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**CEMETERIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY
NEW SOUTH WALES:
LANDSCAPES OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY**

LISA ANNE MURRAY

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
Co.	County
COSA	City of Sydney Archives
<i>HRNSW</i>	<i>Historical Records of New South Wales</i>
LA	Legislative Assembly
LC	Legislative Council
JCNT	Joint Committee of Necropolis Trustees
<i>JNSWLC</i>	<i>Journal of the New South Wales Legislative Council</i>
ML	Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
ML MSS	Mitchell Library, Manuscripts (reference number)
ML SPF	Mitchell Library, Small Picture File
NAL, V&A	National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum
NBAC / ANU	Noel Butlin Archive Centre, Australian National University
<i>NSWLAV&P</i>	<i>New South Wales Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings</i>
<i>NSWLVCV&P</i>	<i>New South Wales Legislative Council Votes & Proceedings</i>
<i>NSWPD</i>	<i>New South Wales Parliamentary Debates</i>
SAG	Society of Australian Genealogists
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SRNSW	State Records of New South Wales

INTRODUCTION

There are many clichés surrounding death. But the fact remains that death is universal and disposal of the dead is one of life's necessities. This thesis is a history of the cemetery. The 'cemetery' was a new type of Western burial ground in the late eighteenth century and challenged the traditional parish churchyard. *Cemeteries in nineteenth-century New South Wales* charts the origin of the general cemetery and how it emerged as the dominant form of burial ground in the colony. It reveals the myths and realities of the cemetery ideal - a product of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - and how it influenced burial practices in the colony. It argues that the cemetery was a cultural institution that functioned as both a utilitarian space and metaphorical place, where rituals, ideals, and social conventions were negotiated to meet the needs of the colonial population and their perception of the land they were invading. The cemetery was not simply a hygienic mode of disposal for corpses. Colonists used the cemetery landscape to define a sense of individual and communal memory and identity, and consequently the landscape and funerary sculpture both reflected and reinforced societal attitudes and values towards life and death, class and gender, history and civilisation.

This thesis engages with two major themes: the cultural transmission of funerary practices - and in particular, how this relates to colonial cemeteries - and the relationship between memory and identity as it was constructed through the commemorative landscape of the cemetery. By tracing the historical development of cemeteries and the evolution of monument designs, it is possible to discern the origins and influences of burial practices and mourning culture. Colonial New South Wales readily adopted the cultural traditions of the 'mother country', Britain,

but it was also aware of trends in Europe and the United States of America, particularly in the late nineteenth century. The colony did not develop its own distinctive 'way of death', but it nevertheless adopted and adapted trends to suit the colonial conditions. This is equally true of cemetery design and sepulchral design. In the newly settled colony, the cemetery became an important cultural institution in which the social order could be established and a person's identity could be defined. Statements of religion, status, class, ownership and gender were constructed within and upon the landscape of the cemetery.

One of the key commemorative features of burial grounds from the mid-eighteenth century onwards in Britain was the increasing use of a headstone or grave marker to identify an individual grave.¹ Marking the grave located the corpse in a private space with its own location, identity and memories. This act of commemoration by grieving relatives, friends and colleagues was a symbolic gesture that allowed grave visitation and perpetuated the memory of the deceased. By the time New South Wales was invaded in 1788, this was an established tradition which colonists sought to emulate. Monumental masons were the interpreters of these memories and cultural values using artistic conventions, carving the markers that became the conduit between the living and the dead. This thesis analyses the material culture of grave markers and their landscaped surroundings which collectively defined the cemetery, to excavate the layers of meanings and expose how the nineteenth century cemetery was simultaneously a commemorative space, a sacred space, a moral space, a recreational space, a gendered space.

Nomenclature for the disposal of the dead is fraught with difficulties. Cemetery, churchyard, burial ground, necropolis: all these names refer to the place where the dead are buried, and often are used interchangeably, but historically each has its own particular defining features. The term 'burial ground' is used in this thesis to cover all forms of European burial practices in Australia. Five main types of burial grounds may be identified in New South Wales: lone graves, family cemeteries, churchyards, church cemeteries, and general cemeteries. These terms are employed to provide clarity and historical accuracy when discussing the historical development of burial grounds. The term 'cemetery' is an historical term used in this thesis to describe the ideal of the burial ground that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Britain, Europe, America and later Australia; namely, a burial ground dissociated from the church and located outside the town. The word 'necropolis' emerged in the nineteenth century, from the Greek 'nekros' meaning 'dead person' and 'polis' meaning city. The word necropolis was used to describe a particular type of cemetery - large extramural cemeteries that were highly monumental, landscaped affairs.² The concept of a cemetery (as opposed to a churchyard) with its implicated meanings for burial practices, landscaping, and functions, was extremely influential in colonial New South Wales and informed the establishment of virtually all burial grounds from the 1840s. The ideals of the cemetery were adopted by the colonial government in the creation of the General Cemetery, which by the late nineteenth-century had come to dominate burial practices in New South Wales.

¹ Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, SPCK, London, 1979; Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1999, esp. ch 3.

² One of the earliest usages of the word in English is in 1819. Then in 1831, John Strang wrote a treatise advocating a necropolis for Glasgow (*Necropolis Glasguensis*). *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989.

A 'lone grave' may be defined as a single grave informally established, and is usually found in rural areas. A 'family cemetery' was a burial ground established on a private property, usually a large estate or rural homestead property, to bury family members and/or persons associated with the property. It was usually informally established with no official government or church sanction. A 'churchyard' surrounds a church and is a burial ground for a particular religious denomination. It was usually consecrated by the church and established specifically for its parishioners. This was the commonest type of burial ground in Britain until the late eighteenth century. A variation of the churchyard that developed in New South Wales is the 'church cemetery'. It is a denominational burial ground that is consecrated by the church, but is not located around the church. Church cemeteries may be located adjacent to a church, or at some distance, but either way the church cemetery has a clearly delineated space which is separate from the church. The 'general cemetery' was created by the colonial government in New South Wales. It is a large burial ground formally set aside by the government and divided into different denominational areas. The general cemetery is the commonest form of burial ground in use in New South Wales today.

This thesis focuses on European burial practices in colonial New South Wales. I am not discussing traditional Aboriginal burials. This is an area that deserves a thesis in its own right. Aboriginal burials during the colonial period are only discussed insofar as they are associated with European burial practices. The role of acculturation in Aboriginal burial practices since 1788 is becoming an area of

study, and will no doubt become a fruitful arena in which to interpret Aboriginal history and expressions of cultural identity.³

Nor is this a thesis on funerals or cremation. The history of funerary and mourning practices in Australia remains largely unwritten.⁴ This thesis is not the place to begin such a large project, although it makes an important contribution to this area of study. My interest in memory and commemoration as demonstrated in the cemetery links directly to the history of mourning culture and funerals and should be understood in this context. While I will be drawing upon the corpus of historical work on death, the focus of my thesis is upon the cemetery. Cremation was not legally available in New South Wales until the twentieth century, and thus while there is some discussion about the cremation debate in the late nineteenth century, the history of cremation in Australia lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Cemetery and death studies are an interdisciplinary area of research. Art history, local history, social and cultural history, architecture, historical archaeology, literary studies, genealogical and family studies have all explored

³ See NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *In Sad But Loving Memory: Aboriginal burials and cemeteries of the last 200 years in NSW*, The Author: Hurstville, 1998.

⁴ There has been no comprehensive history of funerary practices in Australia. For a generalised overview see Graeme M. Griffin and Des Tobin, *In the Midst of Life ... the Australian Response to Death*, 2nd ed., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997. Grace Karskens has examined early funerary practices in Sydney in 'Death was in his Face: Dying, Burial and Remembrance in Early Sydney', *Labour History*, no. 74, May 1998, pp. 21-39; and Sue Zelinka has a chapter on the funerary industry in her history of Botany Cemetery - see Sue Zelinka, *Tender Sympathies: A Social History of Botany Cemetery and the Eastern Suburbs Crematorium*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1991, esp. ch. 6 & 7. For a history of funerary practices in South Australia see Robert Nicol, 'Aspects of Death and Burial in the Colony of South Australia', PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, 1986. Some of this material has been published in Nicol's book, *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1994. A few histories of interstate undertakers' businesses and the funeral industry have been written. See for example, Alfred James & Sons Pty Ltd, *When Need Arises: The History of Alfred James & Sons Pty Ltd, Funeral Directors*, The Author, South Australia, 1968; Des Tobin, *Tobin Brothers: The Story of a Family Business*, The Author, Melbourne, 1987; Donald Chambers, *No Funerals on Picnic Day! Victorian Funeral Industry Associations, 1890-1990*, Australian Funeral Directors Association (Victoria), East Kew, 1990; Leonie B. Liveris, *The Dismal*

cemeteries and analysed their material culture. These different theoretical and interdisciplinary approaches have focused upon different areas and historical questions about death. This thesis draws upon this interdisciplinary historiography to present a spatial history of cemeteries interrogating both material culture and traditional historical documents.

Historical archaeology was one of the first disciplines to recognise that the historic cemetery (as opposed to the prehistoric cemetery, the preserve of other archaeologists) contained readily datable material culture that could be used individually and collectively to produce meaningful questions (and answers) about a community. James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen pioneered the theoretical approach of analysing quantitative data from cemetery field work to uncover broad trends and changes in material culture, particularly gravestone design. They argued that these changes were associated with changes in societal attitudes to death and religion.⁵

The work of Deetz and Dethlefsen on mortuary archaeology fed into a theoretical approach in archaeology known as the processual or functionalist approach which emphasised the importance of social organisation. The exemplar of this approach was Lewis Binford who argued that mortuary practices can be 'interpreted as evidence of status differentiation and cultural complexity'.⁶ Funerary monuments and other forms of funerary material culture, such as coffin hardware,

Trader: the undertaker business in Perth, 1860-1939, Australian Funeral Directors Association (Western Australia), East Perth, 1991.

⁵ Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, 'Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental archaeology in colonial cemeteries', *American Antiquity*, vol. 31 no. 4, 1966, pp. 502-510. See also Edwin S. Dethlefsen, 'The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective', in *Modern Material Culture: The archaeology of us*, ed. Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer, Academic Press, New York, 1981, pp. 137-159.

⁶ Lewis Binford's approach is summarised in Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, pp. 10-11.

were thus interpreted as a direct reflection of power relations, class and status within a community. This approach has been widely influential in cemetery studies, not simply in historical archaeology, but also, as we shall see, in the social history of cemeteries. However, as Edward Bell and Sarah Tarlow have shown, the processual or functionalist approach frequently does not place the cemetery within a broader historical or social context, and the 'cultural complexity' celebrated by Binford is lost in the assumption of an unambiguous, simple relationship between monument style and social status.⁷ In a recent attempt to overcome these deficiencies, Sarah Tarlow in *Bereavement and Commemoration: an archaeology of mortality* (1999) argues for the centrality of metaphor, meaning and sentiment in the understanding of commemorative practices. She concludes that cemetery monuments reflect historical changes in familial relationships and the identity of the individual, and that over the last 200 years monuments have changed little in their expressions of sentiment. Like Tarlow and Bell, I have placed the material culture of death within a broader social and historical context. The concepts of both status and metaphor are used to help analyse the material culture of the cemetery. Indeed the cemetery is viewed as a symbolic space in its entirety.

The architectural and art history approach is exemplified by James Stevens Curl's influential work, *A Celebration of Death* (2nd ed., 1993).⁸ His work is a significant catalogue of the development of architectural styles in the cemetery

⁷ Edward L. Bell, *Vestiges of Mortality and Remembrance: A bibliography on the historical archaeology of cemeteries*, The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1994, esp. his introduction which outlines the scholarly trends in archaeological investigations of historical cemeteries, pp. 1-35; Edward L. Bell, 'Documentary and Comparative Scholarly Research: Context in cemetery archaeology', in *In Remembrance: Archaeology and death*, eds. David A. Poirier & Nicholas F. Bellantoni, Bergin & Garvey, Westport, Connecticut, 1997, pp. 219-229; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*.

⁸ James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An introduction to some of the buildings, monuments, and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition*, 2nd ed., B.T. Batsford, London, 1993.

context in Britain and Europe. Curl describes not only the monuments, but also the chapels, lodges, and gates. He also looks at the landscaping of cemeteries, tracing the development of the garden cemetery movement, primarily in Britain. Curl provides a broad context by surveying the funerary architecture of ancient times, the Renaissance, Victorian and modern periods. He emphasises the interconnectedness of developments in Britain and Europe from industrialisation onwards.

One of the deficiencies of Curl's work is that it focuses upon the 'high culture' of funerary art, predominantly the mausoleums and funerary sculptures commissioned by the elite and attributable to known sculptors. He gives little historical attention to the mass produced headstones of the late nineteenth century and dismisses them as aesthetically unappealing and architecturally insignificant. 'The majority of cemeteries founded in mid-Victorian times are dull, ugly, and uninteresting ... and the mass-produced white marble tombstones are excruciating compared with the splendours of early monumental design.'⁹ The emphasis by Curl upon architecturally designed and artistically produced funerary monuments, in large primarily London-based cemeteries, has reinforced the processual interpretation of funerary monuments reflecting status and class. It has only been in the last couple of years that critiques of Curl's work have emerged, both in relation to the historical development of cemeteries and Victorian funerary practices.¹⁰ In this history of cemeteries in New South Wales, I have moved away from an elite architectural history of cemeteries in order to document the average cemetery, the average monument, and its cultural meanings.

⁹ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, The Patridge Press, Detroit, 1972, p. 158.

¹⁰ Julie Rugg, 'The Origins and Progress of Cemetery Establishment in Britain', in *The Changing Face of Death*, ed. P. C. Jupp and G. Howarth, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1997, pp. 105-119; Pat

Other significant works in architectural and art history also focus on elite funerary sculpture. Howard Colvin (1991), the doyen of architectural historians, provides a more detailed historical analysis of the development of funerary mausolea than Curl, but the focus is again on elite funerary architecture.¹¹ The work of Nicholas Penny (1977), Richard A. Etlin (1984) and David Bindman and Malcolm Baker (1995) also suffers from this bias, but these works are placed within a broader historical context that discusses the influences of philosophical, social and architectural movements on the design of funerary architecture.¹² Despite their deficiencies, these architectural histories provide an important historical context to the artistic conventions and traditions of funerary sculpture that are introduced and referenced by monumental masons in colonial New South Wales. They raise the question of the origins of the monumental designs and how these designs are transferred to Australia. Are designs copying stylistic techniques of elite church memorials or is there a distinctive vernacular style of funerary monuments?

English Churchyard Memorials, written by Frederick Burgess and originally published in 1963, was an important historical overview of more generic English monuments and provided the groundwork for future historical endeavours in Britain. Burgess produced a broad-ranging social history looking at three areas: the history of cemeteries, the history of monument design and symbolism, and the

Jalland, 'Victorian Death and its Decline: 1850-1918', in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, pp. 230-255.

¹¹ Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991.

¹² Nicholas Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1977. This history was based upon his PhD thesis 'Themes and conventions in English commemorative sculpture, c.1780 - c.1840', The Courtauld Institute of Art, London University, 1975. Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth Century Paris*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1984. See also his later work *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and its Legacy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994 which places cemetery design within the broader ideals of the enlightenment movement. David Bindman and

history of stonemasons.¹³ Burgess' main focus is upon the post reformation period (1550-1900) although he does review monuments from prehistoric times onwards. Burgess is successful in his aim of rescuing stonemasons 'from an ill-deserved oblivion'.¹⁴ His thoroughness in recounting the development of the industry, including the training, quarries, transport, wages, prices, pattern books, and contemporary attitudes towards masons, has meant that his work in the area has yet to be superseded. This reflects not simply Burgess' authority in the area, but also the paucity of research focused upon monumental masons. *English Churchyard Memorials* is an instructive model for the history of the monumental masonry business in New South Wales.

In America, the study of colonial gravestones has been encouraged by the formation of the Association for Gravestone Studies in 1977 and has produced a range of literature exploring gravestone manufacture, design and producers. These studies have focused upon common monumental types, rather than elite architecturally designed funerary sculpture. Nevertheless, the studies are generally site specific and few draw wider historical connections to the development of the funerary monument industry and cemeteries. One exception is Allan Ludwig's *Graven Images* an artistically and historically erudite analysis of New England stonecarving from 1650 to 1815.¹⁵ More recent work on gravestone design has moved away from specific art history and focused more upon social history, exploring ideas of status and ethnicity, for example Richard Meyer (ed.), *Ethnicity*

Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995.

¹³ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*.

¹⁴ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbolism 1650-1815*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, 1966.

and the American Cemetery (1993).¹⁶ Unfortunately, the majority of this literature is not widely available in Australia and thus has had little impact upon Australian cemetery historiography.

The only major study of funerary monument design in Australia is Lionel Gilbert's *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a vanishing form of folk art* (1980).¹⁷ As the title suggests, Gilbert views the gravestones in terms of art history. He photographically presents the different types of gravestone styles, noting unusual monuments. Gilbert provides one of the most comprehensive surveys of rural and metropolitan funerary architecture published to this day; however it is essentially a catalogue and provides little historical analysis of monumental design. Gilbert's work is supplemented by the earlier work of Judy Birmingham on nineteenth century gravestones and Joan Kerr and James Kerr's work on monumental masons in New South Wales.¹⁸ These histories are central pieces in the current historiography of cemeteries in Australia, but they are tantalisingly brief.¹⁹

Siobhan Lavelle and Richard Mackay attempt a more comprehensive examination of societal attitudes as reflected in grave markers. Their paper, 'Burial Grounds: Kitsch Memorials or Serious Undertakings?' was one of the first attempts

¹⁶ Richard Meyer (ed.), *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1993.

¹⁷ Lionel Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a vanishing form of folk art*, John Ferguson, Sydney, 1980. For other photographic catalogues of particular cemeteries see for example R. Nixon Dalkin, *Colonial Era Cemetery of Norfolk Island*, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 1974; Richard Lord, with photography by J.C.S. Bowler, *The Isle of the Dead, Port Arthur: inscriptions on the headstones and historical background of the cemetery at the Port Arthur Penal establishment. 1830-1887*, 3rd ed., Richard Lord and Partners, Taroona, Tasmania, 1985. Some local historical societies are now producing cemetery transcripts which include photographs of every monument.

¹⁸ Judy Birmingham, 'Nineteenth century tombstones', *Australian Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*, vol. 3 no. 1, 1973, pp. 6-11. Joan Kerr and James Kerr, with Stella Jack, 'Tombstones, masons and inscriptions', in *In Memoriam: Cemeteries and Tombstone Art in New South Wales*, Mary Mackay et.al., Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1981, pp. 15-21.

to summarise some of the trends in popular culture within the Australian cemetery.²⁰ It provides a brief documentation of individuals' attempts to express nationalism in commemorative monuments. Lavelle and Mackay only touch fleetingly upon the question of cultural importation, assimilation and the development of an Australian culture. Unlike contemporary overseas research, which examines the interaction of culture and the cemetery in more depth, this article on Australian cemeteries is at a more basic historiographical level, arguing for the importance of the cemetery as a social document and hinting at questions for future research, such as the expression and interaction of culture within the cemetery, the development of local styles by monumental masons, and the expression of nationalism. Many other questions remain unanswered. How did the monumental masonry industry develop in Australia? From where were the designs of Australian funerary monuments sourced - Britain, America or Europe? Is there a discernible shift in monument designs, and is this analogous to shifts overseas? Were Australian headstone designs derivative or did a distinctive form of design develop?

