-25).

Farrell’s recent work in the Mintaro cemeteries in country South Australia (Farrell 2003) comes closest to a landscape approach. Farrell draws on issues of past emotion and memory as expressed through the material culture of the cemetery. Her work has been influenced by Tarlow’s (1999) argument that theories of social emulation and status aspiration ascribed to 19th century memorialisation practices in Britain (and therefore applicable to colonial Australian developments) overlook the extremity of feelings experienced by the bereaved and their desire to express that grief in the cemetery landscape through symbolic and linguistic metaphors (Tarlow 1999:119, 129).

Farrell also cites the work of Hallam and Hockey, who argue that material culture mediates the relationship of the living with death and the dead through the process of memory. “Places and spaces” remind us of those who have died before us and of our own pending death (Hallam & Hockey 2001:2). This can occur at both a private and public level (as exemplified by prominent memorials). There is a strong phenomenological emphasis in both hypotheses (Hallam & Hockey 2001:77; Tarlow 1999:3) with attention given to the spatial route of the funeral, the placement of the memorialising headstone, and the process of grave visitation (Hallam & Hockey 2001:147, 168-169, 180).
Mytum flags the application of a phenomenological approach to the study of cemeteries as potentially a “very productive line of inquiry” (Mytum 2004:11), however a phenomenological study of an entire cemetery landscape has yet to be undertaken in Australian historical archaeology. Consequently, the focus must widen from individual graves, monuments and inscriptions, to the construction of the spatial layout, and the interaction of people with the site’s material culture to provide a deeper understanding of site use; as Tilley notes, “landscapes are experienced in practice, in life activities” (Tilley 1994:23).

2.4 Previous research on West Terrace cemetery

Previous research of West Terrace cemetery has primarily been of an historical nature. Peake’s historical pamphlet briefly summarises the cemetery’s foundation in 1837 and its subsequent division into different denominational and religious areas from the 1840s. It does contain a helpful listing of primary research material (Peake 1986). Robert Nicol has undertaken the most extensive historical work on West Terrace including a heritage survey of the site in 1988 (Nicol 1985, 1987, 1988, 1994). Much of his earlier research is consolidated in the first two chapters of *At the End of the Road* (1994) that deals with the disposal of the dead in the 19th and 20th centuries. He characterises the colonial cemetery space as a “battleground” for conflicting ideals and principles; primarily government regulation versus the rights of the individual, concerns about the influence of the clergy in cemetery affairs and the applicability of traditional practices in the new society being built in South Australia (Nicol 1994:xiv).

The Victorian era, named for the reign of the British Queen Victoria (1837-1901), provides the chronological boundaries for this study, as the colonial period of
South Australia’s history (1836-1900) runs neatly parallel. Men of capital intended South Australia, unlike the earlier Australian colonies whose origins lay in convict transportation, as a model settlement (Whitelock 1977:3-4). The resulting strong economic, political and social ties between Britain and its colony during this period allow for a comparison of attitudes to death and burial. Jalland believes that these attitudes were transmitted to and initially fully adopted by the Australian colonies (Jalland 2002:3). Consequently, West Terrace cemetery was subject to the influences of layout and design arising from Britain. A number of detailed historical studies have been undertaken concerning the evolving attitudes to death and burial held by Victorian Britons in the 19th century (Curl 2001; Jalland 1996; Morley 1971) and their transferral to the Australian colonies (Griffin & Tobin 1982; Jalland 2002; Kellehar 2000).

Once established, the cemetery landscape became a social and religious canvas for the expression of class interests and aspirations, and the communication, articulation and experience of ideology, memory and emotion. As attitudes to death and burial changed in the latter half of the 19th century, so the cemetery landscape was likely to reflect such changes, both spatially through layout and materially by the use of differing motif symbolism, inscriptions, and monument size. By subjecting West Terrace cemetery to a landscape archaeological analysis influenced by a phenomenological approach, a greater understanding of how colonial attitudes and beliefs about death and burial were manifested and articulated in the cemetery landscape will be achieved.
Chapter 3. West Terrace cemetery and the Victorian age

3.1 The Victorian context

The Victorian era (1837-1901) coincides with the colonial period of the West Terrace cemetery (1837-1900) that ends with the federation of the Australian colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia on the 1st of January 1901. This was a period of changing attitudes to death and burial, with increasing emphasis on the capacity of the burial landscape to articulate social beliefs about the fate of the deceased, regulate the emotional conduct and maintain the status of the family (Jalland 1996:52; Tarlow 1999:122).

From the second half of the 18th century, against a backdrop of increasing industrialisation, rising urban populations, the development of a wealthy middle class and high mortality rates (particularly amongst children), the churchyards of Britain become increasingly overpopulated (Curl 2001:37-38). Morley relates a litany of gruesome scenes faced by the often drunken gravediggers in the 1830s, who disturbed recent burials using choppers and saws to make room for the newly deceased (Morley 1971:37).

The poor state of such burial grounds saw them viewed as sources of disease, particularly to the poor whose dwellings were likely to border the churchyards. The release of “poisonous exhalations” into the air in the course of digging new graves was blamed as a principal cause for the waves of epidemics experienced in Britain during this period, including cholera (Morley 1971:34). Another fear was the possibility of body snatchers, who stole corpses to sell for medical purposes. By enforcing stricter regulations on the medical profession in 1832 the risk was reduced (Curl 2001:39).
In the first half of the 19th century cemeteries became increasingly fashionable with Paris’ Père Lachaise (1804) the prototype of this development, as public health reform and pressure for urban burial space influenced the need to create cemeteries on the outskirts of cities and towns. A combination of capitalist opportunity and landscape gardening principles, underpinned by middle class moralities, created the garden cemetery - a romanticised landscape of death and commemoration, with the first British example, Kensal Green in London established in 1832 (Curl 2001:25, Loudon 1843:9). A Victorian contemporary remarked, “What an escape…from the choked charnel house to the verdant wide expanse, studded with white tombs of infinite shapes, and stone marked graves covered with flowers of every brilliant dye!” (Morley 1971:43).

Religious views of death and burial also underwent significant changes over the Victorian era. Jalland sees evangelical Christianity as the prime mover in the first half of the period, emphasising that “death was ideally a family event interpreted in terms of a shared Christianity, with the assurance of family reunion in heaven” (Jalland 1996:3). High mortality rates meant that death touched a family often, and the loss of several children posed a spiritual test of the highest order. There was an emphasis on the ‘good death’, the capacity to make one’s peace with God, and to accept suffering and death with fortitude as a test of God’s will. A long illness was seen as desirable, as it meant time to put both heavenly and earthly houses in order and provide consolation for the bereaved (Jalland 1996:26-28; Matthews 2004:31). This idea of life as a prelude crossed denominations (Jalland 2002:3), although the concept of purgatory for Roman Catholics meant those left behind could still assist the deceased to heaven through prayer (Jalland 2002:145).
Given this context, the lack of a ‘good death’, due to sudden expiry, short illness or accident, must have created great anxiety for the grieving protestant family.

The growth of the funeral industry in the 19th century in Britain and its colonies lead to an era of great funeral extravagance; and a growing middle class meant more families could afford such displays. Funeral processions could involve black plumed horses, attendants carrying staves and mute porters bearing black ostrich feathers suggestive of heraldic elements from the baronial funeral (Jalland 2002:109). Reactions against this funerary extravagance arose in Britain as early as the 1840s, in part due to the expenditure involved. By mid-century the trend was changing towards less expensive funerals.

South Australia, unlike the older Australian colonies whose origins lay in the earlier transportation of convicts, was essentially a Victorian-era business venture. Consequently, the initial formation of Adelaide’s burial ground was subject to Victorian attitudes to death and burial in relation to layout, design and material culture. In turn, as such attitudes changed in the latter half of the 19th century, so the cemetery landscape was culturally adapted to reflect such changes.

3.2 The Founding and Early Planning of West Terrace cemetery

Colonel William Light placed a cemetery in the southwest corner of the parklands belt surrounding the settlement in his survey for the town of Adelaide in March 1837 (Lock-Weir 2005:25; see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Light’s curvilinear plan was never implemented, although its oval shape was retained (Figure 3.2). However death could not wait for the Adelaide Public cemetery (soon referred to as West Terrace cemetery) to be formally set up. Ad-hoc burials were occurring from 1837 prior to the first registered burial on the 2nd of July 1840 (Peake 1986; Nicol 1994:4).
Almost immediately the location of the cemetery became an issue, with “the cemetery question” (whether to close West Terrace and develop another cemetery elsewhere), inhibiting the creation of a landscape befitting prevailing views of death and burial in the Victorian era.

![Map of West Terrace cemetery](image)

**Figure 3.1: Map of West Terrace cemetery**
(Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2005).

A management committee consisting of the Colonial Secretary Robert Gouger, Surveyor General Captain Charles Sturt and the Reverend C. B. Howard, the first Colonial Chaplain, met on the 5th of August 1839 and compiled a document on how to manage the public cemetery. In summary this set out the conditions for leasing burial plots 18 feet by 18 feet (5.4 metres), the lease period (99 years), and a price and management structure including 6 pence annually towards infrastructure.
This included fencing, the erection of a lodge for a gardener and assistants, and construction and maintenance of the walks.

![Figure 3.2: Detail from Light’s plan of Adelaide March 1837 (Lock-Weir 2005:25).](image)

The initial priority for the committee was to impose order onto a landscape of Australian shrubs and trees interspersed by randomly selected burial sites. Roads 14 feet in width (4.2 metres) were marked out to facilitate access to the site and no lease would be allowed within 14 feet (4.2 metres) of their centre. Provision was made for the erection of chapels and monuments. The minutes of the 3rd of October 1839 note, “they can select any spot in any section on application to the sexton” (Minutes of the West Terrace Management committee GRG 38/17:4-6). The town surveyor determined the position of each grave, which was staked out leaving 3 feet (0.9 metres) between it and its neighbours.

An unornamented headstone or board and a small footstone or board was allowed. Before proceeding to inscribe and erect a monument, a draft of the inscription had to be submitted to the trustees for approval (Minutes of West Terrace Management committee GRG 38/17:2). As a public place the committee felt that the
inscriptions needed to reflect the ‘dignified’ nature of the planned necropolis. This condition was taken seriously during the committee’s tenure (1839 to 1847), as evidenced by their active intervention over Captain Martin’s grave (1842). The inscription contained the accusation that “this death was accelerated by disappointment”, followed by the biblical quote “They have spoken against me with a lying tongue and fought against me without a cause”. The committee took the view that such obvious sentiments should not be on public view (Minutes of West Terrace Management committee GRG 38/17:16-18 State Records). Therefore any analysis of early grave inscriptions needs to consider the potential effect of such public censorship, although the degree to which this was pursued by subsequent authorities after the committee’s resignation in July 1847 is unclear.

Figure 3.3: Map of denominational areas 1849

An 1849 sketch map (Figure 3.3) displays a third of the south western area of the cemetery, and a small, rectangular area surrounding the gravesite of the Reverend
C. B. Howard, (died 1843), as reserved for the Church of England (Nicol 1994:24). Part of the latter constitutes Sample A (Chapter 6). Influenced by the arrival of the new Catholic Bishop in 1844, a Roman Catholic cemetery was established in 1845. Debate over the desirability of divided control in the general cemetery (the Catholics did not wish to be subject to existing regulations) resulted in the granting of four acres of land outside the existing northern cemetery boundary, with access from West Terrace by its own main entrance gate. Poor drainage in this section caused concern for both the Catholic community and the general public, as part of the ongoing sanitary issues hanging over the cemetery (The Weekly Chronicle, 24 Nov 1866 [Supp]: 1). The size of the area would also prove contentious, resulting in a southward expansion to include an unused portion of the Jewish cemetery in 1879 (Nicol 1994:85). By 1850 the public cemetery had been divided into four distinct areas: Anglican, Jewish, Quaker, general and the addition of the Catholic cemetery.

In 1854, Captain A. H. Freeling, at the request of the Colonial government, drafted a system of roads and rows on to the then unplanned site, forming the layout we see today (Nicol 1994:24 & 37; Letter books of the Colonial Secretary GRG 24/4, 1854 No 2640; see Figure 3.4). Although the influences behind this plan are not recorded, this system allowed for the orderly laying out of plots 18 feet wide (5.4 metres), a sufficient length for 2 graves, with paths running north-south between the main roads running east-west that divided the site up into sections (The Adelaide Express, 25 April 1866:2). This layout facilitated access to the gravesites and allowed for unimpeded movement around the entire site.