One question that has dominated national histories of death and funerary practices (and to a lesser extent cemeteries) is the question of cultural uniqueness - is there a national 'way of death'?²¹ Such a question in colonial context is not

¹⁹ This may be partially explained by their publishing constraints. Birmingham's work was published in an association newsletter, while the Kerr's work was an essay for a catalogue produced for an exhibition mounted by the Historic Houses Trust in 1981.

²⁰ Siobhan Lavelle and Richard Mackay, 'Burial Grounds: Kitsch Memorials or Serious Undertakings?', in *Archaeology and Colonisation: Australia in the World Context*, ed. Judy Birmingham, Damaris Bairstow, Andrew Wilson, Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Sydney, 1988, pp. 173-186.

²¹ See for example, Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death*, Hutchinson, London, 1963; Julian Litten *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450*, Robert Hale, London, 1991; and more recently Kathy Charmaz, Glennys Howarth & Allan Kellehear (eds.), *The Unknown Country: Death in Australia, Britain and the United States of America*, MacMillan Press, London, 1997. David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, Johns Hopkins

particularly enlightening, as it discourages cross-cultural comparison. More useful is the question of cultural transmission, to what extent the cultural construction of death is derivative or vernacular. Such an analysis needs to keep the global picture in mind, while focusing upon the local. My thesis focuses upon colonial New South Wales and charts the continuities and changes to the cemetery as it was introduced in Australia.

The history of Australian cemeteries is rarely told within the context of British and American developments. Rookwood Necropolis, the largest landscaped nineteenth century cemetery in Australia, dominates most historical accounts of cemeteries in New South Wales and is cited as the main example of the influence of the garden cemetery movement.²² The exceptional nature of Rookwood Necropolis is rarely acknowledged.²³ Sue Zelinka's social history of Botany Cemetery provides an alternative case study for the historical development of cemeteries in New South Wales and highlights the cultural influences on landscape design and funerary architecture in the continuing development of the cemetery.²⁴ A single cemetery, particularly one as extraordinary as Rookwood Necropolis, offers a limited view of

University Press, Baltimore, 1991 provides an insightful history of cemeteries in America that highlights the similarities and differences between cemeteries in America, Britain and Europe.

²² See for example David A. Weston (ed.), *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, Society of Australian Genealogists in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989; Wayne Johnson, 'The Evolution Of The Cemetery', *Heritage Conservation News*, November 1992, pp. 10-11; Bruce Welch, 'Rookwood Necropolis - A Victorian Landscape', *The Australian Garden Journal*, vol. 5 no. 4, 1986, pp. 144-146; Eileen Chanin, 'Nature Cannot Miss', *Landscape Australia*, no. 74, May-July 1997, pp. 142-146; Matthew Devine, 'The Garden of Mourning: The Necropolis at Rookwood, John Claudius Loudon, and the garden cemetery movement', B.Arch. Dissertation, Department of Architecture, University of Sydney, 1991; Curl, *Celebration of Death.*, pp.291-293.

²³ For an alternative discussion of nineteenth century landscaped cemeteries, from a Melbourne perspective, see Chris McConville, 'Cities of the dead: the new cemeteries of the nineteenth century', *Urban Futures Journal*, no. 22, June 1997, pp. 41-45, and from a Brisbane perspective, see Georgy McCall, 'The Brisbane General Cemetery: the accidental cemetery', in *Images of the Urban Conference Proceedings*, ed. Lynette Finch and Chris McConville, Sunshine Coast University College, Maroochydore South, 1997, pp. 48-51.

²⁴ Sue Zelinka, *Tender Sympathies: A social history of Botany Cemetery and the Eastern Suburbs Crematorium*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1991.

historical changes in cemeteries throughout the nineteenth century. This thesis draws upon evidence from burial grounds across the state.

The most comprehensive social history of Australian cemeteries is Robert Nicol's *At The End of the Road*, which traces the administrative development of cemeteries in South Australia, and particularly the history of Adelaide's first general cemetery, West Terrace Cemetery.²⁵ Nicol particularly focuses upon the role of government and the individual in the design and management of cemeteries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He provides some contextual analysis of other Australian states and Western European traditions, but he does not make any comparative reference to America. Nicol's work provides an important comparative history for this thesis. However there are some notable differences in emphasis and approach. Whereas Nicol focuses primarily on government management and intervention in the disposal of human remains over two centuries, I define the cemetery as a cultural institution and present a spatial history of nineteenth century general cemeteries in New South Wales. The administration of cemeteries is an important part of this history, but I also consider the landscaping and material culture of cemeteries more closely to ask questions about the cultural transmission of mourning culture, and the role of the cemetery in the construction of identity in colonial society.

The study of cemeteries from the perspective of landscape design is a natural development from examining funerary architecture, considering that many Victorian cemeteries in Britain were created with landscape as a foremost consideration. Furthermore, the landscaping of American cemeteries led to the

establishment of the landscape professional there. Histories of this nature initially began as a simple analysis of landscape design and architecture of cemeteries - when cemeteries were established and who designed them.²⁶

Recently more sophisticated cultural histories of cemetery landscapes have developed, such as those of Chris Brooks, Stanley French, David Schuyler, Blanche Linden-Ward, David Sloane, Richard A. Etlin, and Thomas Kselman.²⁷ Their arguments seek to situate the historical development of landscaped cemeteries within a broader social context in order to explain the evolution of design and the social perception of cemeteries. In these histories aesthetic and social values, such as the social reform movement, public health campaigns, garden landscaping, the Romantic movement, and the development of nationalism, are identified as contributing factors in defining and shaping the nineteenth century cemetery. These histories of American cemeteries provide an essential context for an Australian analysis of cemeteries because both Australia and America were 'settler nations' with a British heritage. The identification of cultural difference in French, British and American cemetery design has some interesting consequences for assessing the

²⁵ Robert Nicol, *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1994.

²⁶ See for example Richard A. Etlin, 'Pere Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 4 no. 3, 1984, pp. 211-222; Barbara Rotundo, 'Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 4 no. 3, 1984, pp. 255-267.

²⁷ Chris Brooks, *Mortal Remains: The History and Present State of the Victorian and Edwardian Cemetery*, Wheaton Publishers Ltd in association with The Victorian Society, Exeter, Devon, 1989; Stanley French, 'The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement', in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975, pp. 69-91; David Schuyler, 'The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 4 no. 3, 1984, pp. 291-304; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986, esp. ch. 3 'The Didactic Landscape: Rural Cemeteries', pp. 37-56; Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1989; David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1991; Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984; Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993.

development of cemeteries in Australia. To what extent have Australian cemeteries been influenced by the French, British or American cemetery movements? And at what stage did the colonists of New South Wales have access to these cemetery landscape innovations?

Paul Carter argues that a cultural place is constructed from the symbolic meanings attached to the space.²⁸ This idea of landscape as a cultural space layered with meanings and metaphors that combine to create the concept of a place is also taken up by Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory*.²⁹ It is ironic that in a book of such extraordinary breadth, and length, that cemeteries are not mentioned. However, the cultural history of cemeteries can benefit from the model of spatial history endorsed by Carter and Schama. The work of Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1974), is central to this approach. Lefebvre's premise was that "(Social) space is a (social) product" and he argued that there was a "conceptual triad" that defined social space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces.³⁰ Edward Soja (1996) clarifies and expands upon Lefebvre's work arguing that spatial practice is the *perceived space*, the 'real' space, 'the process of producing the material form of social spatiality' (what Soja calls Firstspace); representations of space are the *conceived space*, the 'imagined' space (Secondspace); and representational spaces are the lived spaces of representations, '*real-and-imagined places*, the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' with all their multiple meanings (Thirdspace).³¹ When applied to the cemetery, it can be seen that the cemetery is not simply a functional mode of corpse disposal, but that it has been constructed with

²⁸ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An exploration of landscape and history*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1988, p.xxiv.

²⁹ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, Fontana Press, London, 1995.

³⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, Oxford, 1991. Originally published 1974.

particular meanings, and that these meanings have been used and distorted in various ways. Two spatial histories have been written about cemeteries, with varying success. Michel Ragon's *Space of Death* is a wide ranging work which examines how the cemetery spatially imitates the urbanism of society.³² The broad scope of Ragon's work means that some of his historical evidence is unsatisfying, making brushstroke comparisons between the metropolis and the necropolis that pay little attention to rural cemeteries or private cemeteries on homesteads. Richard Etlin, in contrast, has written a stimulating history of *Symbolic Space* that places the cemetery as a landscape of the dead within a broader architectural and social movement of the French Enlightenment.³³

The cemetery has been identified by many different historians as a culturally significant landscape where various social tensions and attitudes are expressed or played out. Pierre Nora described the cemetery as a site of memory, a *lieu de memoire*;³⁴ Etlin has postulated the notion of the cemetery as a symbolic space;³⁵ Michel Foucault believed the cemetery was a site of heterotopia.³⁶ They all give this

³¹ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, esp. introduction, and ch. 1 & 2.

³² Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism*, trans. Alan Sheridan, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1983.

³³ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994.

³⁴ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, no. 26, Spring, 1989, pp. 7-25.

³⁵ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, especially chapters 6 & 7; *The Architecture of Death: The transformation of the cemetery in eighteenth-century Paris*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1984.

³⁶ Michel Foucault, 'Of other spaces', *Diacritics*, Spring 1986, pp. 22-27; Benjamin Genocchio, 'Discourse, discontinuity, difference: the question of 'other' spaces', in *Postmodern cities and spaces*, ed. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995, pp. 35-46; Edward W. Soja, 'Heterotopologies: A remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA', in *Postmodern cities and spaces*, ed. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995 pp. 13-33; Mary McLeod, 'Other' Spaces and 'Others'', in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway and Leslie Kanes Weisman (eds.), Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1996, pp. 15-28; Julie Mariko Matthews, 'Foucault: Landscapes of Place and Theories of Power-in-Spacing', in *Images of the Urban Conference Proceedings*, ed. Lynette Finch and Chris McConville, Sunshine Coast University College International Australian Studies Association, Maroochydore, 1997, pp. 208-211.

collision a different name, yet I believe they are all pointing to the same phenomena; in other words, the cemetery is a space where dichotomies merge, cultural boundaries become blurred, and symbolic representations of society are heightened. Thus cemeteries become important sites for historians to explore social definitions of and attitudes towards religion, gender, death, class, history and memory. The cemetery is not the only place where boundaries become blurred - I am not arguing that the cemetery is unique in this sense. Rather the cemetery highlights the complexities of social order and suggests that the dichotomies historians use to characterise society - such as the public and private spheres - are not always so clear cut.

One final area of research intimately associated with the historiography of cemeteries is death studies. The study of mourning culture and death became fashionable in the 1970s. In Britain, the field was led by John Morley. His *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (1971) provided an overview of the social history of mourning culture in Britain.³⁷ Of particular merit are the 134 plates which catalogue the visual representation of mourning culture in nineteenth century Britain. These form a comprehensive body of evidence of Victorian mourning culture from widow's weeds and 'in memoriam' cards to coach hearses and death masks. Morley's work remains the most accessible collection of the material culture of Victorian funerals and mourning.³⁸

The most influential history of death in Europe - *The Hour of Our Death* - was written in 1977 by the French cultural historian Philippe Ariès. His ideas were first

³⁷ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, Studio Vista, London, 1971.

presented in a series of lectures at Johns Hopkins University which were published in English in 1974.³⁹ *The Hour of Our Death* was first translated into English in 1981.⁴⁰ An adherent of the *Annales* school, Ariès sought to understand society's attitudes to death from the middle ages to the present in order to elucidate subtle changes. In looking not simply at cemeteries, but rather at broader social attitudes, Ariès incorporated a wide variety of sources and images to create an understanding of an often intangible concept - death.⁴¹ He maintained that there have been four main shifts in Western attitudes. Up to the early middle ages, Ariès argued that death was 'tamed'. People were familiar with death, accepted their own death and died without drama. A shift occurred from the 11th to 12th centuries which Ariès termed 'One's Own Death'. Death became more individual, and the dying conducted their final wishes from their deathbed. The self became more important and remembrance of the deceased's identity began to be illustrated in the distribution of their will and performances of masses. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the emphasis was upon the death of the other person - 'Thy Death'. The concern with the death of the other led to excessive mourning, carrying out of rituals, the cult of the dead and the flourishing of cemeteries. During this period there was a cultural omnipresence of death. The final shift has occurred in the twentieth century. Death has become 'forbidden'. It is distanced from everyday experience and to some extent has become 'unnamable'.⁴²

³⁸ For a more recent scholarly discussion of mourning culture placing it within an artistic historical context see Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual culture in the English death ritual c.1500-c.1800*, Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991.

³⁹ Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974.

⁴⁰ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1981. (current paperback edition, Oxford University Press, 1991)

⁴¹ See Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, trans. Janet Lloyd, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1985 for an examination of the representation of death in the fine arts.

The Hour of Our Death was a pioneering history in death studies and was instrumental in promoting the study of funerals, mourning culture and death in Britain and the USA. It is unfortunate that few other French histories of death have been translated into English⁴³, and their impact in Australia - apart from Ariès - has been slight. Ariès' bold use of the *longue durée* provided a 'panoramic survey' of changes in attitudes to death, long before considered tomes discussing discrete centuries had been penned. John McManners (1981) identifies this as both the strength and weakness of Ariès' work.

Free from the professional misgivings which so often confine historians to limited periods of time and restricted geographical areas, ignoring their carefully devised boundaries and the clichés of periodization and theme, and refusing to bother about the problem of how many examples are needed to prove a trend or justify a general assertion, and dipping recklessly into the mass of disparate evidence thrown up by liturgies, art and literature, he [Ariès] has glimpsed, vividly, some sharply contrasting patterns of human reactions.⁴⁴

The sweeping chronology of Ariès has encouraged historians in other countries to produce histories on death covering several centuries, with varying degrees of scholarly rigour. Julian Litten's *The English Way of Death* (1991) surveys the common funeral from 1450 to c.1850s and is a detailed account of the development of funeral customs, funerary hardware and burial practices over the period using both archaeological and historical evidence.⁴⁵ And recently the British response to Ariès, *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (1999) was published. This is an

⁴² Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*. See also Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes toward Death - from the middle ages to the present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974.

⁴³ In an attempt to make the work of French historians more accessible and 'to make English readers aware of the methodological ingenuity of contemporary French historians' (p. v), John McManners synthesised the work of Michel Vovelle, Pierre Chaunu, Robert Favre and Philippe Ariès and others in his book *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing attitudes to death in eighteenth-century France*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985.

⁴⁴ John McManners, 'Death and the French Historians', in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the social history of death*, ed. Joachim Whaley, Europa Publications Ltd, London, 1981, p. 118.

⁴⁵ Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The common funeral since 1450*, Robert Hale, London, 1991. See also his article 'The English funeral 1700-1850' in *Grave Concerns: Death and burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, York, 1998, pp. 3-16.

admirable publication using an interdisciplinary team of scholars to write about death from c.500,000 BC until today.⁴⁶ *In the midst of life... the Australian response to death* is the major contribution to this area of study in Australia, but is the poor cousin of Ariès' work. Griffin and Tobin provide a sweeping social history of changing death practices over approximately two hundred years with little critical analysis or contextual history.⁴⁷ It is however still the standard text for death studies in Australia.⁴⁸ This thesis provides an alternative cultural history of death in Australia, illustrating the development of cemeteries in colonial New South Wales and how they introduced, constructed and defined cultural values such as death, memory, identity, class, status, gender, and public and private space.

Two of Ariès' conclusions were particularly insightful and have been further refined by later historians. First, Ariès emphasised "the significance of the rise of the self-conscious individual with his passion for living".⁴⁹ This has been explored further by Gittings (1984), Richardson (1988) and Tarlow (1999), and it is now generally accepted that individualism has played an important role in Western attitudes towards death.⁵⁰ Second, Ariès pointed to "the impact of family affections" for bereavement and mourning culture. Walvin (1982) and Jalland (1996) have since shown the importance of familial relationships in mourning culture in the

⁴⁶ Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (ed.), *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999.

⁴⁷ Griffin and Tobin, *In the Midst of Life*.

⁴⁸ Late in 2000 a new book on death in Australia was published. Allan Kellehear (ed.), *Death and Dying in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2000. Unfortunately the book came to the author's attention too late to be included in this history. It is however an excellent contribution to the scholarship of death studies in Australia, approaching death from a historical and sociological point of view.

⁴⁹ McManners, 'Death and the French Historians', p. 121.

⁵⁰ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, Crom Helm, London, 1984; Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Penguin Books, London, 1988; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*.

nineteenth century.⁵¹ These arguments are taken up to illustrate how monumental and landscape design reflect familial relationships and how mourning culture dominated the domesticated private sphere of women.

McManners' tempered admiration of *The Hour of Our Death* (quoted earlier) foreshadowed a reaction against Ariès' work. Ariès' research has been criticised in the 1990s for being too broad and impressionistic, and not providing enough evidence to support his assertions; for being unsystematic in its approach and using evidence of one period to generalise about a characteristic in another period. His conclusions about the five attitudes towards death have also been challenged.⁵² Historians of predominantly Protestant countries such as Britain warned of the dangers of applying Ariès' conclusions uncritically as he interpreted the essentially Catholic culture of France.⁵³ Despite these problems, *The Hour of Our Death* is enlightening for the historian studying death in Australia as it provides a broad context and a wide timespan from which to view the development of European cemeteries. While comparable periods may not necessarily be identified in Australia specifically⁵⁴, it provides a guideline of how attitudes towards death shifted and how these attitudes were socially expressed.

Since the 1990s, poststructuralism and gender studies have had a major impact in shifting the focus of death studies away from material culture and back

⁵¹ James Walvin, 'Dust to Dust: Celebrations of death in Victorian England', *Historical Reflections*, vol. 9 no. 3, Fall 1982, pp. 353-371; Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996. See also her essay 'Victorian death and its decline: 1850-1918', in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, pp. 230-255.

⁵² Vanessa Harding, 'Research priorities: an historian's perspective', in *Grave Concerns: Death and burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, York, 1998, pp. 205-212; Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, pp. 3-5; Grace Karskens, 'Death was in his Face', pp. 22-23.

⁵³ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, pp. 7-8.

towards an analysis of literature and art. Michael Wheeler (1994) looks at the role of religion in shaping attitudes towards death in Victorian England through religious texts and literature, while Joshua Scodel (1991) and Esther Schor (1994) both look at the English poetic traditions in England and their manifestation in mourning culture.⁵⁵ An interest in death and sexuality is evidenced in the work of Elisabeth Bronfen (1992, 1993), Sarah Webster Goodwin (1993) and Karl S. Guthke (1999).⁵⁶ This is a relatively new area of research within death studies and “has been developing in the histories of art and culture and in sociological analysis about the symbolism and language of the human body.”⁵⁷ Detailed analysis of gendered attitudes towards and experience of death and burial is still in its infancy.⁵⁸ I shall be contributing to this debate through exploring the role of gender in the cemetery’s representation of mourning.