The Catholic Cemetery adopted an irregular grid system. These grids were marked at each corner by a wooden peg, and numbered sticks marked the plots within. This irregularity, in conjunction with the spatial confines of the 4-acre site
(10.8 hectares), saw a haphazard approach to burials, resulting in an irregular landscape lacking ordered rows or a planned focus, until the centralising addition of the Smyth Memorial chapel in 1870 (Figure 3.5).

3.3 The built environment at West Terrace cemetery

Fencing and Administrative buildings

Fencing the cemetery boundary was deemed to be of great importance in the development of a culturally appropriate place of repose. Of particular practical concern was the need to protect the graves from the incursions of wandering stock and wild animals. In 1840 it was expressed to the Colonial secretary that, “the graves of the recently interred were frequently invaded by wild dogs and other animals” (Letter books of the Colonial Secretary GRG 24/6, 1840 No 55). The South Australian approvingly noted in August 1839 that “our receptacle of the dead” had not been forgotten and that fencing of the site had commenced (The South Australian, August 14, 1839:3).

It would appear that this fence did not last long, as in June 1840 two noticeboards were erected to caution persons against damaging the fence, with a reward offered for information received. Stakes used to plot out the gravesites were also disappearing and it may be that wood from the cemetery fence was ending up in other Adelaide structures (Minutes of the West Terrace Management Committee GRG 38/17:10-12). The 1854 parliamentary estimates budgeted 6,717 pounds to erect a new dwarf stone wall and iron railing around the cemetery, new entrance gates and a lodge to accommodate the Superintendent and his family on site, replacing the timber Sexton’s cottage erected in 1843 that had fallen into disrepair.
The new lodge was constructed in 1857, with additions in 1863 and 1877.

This building, in turn, was replaced in 1907 on the same location by the current cemetery office (Nicol 1994: 66, 204). By 1866 the stone wall had only partially been completed, “enclosing little more than half the ground” before the money ran out. In 1867, 1000 pounds was proposed to complete the job, including
the Roman Catholic cemetery, although there is no evidence to suggest the latter was actually ever included.

![Figure 3.5: Smyth Memorial Chapel](built 1870) Old Catholic Section viewed from the south (Photo: S. Muller 2006).

**The Smyth Memorial Chapel**

The Smyth Memorial chapel was built in 1870 (Figure 3.5 & 3.6). Gothic revival in style, and built of bluestone with freestone dressings, this hexagonal one-room building was completed with a spire and cross (Fischer & Seamark 2005:62). Gargoyles on the corners served as down pipes (only one today still has its head). The remains of the Reverend John Smyth, the Catholic Vicar-General of the province, and Bishop Sheil (1815-1872) are interred beneath the chapel’s floor. It is situated adjacent to, and midway along, the north side of the main entrance road into the Catholic section, and commands a central focus around which significant religious and lay personages are buried.
Figure 3.6: Location of built structures (Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2006).

Other buildings

A number of 19th century buildings have since been demolished. The Dead House (morgue) was situated just south of the caretakers’ cottage (Figure 3.6), where the Eastern Road from West Terrace meets the path junction in Plan Z (Maps and Plans - West Terrace Cemetery GRS 5694/1/P). The development of private mortuaries by the funeral industry resulted in the morgue’s decline, and it was demolished sometime after 1927 (West Terrace cemetery Map c.1927, Adelaide Cemeteries Authority). A Metahar House (Figure 3.6), used for the Jewish burial
service, once stood in the middle of a central avenue in the Jewish cemetery (Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2003:7; Maps and plans – West Terrace cemetery GRS 5694/1/P). This was replaced by a new structure in 1968 that in turn was demolished in the early 1970s (Peake 1986:8). Finally, a crematorium was built just north of the Quaker burial ground in 1901 (Figure 3.6). The building was demolished in 1969.

3.4 Contemporary perceptions of the 19th century cemetery landscape

The cultural landscape of West Terrace cemetery evolved over the course of the 19th century within a context of ongoing uncertainty. A festering tension regularly flared between the desire to develop the cemetery as a suitable place for burial and visitation and the push for the site’s closure and relocation, due to concerns about its proximity to the city and the hygiene risks this was thought to pose.

The arguments about effluvia originating from the cemetery and wafting over the city’s west end on sea breezes are suggestive of both an awareness of the health issues being debated in Britain at this time (with reference to Britain’s Metropolitan Burials Act made in the SA Register, 18 Mar 1854:2), and an acknowledgement of the hotter Australian climate that required prompt and sufficiently deep burial (The South Australian, 20 Nov 1846:5; The Register, 8 Dec 1862:3). For this reason above ground crypts were not allowed in West Terrace. Instead, those who could afford the expense had large family vaults excavated and constructed with brick arched roofs, the top of which could be no less than 6 inches (15.24cm) below ground surface (The South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 14 Feb 1863:3).
It is clear from contemporary reports that the cemetery landscape was intended to reflect, not just a place of reverence and commemoration for the deceased, but also to stand as testimony to the moral values and social worth of the living community that created and developed it. Adelaide’s newspapers were quick to express their angst over the perceived unsatisfactory state of the cemetery, noting,

There are few modes of evidencing the prevalence of sober and serious influences in a community more significant and unpretending than that of paying constant and fond attention to the condition and appearance of its graveyards (The SA Register, 13 Aug 1851:2).

The cemetery in 1851 is described as having a “melancholy and desolate look” with the early memorials in a “dilapidated state” and many of the “old trees” removed (The SA Register, 13 Aug 1851:2). The article called for the formation of proper walks and the planting of 500 trees or more to form a “solemnity of shade and the sweet companionship of foliage”. The present environment was described as distressing for the visitor. Plantings were thought to have the added benefit of absorbing any effluvia originating from the graves.

By 1866 the cemetery appears to have been tidied up to some degree, presenting as “an interesting if not an attractive retreat” (The Adelaide Express, 25 Apr 1866:2). A Kangaroo Thorn hedge is described as growing along the recently built stone wall, shielding the scene from the outside viewer, and maintained garden beds had been planted along the roadway verges. The journalist is also moved to comment on the relative paucity of decorative memorials, unlike those gracing “the silent cities of the dead in England, and even in the adjoining colonies”. Those few
noted included the figure of a little girl atop the Wadham family grave representing their young daughter on road 3 (part of sample B in Chapter 5), described as being a “prominent object” in the landscape; the Reverend Howard’s large gravesite on Road 1 south (the centrepiece of sample A); Father Lencioni’s mausoleum in the Catholic cemetery (now gone); and the Egyptian-influenced obelisks found in parts of the cemetery. The standardised tombstones were described as ‘tasteful’, and he was relieved that no “absurd” inscriptions could be found.

The main cemetery entrance from West Terrace enjoyed repeated attempts at beautification, without appearing overly grandiose, unlike the grand gateways to some overseas garden cemeteries (Morley 1971:44). By 1860 the view on entering was of a wide avenue with plantings of native acacias and introduced cypresses either side (a species symbolic of the ‘cemeteries of the ancients’ and mourning; Nicol 1988:274). Behind these were densely planted groups of native wattles, whose aspect could resemble the weeping willow, from which the headstones, “peep out from the spaces between” (Curl 2001:84; Sagazio 2003:10; The South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 25 Feb 1860 [Supp]: 1).

A photograph attributed to 1872 displays the apogee of the garden cemetery ideal at West Terrace (Figure 3.7). It shows the view inside the main gate forming an impression of a leafy and impressive walk. The photo also reveals small box hedges, topiary plantings, cypress pines and other European species lining the roads; the visible wheel ruts suggest an at times muddy journey. What is most notable is that the graves themselves can barely be seen in the photo. However burial pressures soon saw the garden beds lining the paths and walks removed to make way for new plots.
Figure 3.7: Cemetery entrance looking west – the graves are hardly visible due to the extensive foliage (State Library of South Australia South Australiana database).

Such an environment attracted more than just the funeral procession and the grieving relative. The first sexton of the cemetery, John Monck, noted that hundreds of people frequented the cemetery for pleasure walks, particularly on a Sunday afternoon (The SA Register, 18 Oct 1854:3, 4 Nov 1854:3). Indeed, in 1856 the cemetery is described, in terms Loudon would applaud, as a place of resort for ‘contemplative persons”, with, in good weather, groups of 200 to 300 persons, including children, to be found walking the paths (The Register, 8 Nov 1856:3). By 1860 a visitor describes a pleasant and spacious walk all around the cemetery, with hundreds promenading on a Sunday through groves of wattles and other trees, such that the tombstones can barely be seen (The South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 25 Feb 1860 [Supp]: 1). ‘Ramblers’ in 1891 were informed that the nicest sections for walking could be found in the south west and west of the cemetery, although
plantings were called for “to relieve the white monotony of marble…specially so in the summer months” (The SA Register, 12 Sep 1891:5).

Such visitation behaviour reflects the educational and culturally uplifting ideas that had underpinned the development of garden cemeteries elsewhere, influenced by Loudon’s writings on cemetery design and plantings in the 1840s (Loudon 1843). Eager purchasers could secure prominently placed and highly ornate grave monuments amidst an Arcadian garden landscape, notably at sites such as London’s Kensal Green (1832) and Boston’s Mt Vernon (1831; Jalland 1996:292; Linden-Ward 1992; Loudon 1843:9).

The parklike environment of the garden cemetery was seen as a way of providing open space (and moral instruction) to communities before the concept of the ‘public park’ had gained wide acceptance (Linden-Ward 1992). The cemetery’s recreational popularity in Adelaide, then, is interesting, given that Light’s plan had explicitly surrounded the city with a belt of parkland. Initial concerns about Indigenous ‘squatters’, the ongoing use of the parklands for grazing and agriculture, and the risk of stray bullets from practicing military volunteers, suggests that for much of the colonial period the cemetery offered a more park-like landscape than the parklands themselves (Whitelock 1977:184-187). Consequently, the cemetery with its long walks remained a popular promenade and its botanical and cultural landscape an attractive and fashionable place, despite its primary and more sobering purpose. Poor behaviour when visiting the cemetery was seen as a moral fall, and included making excessive noise, walking over the graves, or a lack of concern for proper conduct at burials (The Register, 12 Apr 1856:2; The Advertiser, 12 Oct 1895:7).
In the Catholic cemetery, the atmosphere was very different. The site granted to the Catholic Church was a low-lying hollow, prone to flooding and a high water table due to the clay that lay barely two feet below the red loam top soil (The Weekly Chronicle, 24 Nov 1866 Supp: 1). Whether this poor offer of site was connected to the prejudice felt towards Roman Catholicism by a dominant protestant community is unclear (Whitelock 1977:193-194). Horror stories of flooded graves and distraught mourners appear in contemporary sources (South Australian Parliamentary Papers Vol 2, No. 61 of 1862, Vol 2, No. 140 of 1866-67). The Catholic section was described in 1866 as having no regularity in its arrangement of graves, with exposed dirt burial mounds allowed to sink and crack, and random shrubs and weeds serving as the only foliage (The Adelaide Express, 25 Apr 1866:2).

A few ‘agreeable’ grave monuments were observed there but generally wooden crosses or slabs decorated the marked graves, with headstones displaying little variation in inscription (The South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 25 Feb 1860 [Supp]: 1). The erection of the Smyth Memorial chapel in 1870 created “ a conspicuous and handsome central object”, resulting in a clustering of large and tall monuments in its immediate vicinity, but the rest of the Catholic cemetery remained a chaotic landscape that restricted easy and ordered movement.

3.5 Summary

The 19\textsuperscript{th} century West Terrace cemetery was a public place in a quite different sense than today. It was seen as desirable to create a landscape and atmosphere of appropriate order and beauty to befit the deceased’s last resting place, influenced by views promoted in Victorian Britain, and the need to establish
appropriate social standards in the new colony. As this chapter has shown, this involved not just the expected religious and social rituals of grave visitation and personal remembrance enacted by the family, but the utilisation of the site as a social gathering place, for walking and reflection. The cemetery was a more popular public destination than today, and the monuments and inscriptions provided acted as instructional texts through which to perceive, interpret and experience the ideological messages communicated in the cemetery landscape.
Chapter 4. Archaeological Methods

4.1 Introduction

The West Terrace cemetery was chosen as a suitable site for a post-processual landscape archaeology study for the following reasons.

- It is the earliest public cemetery in South Australia, dating back to the foundation of European settlement in 1837, thereby providing a large chronological and stylistic range of material culture.
- In placement and form it originates from Light’s plan of Adelaide (1837), and from its beginnings can be seen as an integral element within the planned landscape of the city of Adelaide (Loch-Weir 2005:25).
- The cemetery retains much of its original spatial layout from the 19th century.
- As the major 19th century public burial ground in South Australia it has the greatest potential for surviving primary historical sources that can be used for cross-referencing with the archaeological data.

4.2 Research Plan

The West Terrace cemetery, including its 20th century extensions, (Appendix 6) occupies a total area of 27.6 hectares, containing approximately 30,000 gravesites. Given its large size, a chronological limitation was imposed to ensure a manageable study within the constraints of an honours thesis. The archaeological survey focussed on the surviving colonial section of the cemetery (1837 to 1900), and was chosen for the following reasons.

- The colonial period represents a time of changing attitudes to death and burial.
• The chronological correlation between the Victorian era in Britain and the colonial period in South Australia allows for a neat comparison of attitudes between two culturally and historically related societies.

• The cemetery as a social institution was essentially conceptualised and created during the 19th century.

• This period represents the dominant time of the West Terrace cemetery, prior to its decline and replacement in the 20th century.

The first stage of field research was designed to identify and record the chronological distribution of colonial tombstones and landscape features. The second stage, using the outcomes of the initial survey, was to implement a sampling strategy to address the thesis question.

4.3 Stage 1- Archaeological survey

The first stage of fieldwork commenced in July 2005, using a copy of the present cemetery map (Figure 3.1) to address the following objectives.

• To establish the boundaries of the colonial period area, including site entrances, pathways and their relationship to external features such as roads and settlement.

• To establish the integrity of the internal colonial landscape.

• To identify colonial period burials, and to gain an understanding of their chronological distribution across the colonial cemetery.

I undertook a reconnaissance survey of the site on foot. This involved first checking the extent of the boundary wall (c.1850) that follows the original oval shape of the general cemetery. This shape can clearly be seen from aerial photographs (Appendix 5). The entrances into, and pathways through the cemetery were noted, as the
experience of visitation, and the interaction of person and place, is an important phenomenological component. The number of rows in each section of the general cemetery and the number of grid sections in the Old Catholic cemetery (see below), different denominational areas (where possible) and potentially significant features of the cultural landscape were recorded onto the cemetery map and in a field journal. Digital photographs were taken of major landscape features and recorded on a photographic pro-forma.

The next stage of fieldwork took place from December 2005 to February 2006. Two cemetery recording forms were created (Appendix 1). The first was designed to record the date and height of the tombstones as the recorder walked along the grave row. This form used cells to represent the plots arranged in horizontal rows across the page. This format was not suitable for recording the Old Catholic cemetery due to its irregular grid system rather than neat, straight rows. Consequently a second form was designed, with the grid areas and plots scanned onto the form from an existing map of the Catholic section. The date and height information was then recorded directly onto the scanned plot on the form.

4.4 Large-scale recording

Archaeology students and graduates from Flinders University volunteered their time to assist with the recording (Appendix 3). To ensure the accuracy of the data collected, regular communication about the fieldwork was maintained by email and all volunteers received instruction in the use of the forms, terminology used and the goals of the project before commencing. Volunteers were encouraged to consult on site to address any problems in interpretation or method. Completed forms were checked and any obvious mistakes corrected in the field before collation of the data.
The general cemetery rows were double-sided, facing east-west, and ran north-south. The rows were numbered using small, white wooden or green metal stakes. Recording began at the northern end of each row, starting with the east facing plots. On completing the row, the recorder returned to the northern end to start recording the western side. This was done to avoid the risk of recorders starting from different row ends and causing confusion and errors when the data was interpreted from the forms. The recorders noted the primary date of death on each tombstone and, if the date fell within the colonial period, the height of the monument from the plot surface was measured by a tape measure.

Existing white 1.5 metre high numbered posts standing in each corner marked out the grids in the Old Catholic section. As the grid boundaries are not square concentration was needed to avoid accidentally wandering into another grid area while recording. This problem was overcome by using the grid posts for orientation in conjunction with the scanned map on the recording form to establish each plots location (Appendix 1). The recorder wrote the date and height of the tombstone directly onto the corresponding illustrated plot and added in any plots not appearing on the scanned map.

Care was needed when recording the primary date of death, as it was not uncommon for a tombstone in the 19th century to be erected only after the husband had died, and for his details to be recorded first and most prominently on the headstone, followed by those of his wife or child, even if they had predeceased him resulting in earlier death dates further down the inscription (Mytum 2002:54).

Unmarked or incomplete plots were still recorded, with an x to denote a bare space, or “railings or border only” written to illustrate that the grave area was still
demarcated but had no surviving tombstone, as they form part of the original spatial landscape and the absence of material culture in historical sites can also provide landscape information. For example, in Road 5 large expanses of unmarked land were primarily used for pauper, and later, medical donor burials: people who could not afford or did not want a memorial. Bare plots were often recognisable as occupied graves by their mounded shape or the oval-shaped collapse of the soil surface.

Figure 4.1: Stage 1 survey area (blue shading) with red line indicating colonial cemetery boundary (Map courtesy Adelaide Cemeteries Authority)

Approximately 12,000 graves were recorded in the colonial general cemetery (Road 1 North and South to Road 5) and 2000 graves in the Old Catholic cemetery
(Figure 4.1). This amounted to 90% of the colonial section. Consequently, it was not felt necessary to record the remaining 10%, as the level of survey data already acquired was sufficient to proceed to the next stage of recording.

To make such a large body of data manageable, maps of each section were created with the general cemetery rows and plots drawn up using cells in an Excel spreadsheet, although not to scale (Figure 4.2). A series of colour codes was devised, with each representing a chronological decade (ie. green represented tombstones dating from 1870 to 1879) or feature (black represented a bare plot). For example, if the first headstone on the east row was dated 1872, then the corresponding cell was coloured green. The end result provided a visual overview of 12000 plots that, by using the different colour schemes, allowed for the chronological distribution and concentration of colonial graves to be easily read across the maps.

![Figure 4.2: Example of Stage one data recording for general cemetery](image)

Each cell represents a plot in a double-sided numbered row. The colour coding indicates date range ie. Dark Blue = 1890-1899, white = post 1900, black = bare plot. Chronological patterning across the site can be easily discerned using this method (S. Muller 2005).

Figure 4.2 shows an excerpt from the map of Road 5 displaying rows 22 and 23. These rows are characterised by a majority of plots post-dating the study period (white = post 1900) and bare plots (black). The small percentage of 19th century graves are primarily from the 1890s (dark blue), with one 1850s plot (pink). The pale green indicates railings only and the grey, border only.
The grid system used in the Old Catholic cemetery meant that a different system for the representation of data was needed. Maps obtained of this section already showed the plots within each grid. These were simply photocopied and colour coded (by hand) using the same formula, except bare plots were marked with a black x (Figure 4.3).

![Figure 4.3: Example of Stage one data recording for Old Catholic cemetery](image)

Here the plots are already marked on an existing map. Each colour coding indicates date range ie. Green = 1870-1879, light blue = 1880-1899, pink = 1850-1859. A black cross indicates a bare plot (S. Muller 2005, Map courtesy Adelaide Cemeteries Authority).

### 4.5 Stage 2-Targeted sampling

The large size of the cemetery and number of burials meant a manageable analysis would require a sampling strategy. Although a random sample would have allowed for the general inference of material culture patterns over time across the whole site, targeted sample areas were necessary to extract the information pertinent to a phenomenological focus on the interaction between landscape features and the experience of visitation. Selection was based on the following criteria.
• The broadest chronological representation of colonial material culture (ie from 1840 to 1900).

• The incorporation of landscape aspects such as roads, pathways, built landmarks and vegetation.

• The potential for ideological comparison between denominational sections to consider differences in perception and experience.

A total of 200 grave plots divided into four samples of 50 plots each were targeted for sampling (Figure 4.4). This percentage was seen as being sufficiently representative within the limitations of this thesis. As some plots contained more than one tombstone, this amounted to a total of 229 tombstones bearing an initial 19\textsuperscript{th} century burial date. Where only a footstone marked the plot, this was recorded as a ‘tombstone’ however this was so rare that it did not skew the sample. Any material culture that post dated 1900 was not included.

4.6 Stage 2 – Recording

These sample areas were recorded using the Flinders University Department of Archaeology’s cemetery recording form that is designed with one grave plot per form (Appendix 1). As a landscape approach requires a consideration of all the elements of the gravesite this involved

• Identification of denomination or cultural difference where possible

• Primary tombstone and plot orientation (including association with any other plots) and type (ie. individual, double or group burials where discernable by inscription or multiple monuments on one plot)
• Tombstone length, width, height, material and form (height measured from plot surface to apex of tombstone, width at widest point and thickness at most representative point for non-tablets)

• Any associated grave items (ie. footstones, vases)

• The complete inscription (including incomplete or partially readable text and mason’s marks) and lettering type (ie. engraved, lead)

• Motifs used

• Fencing around the plot or kerbing (border around plot made of bricks or concrete) including height and material

Each plot was photographed using a digital camera, range pole, north arrow and small white board, and saved onto Adobe Photoshop for future offsite reference. The plots in sample areas A, B and C were measured and recorded using a 60 metre surveyor’s tape. From this information a plan of each sample area was drafted onto A4 graph paper at a scale of 1:200, and than traced in black for photocopying (Appendix 7). As a suitable map of the Old Catholic area already existed, this was used to provide a map of sample D.

4.7 Database

The information recorded on the cemetery survey form was than entered into the Flinders University Department of Archaeology South Australian Historical Archaeology database, to allow for the collation of the information as a spreadsheet (http://ehlt.flinders.edu.au/archaeology/monuments/index.php). This database had only recently been designed, to allow for the recording of all information from projects undertaken by the Department, and as such this was the first large body of cemetery data to be entered onto the site. The database presented an ideal tool for
this study as the data entry screen has been modelled on the cemetery recording form used on site, but also allowed for additional categories of information to be extracted from the data already recorded about family relationship factors observable in the tombstone inscriptions, and this could be added to the data set on the spreadsheet. The database also allows this research to be utilised and added to as part of ongoing historical archaeological studies.

4.8 Limitations

Firstly, the cemetery’s large size and number of monuments (see 4.5 above) immediately placed a limit on the amount of material that could be included. In turn, any sampling strategy must recognise that the generalisations derived from the sampled data is subject to potential biases. For example, it is possible to generalise with confidence about trends in the choice of tombstone material, using the data from the four sample areas, as the materials used for construction are limited to four main categories. However, it is important to acknowledge the effect of site formation processes, such as weathering or human activity, on the survival of different materials in the archaeological record. In this case, historically, we know that wooden tombstones were once part of this landscape but have not, with two exceptions, survived. This creates a bias in those samples that once had a high proportion of wooden tombstones.

It is always possible that a sample will provide a concentration of data that may lead to an over-or underestimation of a trend in the information. It is therefore acknowledged that the future addition of data from other areas of the colonial cemetery may give cause to revise these initial results. However, in the context of this study, it is the use and perception of material culture within the landscape that is
of most interest and therefore, the possibility that a particular inscription or motif may be unusual does not necessarily affect the more generalised use of expressive forms within the whole of landscape experienced by the visitor.

Figure 4.4: Pink Targeted sample areas (Map courtesy of Adelaide Cemeteries Authority)

The low percentage of unreadable tombstones (2%) means that that this did not skew the sample. Slate tombstones in particular were at risk of deterioration due
to the tendency of slate sheets to shear off, thus destroying the inscriptions and motifs, as noted in other historical cemeteries in South Australia (Farrell 2003:38-39). The later reuse and incursion of post-colonial burials is minimal in the sample areas and is not seen to have affected the data obtained.