Finally recent work on collective memory has focused on commemoration in the twentieth century, and particularly on the impact of the Great War. Historians have identified the Great War as a turning point in the history of mourning. At its simplest level, it has been argued that the surfeit of death, especially during the First World War, led to a dramatic change in mourning culture - ‘the individuality of death had been buried under literally millions of corpses’.⁵⁹ This argument has

⁵⁴ Karskens, ‘Death was in his Face’, argues that ‘tame death’ and ‘the good death’ were strong concepts in early Sydney.

⁵⁵ Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1991; Esther Schor, *The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994.

⁵⁶ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, femininity and the aesthetic*, Routledge, New York, 1992; Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen (ed.) *Death and Representation*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1993; Karl S. Guthke, *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History In Art and Literature*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

⁵⁷ Jupp & Gittings (eds.), *Death In England*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Harding, ‘Research priorities: an historian’s perspective’, pp. 210-211. See for example, Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, esp. ch. 11 & 12.

⁵⁹ Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (1987), quoted in Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 373. Daniel J. Sherman identifies the surfeit of death from the Great War as one of the

since been refined, with cultural historians looking at the complex interplay between demographics, the medicalisation of society (which contributed to declining mortality rates), the secularisation of society, changing religious beliefs, and images of war and death to help explain the shift in mourning practices that came into stark relief after the Great War.⁶⁰ An analysis of death and the Great War in New South Wales is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, these histories have theoretical relevance because of their interpretation of public or collective memory, commemoration and mourning through monumentation, which may be equally applied to the interpretation of cemeteries and funerary monuments, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁶¹ What was the role of private memory and public memory in the erection of funerary monuments? How important was it for the individual, family, and more broadly the community? How was it expressed? I argue that funerary monuments were essential to the perpetuation of the memory of the deceased, and the cemetery became an important place for the social construction of both public and private memories and identities.

commonest explanations for the collective commemorative efforts after the war, while Ken Inglis notes the paradoxical influence of the sheer number of deaths reducing the public expression of grief at an individual level. See Daniel J. Sherman, 'Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France after World War I', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, p. 187; K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne University Press (Miegunyah Press), Melbourne, 1998, p. 102.

⁶⁰ David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley, Europa Publications Ltd, London, 1981, pp. 187-242; Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, esp. ch. 18; K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places*. See also John R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, Berg, Oxford, 1998.

⁶¹ Indeed in his introduction to the edited collection of essays on *Commemorations*, John R. Gillis notes the parallels between how memory and identity worked at both a public and private level. See John R. Gillis, 'Introduction - Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994, p. 5.

Cemeteries in Nineteenth-Century New South Wales: Landscapes of Memory and Identity is a spatial history that builds upon the theoretical interest in cemetery landscapes and interprets the general cemetery as a cultural institution, a place constructed from layers of metaphorical meanings based upon the cemetery ideal and its privileging of memory and identity. The history of the general cemetery is interpreted within the broader cultural history of mourning culture. The cemetery is not divorced from other expressions of mourning, but rather is seen as the product and representation of those cultural values that connected death and commemoration, memory and identity.

To interpret the cemetery landscape, I use both primary documents and material culture. The colonial government was involved in the provision of burial grounds from the colony's foundation and consequently there are several archival government administrative files on cemetery establishment and management. In addition, there were a number of parliamentary inquiries into the management of cemeteries whose minutes of evidence provide a rare insight into how the colonial government understood the ideals of 'the cemetery' and how these were realised in the colony. Parliamentary legislation and debates supplement these inquiries and demonstrate government concerns and understandings about the burial of the dead. Historical maps and survey plans of cemeteries were central for the interpretation of cemetery design and landscaping. Cemetery trustee minute books provided an alternative view of administration to that of the government. Until the mid-twentieth century, most general cemeteries were administered by the individual denominational groups and thus many nineteenth-century trustee

minute books have been lost.⁶² The extant material provides a limited yet highly illuminating view of the history of general cemeteries. They offer insights into how the rules and regulations, established by the trustees and the government to maintain the ideals of 'the cemetery', were negotiated and interpreted. Trade catalogues, pattern books, monumental masons' business records and advertisements were utilised to facilitate the historical analysis of memorial design, its origins and meanings. Contemporary newspaper and journal reports and town guides supplement these sources by giving public commentary and editorials on cemeteries, burials and funerals. The artefacts - the gravemarkers and inscriptions - and designs of cemeteries constitute the material evidence. The National Trust of Australia (NSW) has been conducting a statewide survey of burial grounds for twenty years and is the leading authority on cemeteries in New South Wales.⁶³ The photographic and archival records of the National Trust have been used extensively in researching this thesis to provide comparative material. In addition multiple field trips were undertaken in the Sydney metropolitan region, Central Western and South-Eastern New South Wales.

This thesis analyses the two main physical elements of the cemetery - the landscape and the monuments - to demonstrate how social values of memory and identity were constructed and represented. Chapter one presents the historical development of the Western cemetery ideal. It outlines the philosophical, moral,

⁶² Trustees' minute books were located for four cemeteries covering the period up to 1910: Rookwood Necropolis, Cooks River St Peters Anglican Cemetery, Manly - Balgowlah General Cemetery, and Springwood Cemetery. Apart from Rookwood Necropolis, these records all emanated from the Church of England. A couple of trustees minute books for the mid-twentieth century were also identified by the author, however these were not utilised as they fell outside the historic period of study. It is hoped that more trustees' minutes will come to light in the future so that the current imbalance of evidence from different religious denominations can be overcome.

⁶³ National Trust of Australia (NSW), *Cemeteries: A Policy Paper*, National Trust (NSW), Sydney, 1985; National Trust of Australia (NSW), *Interim Masterlist of Burial Grounds in New South Wales*, n.d.

economic and sanitary issues that contributed to the evolution of the cemetery ideal in Britain, Europe and the United States of America. Prominent 'model' cemeteries are described and their key landscaping features analysed. This chapter provides the necessary background to understand the cemetery ideal as it was realised in colonial New South Wales.

After introducing the cemetery ideal and international precedents in chapter one, the next three chapters focus on the main physical and symbolic characteristics of the cemetery landscape and its utility as a burial ground. Burial practices in the colony were greatly influenced by the burial reform movement in Britain and as early as the 1840s the ideas of the garden cemetery movement were being introduced. Chapter two introduces the main types of burial grounds in New South Wales and their evolution over the course of a century. It analyses the situation, layout and management of cemeteries and demonstrates how the cemetery ideal was adopted to create general cemeteries. Unlike the first cemeteries in Britain and America, general cemeteries were set up by the colonial government, but managed on a daily level by religious groups. Sectarian divisions and struggles between the Church and State in the second half of the nineteenth century left an enduring legacy on the design and management of cemeteries.

Having established the physical design and management of burial grounds, chapters three and four interpret the general cemetery landscape as a symbolic space and place. Nineteenth century social attitudes and values relating to religion, death, class, tastes and respectability duly informed definitions, perceptions and utilisations of general cemeteries.

Chapter three analyses the landscaping and picturesque qualities of cemeteries in New South Wales. The cemetery landscape was an important element in defining the cemetery as a sacred space. Through its location, landscape and monuments, the cemetery was to be a sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum. While the rhetoric ostensibly focused on the sacred nature of the cemetery's space, the underlying concerns were much more secular. Genteel notions of social status, taste and respectability were the ultimate definers of the cemetery's landscape.

Chapter four contrasts the tranquil landscape of the cemetery ideal in chapter three with the perceived health threat from the subterranean sea of corruptible corpses. Public inquiries into the management of cemeteries in the nineteenth century aimed to eliminate the public perception (and in some cases the reality) of the overcrowded burial ground as a source of disease and death. The ensuing discussion of miasmas and burial regulations, particularly in relation to pauper burials, illustrates a concern not only with health, but also with moral reform and social respectability.

The thesis then turns to consider cemetery monuments and their role in the cemetery landscape. Sepulchral designs, and the meanings attached to them, are analysed to demonstrate how they construct, reflect and reinforce social values: in particular, nineteenth century ideas about taste, respectability, memory, commemoration and identity. Chapter five briefly outlines the development of the monumental masonry industry in New South Wales before moving on to analyse the sepulchral designs themselves. The cultural transmission of funerary sculpture and local adaptation of styles is demonstrated through pattern books and

gravemarkers. Sepulchral designs in New South Wales were essentially modified derivatives from Great Britain. As the century progressed, funerary monuments became less individualised and more standardised. Monumental masons offered variety and choice, but rarely originality when it came to designs. A Victorian propensity for eclectic styles and symbols was a defining feature of gravemarkers in New South Wales, but this did not translate into a discernible Australian style.

The nineteenth-century cemetery was a space that allowed for both public visitation and private meditation and was thus simultaneously a private space for mourning and a public space for the commemoration of the dead. Chapter six interprets the role of memorials in the public and private space of the cemetery. It explores the relationship between funerary sculpture, commemoration, memory and identity in the nineteenth century. It argues that cemeteries were not only central to mourning culture and the perpetuation of private memories and individual identities; cemeteries were also sites central to the creation of public memory and public history, particularly through public funeral, commemorative services and sepulchral monuments.

Finally, the meanings of both the landscape and the monuments are analysed to see how they shaped the functions and uses of the cemetery. Chapter seven looks at the utilisation of cemeteries as a public space, specifically a recreational space. It demonstrates that cemeteries were popular places for passive recreation, especially for women. The cemetery became a feminised public space - a space acceptable for the recreation of women - firstly, because of the cultural assumptions connecting gender and death, particularly idealised passive femininity, nature and death, and secondly, because the cemetery blurred the

boundaries of public and private space. This gendered spatial demarcation of the cemetery meant that the cemetery in the nineteenth century became the feminine counterpoint to the masculine space of the public park or garden.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of general cemeteries had been surveyed by the government and were established in rural towns across the state. Many of these general cemeteries are still in use today. These burial grounds were a key defining feature in colonial towns, providing a place where cultural values were introduced, established and negotiated. But by the late 1880s a subtle change in attitudes towards death can be discerned. And its expression is found not in the general cemeteries themselves, but in the public debate over the commemoration of the centennial of European settlement in New South Wales. The 1888 celebrations were viewed by colonial parliamentarians as a defining moment in the colony's history, to be marked with a profound and enduring statement of the colony's, indeed the country's, origins and identity. Sir Henry Parkes' proposal for a State House, which would include a public mausoleum for Australia's great white males, was rejected as an inappropriate and morbid form of commemoration. The role of funerary sculpture in defining public memory and identity was beginning to be questioned. The State House did not become the national marker of identity, and consequently the symbolic significance of the cemetery subtly shifted. The era of the ideal cemetery was coming to an end.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CEMETERY IDEAL IN THE 'AGE OF IMPROVEMENT'

The ideal of the cemetery has had an enduring legacy. It evolved in Britain and Europe in the late eighteenth century and revolutionised the burial of the dead across the Western world. The origins and motivations for the garden cemetery in the 'age of improvement' were complex and interrelated. This chapter outlines the philosophical, moral, economic and sanitary issues that contributed to the evolution of the cemetery ideal in Britain, Europe and the United States of America. This ideal was part of the cultural baggage that arrived in Australia with the foundation of the colony of New South Wales. Prominent cemeteries that developed in Britain and Europe, and to a lesser extent the United States of America, were models for the general cemetery in New South Wales. The major features of these garden cemeteries are analysed, providing the necessary historical context to understand the development of general cemeteries in New South Wales.

Asa Briggs defined the years 1783-1867 in England 'the age of improvement'.¹ This definition is particularly useful when considering the cemetery ideal, cutting as it does over the Georgian period ('the age of balance') and the Victorian period ('the age of progress'). The development of the cemetery ideal and the associated burial reform movement and garden/rural cemetery movements was a long, drawn-out process that began in the late eighteenth century and continued until well into the 1860s. It embraced the values of both the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement and embodied the ideals of sublime (yet ordered) Nature, moral improvement, and civilisation. The terminating date of 1867 is particularly

¹ Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867*, Longmans, London, 1959.

apt when discussing the cemetery ideal in relation to New South Wales, for this is the date that Rookwood Necropolis, the colony's finest interpretation of the garden cemetery, was established.

The State of British Churchyards

The parish churchyard had been the traditional place of burial in Britain since the eighth century and similarly, in France, since the Middle Ages. The privileged were housed within and beneath the church itself, with the general population buried around the church, usually in anonymous graves and often in communal burial pits. By the end of the eighteenth century however, it was becoming apparent that these small churchyards (usually only about one acre in size) were unable to cope with the growing population of both the living and the dead.

Increasing health standards had contributed to a population boom in the late eighteenth century, which led to rapid urbanisation as well as higher mortality figures. Such demographic changes put enormous pressure on the traditional burial grounds.² Between the 1760's and 1800's the number of deaths per five year period in England increased from 885,000 to more than a million. By 1845-49 (and with the help of a series of cholera and influenza epidemics) this figure had catapulted to 1,900,000.³ The small churchyards were forced to inter these increased numbers in any way that they could. Corpses were buried one on top of the other until the churchyard was often perceptibly higher than the church foundations or the nearby

² Vanessa Harding, 'Burial on the margin: distance and discrimination in early modern London', in *Grave Concerns: Death & Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, York, 1998, pp. 54-64; Julie Rugg, 'From reason to regulation: 1760-1850', in *Death in England: An illustrated history*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, pp. 215-221; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981, pp. 29-92; John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: changing attitudes to death in eighteenth-century France*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985, pp. 303-319.

street. Often graves were upturned and bones removed to the charnel house to make way for more burials.⁴

Urbanisation meant that many churchyards became surrounded by residential dwellings. In some instances, the churchyard became an extension of the market place or street and was used for 'the feeding of cattle ..., the playing of games, depositing dung, the emptying of chamber-pots or "easing of nature", fighting, performing plays and hanging out washing to dry.'⁵ The dead, as described by Charles Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby*, 'lay cheek by jowl with life; no deeper down than the feet of the throng that passed there every day, and piled high as their throats.'⁶

Such conditions and their impact upon the living were identified as a concern well before the nineteenth century. Indeed, following the Reformation in Britain in 1560, burial within churches had been banned. While religious puritanism was one of the reasons behind this decision issues of hygiene were also recognised. The edict however had little effect, despite its continual reiteration by church authorities.⁷ Similarly John McManners records that in May 1765 the Government in Paris ordered that from the following year no more burials were to take place inside the church and all parish burial grounds were to be closed. This dictate was met with popular opposition, and many clergy went to great lengths to ensure their burial ground was not closed. It was followed by an equally ineffective Royal

³ Rugg, 'From reason to regulation', p. 219.

⁴ This was equally true in Britain and France. See Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, Croom Helm, London, 1984, p. 139; McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p. 304.

⁵ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 141.

⁶ Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-39) quoted in Rugg, 'From reason to regulation', p. 220.

⁷ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, p. 141; Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An archaeology of Mortality*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1999, pp. 89-94.

Declaration in March 1776 which required that cemeteries endangering air quality, and thus public health, be removed.⁸ Given the failure of such legislative measures and the continuing popular acceptance of poor burial conditions why did the overcrowded burial grounds suddenly become an issue in the nineteenth century?

Burial reform is most often cited as the main reason for the development of the cemetery in nineteenth century Europe and Britain. Burial and health reformers identified the overcrowded burial grounds as insalubrious and a threat to public health. James Stevens Curl argues that hygienic necessity led to the creation of cemeteries, initially in colonial settlements, such as India and Louisiana, and later in Europe where the Parisian cemetery, Père-Lachaise, led the way.⁹ Curl attributes the adoption of the cemetery ideal in Britain to a campaign waged by barrister George Frederick Carden against burial grounds.¹⁰ From the mid 1820's Carden wrote a series of pieces that unfavourably compared the state of burial practices in Britain with those in France.¹¹

The man responsible for transforming the debate and capturing the public's imagination however was a London doctor, George Alfred Walker. In 1839 Walker published *Gatherings from Graveyards, particularly those of London, &c.*, an exposé of the condition of London's churchyards. He documented in minute detail the current burial practices and the threats to public health that they presented. He concluded that intramural burial (ie: burial within towns in churchyards and churches) was a

⁸ McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, pp. 309-311.

⁹ James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An introduction to some of the buildings, monuments, and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition*, 2nd ed., B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1993, pp. 135-167. See also Harold Mytum, 'Public health and private sentiment: the development of cemetery architecture and funerary monuments from the eighteenth century onwards', *World Archaeology*, vol. 21 no. 2, 1989, pp. 283-295.

¹⁰ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 207.

¹¹ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, pp. 10-11.

source of disease and contagion, and posed an unacceptable threat to public health. He argued the government should intervene to reform burial practices and establish national extramural cemeteries.¹²

Walker's impact upon the burial reform and sanitary movement has been downplayed or even ignored until recently, however, as Julie Rugg argues, Walker was a key figure in the debate.

What was radical about Walker's approach was the language used. All his medical case-studies were drawn out with sickening detail, and his descriptions of conditions in graveyards dwelt unremittingly on stench and gore.¹³

His descriptions were at times melodramatic - the morbid details presented with what bordered upon an almost 'Gothic relish' - but his conclusions were accepted wholeheartedly by the medical community and, more importantly, the general public. *Gatherings from Graveyards* transformed the way in which churchyards were perceived and described. The churchyard became a pestilential burial ground emanating fatal miasmas, abhorrent to the moral, civic and sanitary views of the rational Victorian.¹⁴

Walker's conclusions were extracted and reproduced in periodicals across Britain. The medical journal, the *Lancet*, published corroborating evidence and medical cases, and the *Builder* joined the chorus against intramural burial.¹⁵ Walker's

¹² Julie Rugg, 'A new burial form and its meanings: cemetery establishment in the first half of the 19th century' in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, 1998, pp. 52-53; Chris Brooks, *Mortal Remains: The History and Present State of the Victorian and Edwardian Cemetery*, Wheaton in association with The Victorian Society, Exeter, 1989, pp. 30-33.

¹³ Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 53.

¹⁴ Walker followed up his 'success' with several other volumes chronicling the continuing unsanitary state of churchyards: *The Graveyards of London* (1841); *Interment and Disinterment* (1843); and *Burial-Ground Incendiarism* (1846). A second edition of *Gatherings from Graveyards* was published in 1852. He also founded The Metropolitan Association for the Abolition of Burials in Towns. Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, p. 32.

¹⁵ Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 53; Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, pp. 32-33.

work even found its way to New South Wales and was cited during similar debates on intramural burial in Sydney.¹⁶ The *Westminster Review* concluded its review of Walker's book by calling for a parliamentary inquiry.

The subject has been well opened, and it ought not now to be dropped. Some member of Parliament ... should move the appointment of a committee or commission of inquiry, and bring forth an additional body of evidence that should shame into silence the superstitious and the mercenary.¹⁷

Walker's investigation galvanised the push for burial reform and his call for reform was taken up by parliamentarians and bureaucrats, in particular the social reformer Edwin Chadwick. Chadwick was the Secretary to the Poor Law Board who had compiled several reports into sanitation and the poor. He was responsible for the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) which, although it established a uniform system of poor relief, was despised by the lower classes and critics for its Benthamite policies and authoritarianism. Chadwick's is probably best known for his substantial *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain* (published 1842) and the supplementary report *On the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns* (published 1843).¹⁸

In these two reports Chadwick confirmed and reinforced Walker's findings in *Gatherings from Graveyards*. He condemned the practices of intramural burial on health grounds declaring that:

¹⁶ William Bell, Surgeon &c., Pitt-Street, 'Graveyards', *The Empire*, Sydney, December 6 1866, p. 2. Although it appears that *Gatherings from Graveyards* was available in Sydney, to date no copies of this first edition have been identified in public libraries. The second edition of *Gatherings from Graveyards* was published under the title *On the past and present state of intramural burying places, with practical suggestions for the establishment of national extramural cemeteries*, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, London, 1852, and is available at the University of Sydney Library. [Fisher Library Rare Books, RB4752.37] The impact of Walker's work and the associated theory of miasmas in colonial New South Wales will be discussed further in chapter four.

¹⁷ J.H.E., 'Gatherings from Grave-yards by G.A. Walker' [rev. art.], *Westminster Review*, XXXVII, 1842, p. 216.

¹⁸ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, pp. 33-34; Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Penguin Books, London, 1988, p. 157.

...the emanations from human remains are of a nature to produce fatal disease, and to depress the general health of whosoever is exposed to them; and ... interments in the vaults of churches, or in grave-yards surrounded by inhabited houses, contribute to the mass of atmospheric and other impurities by which the general health and average duration of life of the inhabitants is diminished.¹⁹

He also investigated the retention of corpses in the houses of the labouring classes, concluding:

The greatest injury done by emanations from decomposing remains of the dead to the health of the living of the labouring classes, in many populous districts, arises from the long retention of the body before interment in the single rooms in which families of those classes live and have their meals, and sleep... [t]his practice of the prolonged retention of the dead in such crowded rooms, besides being physically injurious, is morally degrading and brutalizing.²⁰

To remedy the situation, Chadwick recommended that sanitary measures be introduced immediately. Interments within towns amidst the living were to be 'entirely prohibited'. Like Walker before him, Chadwick suggested that the government should establish and maintain national cemeteries under the care of public health officers. He further advocated the establishment of mortuaries in all towns for the reception of corpses and the abolishment of excessive funeral charges. In principle this could be done by making the national cemeteries, rather than private undertakers, responsible for funeral arrangements.²¹

The evidence produced by both Walker and Chadwick vividly demonstrates the burial crisis that was being experienced in Britain by the early nineteenth century. John McManners has shown similar problems in France in the eighteenth

¹⁹ Edwin Chadwick, Esq., *A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns, Made at the request of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department*, London, 1843, p. 197.

²⁰ Chadwick, *Interment in Towns*, p. 197.

²¹ Chadwick, *Interment in Towns*, p. 199.

century, and David Sloane demonstrates that burial grounds in the east coast states of the United States also faced severe overcrowding between 1780-1830.²²

The push for hygienic burial reform, however, is not sufficient in itself to explain the development, or widespread introduction, of the cemetery in the nineteenth century. As we have seen earlier, although poor burial conditions were endemic throughout the eighteenth century in both Britain and France there was considerable resistance toward reform efforts. Moreover as Rugg has demonstrated, burial and sanitary reformers did not seize the debate until the 1840s, by which time several cemeteries had already been established in cities and provincial towns in Britain and continental Europe.²³

The establishment of cemeteries was, in fact, part of a broader movement by the bourgeoisie to impose both moral and physical improvements upon the urban environment. An association between physical health and moral well-being was common in public health debates of the time and, as Anthony Wohl notes, sanitary reform was often a 'moral crusade' for the Victorians. 'If the diagnosis was that immorality was rooted in physical impurity then the remedy, the preventative medicine, called for the abolition of evil through the abolition of dirt and disease.'²⁴ Sanitary reform and moral reform went hand-in-hand. It was this added moral imperative that made reform possible in the nineteenth century, where it had not been earlier.

²² McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, pp. 303-319; David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1991, pp. 29-43.

²³ Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 53.

²⁴ Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, London, 1983, pp. 6-7.

Throughout western civilizations at the turn of the [nineteenth] century, the spread of gentility to larger portions of the population premised formulation of new criteria for urban cleanliness as well as new definitions of the proper and respectful ways to treat the dead. Many urbanites became sensitive to an unprecedented degree to the variety of foul smells that filled their environment; they began to consider repulsive the garbage and dirt that filled their streets. Burial reform was only one of many ways in which urbanites attempted to improve their surroundings.²⁵

This observation by Blanche Linden-Ward points to the important relationship between urban reform and the middle class values of gentility and respectability during 'the age of improvement'. Thomas Kselman extends this further, commenting that the transferral from churchyards to cemeteries is 'rich in cultural significance...The removal of cemeteries [to areas outside of the towns] reflects not only concerns about public health but also a new understanding of the appropriate relationship between the living and the dead.'²⁶ Kselman's argument highlights the extent to which the development of the cemetery was informed by cultural and philosophical values as well as utilitarian measures.

Religious imperatives

The cemetery, as an alternative to the traditional churchyard, also appealed to Dissenting religious groups. In England, the Church of England had total control over burials in the parish churchyards. All members of the parish, regardless of denomination or belief, were expected to contribute to the church rates that maintained the churches and their burial grounds. Nonconformists were fundamentally opposed to this monopoly on religious ceremonies and rites. Their desire for independent burial grounds was based on three major objections to current practices under the Church of England. First, only the baptised could be buried in churchyards, and while most ministers were sympathetic to the bereaved,

²⁵ Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1989, p. 149.

not all dissenters could be guaranteed a place. Second, only ministers of the Church of England could perform the burial service in the consecrated churchyard. Third, Dissenters objected to being buried in land consecrated by the Anglican Church.²⁷ The push for religious equality amongst dissenting congregations was a key element in the foundation of early cemeteries in Britain and in fact nonconformist cemetery companies dominated the establishment of new cemeteries in Britain between 1830 and 1834..²⁸

An increasing belief in the sanctity of the grave also helped to shift public opinion. The Enlightenment had seen a rejection of the often macabre medieval imagery of death and a corresponding emphasis on the integrity of the corpse, which became associated with the soul of the deceased and the belief in a physical resurrection. It became increasingly important that the grave remain undisturbed, a viewpoint clearly articulated in the *London Medical Gazette* in 1828:

We covet a lengthened if not a permanent residence in the grave ... It seems, indeed, to be a prevalent notion that the body must be preserved in some way or other, that it must be suffered to rest in peace, quietly to await the general resurrection.²⁹

Adding to this belief was a the fear of bodysnatching. By the late eighteenth century there was a blackmarket for corpses in Britain as anatomists sought to supplement the limited number of legally available cadavers for dissection purposes³⁰. This illicit

²⁶ Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, p. 167.

²⁷ Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 46. See also Jim Morgan, 'The burial question in Leeds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in *Death, Ritual and Bereavement*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke, Routledge, London, 1989, pp. 95-104.

²⁸ Rugg, 'A new burial form', pp. 45-46; Julie Rugg, 'The Origins and Progress of Cemetery Establishment in Britain', in *The Changing Face of Death*, ed. P.C. Jupp and G. Howarth, Macmillan: Basington, 1997, pp. 105-119.

²⁹ *London Medical Gazette*, 1827-8 (1), p.672, quoted in Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, p. 75.

³⁰ The only cadavers legally available for scientific experimentation were those of executed murderers.

demand for corpses continued until the 1832 Anatomy Act which guaranteed medical schools a regular supply of cadavers from the poor house.

The actual number of bodysnatching incidents in Britain is unknown³¹, however the threat loomed large in the public imagination and was a prominent motif in Victorian literature until well into the nineteenth century. The horror attached to bodysnatching was fuelled by the belief in the physical resurrection of the body which in turn created the stigma associated with dissection.³² The cemetery assuaged these fears, offering a well laid out ground with individual graves and improved security.

Philosophical and aesthetic movements

The move towards cemeteries was also encouraged by the philosophical movements: the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Both these movements were diverse in their origins and manifestations, and varied across Britain, Europe and America, but each contributed to a shift in attitudes towards death and the grave, so that by the nineteenth century the idea of the cemetery as a peaceful landscaped garden with improving monuments seemed an obvious - indeed natural - phenomenon, rather than the revolutionary idea that it was.

The Enlightenment was a diverse intellectual movement that developed during the eighteenth century and championed the ideals of reason, morality and virtue. It was a time of scientific endeavour and rational thought. Reason was valued as the distinguishing mark of man and social organisation, and it was

³¹ Richardson in *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* outlines the difficulties in accumulating bodysnatching statistics from the historical record. See ch. 3, esp. pp. 53-54, 66.

believed that society would continually improve and progress towards happiness, humanity, nature and freedom through the collation of knowledge and adherence to reason. The duties of friendship, the consolations of virtue, the right of merit to rise, and the obligations of patriotism were highly valued Enlightenment concepts.³³

The Enlightenment transformed attitudes towards death and the afterlife. Medical advances, particularly in relation to smallpox, and the gradual extension of life expectancy meant that death came to appear less arbitrary and less terrifying, and the idea of a 'natural death' began to have currency. The terror of death was also quietened by the fading of purgatory, judgement and hell in the light of a just and loving God.³⁴ In Protestant countries this was no doubt influenced by Calvinism and the theory of Election. In the knowledge that one was chosen by God to be saved, there was no longer any fear in death.³⁵ Religious emphasis was instead placed upon the 'good death', that is a peaceful passage towards death where the dying person's faith and assurance in salvation and resignation towards death was asserted. The performance of a good death was viewed as a sign of virtue.³⁶

³² Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 48; Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*; Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, pp. 5-6.

³³ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981; Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth Century Europe 1700-1789*, Macmillan Press, London, 1990; McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p. 330.

³⁴ Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the Afterlife*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991, p. 327; Roy Porter, 'Death and the Doctors in Georgian England', in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke, Routledge, London, 1989, pp. 77-94; Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 168.

³⁵ Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 36.

³⁶ The 'good death' was not an experience exclusive to the Enlightenment. It was a phenomenon that became prominent in the seventeenth century and continued to have cultural value until the end of the nineteenth century. See Porter, 'Death and Doctors'; Lucinda McCray Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke, Routledge, London, 1989, pp. 43-61; Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The age of decency: 1660-1760' in *Death in England: An illustrated history*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, esp. pp. 179-186; Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual culture in the English death ritual c.1500-c.1800*, Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991, pp. 28-33.

The rise of the individual during the Enlightenment as a defining concept for personal relationships had a profound effect upon how death was perceived and mourned. Affective individualism encouraged sentimental attachments between husband and wife, parents and children, and heightened the sense of loss at the death of a loved one. This sense of loss was described by Philippe Ariès as 'the death of the other', a feeling which persisted into the nineteenth century and was reinforced by Romanticism.³⁷ Unease about death and a heightened sense of bereavement were expressed through commemorative monuments across most classes, so that by the nineteenth century the articulation of loss was the primary sentiment in epitaphs.³⁸

Romanticism closely followed the Enlightenment. It was a similarly diverse intellectual and philosophical movement and had an important influence upon the development of the cemetery ideal. Romanticism began in the late eighteenth century and blossomed into the nineteenth century. The individual, and in particular the self and its uniqueness, was celebrated. The Romantic concept of Nature as a sublime wilderness with picturesque qualities encouraged a pantheistic cult of Nature. The eighteenth century favouring of meditation and consolation developed into a sensibility of melancholy combined with a cult of memory.

The English landscape garden, as interpreted in both Britain and later on the continent, encapsulated the Romantic ideals of Nature, consolation, melancholy and death.³⁹ It arose from a new aesthetic appreciation of the vast Arcadian landscape as embodying God's immensity. Associated with this was the new concept of

³⁷ Philippe Ariès, *Hour of Our Death*, pp. 409-556.

³⁸ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*; Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*.

sublimity, described by Diderot in 1767, 'Everything which astonishes the soul, everything which imparts a feeling of terror leads to the sublime'.⁴⁰ The landscapes of Nature became constructed and celebrated as sacred. At the same time there was a ground-swell of interest in the Antiquities and archaeology. A new taste for Gothic architecture, grottoes, gloom and rambling ruins was encouraged by the Romantic movement.⁴¹ Contemplating the picturesque beauty of nature created sensations of 'the Noble', 'the Rustic', 'the Agreeable', 'the Serious', and 'the Sad' in the sensitive viewer. These sensations were aided and heightened by commemorative monuments. The pleasure derived from such encounters developed into a cult of melancholy.⁴²

The landscape garden was the epitome of 'taste' in the late eighteenth century. It demonstrated the 'discerning sense of the appropriate, harmonious, beautiful, and excellent' and was 'a catalyst for the good, the virtuous, and the moral'.⁴³ Walks and vistas were created where the wanderer passed through several carefully choreographed transitional spaces of lawn and groves, culminating in the sublime realisation of the commemorative monument which prompted meditations and elegiac sorrow. The pastoral setting of the landscape garden was intended to merge with the surrounding countryside and become a part of nature.⁴⁴

With its commemorative structures and memorials the landscaped garden linked nature and death, and encouraged the contemplation of public virtues and

³⁹ Rugg, 'From reason to regulation', pp. 210-212; McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, pp. 334-353.

⁴⁰ Diderot, *Salons*, 1767, 3: 165-166, quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 101.

⁴¹ Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An essay in the history of taste*, 3rd ed., John Murray, London, 1962; McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, pp. 342-343; Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 207.

⁴² McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p. 345; Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, pp. 35-38.

⁴³ Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, esp. ch. 4, pp. 163-197; Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 46.

the ideal of emulation. Emulation, or 'the desire to equal or surpass the admirable deeds of others' was a key concept from the Enlightenment period that continued to hold sway in the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ In the late eighteenth century, Blanche Linden-Ward notes, 'Philosophers and designers began to share ideas on how material forms could foster both a public and private cult of ancestors or cult of heroes. Cultivation of melancholy could make better citizens through lessons of moral philosophy gleaned by the individual contemplating mortality and the inexorable processes of time.'⁴⁶ The Elysian Fields at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, England were praised for the noble thoughts they inspired. Lady Elizabeth Montagu exclaimed in 1744, 'At Stowe you walk amidst Heroes and Deities, powers and persons whom we have been taught to honour, who have embellished the world with arts, or instructed it in Science, defended their country and improved it.'⁴⁷ The interest in monuments and public virtue is also evidenced in the rising popularity of Westminster Abbey in London in the eighteenth century. By the 1750s guidebooks offered visitors a tour of 'this venerable Pile...[pointing] out to them the most valuable Remains of Antiquity contained therein, as well as the Beauties of modern Statuaries.'⁴⁸

The values of the Enlightenment and Romanticism thus coincided with concerns being raised about the hygienic state of burial grounds. The rise of the individual, the ideals of emulation, sentimental melancholy, and cult of nature encouraged attachment to the tomb and made the cemetery, as alternative to the overcrowded burial grounds, palatable, even desirable.

⁴⁵ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁶ Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Lady Montagu, *Allen*, 2: 175-176; quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 193.

The cemetery ideal - Graveyard Poets, Père-Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery

'Cemeteries, or public burial-grounds, planted and laid out as gardens around the metropolis, are a novelty of our times.' (John Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, 1876)

The cemetery ideal was a creation of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie designed to regulate and control the bodies of both the living and the dead. It evolved from the principles of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, thus being prescribed with both functional utilitarianism on the one hand, and aesthetic and moralistic qualities on the other. It was seen as the answer to the sanitary problems of the overcrowded churchyards, scruples over the treatment and integrity of the corpse, and various religious and political contests.

In the late eighteenth century the cult of melancholy and emulation was popularised by the school of poetry known as the Graveyard Poets. Perhaps the most influential of whom was Edward Young (1683-1765) whose poetry, and the ideals it espoused, became known as Youngism.⁴⁹ Young's best known work, *The Complaint: or, Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, was first published in 1742. It was essentially an affirmation of Christian Protestant orthodoxy embracing the inevitability of death and aspiring towards the 'good dead', however it became celebrated for its contemplation of the Sublime, and was 'a key work in the fashion for sepulchres, melancholy, and ruins'.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ David Henry, *An Historical Description of Westminster-Abbey* (1753) - a guidebook that went into several editions; quoted in David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, p. 11.

⁴⁹ McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p. 337; James Stevens Curl, 'Young's Night Thoughts and the origins of the garden cemetery', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 14 no. 2, 1994, pp. 92-118.

⁵⁰ Curl, 'Young's Night Thoughts', p. 94.

Several other poets followed Young's example, celebrating the meditative qualities of the churchyard and its tombs. These poets were important because they emphasised the cemetery as a landscape of memory. James Hervey published *Meditations among the Tombs* in 1846. Its narrative centred around the contemplation of a series of tombstones, thereby providing 'visits by proxy, with appropriate reflections'.⁵¹ It taught its readers the appropriate response to the Sublime which could be encountered in the graveyard or cemetery: 'tremendous awe' and 'deepest melancholy'.⁵² Thomas Gray's (1716-71), *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* published in 1750 extended the revelations of Hervey to evoke the memories of the deceased, 'imaginatively resurrecting the dead'.⁵³ But even in doing so, Gray acknowledges the transient nature of remembrance, thereby expressing a pathos not seen in either Young or Hervey's work.⁵⁴ Yet the allure of the grave, with its glimpses of the Sublime could not be denied, and the cemetery was coveted by the Graveyard School and its followers as a peaceful, restful place. Thus Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) could write in his Preface to *Adonais* (1821):

The cemetery is an open space among the ruins, covered in winter with violets and daisies. It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.⁵⁵

To many nineteenth-century cemetery reformers the cemetery of Père-Lachaise was just such a place. So much so that it soon came to be seen as the model cemetery. Indeed the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1876 identified Père-Lachaise as 'the prototype of the garden cemeteries of Western Europe'.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, p. 4.

⁵² James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations, containing, Vol. I, Meditations among the Tombs*, New Edition vol. I, London, 1779, p. 41.

⁵³ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment*, p. 337.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 206.

While the importance of Père-Lachaise to cemetery development and design in Britain has been questioned⁵⁷; its atmosphere and features were written about so prolifically and were so widely admired in the nineteenth century that it became central to people's understanding of what a cemetery was. More importantly for the history at hand, Père-Lachaise was frequently referred to as a model for cemeteries in New South Wales.⁵⁸

The cemetery itself was created in 1804. The hillside land of Mont-Louis that comprised the cemetery was previously a Jesuit estate with a house and terraced gardens and was already renowned as a place of beauty.⁵⁹ The two men responsible for planning the cemetery, architects Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart and Etienne-Hippolyte Godde, utilised the topography and previous landscaping to their advantage to create a large garden cemetery which conformed to the ideals of a picturesque garden landscape. It had a central avenue which rose dramatically up the hill drawing the eye to the chapel on the crest [plate 1.1 figure A]; a carriage loop road around the edge of the cemetery; a 'romantic' valley shaded by trees; enclosed views and vistas within intimate groves [plate 1.1 figure B] but with panoramic views of Paris at the peak of the escarpment; architecturally pleasing monuments commemorating prominent individuals [plate 1.1 figure C]; and winding paths and undulating topography that left the visitor in anticipation of what could be discovered around the next bend.⁶⁰ [plate 1.1 figure D] Some versed

⁵⁶ 'Cemetery', *Encyclopedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, 9th ed., Adam & Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1876, vol. 5, pp. 328-332.