Figure 4.5 illustrates the chronological representation in the sample. As would be expected there is a lower percentage of earlier graves from the 1840s (2%) and 1850s (9%), as the materials used and their greater age has limited their survival. The smaller percentage of 1890s tombstones (10%) reflects their under representation in the sample, that, excepting sample C, has targeted older parts of the cemetery whose landscape was already well utilised by 1890, leaving little space for new monuments.

![Chronological Sample](image)

**Figure 4.5: Tombstones by decade** in targeted samples.

The high percentage of 1880s tombstones (33%) is a result of their concentration in sample C, a chronologically later area deliberately targeted for comparison with the other samples.
Chapter 5. Archaeological Results

5.1 Introduction

In accordance with a landscape focus, the data obtained from the samples was approached from a holistic experiential perspective, with an emphasis on unpacking the spatial elements of each grave, and the visual and written elements of the tombstones. The tables and graphs in this chapter outline the archaeological dataset from the four targeted sample areas (Figure 4.4 and Appendix 8). These samples were comprised of,

- Sample A: general cemetery, section Road 1 South, rows 20 East to 24 West
- Sample B: general cemetery, section Road 2, rows 9 East to 13 West, and section Road 3, rows 6 East to 10 West
- Sample C: general cemetery, section Road 4, rows 28 West to 30 East
- Sample D: Old Catholic cemetery, Grids C 7, D 7, D 8, E 7 and E 8
- The total sample equals 200 plots (229 tombstones)

5.2 Orientation of Tombstones and Plots

The row system imposed on the general cemetery landscape in 1854 is clearly reflected in samples A, B and C (Table 5.1; see Chapter 3). This plan organised the general cemetery into double-sided east-west facing rows running north-south. Only five tombstones in sample A (9%), 2 in sample B (3%) and 3 in sample C (5%) do not adhere to this pattern. As these graves vary in date, they cannot be seen as remnants of the cemetery’s earlier layout on which this plan was imposed, but rather a conscious choice to align these monuments for maximum public exposure. This view is supported by the fact that eight of the tombs are much larger in scale than their surrounding monuments.
Table 5.1: Orientation of tombstones by sample.

In sample D the usual orientation of plots within the grid system was north-south, in irregular rows running east-west, in part due to the pressure for land within this substantially smaller cemetery. Again, the sample mainly adheres to this strong orientation with only two plots differing (4%). Consequently, plot orientation in the general cemetery appears to have been regulated by the cemetery authorities rather than individual choice, in line with the contemporary desire for an ordered place of repose. The occasional exception when allowed was usually near the roadways, where such choices would not harm the order of the rows. These exceptions suggest financial means and social standing being brought to bear, as evidenced by the identities of these graves (Chapter 6). The general cemetery layout stands in stark contrast to the jumble of burials in the Old Catholic section, that reflects the practical limitations imposed upon the Catholic community by the protestant majority, rather than any deliberate intent.
5.3 Tombstone Material

The material used in the manufacture of tombstones is important as it adds to the visual appearance of the cemetery landscape. Four main materials were observed in the sample areas: slate, sandstone, marble and granite.

Slate:

Slate tombstones comprised 14% of the total sample (Figure 5.1). Slate was a popular material for tombstones in the early history of South Australia due to its local availability (Willunga and Mintaro), and its ease of use, as memorials were at this time manufactured by hand (Tillett 1994:1). Slate monuments are primarily tablets, although some slate slabs can be found in sample B (B/3) and altars in sample A (A/20 & 32). In colour it ranged from medium to dark grey.

Table 5.2 shows slate was used from the beginning of West Terrace cemetery, peaking in the 1860s, before sharply declining in the 1870s. This pattern reflects the affordability of the local material against the initially more expensive imported marble. Later, marble would become more affordable and workable, with the availability of local material and improved technology. The majority of slate tombstones in sample A, B and D date from the 1860s or earlier, reflecting its early popularity, and its absence from sample C (an 1880s landscape) confirm its replacement by the more hardwearing and visual marble.

Sandstone:

Sandstone accounts for just 6% of the total sample. The examples found date from the 1850s and 60s, and the material had virtually disappeared from the cemetery landscape by the 1880s, having lost popularity to both slate and marble. Composed of cemented quartz grains, and ranging in colour from a dull yellow to
brown, sandstone was primarily sourced from Tea Tree Gully (Glen Ewin Sandstone; see Young 1997:2).

![Tombstone Material](image)

**Figure 5.1: Tombstone Material.**

Marble:

Marble tombstones account for 77% of the total sample (Figure 5.1) making this the most common material in all four areas. In sample C marble is almost totally dominant, with its 20th century successor granite (5%) only beginning to emerge (Table 5.2). The ACA’s own surveys acknowledge that marble is “overwhelmingly dominant (Young 1997:1)”.

Marble is a hard stone composed primarily of calcite, fine to coarse-grained, and varies in colour from white or cream to pink or grey. It can be polished to enhance its finish. The marble in the sample is mostly of a white or cream colour. Marble, both as a raw material and as pre-sculpted monuments, was imported into the colony from overseas as early as the 1850s (Tillett 1994:1). Local sources of
marble were also quarried at Angaston, Macclesfield and Kapunda, leading to its increasing affordability against soft stones like slate (Young 1997:1).

Marble’s popularity may have been partly due to its resilience against the harsh South Australian climate, in comparison to the soft stone materials like slate, for in the survival of the monument lay the deceased’s symbolic immortality (Francaviglia 1971:502). This strength made the material suitable for more ambitious tombstone sizes and heights. Marble’s white colour also stood out visually against the earlier landscapes of dark slate and wood, and its use in neo-classical grave monuments reflected the desire for both visual and material connection to the great Classical civilisations of the west (Francaviglia 1971:507).

Granite:

Granite makes up 3% of the total sample. Granite, a silicate, is durable and can be polished. It comes in greys, greens, blacks and pinks. Improved technology in the first quarter of the 20th century and changing attitudes to death saw granite take over in popularity from marble (Griffin & Tobin 1982:98).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
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Table 5.2: Tombstone Material by sample.

Iron:

A large cross with ornate decoration (B/17) has no inscription; however the use of wrought iron, so popular in the 19th century cemetery as railings, its large form and ornate style suggest a 19th century provenance.
In summary, the sample area appears to correlate closely with known historical trends in monument manufacture. Initially soft stones such as slate and sandstone were the main materials used, along with wood. Some marble tombstones were initially imported, but this made them expensive. Figure 5.2 suggests that up to the 1860s slate maintained its competitiveness with marble (now more readily affordable due to local supplies) however from this point marble became the material of preference given its longevity and suitability to emerging styles of Classical and Egyptian monuments (Francaviglia 1971:507).

![Tombstone Material](image)

**Figure 5.2: Total sample of tombstone material over time.**

The trend reached its peak in the 1880s cemetery landscape, as evidenced in Figure 5.2, and lingered into the early 20th century before attitudes to death began to change after World War One (Mytum 2004:83).
5. 4 Tombstone Forms

The form and height of a tombstone represents a significant social statement involving a mixture of personal family choice, and ideological and class factors (Figure 5.4; McGuire 1988:447), and therefore has phenomenological implications. In the sample areas the tablet (Appendix 2), notwithstanding some variation in decorative embellishment, is the dominant tombstone form (Table 5.3). In each decade it is used more than any other form and makes up 71% of the total sample. The distribution of tablet forms across all four samples is very even (between 66 to 77%), suggesting a general pattern applicable across the cemetery. The tablet form is traditional, originating in Britain in the 17th century and evolving ever since, reaching its largest size and height in the 19th century when public visibility became an important factor (Mytum 2002:5 & 10).

The next most common forms are cross-shaped tombstones (11%; see Figure 5.3) and obelisk/pillars (10%; see Figure 5.3.1). The latter in its various forms (Appendix 2) is spread chronologically across the sample, suggesting a steady popularity over the last half of the 19th century. Although pillars topped by urns date mainly from the 1880s onwards, this neo-classical form was used throughout the century (Mytum 2004:76-77). The urn was a symbol of death from classical times, but had lost its original association with the Roman practice of cremation (McKnight 2005).

Altars (4%), are concentrated mostly in sample A, and date mainly to the 1850s and 1860s (Figure 5.3.2). Also referred to as chest tombs, this shape is suggestive of both the classical sarcophagus and medieval tombs, made popular by the revival of Classical and Gothic styles of architecture, that reached its height in
the Victorian era (Gilbert 1980:33, 38; Mytum 2004:69). They are usually present on large plots containing family vaults (an expensive option) and reflect a popular upper class choice during the early decades of the site. Their decline in the samples beyond the 1860s is likely the result of the move towards increasing height as social display, rather than the horizontal occupation viewed as suitable when the landscape was lower and clearer (Mytum 2004:69).

Less common features, such as ledgers, statues, rocks/blocks and combined forms account for 1% each or only 4% in total, suggesting that conformity to prevailing tombstone styles tended to be the norm. This is further indicated by the statistical uniformity found across all samples (Table 5.3) in relation to these main tombstone forms. Historically, this period created a highly ritualised and visual funerary process within a context of acceptable decorative and symbolic styles. Social expectations of appropriate memorialisation combined with the development of a responsive funeral industry, to achieve the desired landscape effect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>A</th>
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<td>57</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>56</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Tombstone forms by sample.

As older sections samples A, B and D have few 1890s plots and this under-representation explains the smaller percentage of these forms in Figure 5.2. Sample C reflects the very ordered use of the available land late in the century, with an
almost exclusive use for 1880s burials. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the 1890s sections viewed and identified from the first stage of survey are clearly populated with the same dominant forms and similar ratios.

Figure 5.3: Cross-shaped tombstone Sample C/45 1885 (S. Muller 2006).

Figure 5.3.1: Egyptian style Obelisk Sample C/8 1883 (S. Muller 2006).
Figure 5.3.2: **Altar tombstone** Sample A/32 1864 (S. Muller 2006)

Figure 5.4: **Tombstone forms over time.**

Of the less popular forms, the inscribed grave slab or ledger appears only in sample B/3 (two graves on the same plot) and B/6, although these are not flush to the
ground but propped up on a low angle using bricks. Dated to the 1860s and 70s, whilst unpopular in the spatially higher late 19th century cemetery landscape, these would become more popular as the cemetery reduced in height over the next century.

Statues and busts are few in West Terrace, with only one in the sample (B/1), and suggest a level of individual choice, not explained by affordability alone. The idea of emotional representation and communication in the cemetery is perhaps at its most direct in these few forlorn figures.

5.5 Tombstone Height

Tombstone height is important to the study of landscape because height increases visibility over a greater distance and therefore the potential for dialogue between the dead and the living through the medium of material culture. The variation in tombstone height ranges from less than half a metre to over three metres (Table 5.4). The majority of tombstones (75%) stand between one and two metres in height with 46% standing between 1.5 and two metres. Tombstones below one metre represent 11% and include altars (which, whilst lower, are spatially large). Tombstones over two metres in height represent 14% of the sample, of which 3% are 3 metres high or taller. These expensive and visually distinct tombstones, often in column or pillar form increased in popularity in the latter decades of the 19th century, whereas the altar tombstones tend to date to the 1850s and 60s.

As with form, the height range across the samples is mostly consistent, with the majority of monuments over a metre in height. Sample A has a higher percentage of tombstones at 1.25 metres (18%) of which most are soft stone (slate, sandstone) supporting the view that marble was seen as stronger and therefore more suitable for taller monuments. Sample D, representing the Old Catholic cemetery, is
the tallest landscape with 67% of tombstones 1.75 metres or higher compared to sample A (47%) and B (53%), suggesting a denominational difference in height selection. It is possible that the crowded nature of the layout there encouraged the need to attain suitable visibility. Sample C, whose 1880s landscape represents the apogee of Victorian tombstone height, comes closest with 61%.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>100</td>
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</table>

Table 5.4: Average of tombstone height by sample.