⁵⁷ See Rugg, 'Cemetery Establishment in Britain'.

⁵⁸ This is discussed further in chapters two and three.

⁵⁹ The house was the residence of Jesuit François d'Aix de la Chaise, commonly known as Père La Chaise, confessor to Louis XIV, from 1675 until his death in 1709. Hence the cemetery's name: Cimetière du Père-Lachaise, Cemetery of Père-Lachaise. Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 305.

⁶⁰ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, pp. 340-355.



Figure A. Central Avenue of Pere-Lachaise Cemetery. (Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig. 236 p. 330)

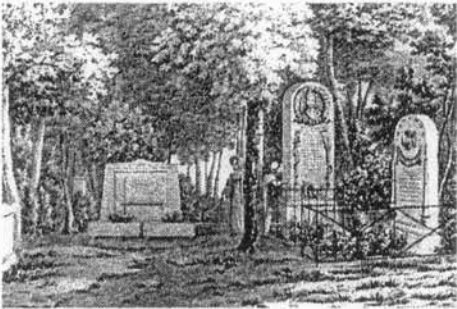


Figure B. Intimate groves and enclosed views were a feature of Pere-Lachaise Cemetery. (Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig. 259 p. 353)



Figure C. Pere-Lachaise Cemetery contained many architecturally impressive and tasteful monuments. (Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig. 253 p. 346)



Figure D. The winding paths and undulating topography of Pere-Lachaise Cemetery were important elements in creating the sublime garden cemetery landscape. (Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig 247 p. 341)

graffiti pencilled in 1813 on a terrace wall in the cemetery captured the essence of the cemetery ideal as demonstrated in Père-Lachaise:

At this peaceful site, amid trees and flowers,
Sorrows and laments come to cry their tears:
Here they can find a sympathetic shade:
Death hides from their eyes its hideous scythe.
As it spreads its subjects throughout a vast garden;
For the home of the dead has become a new Eden.⁶¹

The cemetery immediately proved popular with Parisians, attracting crowds of visitors. Guidebooks were published, introducing visitors to the major monuments, walks and landscape features in the cemetery. Père-Lachaise also captured the imaginations of international visitors from Europe and America. The descriptions by such visitors, as Richard Etlin points out, are indicative of the sentiments associated with the cemetery and are probably more accurate than many of the contemporary guidebooks.⁶² Typical of such comments are those by Englishwoman Marianne Baillie who, in 1818, declared 'Nothing can be more striking and more affecting to the imagination, than this place of burial.'⁶³ Etlin's review of travel narratives between 1818-1838 shows that visitors to Père-Lachaise repeatedly commented upon the 'neatness', 'elegance' and 'delicacy of taste' of the grave plots and monuments. Many found the carefully tended graves particularly moving, evidence of the moral sentiment and 'tender remembrance'. The picturesque quality of the site, with its 'mournful' cypresses and yews and 'great variety of natural scenery - rocks, hills, and deep vales', was greatly appreciated and the number of prominent figures buried in the cemetery left many visitors 'spellbound' by the 'immediate communion' they encountered.⁶⁴ After his visit to

⁶¹ This verse was originally written in French. Translation quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 303.

⁶² Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 355.

⁶³ Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions on a Tour upon the Continent in the Summer of 1818*, London, 1819, 34, 42-47, quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 356.

⁶⁴ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, pp. 356-7.

the cemetery in 1825 American Nathaniel Carter concluded, the Cemetery of Père-Lachaise 'reflects infinite credit upon the city, as well as upon the character of the French people. In all respects it very far surpasses anything of the kind I have every seen, and the design strongly recommends itself to the imitation of all great cities'.⁶⁵

The cemetery ideal was promoted in Britain by a number of cemetery reformers, along with contemporary journals such as the *Gardener's Magazine*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Builder* and the *Lancet* (although the latter's interest was more health than design related). This call for appropriately designed and tasteful extramural cemeteries later became known as the garden cemetery movement and was dominated by two Scotsmen, John Strang and John Claudius Loudon.⁶⁶

Strang (1795-1863) was a well travelled Glaswegian wine merchant who published widely on his native city and encouraged many other improvements. In 1831 Strang published *Necropolis Glasguensis; with Osbervations (sic) on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture*. This tract presented an argument for the establishment of a garden cemetery at Fir Park in Glasgow. In support of his argument, Strang traced the historical development of funereal practices, pointed out the neglect of Scottish cemeteries, outlined the cemetery ideal as demonstrated at Père-Lachaise, suggested some basic points to be considered in the planning and regulation of cemeteries, and promoted the advantages of a garden cemetery (or Scottish Père-Lachaise) for the people of Glasgow.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Nathaniel Hageltine Carter, *Letters from Europe, Comprising the Journal of a Tour through Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Switzerland in the Years 1825, '26, and '27*, 2 vols. New York, 1827, 1: 391-399, quoted in Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 356.

⁶⁶ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, pp. 14, 32-33; Curl, *Celebration of Death*, pp. 207, 244-264.

⁶⁷ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis; with Osbervations (sic) on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture*, Takinson and Company, Glasgow, 1831. (BL).

Strang identified six main attributes required to create a landscaped garden cemetery. The cemetery site had to be 'appropriate and commanding', with the land form being 'picturesque and romantic'. There should be some variation of soil to accommodate different types of monuments and burial styles. The cemetery should be beautified with trees, and feature 'several winding walks'. Finally, the cemetery must possess views and vistas, preferably with 'splendid views of the city and neighbourhood'.⁶⁸ Père Lachaise met all these criteria.⁶⁹ : 'Every thing is there tasteful, classical, poetical, and eloquent'.⁷⁰

Amid the green glades and gloomy cypresses which surround and overshadow the vast variety of sepulchral ornaments of *Père La Chaise*, the contemplative mind is not only impressed with sentiments of solemn sublimity and religious awe, but with those of the most tender and heart-affecting melancholy.... In one word, the cemetery of *Père La Chaise* is the spot, of all others, dedicated to the genius of memory, and the one where a more powerful sermon is daily preached, than ever fell from the lips of a Fenelon, a Masillon, or a Bossuet.⁷¹

Most importantly for Strang, the atmosphere of Père-Lachaise encouraged contemplation, emulation and moral improvement - what he termed the 'Genius of Memory'.

A garden cemetery designed in accordance with these principles would, according to Strang, benefit the community by provoking religious, civic and moral improvement.

A Garden Cemetery is an eloquent advocate of religion. ... A garden cemetery and monumental decoration, are not only beneficial to public morals, to the improvement of manners, but are likewise calculated to extend virtuous and generous feelings. ... A garden cemetery is the sworn foe to preternatural fear and superstition. A garden cemetery and monumental decoration afford the most convincing tokens of a nation's progress in civilization and in the arts ... The tomb has, in fact, been the great chronicler of taste throughout the world.⁷²

⁶⁸ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 38.

⁶⁹ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 28.

⁷⁰ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 31.

⁷¹ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, pp. 28, 31.

⁷² Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, pp. 57-63.

As Strang's comments suggest commemoration of the dead was seen by many in the nineteenth century as an indicator or litmus test of a nation's civilisation. This idea was constantly reiterated by statesmen, philosophers and writers with, for example, William Gladstone, declaring 'Show me the manner in which a nation or community cares for its dead and I will measure with mathematical exactness the tender sympathies of its people, their respect for the laws of the land and their loyalty to high ideals.'⁷³ Similarly William Godwin wrote at the start of the nineteenth century that 'monuments to the dead were as important to a nation as were libraries.'⁷⁴ This notion of cemetery monuments providing civic improvement meant that the cemetery and the monuments therein were seen to fulfil a public, as well as private commemorative function. This twin role becomes important when considering the meanings associated with funerary sculpture in burial grounds in New South Wales and in considering how burial grounds were utilised as both public and private spaces.

Strang's work is essentially a theoretical and moral guide to the garden cemetery. Religious, moral and civic improvement through contemplation and emulation are the key tenets of his work and he only briefly touches upon the sanitary benefits of the garden cemetery. This further demonstrates the complex motivations underlying burial reform and contrasts strongly with the work of John Claudius Loudon, the other key British figure in the promotion of the cemetery ideal.

⁷³ Quoted in Robert Nicol, *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994, p. xii.

⁷⁴ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 340.

John Claudius Loudon was the principal proponent of the garden cemetery movement.⁷⁵ He was a Scottish architect, landscape gardener and keen aesthete, who frequently addressed issues of cemetery design in his *Gardener's Magazine*. This culminated in the publication of a book *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the improvement of churchyards* in 1843 (twelve years after Strang's work and the same year that Loudon himself died).

The succinct definition provided by Loudon of a cemetery's function in society illustrates the twin concerns of health and morality which by the mid-nineteenth century defined the cemetery ideal.

The *main object* of a burial-ground is, the disposal of the remains of the dead in such a manner as that their decomposition, and return to the earth from which they sprung, shall not prove injurious to the living; either by affecting their health, or shocking their feelings, opinions, or prejudices.

A *secondary object* is, or ought to be, the improvement of the moral sentiments and general taste of all classes, and more especially of the great masses of society.⁷⁶

In this definition, Loudon closely followed Strang's arguments for the design and educative importance of cemeteries. Indeed Loudon relied heavily upon Strang's work, calling him 'learned and eloquent', quoting him profusely to support his argument on the improving benefits of cemeteries.⁷⁷ The principles which Loudon believed had to be addressed in cemetery rules further illustrate the underlying moral and social values of the cemetery ideal.

The most important rules respecting a place of burial must necessarily be those which have reference to the sacredness of the place, the security from disturbance of

⁷⁵ James Stevens Curl, 'Introduction' pp. 9-22 in facsimile edition, Ivelet Books Ltd, 1981 of Loudon's *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the Improvement of Churchyards*; Curl, *Celebration of Death*, esp. ch. 8 'John Claudius and the Garden Cemetery Movement', pp. 244-264.

⁷⁶ J.C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the improvement of Churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1843, facsimile edition, Ivelet Books Ltd, Redhill, Surrey, 1981, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, p. 9.

the bodies of the dead, the healthfulness of the living, and their improvement in sentiment and morals.⁷⁸

Although it is a matter of degree, there are however some differences in how Strang and Loudon address the moral benefits of the cemetery. For Strang, the cemetery was a sublime encounter with nature that provoked meditations on mortality. Loudon, on the other hand, emphasised the educative (and consequently in the Victorian mind, the moral) improvements the cemetery afforded.

To the local resident poor, uncultivated by reading, the churchyard is their book of history, their biography, their instructor in architecture and sculpture, their model of taste, and an important source of moral improvement. ... We would encourage every kind of monument, from the most frail to the most permanent, as tending to cultivate reverential feelings and improve the taste; and we would encourage the naming of all the trees and shrubs, as tending to excite curiosity and intellectual exercise.⁷⁹

Such an emphasis on moral improvement through meditation upon the grave encouraged 'contemplative recreation' in the cemetery.⁸⁰ Consequently, cemeteries and burial grounds in the nineteenth century became popular places of passive recreation. It also further defined the cemetery as a public place, appropriate for walks and promenades. Such uses of the cemetery will be discussed further in chapter seven.

Loudon's emphasis upon the utilitarian design of cemeteries, while still evoking a melancholy atmosphere through judicious planting of symbolic evergreen trees, is what defines his distinctive 'cemetery style'. Unlike Strang and many British cemetery companies, Loudon did not endorse the picturesque layout of cemeteries, with clumps of trees.⁸¹ He criticised contemporary London cemeteries for resembling pleasure-grounds, arguing 'that they are much frequented and

⁷⁸ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁹ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, pp. 74, 83.

⁸⁰ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, p. 39.

admired by the public is no proof that they are in appropriate taste'.⁸² While endorsing Strang's overall definition of the garden cemetery as providing moral improvements, Loudon provided a more utilitarian document dedicated to the practicalities of the establishment and management of garden cemeteries and attended to such details as the organisation of graves and the soil composition. He also specifically addressed the issue of extramural cemeteries and exactly how far outside the town they should be located. Although the distance from the town was dependent upon 'the elevation of the site, the nature of the soil, and the sources from which the town obtains its water', Loudon recommended that all new cemeteries in country towns be placed at least half a mile outside their suburbs.⁸³ The different focus of these two tracts on the garden cemetery published in 1831 and 1843 supports the argument that the sanitary benefits promoted by burial reformers such as George Walker and Edwin Chadwick did not widely influence British cemetery design and establishment until the 1840s and 1850s.⁸⁴

At the same time as the garden cemetery movement was taking shape in Britain, a similar push for cemetery reform was taking place in America through the rural cemetery movement. Mount Auburn Cemetery was established on the outskirts of Boston in 1831, the same year that John Strang's *Necropolis Glasguensis* was published. It was the first major rural cemetery established in the United States and, like Père-Lachaise, Mount Auburn was consciously established as a model cemetery.⁸⁵ The push for a cemetery was instigated in 1825 by Dr Jacob Bigelow, a physician and horticulturalist from Boston. Given his occupations, it is perhaps not surprising that Bigelow had an (entrepreneurial) interest in the establishment of a

⁸¹ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, p. 20.

⁸² Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, p. 21, see also p. 69.

⁸³ Loudon, *On the Laying Out Of Cemeteries*, p. 44.

rural cemetery. The cemetery was formally established under the auspices of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and its layout was credited to Henry A.S. Dearborn, president of the horticultural society at that time. Again, like Père-Lachaise, the Mount Auburn Cemetery was developed from an estate already known for its forested hills and beautiful landscape. The Horticultural Society established a private but non-profit cemetery, and an experimental garden next to it.⁸⁶ The site was located outside of Boston and was safe, for the time being, from urban encroachment.

Mount Auburn Cemetery embodied the twin ideals of English landscape gardening, the picturesque and the sublime, and set the standard for the rural cemetery in America as 'a peaceful sanctuary pleasing to the eye and soothing to the spirit.'⁸⁷ The cemetery was 'beautifully undulating in its surface, containing a number of bold eminences, steep acclivities, and deep shadowy valleys'.⁸⁸ Its founders and early supporters believed that the designed and embellished landscape, with its 'sombre foliage' of 'appropriate trees and plants' would be 'silent and expressive teachers of morality', providing 'instruction and admonition' to visitors and encouraging 'a spirit of emulation'. In particular the monuments dedicated to 'our illustrious men' would proclaim their great deeds and perpetuate their memories.⁸⁹ Such sentiments and ideals are analogous to those expressed about Père-Lachaise and later by both Strang and Loudon. Mount Auburn's

⁸⁴ Rugg, 'A new burial form'.

⁸⁵ Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 130.

⁸⁶ Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, esp. ch. 7 & 8; Barbara Rotundo, 'Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 4 no. 3, 1984, pp. 255-267.

⁸⁷ Rotundo, 'Mount Auburn', p. 258.

⁸⁸ Massachusetts Horticultural Society promotional circular on Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1834, quoted in Sloane, *Last Great Necessity*, p. 47.

⁸⁹ Zebedee Cook, Jr., An Address Pronounced before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in Commemoration of its Second Annual Festival, the 10th of Sept. 1830; H. Dearborn, 'Proceedings of

designer, Henry Dearborn, declared that the cemetery would soon 'rival the most celebrated rural burial grounds in Europe'.⁹⁰ And he was right. The 'rural beauty' of 'leafy woods and dells' at Mount Auburn Cemetery became the inspiration and the benchmark against which all subsequent American rural cemeteries were compared.⁹¹

The cemetery reality

Articulation of the cemetery ideal was thus similar across Britain, Europe and America. However, in its implementation, the cemetery ideal was transformed to produce a range of cemetery landscapes, many of which did not measure up to the ideal. This disparity between ideal and reality however should not necessarily be seen as a failure or rejection, but rather as an illustration of the diverse influences, interpretations and emphases to which the cemetery was subjected.

In England, cemeteries were established mainly through private enterprise by joint-stock companies, and (as has been noted) were inspired more by religious independence and later hygiene matters, than by Père-Lachaise. Julie Rugg has shown that of 13 cemetery companies successfully established in England prior to 1835, ten were associated with Nonconformist congregations. The first of these cemeteries was established at Rusholme Road Cemetery in Manchester in 1820. The aim of these cemetery companies was to provide a burial space that was open to all, regardless of religious creed, and thus the majority of cemeteries were not consecrated. While historians have previously interpreted cemetery joint-stock

the Massachusetts Horticultural Society ... the 18th of June 1831', *New England Farmer*, 9:49 (June 22, 1831). Both quoted in Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, pp. 182-183.

⁹⁰ H. Dearborn, 'The Cemetery of Père Lachaise', *New England Farmer*, 11 (Sept 12, 1832). Quoted in Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, p. 183.

companies as an indication of Victorian fascination with mourning culture and an attempt to exploit sanitary reforms, Rugg points out such companies were in the minority. Most of the early cemetery companies did not operate on a stock profit scheme, but rather used the joint-stock company as a means of financing the establishment of cemeteries (a common way of funding all manner of civic improvements in the Victorian period).⁹²

The cemetery ideal with its inspirational landscape was more specifically interpreted in later speculative joint-stock cemetery companies which were founded with profit motivations. Although the majority of speculative cemetery companies failed, a conspicuous few were spectacularly profitable. These form some of the most famous examples of the Victorian cemeteries in London.⁹³ Kensal Green Cemetery, established in 1833 was the first of these purpose-built cemeteries in London. It quickly became 'a favourite spot wherein to deposit the mortal remains of beloved relatives' as well as a place of 'general resort ... by the sober-minded part of the public, who wisely prefer a peaceful ride or walk into the country, to the tumultuous revelry of the giddy throng'.⁹⁴ The number of published guides to the cemetery testify to its popularity.⁹⁵ The British Parliament soon authorised the establishment of another six commercial cemeteries in greater London area, namely

⁹¹ Blanche Linden-Ward, 'Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries', in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989, pp. 312-314.

⁹² Rugg, 'Cemetery Establishment in Britain'; Rugg, 'A new burial form'.

⁹³ Rugg, 'A new burial form', pp. 48-49.

⁹⁴ Benjamin Clark, *Hand-Book for Visitors to the Kensal Green Cemetery*, Joseph Masters, London, 1843, p. x. (BL)

⁹⁵ As well as Clark, *Kensal Green Cemetery Hand-Book.*, see also Laman Blanchard, Esq., *The Cemetery at Kensal Green: The Grounds and Monuments. With a memoir of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex*, Cunningham and Mortimer, London, n.d., Price sixpence. (BL); W.J., *Illustrated Guide to Kensal Green Cemetery*, Petter & Galpin, London, n.d. Price one shilling. (BL); H.J. Croft, *Illustrated Guide to Kensal Green Cemetery, New Edition*, C. & E. Layton, London, n.d. Price one shilling. (BL) which was republished again as H.J. Croft, *Guide to Kensal Green Cemetery, New and Revised Edition*, J. Howell, London, 1881. Sold at the cemetery, price 1 shilling. (BL)

Norwood (1838), Highgate (1839), Abney Park (1840), Brompton (1840), Nunhead (1840), and Tower Hamlets (1841).⁹⁶

Smaller cemeteries in regional areas also demonstrated the civic ethos of the cemetery ideal. As civic status symbols, taste and style became essential qualities in the cemetery landscape, the cemetery itself became another arena for inter-urban competition. John George Bishop, a citizen of Brighton, declared that 'apart from all this [graves producing melancholy reflection], and irrespective of its associations, in our Extra-Mural Cemetery there is really much to admire. No place in the neighbourhood of Brighton offers so many facilities for a quiet stroll'.⁹⁷ As Rugg comments, 'All over Britain, local cemeteries were lauded as the most attractive, most dramatic, or most charming in the country'.⁹⁸

The influence of the ideal, or garden, cemetery became all pervading. However, it must be acknowledged that while Loudon was a significant figure in this development his designs and suggestions can not be viewed as the definitive statement of nineteenth century cemetery design. As already noted, the picturesque landscaping and pleasure ground atmosphere of many of London's cemeteries was not approved of by Loudon. Yet these became two of the most distinctive features of the cemetery ideal as it was interpreted in Britain. According to Curl, Loudon's greatest influence lay in his remarks on the laying out of grave plots and in his advocacy of the use of evergreen plantings in cemeteries.⁹⁹ Outside of London however, the average cemetery was more modest in its design. Brent Elliott reports that 'the typical English cemetery of the 1840s to 1870s is based either on an overall

⁹⁶ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, pp. 223-242.

⁹⁷ John George Bishop, *Strolls in the Brighton Extra-Mural Cemetery. First and Second Series: 1864-67*, Fleet & Co., Brighton, 1867, p. 2. (BL)

geometric grid, or on a series of geometric units within a framework of more picturesquely curving principal roads'.¹⁰⁰ This 'typical' picture of the cemetery should temper the grandiose view as seen at Kensal Green or Highgate. For the most part it was this more prosaic vision which was actually transposed onto the Australian landscape.

In America the rural cemetery was well established by 1865 and its universal adoption across the country led one commentator to declare it 'may be fairly considered now one of our institutions'.¹⁰¹ Like their counterparts in Britain, the majority of rural cemeteries established in America prior to 1865 were managed by private non-profit companies. One of the few public enterprises was Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, established in 1836. The private non-profit pattern of cemetery establishment declined after 1865. By that stage most towns in the East had at least one rural cemetery managed on a non-profit basis, 'with profit-seeking businesses usually establishing a second or third cemetery'.¹⁰²

As the cemetery developed and was interpreted in the nineteenth century, some clear distinctions emerged between the garden cemetery adopted in Europe and Britain and the rural cemetery in the United States of America. These differences were primarily related to the treatment of the cemetery landscape. American rural cemeteries were more expansive in size than most European and British cemeteries. In 1831 Père-Lachaise had 57 acres, while Mount Auburn opened

⁹⁸ Rugg, 'A new burial form', p. 50.

⁹⁹ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰ Brent Elliot, 'The Landscape of the English Cemetery', *Landscape Design*, vol. 184, October 1989, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Stanley French 'The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The establishment of Mount Auburn and the "rural cemetery" movement', in *Death In America*, ed. David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 1975, p. 85.

¹⁰² Rotundo, 'Mount Auburn', pp. 258-259; Sloane, *Last Great Necessity*, p. 58.

the same year with 72 acres. In less than five years Mount Auburn had expanded to 110 acres. British garden cemeteries were remarkably smaller. Kensal Green Cemetery opened in 1832 with 54 acres, and this later expanded to 77 acres. The American Greenwood Cemetery opened in 1842 with 185 acres and had doubled its size within ten years.¹⁰³ At the same time Père-Lachaise was only 63 acres while Highgate Cemetery in London opened in 1839 with 17 acres and this only expanded to 37 acres.

American rural cemeteries were also designed to be more informal. Pathways wound their way through the undulating landscape, with virtually no direct routes or sharp corners. A comparison of maps with British garden cemeteries show that the pathways were more formal, sometimes featuring central avenues leading to chapels. [plate 1.2 figures A & B] These differences in layout may be partially due to the topography favoured for cemeteries in Britain and America. Rural cemeteries were usually situated on 'a series of undulating hills and dales'¹⁰⁴ [plate 1.3 figure A] whereas cemeteries of the garden cemetery movement generally featured only one major mount or hill [plate 1.3 figure B] or were simply situated in an elevated location so that panoramic views were afforded [plate 1.3 figure C]

American rural cemeteries became 'untrammelled wilderness' compared with the 'picturesque landscape garden' of Père-Lachaise and British cemeteries. Both Mount Auburn and Greenwood Cemeteries were 'thickly wooded sites whose

¹⁰³ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 359; Hugh Meller, *London Cemeteries: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer*, 3rd ed., Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1994, pp. 187-188; Felix Barker, *Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla*, John Murray, London, 1984, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 359.

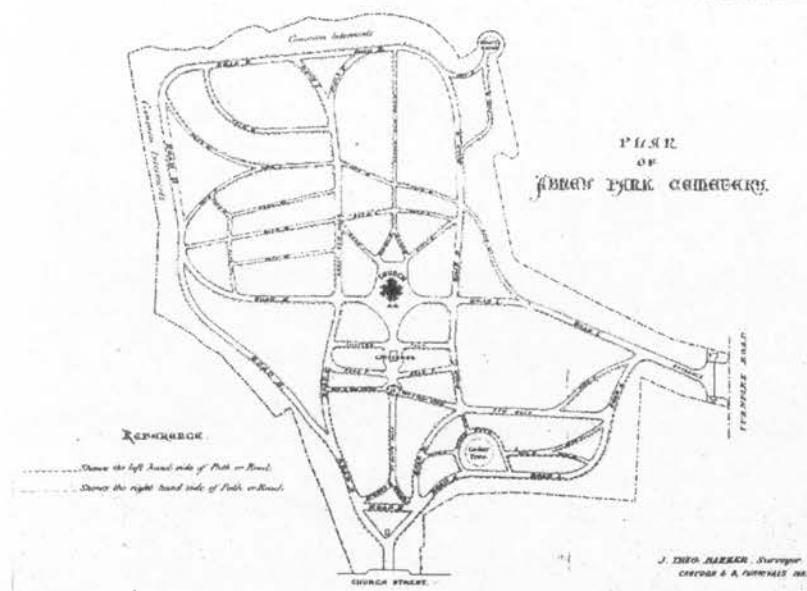


Figure A. Abney Park Cemetery Plan. (Reproduced in James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 1993, plate 34, p. 238)



Figure B. Greenwood Cemetery Plan (Reproduced in Linden Ward p. 256 / Curl plate 9 p. 273)



Figure A. The undulating hills of Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1835.
(Reproduced in David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 1989, p. 54)

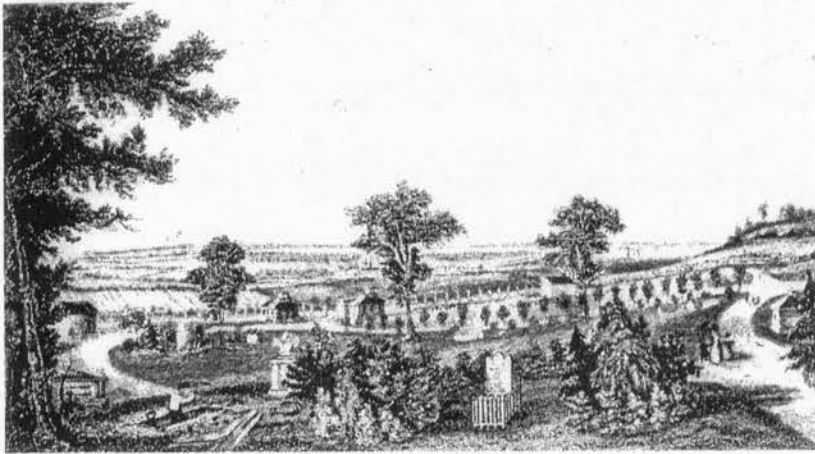


Figure B. The sloping landscape of Nunhead Cemetery. (Reproduced in James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 1993, plate 32 p. 233)



Figure C. Tower Hamlets Cemetery's elevated situation afforded panoramic views of London.
(Reproduced in James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 1993, plate 33 p. 240)



Figure A. The thickly wooded landscape of Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1847.
(Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig. 265 p. 363)



Figure B. Like Mount Auburn, Green Wood Cemetery was appreciated for its wooded landscape, groves and dells.
(Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig. 268 p. 365)



Figure C. Ornamental pond in Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1847.
(Reproduced in Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, 1984, fig 264 p. 362)

sylvan ambience was much appreciated by contemporaries'.¹⁰⁵ [plate 1.4 figures A & B] The American rural cemetery used not only woods and dells in their landscaping, but also adopted the English landscape garden feature of ornamental ponds and lakes. [plate 1.4 figure C] This created a park-like atmosphere, not to be found in British or European cemeteries.¹⁰⁶ Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati (established 1845) reinforced the unity between commemoration and nature by banning fencing around family plots. With this action, Stanley French argues that Spring Grove Cemetery was 'the innovator in developing the rural cemetery into an aesthetically integrated park'.¹⁰⁷ This contrasted dramatically with Père-Lachaise and the cemetery ideal as promoted by Loudon.

By the end of the 'Age of Improvement' then the cemetery ideal was being interpreted in two different ways: the garden cemetery of Britain and Europe, with its formal landscape and monuments, and the rural cemetery in America with its stronger emphasis upon the 'natural' landscape. Despite these differences however, the cemetery had become an institution central to the civic and moral expression of communities. It encapsulated the social mores of the period and expressed through its design contemporary beliefs about Nature, moral and physical improvement, and civilisation. How was the cemetery ideal interpreted in colonial New South Wales? This question shall be answered in the remainder of this thesis.

¹⁰⁵ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, p. 359.

¹⁰⁶ Etlin, *Architecture of Death*, pp. 340, 366.

¹⁰⁷ French, 'The Cemetery as Cultural Institution', p. 84.

CHAPTER TWO

'MODERN INNOVATIONS':

THE SITUATION, LAYOUT AND MANAGEMENT OF CEMETERIES

On the 30th April 1847, the Bishop of Australia applied to the colonial government on behalf of Reverend Edward Rogers for land at Upper Mangrove Creek on which to build a church, school house and burial ground. This was a standard claim. For the last thirty six years the government had been granting crown land for such purposes. Despite the usual delays for surveying, the expectation by the Church was that their request would be granted. But the mid-1840s saw the beginning of a revolution in cemetery design, precipitated by legislation introduced in Sydney for a General Cemetery, which saw the transition from individual churchyards to groupings of burial grounds called general cemeteries. The application for the church land was approved, 'subject to the decision that all Burial Grounds are for the future to be laid out in conformity to the plans proposed for the General Cemetery in Sydney'. Despite the protests of Bishop Broughton, who feared that the Church's property rights and 'religious propriety' would be compromised, the licensed surveyor laid out a piece of land for a Church of England burial ground, with a reserve set aside so that 'other Burial grounds could be so laid out in conjunction there with, as to form a general cemetery'.¹ It was the start of new era in the burial of the dead.

Early Burial Grounds

The first burial grounds in the colony of New South Wales were utilitarian by nature and informally established. There were no land grants, and certainly no

form of consecration. Their aim was simply the disposal of the dead. The first few were located close to the infant township: one near the Rocks, another at Dawes Point, and a third behind the military barracks at Clarence street.² By 1793 the George Street Burial Ground (also known as the Old (Sydney) Burial Ground and in retrospect the Town Hall Cemetery), was the principal burial ground for the colony. An 1811 map illustrates how the burial ground was literally on the mapped outskirts of Sydney Town. [plate 2.1. figure A] It was in use from 1793 to 1820, and served both the convict and free population. Church of England clergy officiated at funerals³ although 'the dead of all communions were interred indiscriminately'.⁴ Similarly St John's burial ground at Parramatta, established in 1790, serviced the entire community regardless of religious affiliations for the first 35 years of its existence. A number of Roman Catholics and Jews were buried at St John's before it came under the official control of the Church of England in 1825.⁵

The model for burial grounds which was imported from Britain as part of the colonists' cultural baggage was the parish church and churchyard. The colonial government set a precedent, which would shape the future design and management of cemeteries in the colony, by granting land to the various religious denominations for burials. Amongst the first cemeteries to be formally established were the six burial grounds proclaimed by Governor Macquarie in 1811 at

¹ SRNSW: Colonial Secretary, Letters Received, Special Bundles, 1826-1902; CGS 906, Land for General Cemetery at Upper Mangrove Creek 1847-1850, [2/1845 part].

² Keith Johnson, 'The Historical Grave', in *10,000 Years of Sydney Life*, ed. Peter Stanbury, The Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1979, p. 11.

³ 'Report from the Select Committee on the General Cemetery Bill, with the minutes of evidence', *New South Wales Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 6, 9 & 10 p. 1.

⁴ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 25 & 27 p. 2.

⁵ V.W.E. Goodin, *St John's Cemetery Parramatta: Monumental Inscriptions and Key to Graves*, Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney, 1965; Judith Dunn, *The Parramatta Cemeteries: St. John's*, Parramatta and District Historical Society Inc., Parramatta, 1991, pp. 7, 21; Johnson, 'The

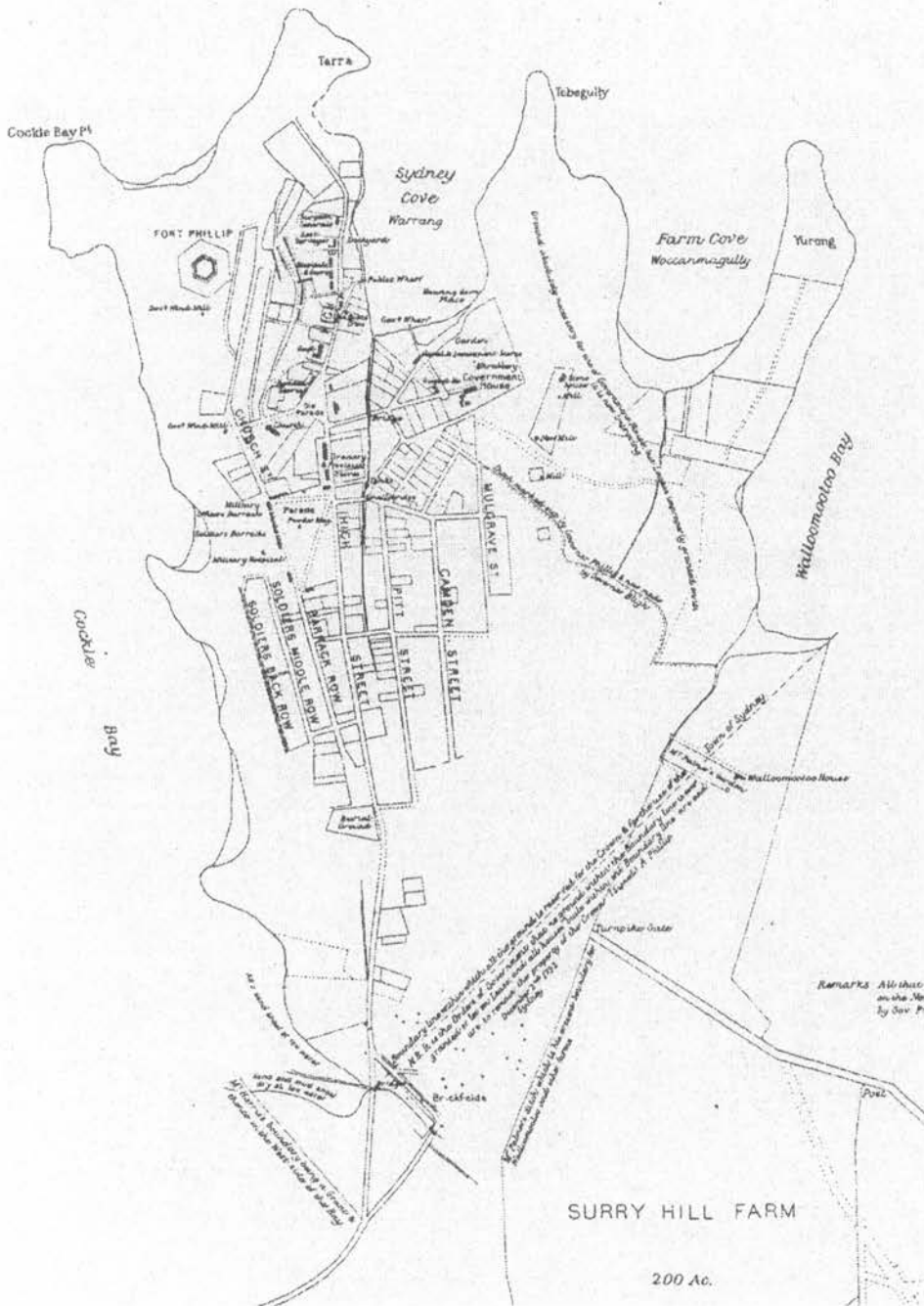


Figure A. Detail of Plan of the Town of Sydney, New South Wales (c.1811). The Old Sydney Burial Ground is located at the edge of the town on High Street (George Street). (HRNSW, vol. 7)

Liverpool, Windsor, Richmond, Pitt Town, Castlereagh and Wilberforce.⁶ These were essentially Church of England burial grounds. Their locations - and indeed each of the towns' locations - were carefully selected by Macquarie; on a ridge, with panoramic views of the Hawkesbury floodplains and Blue Mountains in the distance, typifying the ideal location for a parish church and churchyard, and soon to be endorsed by the 'cemetery ideal'.⁷ Their elevated position allowed them, as J.C. Loudon was later to recommend, 'to be seen from all the surrounding country' and they thus became a solemn visual reminder of religion.⁸

These burial grounds, like the majority of church burial grounds established in New South Wales, were separated from the church. St. Matthew's burial ground at Windsor was originally conceived as a burial ground but later evolved into the traditional concept of the parish churchyard surrounding the church. The burial grounds at Wilberforce and Richmond were located adjacent to the church and school grounds. Unfortunately the spatial relationship between the church and burial ground of the latter was later severed by a road. At Castlereagh and Liverpool, the burial grounds were slightly removed from the church and school grounds, and at Pitt Town it was sited some distance outside the church and township which it served.⁹ The practice of locating burial grounds outside township boundaries, such as at Pitt Town, was desirable from a sanitary viewpoint. It also

Historical Grave', p. 15. The gravestone of the Catholic child Bridget Egan (d. 6 October 1800) was later transferred to the grounds of St. Patrick's Church, Parramatta. (Goodin, p. 1).

⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 11 May 1811, p. 1.

⁷ Jan Barkley, 'Macquarie's Towns' chapter 3 in *Hawkesbury 1794-1994: The First Two Hundred Years of the Second Colonisation*, Jan Barkley and Michelle Nichols, Hawkesbury City Council, Windsor, 1994, pp. 45, 47.