One puzzle is the apparent decline in height indicated in Figure 5.5 for the 1870s, particularly for tombstones above 1.5 metres. This trend is contradicted by the historical understanding of a consistently increasing monument height over the 19th century (Mytum 2002:10). An examination of the data does not suggest that 1870s monuments are in general under-represented in the sample and there is no information to suggest any obvious change in the prevailing choice of tombstone. Material could be sourced locally, and economically the 1870s was a period of strong growth (Prest 2001:158). As we shall see below something unusual may be occurring in the archaeology of West terrace in this decade.
5.6 Tombstone Motifs

West Terrace cemetery contains a diverse representation of tombstone motifs that reflect the prevailing British cultural fashions and attitudes to 19th century death and burial, as evidenced by the sample areas. The most common of these appear in Table 5.5, illustrating the distribution of motif by sample. However, the use of motif does not appear to have been essential (Figure 5.6). Sample A and B lack any motif on over half of the tombstones recorded (57 and 58% respectively), whilst the situation is only marginally different in the chronologically later Sample C (47%). A different process appears at work in Sample D as only 30% of tombstones there lack motifs. The choice of motif is also different, with greater use of the cross on tombstones (30 plots from a sample of 56) of which four are the ethnically distinct Celtic cross (D 13, 16, 47 & 49). This trend is reflected in other Catholic cemeteries (Mytum 2004:140).

Figure 5.5: Changing Tombstone Heights over time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foliage</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wreath</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pillar/urn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scroll</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribbon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masonic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Tombstone Motifs.

Figure 5.6 illustrates the three main choices over time at West Terrace cemetery, with a high percentage of graves having no motif, whilst if chosen, the most popular motif is a flower and/or foliage design. Coming in third is the cross, particularly for Catholic burials, as noted above. It is noted as with Figure 5.5, that again the numbers decline in the 1870s against known historical trends.

5.7 Tombstone Inscriptions

Having chosen location, material, size and motif, the final addition to the tombstone is the inscription. This involves a choice of wording taken from the culturally acceptable phrases of the time, biblical quotations or religious allusions, and occasionally an original comment or biographical reference. A key concept expressed across all samples is the idea of memory (Table 5.6), the perpetuation of the dead through the living by the touchstone of the demarcated burial site. The standard opening phrase “In Memory of” appears on 87% of the tombstones in
Sample A, 90% in Sample B and 73% in Sample C. Again Sample D is displays denominational difference, but the phrase still occurs on 57% of the tombstones there.

![Tombstone Motifs](image)

**Figure 5.6. Tombstone Motifs over time.**

The prefix ‘beloved’ or ‘loved’ is also popular but is usually applied to the secondary burial, for example “beloved wife of”, usually with “In Memory of” framing the primary burial name at the top of the tombstone. Euphemisms for death are used sparingly in the sample. The straightforward term “died” is favoured on an average of 75% of the tombstones across Samples A, B and C. Again, only in Sample D does “died” almost break even with the softer imagery of ‘resting’ or ‘sleeping’ suggesting a greater propensity to overtly allude to the certainty of an afterlife in Catholic inscriptions.
Sample A is the least affected by religious themes, with no religious reference on 32% of the tombstones sampled. The remaining samples share a consistent 45%, 45% and 43% of religious reference or quotation. Two types of religious phrasing are observed. The first are standardised inscriptions, for example, “Thy will be done” (C/43) and “Who fell asleep in Jesus” (C/43), indicating clear Christian affiliation. The second, biblical quotations, appear to be carefully chosen with a view to reflect something of the deceased themselves, such as their age, ethics and character. The Catholic concept of purgatory (Chapter 3, 3.1) is reflected by entreaties to pray for the deceased on 11 of the tombstones in Sample D. This inscription is not found in the other samples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keywords</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Memory of</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloved</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting/Sleeping</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray for</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departed</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personalised</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: Tombstone Inscriptions.

Nearly a fifth of the total sample (17%) contained significantly personalised information relating to the deceased’s employment and/or contributions in life. One of the most curious is found on George Tilley’s tombstone (C/ 23) that concludes, “Strange that a harp with a thousand strings could keep in tune so long”, suggesting a complex personality for the deceased.
It is important to recognise that several of these elements may be present in the one inscription, as suggested by the similar patterns of frequency between ‘In Memory’, religious references and ‘Beloved’ (Figure 5.6). For example:

“To the Glory of God
In Loving Memory
Of
Rawdon McLean Selth (A/2)”

Again the figures appear to decline in the 1870s (Figure 5.7), with ‘In memory’, and personal and religious references displaying a remarkably similar pattern of decline, whereas other keywording like ‘beloved’ remains steady. So we now have three factors (tombstone height, motifs and inscription) that appear to have temporarily decreased in the 1870s. This is commented on in chapter 6 (6.6).

What we see then is a consistency of keywords in the expression of grief and remembrance, with ‘memory’, ‘loved’ and religious references the dominant elements in inscriptions, sometimes given emphasis by the choice of an additional accompanying quotation or phrase to express a certain social and/or religious view and emotion.

5. 8 Fences and Kerbs

A high percentage of plots (averaging 80%) were enclosed by fencing or kerbing (Table 5.7). Cast-iron railings, reflective of the fencing used outside of the cemetery, and of class distinctions (poor graves were often unenclosed; see Francaviglia 1971:507), retained popularity throughout the 19th century, accounting for 69% of the total sample and representing 85% of all enclosed plots (Figure 5.8).
Fenced burial plots are usually accessible by a gate that could be locked, although some plots have no gate, restricting easy access. The railings protected the resting place from stray animals (particularly prior to the fencing of the site), the unwanted attentions of body snatchers (a very real fear in Britain; see Morley 1971:32), vandals and indecent people walking over the gravesite. However, the simple demarcation of the plot, more symbolic than practical, was sufficient for most visitors’ sensitivities to behavioural protocol, resulting in variation in railing heights between 25 centimetres to 1.5 metres or more (Table 5.7).

The remaining 12% were low kerbed plots made of marble, brick or concrete, usually of a low height, that demarcated the plot boundary rather than impeding access to it. The percentage of unfenced plots is consistent across the samples. These plots may have originally had wooden picket fences, also popular in the 19th century (Figure 5.9), of which none survive today (South Australian Weekly

Figure 5.7: Total Sample of Tombstone Keywording over time.

---

72
This is due to woods deterioration over time when exposed to the elements and destruction by fire during the burning off of weeds (Nicol 1994:84; T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06).

![Tombstone Enclosures](image)

**Figure 5.8: Tombstone Enclosure.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heights No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25cm</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50cm</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75cm</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1m</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5m</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.7: Railing Heights by sample.**

**5. 9 Footstones**

Only nine footstones were found in the samples (see Appendix 8).
5. 10 other associated items

Of the nine associated items found (glass jars, vases for flowers and cremation urns) all post-date 1900. Given the age of the sample it is not surprising that the portable material culture that would have once adorned the graves has perished or been cleared.

Figure 5.9: Wooden picket fence at West Terrace cemetery c.1900  (From Nicol 1994:84).

5.11 Built Structures

The 19th century cemetery wall is made of bluestone and mortar capped by bricks, and extends from the southeastern corner of the general cemetery curving west to follow the line of West Terrace before ending in the north-eastern corner by the cremation reserve. The wall is approximately half a metre in thickness and varies in height between 1.2 to 1.5 metres. Warping and cracking is noticeable in some sections and modern buttressing has been added to the interior side of the section facing West Terrace.
The only surviving 19th century building is the Smyth Memorial Chapel in the Old Catholic section (1870). The curator’s residence at the main entrance to the general cemetery is the third such building to stand on this site and was built in 1907. No surface remains are visible of the morgue and Metahar house (Chapter 3, 3.3). A plain marble foot block that acted as a step for passengers alighting from a coach still stands by Road 1 South, row 24 west. Two one metre high wooden fence posts represent the remnants of the Old Catholic fence line.

5.12 Vegetation

The four sample areas retain little of their 19th century vegetation as documented in contemporary sources (see Appendix 5 and chapter 3.3.4).

5.13 Summary of Results

The following general trends in space and style can be inferred from the dataset. In orientation the majority of tombstones in the general cemetery adhere to the double-sided east-west facing rows running north-south as laid out in 1854. The small numbers of anomalies are always close to the roadways that divide up the sections, suggesting a conscious choice to obtain greater public visibility. Alignment is less ordered in the Old Catholic section, although most tombstones face either north or south and run in roughly east-west rows within the irregular grids that mark out this section. The overall intent in the general cemetery accords with the desire to structure a landscape appropriate as a last resting place, and explains the concerns felt about the landscape in general, but particularly towards the failure to attain this goal in the Catholic area.

Marble dominates visually across the colonial section, representing both its rise in popularity during the 19th century and its archaeological survivability in
comparison to other materials used (ie wood and slate). It stood out due to its white or cream colour in comparison to its darker competitors, and was materially and visually symbolic of the immortality and status of ancient civilisations, whose designs were revived in the architectural tastes and symbolism of the period. The tablet form is the main shape erected in the landscape, followed to a lesser extent by the cross (particularly in the Old Catholic section) and obelisks, indicating a desire to conform to and project prevailing social expectations. Flowers and foliage are the most popular decorative motifs utilised from a diverse and rich funerary symbolism.

In height, the cemetery landscape grew during the colonial period displaying an increasingly visible and competitive assemblage of monuments within a structured and beautified garden-like setting, leading to the decline of the previously high-status altar design. This process involved both social and spatial considerations as evidenced by the particular pressures apparent in sample D.

Inscriptions, whilst often formulaic in structure and content, developed more emotive, expressive and overtly religious statements as attitudes to death evolved in the second half of the 19th century. Additional expense was added to the gravesite with the enclosure of a large percentage of the burials, that suggested not just status, but a symbolic protection and care of the last resting place. Built structures, with the exception of the chapel in the Old Catholic section, do not impact on the landscape, and the existing vegetation is modern. An anomaly was picked up in the data that suggests a decline in height, motif and keyword use in the 1870s. As this runs counter to the known historical trends, further study of an expanded 1870s sample would be required to see if this ‘decline’ is statistical or reflective of a localised trend in West Terrace and/or South Australia.
Chapter 6. Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the archaeological results outlined in Chapter 5, in combination with the historical research presented in Chapter 3, provide an understanding into the way 19th century attitudes to death and burial were articulated by and experienced through the cemetery, a landscape deliberately designed for repeated visitation. The features of each sample (A, B, C & D) will be discussed in relation to this context to detail the processes at work both spatially and visually in each area.

6.2 Sample A

Sample A consists of 56 tombstones representing 50 plots in the general cemetery section Road 1 South (row 20 east to row 24 west), adjacent to Road 1 running east-west from the main cemetery gates (Appendix 8). The 19th century monuments cluster in the northern half of each row. This layout corresponds with a historical map of the section, that shows the northern half of the rows in red (representing leased plots), whilst the southern half (unleased plots) were used for government burials of the poor (West Terrace Cemetery map c.1901). This sample has a broad chronological spread with a concentration of tombstones from the 1850s to the 1870s.

The site developed around the burial of the reverend Charles Beaumont Howard (A/26), an individual of high status, resulting in its development as a small secondary Church of England section (not to be confused with the larger main section; see Figure 3.3), so it is reasonable to assume that most burials in this sample represent that denomination.
Howard’s large rectangular plot (6 x 5 metres) is the central landscape feature in this area (Figure 6.1). A prominent marble obelisk replaced the original monument due to its deterioration in 1921 (no image or description remains). The plot also contains a secondary marble cross monument to the Reverend and his wife, erected by their children, and an ornate altar tomb containing the remains of the Reverend’s second daughter (1866). A low cast-iron railing (60cm) completes the scene. The Reverend was clearly held in high esteem and is described on the obelisk as,

Gifted in no ordinary decree with sweetness of disposition
and meekness of spirit. He was alike beloved and respected
as a man and a friend.

Figure 6.1: Rev Howard’s family plot 1843, A/26 (S. Muller 2006).
A contemporary newspaper reported the popularity of this cemetery ‘neighbourhood’ and notes that the area near the Reverend’s grave, “thus became a desirable spot, and many persons selected it” (SA Register 23rd Oct 1854:3). The choice of a grave location is not unlike that of other forms of real estate. Some areas of the cemetery were seen as more aesthetic than others, or for reasons of religious and class solidarity.