⁸ J. C. Loudon, *On the laying out, planting, and managing of cemeteries; and on the improvement of churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1843. p.94. Facsimile Edition, Ivelet Books Ltd, 1984.

⁹ Barkley, 'Macquarie's Towns', pp. 49-66; National Trust of Australia (NSW), Cemetery Index Cards and Classification Cards: St Peter's Church of England Cemetery, Richmond; St James Anglican Cemetery, Pitt Town; St Matthew's Church of England Cemetery, Windsor; St John's

conformed with the latest thinking of the burial reform movement in Europe and Britain. In 1825 the practice of extramural burial grounds was formalised, with legislation ruling that no burials could take place within the walls of a church and that all burial grounds should be located at least one mile outside the town.¹⁰ This was a progressive stance for the new colony to adopt.

When Governor Macquarie declared the township cemeteries open in 1811, he also directed that private burials on farms should cease and that all settlers 'shall in a decent and becoming Manner inter them in the consecrated Grounds now assigned for that purpose in their respective Townships'.¹¹ Nevertheless, burial on private property remained the most efficient way to dispose of the dead in isolated rural areas, where colonial government administration was rarely felt, and where religious communities were small or non-existent. Informal burial grounds were of two main types: lone graves and burial grounds on private property. Lone graves were utilised mainly for convenience, particularly if a death was accidental or occurred while travelling. A lone grave might also occur where the deceased had no affiliations with the district.

Private burial grounds were usually established on the family property near the homestead. Two different motivations may be detected in the establishment of private burial grounds. Some family burial grounds were established strictly to house the family dynasty. The Pearce Family Graves at Baulkham Hills are a constructed attempt to claim family prominence. Matthew Pearce was a free settler

General Cemetery (previously St John's Anglican Cemetery), Wilberforce; Apex Park (former burial ground), Liverpool; General Cemetery, Castlereagh.

¹⁰ 6 George IV no.21 (1 November 1825). An Act for better regulating and preserving parish and other registers of births, baptisms, marriages and burials in New South Wales and its Dependencies, including Van Diemen's Land. 10th Clause: 1 mile burial law.

¹¹ *Sydney Gazette*, 11 May 1811, p. 1.

who arrived in the colony in 1794. He was granted 160 acres of land in 1795. From his estate "Kings Langley", Pearce could see seven hills, hence the name Seven Hills. Matthew Pearce died in 1831 and was buried at St. John's Anglican Cemetery at Parramatta. His widow joined him in 1843. Subsequently the Pearce family established a private cemetery on their property and the remains of Matthew Pearce and his wife were exhumed and removed to it. The central focus of the burial ground is the large family vault surmounted by a stone sarcophagus which commemorates members of the Pearce family who died in the 1870s. [plate 2.2. figure A] The cemetery is located on an eminence and is still visible from Windsor Road today.¹² The family dynastic pretensions continued into the mid-twentieth century, with family graves from the 1890s to the 1950s stretching around the perimeter of the burial ground.¹³ The concept of a dynastic burial ground or mausoleum, and its association of family wealth, power, and social position, was drawn from recent trends in Britain, where, as Howard Colvin notes, the revival of mausolea in the eighteenth century signalled not only aristocratic privilege and neoclassical taste, but also a post-Reformation change in attitudes towards death and the resurrection.¹⁴

The location of private burial grounds was not random; landholders gave careful consideration of the symbolic nature of the graveyard. The situation of private burial grounds exhibit important visual and spatial relationships to the homestead and landscape. The Edols Family Cemetery is located on the banks of

¹² The proposed route of the Western Orbital Road currently threatens the cemetery. Construction of the expressway will destroy its curtilage and vistas, along with any semblance of quiet rural peace.

¹³ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Pearce Family Grave, Baulkham Hills.

¹⁴ As prayers and masses for the deceased were no longer necessary, the church building was no longer central to funerary practices and the compulsion to be buried in or around the consecrated church declined. The first major mausoleum to be built in England and dissociated from any church was commissioned by Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard in Yorkshire in 1729.



Figure A. The Pearce Family Graves, Baulkham Hills are an example of a dynastic private cemetery that was prominently located in the landscape.
(National Trust of Australia (NSW) Photographic Collection)

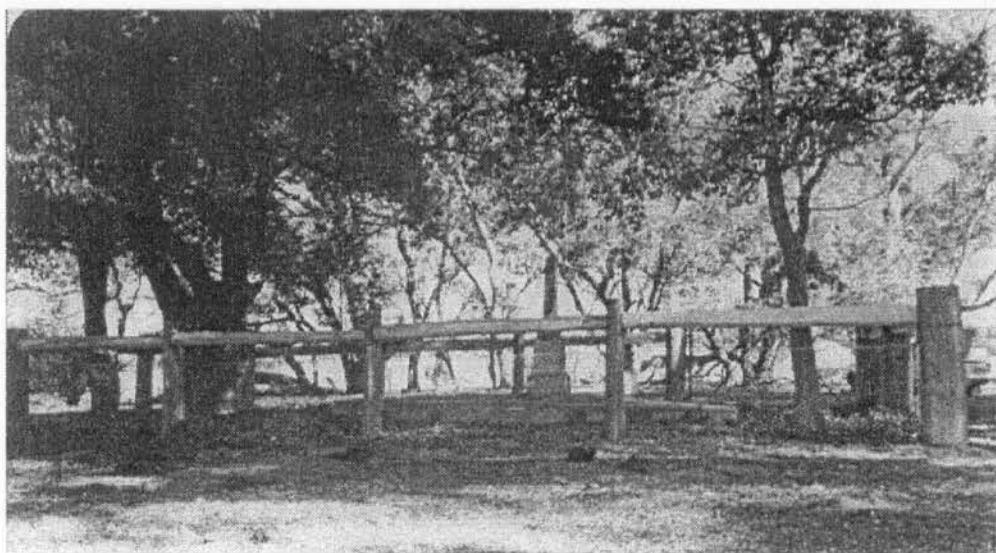


Figure B. The Private Cemetery on "Westwood", Molong has panoramic views of the surrounding pastoral lands.
(National Trust of Australia (NSW) Photographic Collection)

Gunningbland Creek at Yarrabandai (between Forbes and Condobolin) and can be seen along the river from near the house. Access to the cemetery is by a path alongside the river. The cool leafy surrounds of the riverbank provides a tranquil setting for the cemetery. Other private cemeteries tended to be located on a rise or hill and took advantage of panoramic views to enhance their setting. The Private Cemetery on "Westwood", Molong, is situated on the highest point of a spur on the property. [plate 2.2. figure B] From the gravesite there are 360 degree views of rolling green hills and pastoral land.¹⁵ There was usually a strong visual relationship between the homestead and the cemetery. The Marsh monument on "Glenleigh", Gooloogong, was located 400m east of the homestead on top of a hill. A three metre marble draped obelisk was carefully placed to achieve a major visual impact in its rural setting overlooking the homestead. The landscape and layout of the site, with a pepper tree at each of the cardinal points, contributes to its dramatic quality.¹⁶ Similarly at "Olinda", Rylstone, there was a strong visual relationship between the homestead and the cemetery.¹⁷ The selection of private cemetery sites with evocative landscape qualities and strong spatial relationships illustrates the link between Nature and death in the nineteenth century, and the relationship between landscapes and memory. These were key features of the 'cemetery ideal'. Being placed in a prominent position in the landscape, the family cemetery functioned as a commemorative site that perpetuated the memory of the deceased. Strong visual relationships between the living (homestead) and the dead (cemetery) reinforced in isolated communities the social position of the family, and the permanence of the homestead and associated station run. It was a way in this new colonial settler

The mausoleum was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor. Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, Yale University Press, London, 1991, pp. 283, 295-321.

¹⁵ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Private Cemetery on "Westwood", Molong.

¹⁶ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Lone Grave on "Glenleigh", Gooloogong.

¹⁷ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Private Cemetery on "Olinda", Rylstone.

society of making roots, claiming a past and a history that was connected to the land, to their homestead.

In rural areas it was quite common for land holders, both large and small, to bury their family on their property. The proliferation of domestic burial grounds in rural communities documents the isolated nature of colonial communities. Often cemeteries on private properties were established due to a lack of alternative or acceptable burial spaces in a town or rural district. According to the Reverend Samuel Marsden, the apparent poor state of burial grounds in the colony in the 1820s led to the formation of private burial grounds on family estates.¹⁸ Siobhan Lavelle has shown that early burial grounds in a district reflect colonial settlement patterns, with lone graves and private burial grounds preceding church cemeteries and general cemeteries.¹⁹ In this regard the history of early burial grounds in New South Wales is similar to the United States of America. Both settler societies relied upon private family cemeteries to bury their dead on the 'frontier', where no other formal burial ground such as a churchyard or general cemetery existed. Private cemeteries in both colonies also utilised the topography of the land to create a commemorative site that was sited prominently in the landscape. This trend for family cemeteries is in marked contrast to burial provision in Britain and Europe.²⁰

A private cemetery may have been established by a particular family, but graciously accommodated the burial needs of their employees and sometimes the wider community. The Olive Family Cemetery at Whiporie, on the north coast of

¹⁸ Rev. S. Marsden to Archdeacon Scott, Nov. 12, 1827, Marsden Papers, pp. 158-160, ML MSS C244.

¹⁹ Siobhan Lavelle, 'Archaeology, Necrogeography and Necrotecture in the Sydney Region - Evolving Cultural Patterns in the Disposal of the Dead', M.A. Thesis, Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, 1989.

New South Wales, is an eloquent example of this. Established by George Olive on his property on the death of his wife in 1889, the Olive Family Cemetery contains the burials of four generations of the Olive family, as well as eleven neighbours from the Whiporie district.²¹ The Edols Family Cemetery even included an employee within the boundary of the cemetery. Nevertheless, the social distinctions between the pastoral family and the employees were carefully maintained in the quality of the monuments and the location of the graves. The family all had substantial marble headstones, while the cook's grave was located in the corner of the cemetery, marked by a simple timber picket surround.²² [plate 2.3. figures A & B] In striking contrast to the clear class distinctions in the Edols Family Cemetery, the Grant Cemetery at Moyne Farm contains no family burials, was utilised solely for servants and included some substantial monuments.²³

As communities were established and grew, religious authorities could apply to the government for a grant of land for a church, school and burial ground. The government provided the land for burial grounds, however it handed over the management of burials and cemeteries to the clergy. In 1823 Governor Brisbane gave permission for the Church of England clergy to charge for burials and for erecting monuments; provided these charges were not applied to government officials, troops or convicts.²⁴ While this exemption left only the free settler population, it set a precedent for burial fees which the clergy came to view as their right. In 1825 the clergy were also delegated the registration of births, deaths and

²⁰ David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1991, pp. 13-17.

²¹ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Olive Family Cemetery, Whiporie.

²² National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Edols Family Cemetery, Yarrabandai.

²³ Information from Ian Jack - *Lithgow City Council Heritage Study*, Lithgow City Council, 2000.

²⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 18 December 1823.



Figure A. Substantial marble monuments commemorating the Edols family in the private cemetery at Yarrabandai.
(National Trust of Australia (NSW) Photographic Collection)

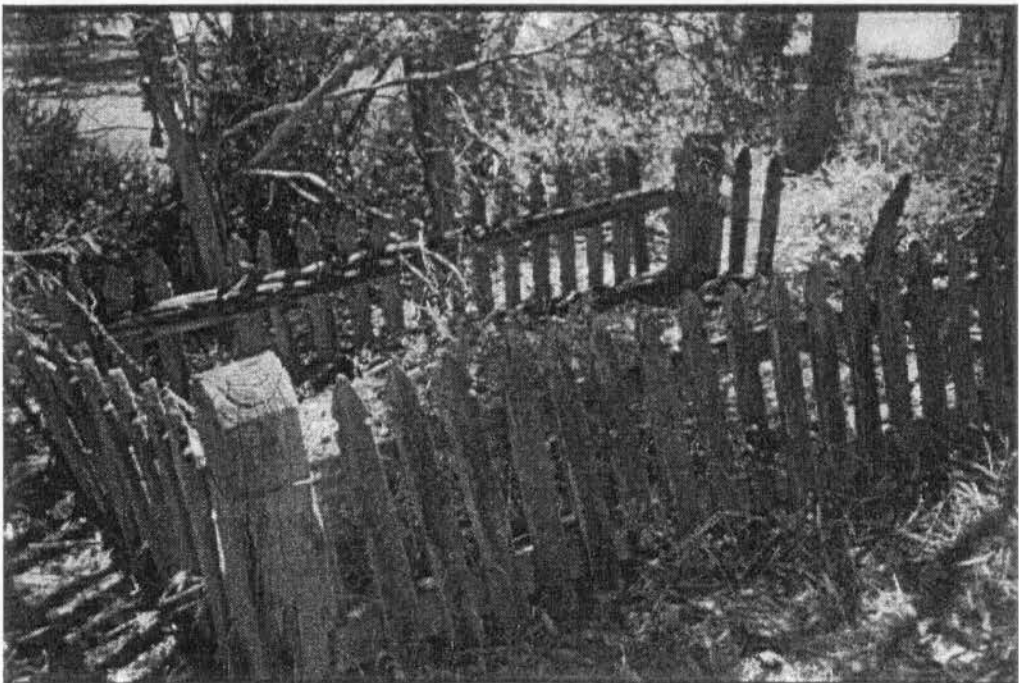


Figure B. The cook's grave marked by a simple picket fence stands in marked contrast to the marble headstones of the Edols family in their private cemetery, Yarrabandai.
(National Trust of Australia (NSW) Photographic Collection)

marriages.²⁵ The introduction of the Church Act of 1836 (7 Wm IV No. 3) ensured that all religious denominations could administer their own burial grounds. The Church Act placed the onus upon the various denominations to provide burial grounds and allowed the chaplains to charge fees for performing burial services.²⁶ This act spelt the end of the Church of England's domination over the burial of the colonists.

The denominational pluralism which developed in New South Wales from the 1830s onwards had an immense impact upon society. Michael Hogan describes the period after the Church Act 1836 as the 'scramble of denominations'. As Hogan rightly points out, the easing of economic constraints and the developing relationship between state and religion led to 'a decline in cooperation, a heightened competition between denominations for government favours in both funding and policy, and a competitive expansion of clergy, churches, schools and political involvement which set each denomination against the others.'²⁷ Formally established churchyards and cemeteries were a physical declaration of a denomination's presence in the community, equally as important as the church. The clergy of the Churches became protective about their right to consecrate burial grounds, charge fees for burial, and control the land.

A religious group would be granted land for a burial ground by the government either as an individual grant, or as part of church lands which incorporated a church, and often a school. The customary area for the appropriation of church land was three acres: 1 acre for a church, 1 acre for a burial ground, 1/2

²⁵ 6 George IV no.21 (1st November 1825).

²⁶ Jean Woolmington (ed.), *Religion in Early Australia: The Problem of Church and State*, Cassell Australia, Stanmore, 1976, pp. 95-96.

acre for a school and 1/2 acre for a parsonage.²⁸ While some churchyards were placed around the church, it was more common in government land grants for a distinct and separate area to be surveyed for a burial ground. Originally the church and burial ground were placed adjacent to one another, such as the Roman Catholic church, burial ground, school and house at Burraborang [plate 2.4. figure A] and the Church of England church and burial ground at Boorowa [plate 2.4. figure B].²⁹

After receiving a grant for a burial ground, the church then had to nominate trustees for its management. The trustees usually consisted of prominent people within the local church, such as churchwardens or elders. In rural areas trustees were often the Church leader or minister and prominent businessmen from the congregation. The trustees role was to establish fees for burial, ensure the sanitary disposal of remains, and lay out and embellish the grounds. Relinquishing government control over the management of burial grounds was not an isolated case in the nineteenth century. The colonial government abdicated many responsibilities to the Churches (most prominently education) or to Trustees (the management of parks, recreational areas, and road building in remote areas).

Awaiting government land grants for burial grounds was an exercise in patience for some of the churches. It could take months, even years, to be granted a piece of land. In Sydney the Church of England first began applying for a new

²⁷ Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Penguin Books, Ringwood Victorian, 1987, pp. 48-49.

²⁸ SRNSW: Colonial Secretary, Letters Received, Special Bundles, 1826-1902; CGS 906, Land for General Cemetery at Upper Mangrove Creek 1847-50, [2/1852 part]. This customary allocation is confirmed when looking at returns of grants to religious bodies for the first half of the century. See for example, 'Religious Endowments', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, 1859-1860, vol. 3, pp. 723-736.

²⁹ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Plan of sites for a Roman Catholic Church, Burial Ground, School and House, Burraborang [sic], Parish of Nattai. 1847. C.273.730. AO Map No. 2071; Survey of the

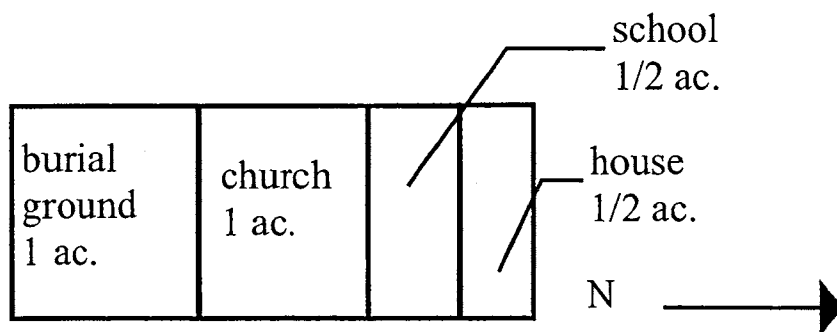


Figure A. Plan of sites for a Roman Catholic Church, Burial Ground, School and House, Burragorang, Parish of Nattai. 1847.
 (C273.730. Redrawn from SRNSW AO Map No. 2071. [Not to scale])

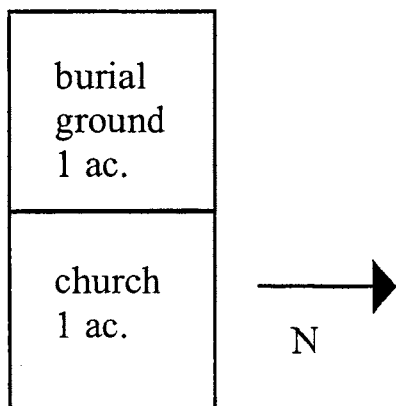


Figure B. Survey of the Allotments for the Episcopalian church and Burial Grounds at Boorowa, County of King. 1846.
 (C245.730. Redrawn from SRNSW AO Map No. 2050 [Not to scale])

burial ground in 1843. At that time the Bishop stated, 'the burial ground in Sydney, belonging to the Church of England, is so completely occupied that not only are decency and propriety much outraged by its crowded state, but it is actually impossible to find room for more bodies.'³⁰ Five years later, the Church of England were still waiting for a burial ground. In the end, the church rejected the government's proposal for a general cemetery, and set up their own burial ground by purchasing land at Newtown. The Wesleyans too waited several years to be granted a new burial ground in Sydney. The Reverend John Eggleston first applied in July 1856, stating 'the Wesleyan Burial Ground is now nearly filled, and a new site will soon be urgently needed.'³¹ Twelve months later the Wesleyans were still waiting.³² By 1858 the Secretary of Lands conceded the interment of the dead had 'become exceedingly pressing, scarcely a day passing without applications, either written or oral, being made to me for suitable provision with regard to it'.³³ However, the issue of a cemetery to serve the population of Sydney was not finally resolved until 1867. Rural communities did not fare much better. At Tumut, land for a Church of England church, parsonage and burial ground was first surveyed in September 1848.³⁴ The survey was then cancelled, and replaced by a subsequent re-arrangement of the land in March 1849.³⁵ This second survey was also replaced in

Allotments for the Episcopalian Church and Burial Grounds at Burroowa [sic], County of King. 1846. C.245.⁷³⁰. AO Map No. 2050.