Sample A is a denominational pioneer landscape, where social status and relationships in life are reflected spatially in death. Significant persons from the early foundation of the colony chose to be buried near Howard’s grave, whose status and setting assured visitation. For example, immediately west of Howard’s plot is the grave of Osmond Gilles (1788-1866), whose tombstone proclaims him the first treasurer of South Australia (A/15). Three plots northwards is the fine marble altar tomb of John Finnis (1802-1872; see Figure 6.3), who made his fortune from farming and mining (Prest 2001:615). It once adjoined the road prior to the addition of a plot in 1901. A number of other adjacent graves identify themselves through profession (A/3,19,20,21,23,27) or their status as a ‘colonist’ (A/7,41). Sample A is a particular locale of social meaning, that contemporaries would have recognised and interpreted.

The standard general cemetery arrangement of double rows of east-west facing plots (imposed in 1854) has clearly been affected by the large size of the Reverend’s earlier plot (1843). The result is the truncation of row 22 west, commencing after Howard’s grave and requiring the path to curve around his plot before realigning itself to the normal north-south axis (Figure 6.2). This feature is still pronounced today, as a small course of curved brickwork can be observed in the
ground, denoting the original edge of the path (A/32). This illustrates the prior unregulated selection of burial sites before the imposition of an ordered layout.

Figure 6.2: The effect of Howard’s plot on rows. Excerpt from map c.1900. Other earlier grave plots are also out of alignment (Adelaide Cemeteries Authority).

Only four plots do not comply with this normal east-west orientation, and as two of these post-date the 1854 plan (A/22 1872 and A/32 1864), unlike the Reverend’s grave, they indicate the exercise of a conscious choice to face these tombstones north towards the road (Figure 6.3). In each case these anomalies share common features; they are all spatially larger plots and monuments than normal and altar tombs in style. These features suggest families of significant social, and therefore economic, standing in the community, who could afford such public immortalisation. Altars are rare in the other samples (Table 5.3) but when they do appear they are next to or near roadways. This spatial location is essential for such a design if public attention is intended, as the altar’s relatively low height required both a large spatial footprint and an unimpeded sightline to the passer by. The increasing height of Victorian cemetery monuments (particularly obelisks and columns) would eventually visually overwhelm those altar tombs placed further
inside the rows (ie. Hall A/20). The much lower railings used for altars, that can easily be stepped over, in comparison to the enclosing fences of many tablet plots, demarcate but do not visually impede the view of these monuments. The large plots associated with this style are suggestive of family vaults (only clearly indicated with the altar style in C/47), and this could be a productive line of enquiry to better understand their spatial distribution.

![Figure 6.3: Finnis altar tomb 1872 A/22 faces the road. Note the normal alignment of the tablet tombstones in this picture (S. Muller 2006).](image)

Sample A was a highly visible area, accessible by a direct route from the main entrance, and would have allowed for a funeral procession, with sufficient solemnity and reverence, unhindered by the need to turn and navigate its way to the remoter areas of the cemetery. The coach would have stopped adjacent to a stone block, that acted as a step to assist mourners down from the coach, that still stands by the roadway in Sample A (T. Struthers Pers. Comm. 9/08/06).

The small number of altars and tall, decorative monuments here may also suggest an initial tension between overt public display in this life and the more
egalitarian promise of the next life, fuelled by the non-conformist religious ideologies brought to South Australia’s foundation (Whitelock 1977:194-195). Consequently the overwhelming impression is a landscape of tablets, usually standing at least 1.7 metres tall, the average height in all samples (Table 5.4), and of either plain design (57%) or displaying foliage, flowers, wreaths and scrolling (Figure 5.5). The general lack of overtly decorative display suggests that the messages intended for the living relied less on distinctive form and motif in these early decades of the cemetery, and more on associative location and inscription.

Many inscriptions were primarily factual, often bearing only the deceased’s name and date of death., but biographical and cultural references do occur. An example of this inscription structure is Young’s grave (A/3),

SACRED

TO THE MEMORY OF

John Thomas Young

Who departed this life

On the 24th day of January

1851

In the 46th year of his age

He was a native of Bantern in

Ireland and one of our

Early Colonists

The information provided avoids any religious reference but communicates to the reader two factors important to the deceased, his ethnicity and status as a ‘founder’ of the colony. The inscription’s emphasis is life rather than afterlife. Some (23%) also chose to indicate the deceased’s professional status in life (police officer, lawyer
or clergyman). The absence of any religious reference on 68% of tombstones (Table 5.6) suggests a landscape less concerned with overtly promoting religious messages, and more one jostling to extol the virtues of those who did well in the new province. Perhaps this ideal is best summed up by William Fiveash’s later inscription (1892),

Verses on tombs are words idly spent,  
mans own works are his best monument (Sample A/49).

For some families the pain of early or sudden death required a more visual expression and comfort. On the eastern edge of the sample (Row 20 east) a notable row of ornate obelisks and columns run back from the roadway. The motifs displayed (lamb, draped urn and broken pillar) were popular symbolic motifs in the Victorian era. The lamb (A/48), as a religious symbol of gentleness and innocence (Nicol 1988:272), signals the grave of two babies, and is a rare example of an imported mason’s work ( R. Bower of Highgate, London, the site of one of the most ornate British cemeteries of the period; Jenner 1999:147). The broken column (A/50), symbolising premature death, memorialises a young man lost in a shipwreck. They provide visual cues in the landscape that may attract the visitor.

Slate, sandstone and marble compete as the material of preference to the end of the 1870s, although marble’s apparent dominance in this period (50% more) is perhaps a result of archaeological survival as many slate (and all wooden) tombstones have not survived. However, almost all tombstones dated from the 1880s are marble (the few others are granite). This affirms the overall statistical trend (Figure 5.2).
6.3 Sample B

Sample B consists of 50 plots representing 60 tombstones in the general cemetery sections of Road 2 (row 9 east to row 13 west) and Road 3 (row 6 east to row 10 west; see Appendix 8). These two areas are adjacent to each other on either side of Road 3, allowing for consideration of how the potential for greater public exposure may have affected burial choices (Figure 6.4). As a part of the general cemetery a mixture of denominational burials has occurred here. Chronologically and materially the sample reflects sample A (Table 5.2), and adheres to the standard spatial layout of the general section already detailed in 6.1, with only one north facing exception on the road verge (B/48).

![Figure 6.4: Road 3 looking west to sample B (S. Muller 2005).](image)

Sample B differs from A in three areas. Firstly, there is a significantly greater height profile with 17% of tombstones between 1.75 and two metres in height, compared to just 5% in sample A. This ratio increases to 21% (B) to 5% (A)
when monuments between two and 2.5 metres are added; see Table 5.4). Secondly, there is an increased variety of tombstone forms. The tablet (77%) is still clearly the most popular as in sample A (Table 5.3). There is only one altar, but a similar percentage of crosses (7%) between A and B, but we now have slabs, statues and an increase in obelisks/pillars. Finally this appears to be a section of primarily family plots as evidenced by the extensive inscriptions denoting repeated family burial over the second half of the 19th century, in comparison to sample A, which contained a number of purely individual burials. This high number of family plots presents as the driving force in the spatial layout.

Just as a rainforest plant competes with its neighbours to strive for exposure to the sun, so the position, height, size and form of a tombstone may distinguish it from its neighbours in order to gain advantage in its role as a communication medium. The choice of form made by families in sample B implies a phenomenological process, designed to mediate the emotional experience of the mourner. These memorials were meant to be read and to reinforce dominant ideologies (McGuire 1988:436). Who has not, when wandering through a cemetery, been attracted by the prominent or unusual tombstone, which through its size, shape and inscription, calls out to us?

The number of roadside leases were limited and, for those whose plots lay away from the public walk, the necessary attention could only be achieved through the erection of taller tombstone forms such as pillars or obelisks, that are visibly scattered throughout the cemetery. In turn, not all roadside plots were secured with the intention of producing a public interface, and consequently many standard sized, plain tombstones also line the verge.
As with altar tombs in sample A, plot sizes rather than monuments may achieve the same ends, but only if such land holdings are easily perceived visually. The dynamic nature of the cemetery, particularly on a flat site like West Terrace, ultimately saw height win over space. For example, Captain Bagot’s (1788-1880), plain tablet and inscription (B/2; see Figure 6.5) is dwarfed by its situation in a large plot (2.5 x 6 metres) that occupies both sides of the row. Contemporaries would have known him for his mining and political interests, and noted the symbolism of success his plot suggested spatially (Prest 2001:612).

![Figure 6.5: Bagot’s tombstone and large family plot, B/2 (S. Muller 2006).](image)

Yet Bagot’s space was already supplanted by it’s decorative and tall neighbour. The Wadham family erected a statue in memory of their daughter, Fanny Louisa, who died at 7 years of age in 1863 (B/1; see Figure 6.6). Positioned on the road verge with head slightly turned to the visitor, the monument drew early praise as a “prominent object in the grounds” (The Adelaide Express, April 25 1866:2). It
features a life size figure of a small, contemplative girl perched atop a square plinth decorated with a remarkable mixture of symbolic motifs, including upturned torches, anchor, cross, wreath, and scrolls. Standing 3 metres in height, the monument must have evoked an emotional response to the loss of one so young, as well as admiration for its contribution towards a suitably appropriate visual atmosphere.

The hope of eventual resurrection was expressed in her biblical epitaph,

And all wept, and bewailed her: But he said, weep not;

She is not dead, but sleepeh.


The taller monuments in this sample are all family plots, as evidenced by the lengthy inscriptions added to the tombstones as each person died. Their height and varied designs catch the eye from the road. These family plots usually have one
main monument (sometimes accompanied by a secondary, lower and plainer addition; B/10). In this layout, the colonial families of Adelaide were following trends observable overseas, in which originally separate family memorials arranged side by side, were replaced by the demarcated family plot with the father as patriarch symbolized by a large single memorial, with all other family members recorded in the context of their relationship to him (McGuire 1988:447).

A good example of this style and layout is the Williams grave (B/10), a four-sided obelisk, topped by a decorative urn, standing in a spatially large plot (2.5 x 6.5 metres). In this case John Williams died first in 1857 however many family graves of this period will place the husband first on the inscription regardless of the actual order of death. This monument used up all four sides, including a list on the north face of the five children “who died in infancy”, a reminder of the high infant mortality rates faced by the 19th century family. As with sample A most of these larger plots were enclosed or at least marked out by kerbing.

Again the use of motifs is limited to less than half the sample (Table 5.5). However, most of the larger graves in the sample display some form of decoration, suggesting a link between visibility and decoration (and the affluence that goes with it). However, apart from Wadham’s grave (B/1), and the unique style of Peacock’s cross obelisk (B/27), most of the motifs employed enhance but are secondary to the inscription, such as a book (bible), flowers, foliage (such as ivy) or a scroll/ribbon around the tombstone edge.

The structure of the inscriptions tally, as to be expected, with those in sample A (Table 5.6), with euphemisms for death used on only 16 graves (27%) and overt religious reference on 27 graves (45%).
6.4 Sample D.

Located in the Old Catholic cemetery, this sample is a distinctly different funerary landscape, but retains the potential for chronological comparison with samples A and B, and is also the only sample to develop in relation to a building (the Smyth Memorial Chapel). The sample consists of 50 plots representing 56 tombstones located in Grids C7, D7, D8, E7 and E8 (Appendix 8). The Smyth Memorial Chapel stands in the middle of D8 facing the main eastern entrance road that separates D8 and E8 from C7, D7 and E7 to the south (Figure 6.7). The grid layout as remarked above is not square, with the plots generally aligned in disorderly east-west rows with the tombstones facing north or south (D/2 and D/48 are the only sample anomalies). The lack of ordered rows and paths makes access to some plots difficult, as does the high percentage of cast iron railing plot fences. The chronological range of the tombstones spans the 1860s to the 1890s (with one earlier exception).

The landscape presents as crowded and largely irregular. The reasons for this have been raised in Chapter 3 but in summary were the site’s poor drainage and a lack of sufficient space for ordered burial. A contemporary noted, “the whole place was in a state of chaos, the dead being packed as closely as they could be (The Express & Telegraph, March 10th 1898:4)”. This pressure on burial meant that the provision of ordered pathways and adequate space between plots became impossible.

The Smyth Memorial chapel (Figure 3.2), erected in 1870, provided a central point previously lacking, which, linked to the entrance road, imposed a perception of order. It acted as a spatial magnet for the burial choices of clergy and those of means; a similar effect to Howard’s monument in sample A.
A contemporary newspaper noted that “several costly monuments” are prominent around the chapel, including Luke Murphy’s ornate neo-gothic obelisk, standing at over 3 metres, with an inscription on Sicilian marble and a cross surmounted on Bath stone (D/8; see The Register, January 4th 1872:7). The Virgin Mary figure that once resided in the Gothic receptacle space is now gone. Also present are communal tombstones for priests and nuns, erected in the 1870s and 1890s (D/4-6). These monuments stand between 1.75 to over 4 metres in height.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 6.7: Entrance to Old Catholic cemetery looking west.** The chapel spire can be seen middle right of the road (S. Muller 2005).

This concentration of height near the chapel, creates an image of holy spires orientated to face the road, giving exposure to those visiting the site in spite of their cluttered and spatially encumbered layout. The quality of memorials in Sample D suggests that a place by the roadway or near the chapel was a place of religious status in an otherwise crowded and unattractive burial landscape. Perhaps the burial
of the Governor of South Australia, Sir Dominick Daly there in 1868 (D/29), may have influenced the chapel’s site to accord with any prominent burials already in the vicinity of the roadway.

Marble is again the material of choice (80%; see Table 5.2) and the sample demonstrates a clear preference for a taller landscape with 45% of tombstones higher than 1.5 metres and 7% (the highest of any sample) exceeding over three metres. This desire for height is most likely the result of the crowded landscape described above, in which even large monuments could become hidden and inaccessible due to overcrowding.

The Catholic wish for their own, distinct burial ground, whilst not unique amongst denominations, was strongly felt, due to their minority status in the early colony (less than 15% of the population in 1866; see Prest 2001:96). This sense of being ‘other’ was further expressed in their choice of motif and inscription. Although the cross is not unique to Catholicism, its use as a motif (as opposed to a form) in this sample (54%; see Table 5.5) is on average four times higher than the other samples. The choice of other motifs by Catholics is the same as the general sample. The enclosure of plots was consistent with other samples (Table 5.7).

Also, as already mentioned in chapter 5 (5.7), religious ideological differences meant that Catholics believe that they can directly impact on the safe passage to heaven of the deceased’s soul from purgatory, an intermediate state between heaven and hell, through prayer (Jalland 2002:173; Mytum 2004:139). The inscription reminds the onlooker to actively participate in a ritual for the benefit of the dead. Such prayers occurred most frequently at church, rather than at the graveside itself. This entreaty appears on 20% of the sample and is exampled by the following inscription,
Of your Charity
Pray for the Repose of the Soul
Of
Dean Kennedy (D/3)

The Catholic use of euphemisms for death, such as ‘resting’ and ‘sleeping’ rather than ‘died’, was much higher (46%) than in other samples (B is the nearest with 16%), suggesting a clear denominational preference for these gentle and religiously laden terms (Table 5.6).

Figure 6.8: The late 19\textsuperscript{th} century landscape of orderly marble, C/24 (S. Muller 2006).

6.4 Sample C.

This primarily intact late 19\textsuperscript{th} century landscape (1880s to 1890s), with little incursion by later burials, provides an excellent comparison with the earlier landscapes of Samples A, B and D. This sample consists of 50 plots representing 57
tombstones in the general cemetery section Road 4 (row 28 west to row 30 east), bounded on the north by Road 4 and the south by Road 5 (Appendix 8). This landscape suggests that the 1880s were a time of increasing spatial uniformity in cemetery layout. Variation in plot size (so pronounced in Samples A and B) is rare. The tombstones again follow the general cemetery’s standard layout of double rowed plots aligned east-west and running north-south. Only three tombstones do not adhere to this arrangement, of which two are directly adjacent to the road.

Sample C represents the apogee of the Victorian cemetery landscape. Marble represents 93% of the tombstones here, slate is absent and granite is just beginning to gain a toehold (5%; see Table 5.2). The tablet has maintained its general dominance as preferred form (72%) but the cross has gained in popularity (14%; see Table 5.3). Obelisks/pillars are still employed (9%) and a new religious form, the rock of ages, is appearing (3%).

The overall impression is of a highly ordered ‘forest’ of what once would have been gleaming white monuments averaging between 1.75 and two metres in height (Table 5.4). Social statements were still achieved through the use of height, with 11% of monuments exceeding the two metre mark, and 3% between 2.5 and three metres (usually obelisk/pillars). The enclosure of plots by iron railings or kerbing consistently increased during this period as well (Table 5.7). It is also important to note that, unlike earlier samples, by the 1880s the general cemetery was rapidly filling up, restricting the choice of locations open to purchasers.

The use of motifs has also increased with 73% of the sample now employing some form of decoration on the tombstone. As with the other samples, flowers and foliage maintained primary popularity on a third of the tombstones (Table 5.5). Both decorative and symbolic, flowers and foliage, could impart coded messages about
the deceased to trigger family memory or to impart general religious messages (McKnight 2005; Meller 1985:32-33, Nicol 1988:27-273). The keywording used remains consistent with the other samples (Table 5.6), however the introduction of more emotive flourishes, small statements of grief, longing and hope, whilst not unique to this sample, are more commonly used. This corresponds to the general understanding of an increased emotional content to Victorian attitudes to death in the latter half of the 19th century, resulting from perceptions of a heavenly family reunion after death in God’s house, a concept whose expression peaked on the tombstone inscriptions of the 1870s and 1880s (Jalland 1996:267-268). Hammill’s 1888 grave (C/13) provides an example of this sentiment, usually inscribed below the primary inscription,

No sin, no grief, no pain,

Safe in my happy home;

My fears all fled, my doubts all slain

My hour of triumphs come.

Soothing images of the afterlife were no doubt intended to ease the sense of loss felt by the visiting family member or friend, such as Prisk’s 1885 grave (C/42),

Shall we gather at the river,

where bright angels feet have trod,

with its crystal tide for ever

flowing by the throne of God

Any personal references encoded in these epitaphs or symbols, what Edgetta has termed personality revelations, are harder to discern and are usually lost within a few generations as family and friends die (Edgetta 1992:89-90). The stranger
reading the inscription and viewing the memorial can only perceive a notion of the deceased, and may instead substitute their own emotional experience of lost loved ones, individual conceptions of mortality, and beliefs about social class structures to bridge the gap.

6.6 A decline in the 1870s?

The data in relation to height, motifs and keywording as discussed in chapter 5 (Figures 5.5, 5.6 & 5.7) shows a decline for these categories in the 1870s compared to the rest of the sample that appears to correct itself and rise back to higher levels by the 1880s. This downward trend does not tally with historical understandings of cemetery monuments in the late 19th century or with general observations undertaken during fieldwork. There is no obvious or specific historical event, such as an economic downturn in the province or shortage of material that might obviously explain this trend. One way to address this perceived pattern in the archaeology would be to expand the samples to clarify whether there is a statistical issue occurring and if the figures remain consistent to consider what factors could be influencing this. Comparative samples with other cemeteries would also be useful to see if this is a localised or more widespread issue. Issues of supply and demand in the developing funeral industry could be an interesting line of inquiry.

6.7 Summary

Having discussed the primary results (Chapter 5) within the specific context and features of the sample areas surveyed, the following observations about the colonial sections of West Terrace can be made,

- The primary determinant for plot/monument orientation is cemetery regulation not individual choice, except in the Catholic section where a lack
of space led to the use of all available land. Despite this fact a small percentage of families were able to operate outside the normal system in all general cemetery samples to achieve public exposure.

- Improving technology meant marble could be easily carved, erected to tall heights and was known to survive better than soft stone. Its white to cream colour also made it more visible in the landscape and was reminiscent of the historical styles than regaining popularity (ie neo-classical). Consequently, its dominance steadily increased, peaking in the 1880s. The only other material of note, slate, is not found in the samples beyond the 1870s.

- Tablets remained the primary choice of form in all samples and across the entire Victorian period, reflecting British fashion and tradition. Tablet heights increased across the 2nd half of the 19th century. Slabs and altars decreased in popularity while traditionally tall forms such as the obelisk/pillar maintained a steady percentage across all samples. Cruciform tablets increased in popularity in the 1880s.

- Although tall monuments in the samples often appear close to roadways, there are sufficient examples sited further inside the rows to suggest that height equates with higher visibility and public exposure wherever it is utilised, but is clearly most prominent the closer the monument can be positioned to the movement of people through the site.

- West Terrace reflected the increasingly competitive nature of the cemetery landscape of this era, fuelled by ideologies of social class, grief and a patriarchal family symbolism, and in response to spatial and regulatory determinants as evidenced by the effect of the congested Catholic landscape.
• The presence of a centralising feature is demonstrated to affect the choice of location and spatial layout, making the area a popular ‘neighbourhood’, as evidenced by sample A (The Reverend’s grave) and sample D (the Catholic chapel).

• In all decades a majority of people (or their family) chose not to have a motif on their tombstone, suggesting the use of motifs was not considered essential funerary etiquette or to achieve the monuments communicative aims.

• When motifs were utilised they were more likely to be flowers and/or foliage, despite a high level of motif choice. The reasons for this trend would require further research.

• Beyond the essential basic data (identity of the deceased, date of death and in most cases family relationship), the concept of memory is the dominant theme appearing in 77% of inscriptions, and acts as a mantra to the viewer.

• Denominational differences between the general cemetery and the Catholic section are clearly observable in the archaeology.
Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1 The potential of landscape archaeology

This thesis has been a first step in the application of a landscape archaeological approach to the historical archaeology of cemeteries. Theoretically, this encourages a phenomenological perspective towards site features by seeking to understand not just site function, but also the underlying site ideology and how this is communicated and experienced through place. The study of West Terrace’s colonial archaeology in conjunction with historical documents has proven fruitful in linking observed archaeological site patterns to a known historical context of social and religious values and attitudes. The result suggests a more holistic picture of the interaction of landscape elements that make up the cemetery environment can be achieved and new linkages perceived to interpret, if incompletely, different ideological messages, from the certainty of one’s own mortality to the desire to ensure remembrance of the family and their status in life. The results obtained in this study suggest further potential for applying this approach to both cemeteries and other historical sites in archaeology.

7.2 Landscape, Movements and Visitation

Whilst no historical document was found detailing the rationale behind Capt Freeling’s 1854 plan for the cemetery, what is clear, from both archaeological fieldwork and modern aerial photography, is that this layout has survived essentially intact allowing us, as researchers, to experience the essential physical nature of the site. By walking the same roads and paths as 19th century visitors, we can experience, in a phenomenological sense, the landscape that confronted the family funeral, the graveside visitation and the Sunday afternoon stroller 100 years ago.
The 1854 plan also suggests an aesthetic landscape element. Standing at the fork inside the main gate between Road 1 and Main Road, the effect of the diagonal orientation is of two sweeping boulevards, forcing the visitor to choose their way around the site. One can only speculate as to whether the 19\textsuperscript{th} century recreational use of the cemetery followed a set direction for promenading in such a highly ordered society.

The data obtained in relation to the layout of burial sites and the style and form of monuments found in the samples, reminds us of how regulated the process of visitation in the Victorian era was in comparison to today’s more open and diverse use patterns. The strong influence of Victorian culture meant Adelaidians were expected to undertake frequent visitation in the first year after death (usually several times per week) before gradually reducing to weekly, monthly and than significant family anniversaries (Jalland 2002:291). The intense grief initially experienced by the family at such visits, was transformed over time into a process of remembrance, enacted before the burial shrine of memory (Jalland 2002:291). The stone anchors the deceased to this physical place in space and through time, marked out spatially by a headstone, sometimes a footstone, and often protected by a fence or at least a kerb. As Hallam and Hockey have suggested, material culture, “mediates our relationship with death and the dead; objects, images and practices, as well as places and spaces, call to mind or are made to remind us of the deaths of others and of our own mortality (Hallam & Hockey 2001:2)”.

The family member reading the inscription conjures forth a living memory of someone known and their feelings about that person. Indeed the concept of memory is repeatedly invoked at the start of many inscriptions found in the samples recorded. In turn, they may find in the choice of verse or motif a facet reflective of the
deceased’s character in life, or there may even be a personalised and individual reference included. For example Elizabeth Watson’s grave in Sample A/23 notes,

This women was full of good works and alms deeds which she did.

Consequently, the selection of a burial site was something important to the colonial psyche at both a personal, family and public level, because once established it was intended to be the perpetual place of ongoing family visitation, and brought with it a code of social expectation, appropriate presentation and moral behaviour, as noted by a contemporary, “and burial to meet with public approval must be in a spot specially set apart for the purpose, where each family can have its own appointed space (The Advertiser, Dec 10th 1891:7)”.

In spite of the assertion of material uniformity in tombstones and epitaphs between Australia and Britain by the 1870s (Jalland 2002:122), this study argues that by attempting to understand the processes of site selection and therefore landscape creation, it is possible to investigate the local context at play, the factors and features that make West Terrace a different place from Kensal Green or Mt Auburn.

The study has seen these factors operate on two interpretative levels. There were the pragmatic issues found in historical records, such as the prohibition of above ground entombment at West Terrace, due primarily to hygiene concerns related in part to the different South Australian climate, resulting instead in the excavation and creation of over 100 19th century vaults that still survive below the ground today (S.A.P.P, Vol 2, No.26 of 1863:1). Then there is the perceptual process of understanding the messages of the cultural landscape, the tiers of communication found in the archaeology.
7.3 Tiers of Communication

The idea of mystification, pursued by McGuire (1988) in his studies of Broome County cemeteries in the United States (Chapter 2) applies to this study. The idea of an ideological dialogue occurring in the mind of the observer, triggered by the spatial and visual cues of the material culture and environment that is the cemetery, to construct a reality, albeit an imperfect or masking one, accords with this studies landscape approach. The archaeological data collected points to a two-tiered communication system, on one level focussing on the needs of family and emotional comfort, the private domain. On the other level there is an awareness and desire to uphold the social expectations of one’s class (or to emulate such values) and therefore to validate the social structure, the public domain.

The combination of form, style, inscription and motif creates a textual and visual statement on these different levels. The universality of death and faith in an afterlife, framed within religious ideologies, are communicated. In the samples recorded denominational differences, apart from the Catholic section, are not obvious. The extent of this communication changed over time, and is visible on the tombstones, with inscriptions becoming more overt and highly sentimental. In turn, concerns of judgement and hell and the potential uncertainties they provoked, were replaced by the idea of a heaven of hearth and home, with the dead merely sleeping in anticipation of reunion with kith and kin in a productive Victorian paradise (Jalland 1996:266-267; Nicol 1988:13). A more detailed examination of tombstone inscriptions, by employing a larger sample of the colonial section, could further identify and highlight these themes.

Given the 19th century habit of utilising the general cemetery as a recreational area for its aesthetic, moral and reflective potential (Chapter 3) it is not surprising
that securing a prominent position, such as a roadside verge, was seen as an opportunity for improved monumental display. Samples A, B and D provide evidence of this roadside effect, whereas Sample C presents a more uniform landscape, reliant more on the actual monument than roadside position. The idea that graves might be re-aligned to face the roadside or, that taller and more striking memorials might be more common in such positions, may seem an obvious conclusion to arrive at, but is it? Decisions and choices reflect prevailing attitudes, and it is notable that at West Terrace’s 20th century successor Centennial Park, uniformity of height and form prevails across the monumental landscape as a response to the perception of an overly emotional and costly approach to public memorialisation in late 19th century cemeteries (Nicol 1994:267).

7.4 Future Directions

While this study has identified elements of social differentiation and perception through position, height, space, form and sometimes inscription, three future areas of inquiry could be pursued. The goal would be to develop a more detailed and phenomenologically fine-tuned understanding of the influence of the local ideological context, to expand on some of the general comments made due to the limitations of this study.

The first would involve further biographical research into the identities of the deceased. Sample A, as a pioneer ‘graveyard’ within the larger cemetery would be a good starting point. It is possible that by gaining a more detailed understanding of the different social class profile of the burials there, for example the colonial elite from the middle class, that more spatial and material culture patterns may be discernable, and how they reflected colonial social and political structures to the
viewer. It would also be interesting to consider what influence, if any, the symbolic layout of space in churchyards and the traditions this symbolised, such as associations between the north side of the churchyard and poor burials, may have played in the design of cemetery space (Parker Pearson 2003:14).

Secondly there is the question of the relatively high number of bare plots in sample areas A and B. Historic burial maps can identify who was buried there, raising the question as to whether the absence of material culture on their plots is class related and perhaps ironically what messages a bare plot can symbolise ideologically. Are these working class graves for which wooden tombstones and fences were used; materials that have not survived archaeologically? If such materials were destroyed during the periodic weed burn offs it may be possible to identify ash layers in the stratigraphy.

Thirdly, a detailed examination of the emerging funeral industry (including monumental masons) in Adelaide would also assist in gaining a deeper understanding of the impact of funerary processes on the cemetery landscape from outside its walls.

This thesis has demonstrated how both functional and ideological factors have influenced the design and layout of the colonial sections of the West Terrace cemetery. The samples surveyed demonstrate how the choices made by or for the deceased reflected the community’s attitudes to death and burial. Contempories understood that their grave would be visited, viewed, read and commented on, not just by their family, but also by their peers and the broader community (McGuire 1988:460). Families understood that the grave would not only become a permanent place of visitation, but its appropriateness was also important to their continuing social status and perception in the community (Jalland 2002:127).
The 19th century Victorian cemetery at West Terrace was a place of movement and experience. The elements of the cultural landscape served as reflexive triggers for the promulgation of public attitudes and beliefs about colonial death and society through the phenomenological experience of visitation- of being in the deathscape. The dynamic nature of this process is evidenced in the material culture change that occurred in the cemetery through space and time, as a response to developing economic and social roles in the colony. Dominant ideologies about the nature of both material and spiritual existence were in turn incorporated and perpetuated by such change.
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Appendix 1: Cemetery Recording Forms

A1.1 Stage 1 - General cemetery

BASIC CEMETERY RECORDING FORM

SITE/LOCATION: West Terrace Cemetery   Section:

Recorder/s:                  Date:

Record graves numerically starting from 1, noting date and, if prior to 1901, height. Where a grave is unmarked record an x. Please record no more than one row per form, commencing from north to south (horizontally from left to right on the form and indicate row orientation by writing W or E in first box only). Anomalies can be noted by direction ie: N or S/W etc and circled. Consistency is important so that the spatial layout of the cemetery rows is easily discernable from the recording forms. See example below and if unclear please ask me:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>1m</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1.5m</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>2.8m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Row No:

North

South
A1. 2 Stage 1 - Old Catholic cemetery

BASIC CATHOLIC CEMETERY RECORDING FORM

SITE/LOCATION: West Terrace Cemetery  Section: Old Catholic cemetery

Recorder/s:  Date:  / /06

Grid No: B3

Record only original date and height ie: 1852 1.5m directly onto marked plot. Only record one grid section per form.
A1. 3 Stage 2 Cemetery recording form (From Burke & Smith 2004:350)
Appendix 2: Tombstone Forms in West Terrace Cemetery (1837 to Edwardian era; see Gilbert 1980:35)

Row 1. Norman, anthropomorphic, Gothic and derivative tablet forms (Victorian era with some styles like Norman and Gothic persisting into early 20th century).

Row 2. More elaborate styles (Late Victorian, c.1860-1901 and Edwardian).

Row 3. Obelisk, broken column, urn-topped column, Calvary and Celtic cross (Victorian/Edwardian eras).

Row 4. Altar or chest monument, Victorian era (to late 19th century).
Appendix 3: List of fieldwork volunteers

Alice Beale
Andrea Parker
Andrea Smith
Angharad Pendleton
Bob Stone
Daniel Puletama
Deborah Starcevic
Ellen Raes
Jan Haaren
Janet Davill
Lara Richardson
Leah Puletama
Martin Wimmer
Mirani Lister
Rob Williams
Yvonne Nowland
Appendix 4: Vegetation

The West Terrace Cemetery, as a whole, contains significant remnant native vegetation that is preserved and propagated by the cemetery authority in conjunction with the Adelaide Botanic Gardens (Adelaide Cemeteries Authority 2003:16-17). Exotic species resulting from grave plantings, self-seeding and 20th century management practices (70% of the extant trees, including native species, date from the 1970s) also occur throughout the site in varying concentrations. As a heritage-listed site all plants are protected. The practice of burning off weeds and unwanted flora and the use of extensive herbicide suggests that few 19th century plantings and their original landscaping are likely to have survived to the present (T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06).

The roadside garden beds (Figure 3.7) were cleared in the early 20th century to make room for new burials. Some possible 19th century remnants include the exotic English elms (*Ulmus procera*) that line part of the original general cemetery boundary near the western end of Road 5, the Peppercorn trees that are scattered across the site (*Schinus molle var. areira*) and some grave plantings and self-seeding plants, including a rare species of rose (*Rosa sp*) (T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06).

The four sample areas retain little 19th century vegetation. The native trees found in all four samples were the result of extensive plantings in the 1970s and 80s, and they are now having a negative effect on the preservation of the grave monuments due to their root systems and inappropriate placement (T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06). These include the Sheoak (*Allocasuarina verticillata*), red flowered S. A. Blue gum (*Eucalyptus leucoxylon var. megalocarpa*), Sugar gum (*Eucalyptus cladocalyx*), Kurrajong (*Brachychiton populneus*), the Pyramid tree (*Lagunaria patersonii*) and the native pine (*Callitris preissii*). Notable exotics are
the Italian or Roman Cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*) in sample A, and Aleppo pines (*Pinus halipensis*) in Sample B. Whilst suggestive of 19\(^{th}\) century floral cemetery preferences, in the strong classical associations of such species that traditionally represent mourning and the afterlife (McKnight 2005), these trees are again likely to date from the later half of the 20\(^{th}\) century as evidenced by the presence of drip lines (T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06). With the exception of the Peppercorn tree in sample A, none of the trees in the four sample areas appear to date from the study period.

Escaped bulbs (*Scilla peruviana*) are visible on the ground in sample A and may be the product of 19\(^{th}\) century grave plantings and/or landscaping. Also likely to have been originally planted in the late 19\(^{th}\) century is the *Chasmanthe floribunda*, with its orange flower, the asparagus fern (*Asparagus plumosa*) and the blue periwinkle (*Vinca major*) found growing on plots in sample B (T. Struthers pers. comm. 9/08/06). The latter two are now considered noxious weeds and strictly controlled in the cemetery. Other species have been propagated by the laying of flowers and plants on graves, allowing seeds to escape, and through bird droppings and wind action. Unfortunately the existing botany of the four sample sites is simply too fragmentary and disturbed to be able to assist in understanding the totality of the 19\(^{th}\) century burial landscape at West Terrace, although the remnant grave plantings do give us some clues as to the decorative floral preferences, and there is the potential for a more detailed botanical study of this issue.
Appendix 5: Aerial Photograph

An aerial photograph of West Terrace cemetery taken on 28/10/02. (Scale 1:11,000). The oval shape of the original colonial section and subsequent extensions to the cemetery are clearly visible (Survey 6108 28/10/02, Mapland – SA Dept for Environment & Heritage).
Appendix 6: Development of cemetery plan over time (Nicol 1994:85)
Appendix 7: Footstones

Footstones, as their title suggests, were positioned in surface alignment at the deceased’s feet. On an unfenced plot they demarcate, the boundaries of the burial plot in conjunction with the headstone, but also occur within fenced plots (A/13). Footstones may resemble the shape and style of the headstone but are usually smaller and lack any decorative elements (Mytum 2004:71). They create an image of the bed with the tombstone as the bed head and the footstone as the bed foot, equating nicely with the popular Victorian concept of the peaceful, sleeping dead (Arnes 1981:655; Nicol 1988:13).

Sample A has six footstones, two of which (A/29 & 42) have no headstone left, but remain in their original positions, as the deceased appears on an undated map that records burials up to 1901 (Adelaide Cemetery Authority). Unusually,
what looks like a footstone in sample B/48 is aligned next to the headstone and not at
the foot of the grave, while another small ‘footstone’ of the same size but with
different initials is aligned on the other side of the headstone. This anomaly again
corresponds with a grave out of normal alignment and directly facing the roadway.
All footstones still in association with their headstones were made from the same
material (slate or marble) and tend to date from the 1850s to the 1870s. The two
footstones standing alone are slate. All footstones only display the initials and year
of death of the deceased.
Appendix 8: Maps of targeted samples A, B, C & D

See sleeve for loose A3 maps of the sample areas.