³⁰ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney (and proposed general cemetery)', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5 : Lord Bishop of Sydney to Colonial Secretary, 13 September 1843. Part II, Letter no. 1, .p. 35.

³¹ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Rev. J. Eggleston to Colonial Secretary, 8 July 1856. Part II, Letter no. 72, 58.

³² 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Part II, Letter nos. 77 & 80, 60-61.

³³ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Minute of the Secretary of Lands, 17 May 1858. Part II, Letter no. 87, 63-64.

³⁴ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Plan showing land surveyed on the East side of Bumbolee Plain near Tumut for a Church of England Church, Parsonage and Burial Ground. September 1848. C.332.⁷³⁰. AO Map No. 2110.

³⁵ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Survey of land reserved for Church, School and Parsonage at Tumut. March 1849. C332a.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.2111; Survey of land for Church of England Burial Ground at Tumut. March 1849. C333.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.2112.

November 1852 by a survey for a general cemetery.³⁶ The General Cemetery was finally dedicated on 11th February 1854, nearly five and a half years after the first burial ground was surveyed.

When the issue of burial became pressing, the churches frequently relied upon donations of land to ease the burden. Land donations were important not simply for the provision of burial grounds but also for the establishment of churches. For example the Church of England church and burial ground at Mulgoa was donated by Edward Cox. The 2 acres and 3 roods of land provided room for a traditional churchyard surrounding the church.³⁷ At Bungonia, land for a Protestant burial ground was donated by Robert Futter from his 1680 acres adjoining the township.³⁸ Occasionally, benevolent members even donated land for a general cemetery. The residents of Bimbi, a small locality situated 23km south west of Grenfell, were given a general cemetery by the Caldwell family. The Caldwells donated the land for the cemetery from their existing allotment. The cemetery adjoined their land, and the Caldwells maintained their own private access to the cemetery through a lych gate leading from their property. Their status in the community was also reflected in the family monument - a large marble angel standing on top of a vault - the most impressive monument in the cemetery.³⁹

By the 1840s, it was common practice for the Surveyor General to group the denominational burial grounds together, separated from the churches on the outskirts of the town. This grouping of burial grounds foreshadowed the future

³⁶ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Plan for a General Cemetery at Tumut. November 1852. C.498.⁷³⁰. AO Map No. 2205.

³⁷ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Plan of land given in the Parish of Mulgoa by Edward Cox for a Church and Burial Ground etc. April 1836. C63.⁷³⁰. AO Map No. 1873.

³⁸ SRNSW: Surveyor General: Survey of Protestant burial ground at Bungonia. February 1838. C85.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.1898; Parish Map of Bungonia (Co. Argyle), 3rd ed., 1906. (ML).

design of general cemeteries. The burial grounds at Devonshire and Elizabeth Streets (known as the Devonshire Street Cemetery, the Sydney Burial Grounds, and erroneously the Sandhills Cemetery⁴⁰) were established near the Brickfields on the outskirts of Sydney, at what is now Central Railway Station. The first burial ground was opened in 1820 to replace the Old Sydney Burial Ground on George Street. Originally land was set aside for a Church of England burial ground. Subsequently, other denominations were allotted adjacent land for burial grounds upon application to the colonial government. Thus by 1836, there were seven burial grounds on the site, covering a total of 11 acres, 3 roods and 11^{1/2} perches.⁴¹ As the 1842 plan of southern Sydney shows [plate 2.5. figure A], the layout of Devonshire Street Cemetery was an ad hoc arrangement, responding to the needs of the different religious communities for burial space. In this sense Devonshire Street Cemetery was not a general cemetery, but seven distinct church cemeteries. Each denomination managed its own burial ground, which had an exclusive entrance, and its own scale of fees and charges. This arrangement clearly illustrates how the Surveyor General grouped denominational burial grounds together, prior to the creation of general cemeteries.

Such grouped burial grounds located on the outskirts of town conformed to the 'cemetery ideal' and the latest beliefs in the health and sanitation of towns. The Colonial Secretary was aware of this, acknowledging in 1845 that 'the establishment

³⁹ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Bimbi General Cemetery.

⁴⁰ The name Sandhills appears to have been first applied to Devonshire Street Cemetery by A. G. Foster in a paper read before the Royal Australian Historical Society in 1918. See A. G. Foster, 'The Sandhills: an historic cemetery', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 5 no. 4, 1919, pp.153-195. The Sandhills was actually a name which was used to describe the land first chosen for a general cemetery for Sydney in 1845 located on the Old Sydney Common. The Devonshire Street Cemetery, as it was commonly called, was not actually one cemetery, but rather a number of burial grounds grouped together yet fenced off from each other and with separate entrances. It would perhaps be more accurate to describe them as the Devonshire Street Cemeteries.

⁴¹ SRNSW: Plan of the Sydney Burial Grounds, 1836. C68 730. July 1836. AO Map No.1878.

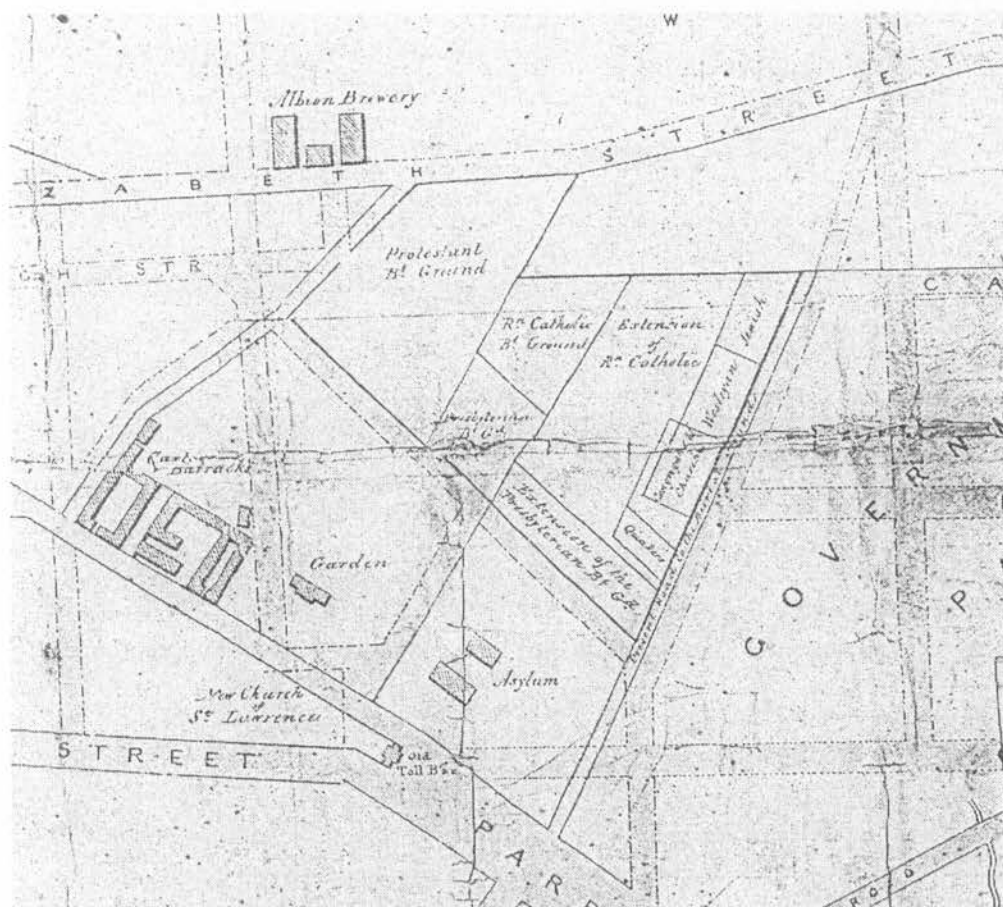


Figure A. Devonshire Street Cemeteries in 1842.

(Detail from Plan of "Redfern's Grant" forming the Southern Extension of the Town of Sydney subdivided into allotments for sale by Mr Stubbs on 16 March 1842. ML Z M3 811.18193/1842/1)

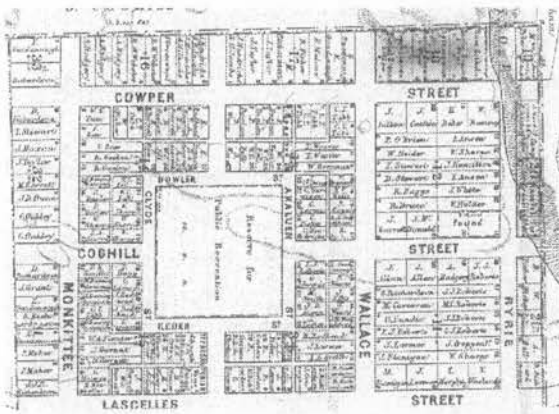


Figure A. Map showing Braidwood Cemetery on the outskirts of the town, with denominational areas aligned all in a row.
(Town Map of Braidwood. 1882. ML)



Figure B. Map showing Bungendore Cemetery on the outskirts of the town, with denominational areas aligned all in a row.
(Town Map of Bungendore. 1901. ML)



Figure C. Map showing the original Queanbeyan Cemetery located by the river on the outskirts of the town with denominational areas placed beside each other.
(Town Map of Queanbeyan. 1911. ML)

of a public cemetery at a reasonable distance from the city [of Sydney], in such a position that the health of the living might not be injuriously affected, was a subject of the utmost importance.⁴² Extramural burial grounds were readily employed in the laying out of country villages and towns in colonial New South Wales and examples of denominational cemeteries clustered together in a row include Braidwood Cemetery [plate 2.6. figure A], Bungendore Cemetery [plate 2.6. figure B], and the original Queanbeyan Cemetery [plate 2.6. figure C]. These burial grounds were dedicated in the 1840s, and were later re-dedicated as general cemeteries and extended in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. Each denominational burial ground was separately granted and surveyed for 1 acre, but they were to be placed alongside one another. Each would originally have had its own entrance. Braidwood, Bungendore and Queanbeyan burial grounds are all located just inside the town boundaries, but at some distance from the original centre of population. In contrast Berrima's burial grounds were situated outside the township boundary. Not all colonists agreed with these 'modern innovations'. Sir Thomas Mitchell (surveyor) confessed he preferred churchyards in country villages because he 'like[d] to see the dead near the place of worship; I do not like the modern innovations in this respect'.⁴³ Nevertheless the location of the cemetery outside the township, but at a reasonable travelling distance, became an important element in late nineteenth century cemetery design. As we shall see, this was addressed in an efficient, utilitarian manner in New South Wales.

⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1845, p. 2.

⁴³ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Sir Thomas Mitchell, Q. 19, p. 5.

The General Cemetery Bill of 1845

In the mid-nineteenth century, the burial ground in New South Wales became a contested religious space. The General Cemetery Bill of 1845 proposed the creation of a new burial ground for the citizens of Sydney, and the removal of the Old Burial Ground in George Street in order to grant the site for the building of a town hall. The Bill also sought to radically alter the role of the various religious denominations in the management of cemeteries. Under the Bill cemeteries were to become interdenominational, with common rather than separate areas for each denomination. This meant, for example, that Catholics could be buried next to Protestants. In addition it was proposed that a central body of lay Trustees manage the cemetery and set fees for burial, rather than each denominational group having its own trustees for its own area.

The General Cemetery Bill was viewed by the parliament as being 'of the utmost importance' and a Select Committee was formed to investigate it. However even as the ballot for the members of the Select Committee was being counted, the lines between the two opposing camps were drawn. Dr John Dunmore Lang, a Presbyterian minister and supporter of the Bill, declared 'it would be a disgrace to the colony, if all distinctions of denominations could not be merged in the grave'. Mr Charles Cowper, a strong supporter of the Church of England, responded that he was totally against the principle, and that it went against the rights of the Church. 'But, if civil and religious liberty, so much talked of in this House, were to be maintained, why should that liberty be denied to the Church of England alone? ... [why] should they be told, do as you can, buy a burial-ground to yourselves?' In

due course both were elected to the Select Committee, with Cowper nominated as Chairman.⁴⁴

The Select Committee quickly discovered opposition to the interdenominational cemetery from both the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic sects. It is clear from their line of questioning that some members of the Select Committee were also concerned about clashes amongst the various denominations. In particular it was argued that simultaneous funeral processions and burial services from different denominations would 'often lead to misunderstanding'.⁴⁵ The Reverend William Cowper (an Evangelical Church of England clergyman and the father of Charles Cowper, the chair of the Select Committee) argued that:

it would be attended with inconvenience if there were no division between the parties, as persons belonging to three different denominations might meet on the burial ground at once, and the various funeral services be conducted together, or within the hearing of each other, which would lead to disorder and irreverence.⁴⁶

The Dean of the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. John McEncroe agreed, stating that such arrangements would be 'inconvenient', particularly in relation to the doctrine of Christian burial.⁴⁷ Police Commissioner W. A. Miles also agreed, arguing that '[denominational] distinctions would be perpetuated if the dead of all communions were buried indiscriminately, owing to the fracas and confusions which might arise in the burial ground.' The Commissioner warned that a communal burial ground was unwise since in the colony 'party feeling is apt to run very high'. The cemetery, he declared, 'should be portioned out, not for the sake of the dead, but for the

⁴⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1845, p. 2.

⁴⁵ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: M. W. Lewis, Q. 47 p. 11.

⁴⁶ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 51 p. 3.

⁴⁷ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. John McEncroe, Q. 7 p. 11.

living. ... There is a point to which tolerance may be admitted, but afterwards comes confusion'.⁴⁸

The response to the proposed general cemetery was not entirely negative. Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis was optimistic about the proposal, but conceded that the 'Roman Catholics might perhaps object to ground consecrated by Protestants' and it was unlikely that both the Catholics and Protestants 'would agree to consecrate the same spot'.⁴⁹ The only witness to support the idea of an interdenominational cemetery was the Presbyterian minister Rev. Dr. McGarvie.⁵⁰

The Select Committee bowed to public opinion and recommended creating a burial ground with denominational distinctions, but still suggested that one body of Trustees could manage the site. The General Cemetery Bill was heatedly debated in Parliament. The Church of England and Roman Catholic hierarchy declared the Bill denied their religious liberties and an editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* agreed:

The trusteeship is taken out of the hands of the donees *unnecessarily* [emphasis original], and therefore offensively. When land is granted for a church, a chapel, or a school-house, it is granted to trustees in whom both grantor and grantee have confidence, and under restriction which comprehend the objects of both parties. Why should the same principle not be observed in the granting of a burial-ground?⁵¹

Such complaints were dismissed and in 1847 the General Cemetery Act was passed, providing legislation to establish a new Necropolis for the city of Sydney.⁵² Various sites were proposed for the general cemetery but all were rejected because of their

⁴⁸ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: W. A. Miles, Q. 27-29 p. 8.

⁴⁹ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: M. W. Lewis, Esq., Q. 44-45 p. 10.

⁵⁰ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. Dr. McGarvie, Q. 13-14 p. 13.

⁵¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 July 1847, p. 2.

⁵² 11 Victoriae No.11, General Cemetery Act 1847.

distance from the city, inadequate size, unsuitable soil composition and the potential for water table contamination.⁵³ It was not until twenty years later that a cemetery was finally provided - Rookwood Necropolis.⁵⁴ In the meantime, the smaller denominational groups, such as the Wesleyans and the Independents, struggled to bury their dead.

The Church of England, in protest at the General Cemetery Act, set up their own cemetery.⁵⁵ The depth of feeling engendered by the Act was notable enough for the author of *Sydney in 1848* to comment upon the cemetery's origin in his summary of Sydney.⁵⁶ The cemetery was established as a joint-stock company, known as the Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company, and twelve acres and three roods of land at Newtown was purchased for the exclusive burial of Church of England parishioners. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was impressed at the cemetery's arrangements and reported 'The purchaser of a site is entitled to a grant tantamount to freehold possession, subject however to the rules and regulations of the company'.⁵⁷ And those rules were quite strict. The 'Rules and Regulations for the ecclesiastical government of the Cemetery at Camperdown' insisted that only the Church of England burial service was to be performed by the licensed Chaplain

⁵³ The Select Committee recommended three sites: part of Grose Farm (now Victoria Park and the University of Sydney), part of the Sydney Common, and Garden Island. Other sites suggested during the inquiry included the Domain, Mrs. Macquarie's Chair, the sweep of land around Woolloomooloo Bay, and land at Blackwattle Swamp. 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1845, vol. 2. For correspondence relating to the choice of the new general cemetery see 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Part II.

⁵⁴ 31 Victoriae, No. 14, Necropolis Act of 1867.

⁵⁵ See the report of a meeting held in protest over the proposed legislation. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 1847, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Sydney in 1848*, A facsimile of the Original Text and Copper-Plate Engraving of its Principal Streets, Public Buildings, Churches, Chapels, etc., from Drawings by Joseph Fowles, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1962, p. 24.

⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1849, p. 2.

approved by the Bishop of Sydney for the cemetery.⁵⁸ Inscriptions and headstone designs had to be approved, and wooden railings would be removed 'if not kept in repair'. Only wooden coffins were permitted in common graves and no monumentation was allowed.⁵⁹

Objections to the idea of a general cemetery were not confined to the Church of England hierarchy. Such attitudes were also widespread amongst the community. The *Town and Country Journal* dramatically illustrated such divisions in a poem 'Death at Sea' which told the story of two children who had died while on a voyage out to Australia. One was Roman Catholic, the other Church of England and a separate burial service for each was held, with the bodies being committed to the sea on opposite sides of the boat.⁶⁰ There is some evidence to suggest that the use of the gallows was also divided along sectarian lines.⁶¹

Continued opposition to the idea of interdenominational trustees and burial led to the proposed design in the 1845 General Cemetery Bill being abandoned. Sectarian division, particularly between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, ensured that there would always be discrete religious sections in cemeteries without any intermingling. The sectarian divisions expressed in the cemetery however were not simply based upon doctrinal difference. They were also bound up in a broader struggle between the Church and the State. The various religious bodies were fighting the government's interference into what they

⁵⁸ 'Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *Journal of the NSW Legislative Council*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Josiah Richard Treeve, addenda, Rules and Regulations for the Ecclesiastical Government of the Cemetery at Camperdown, p. 60.

⁵⁹ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Fees and Charges in the Camperdown Cemetery. Appendix D, p. 73.

⁶⁰ *Town and Country Journal*, 30 July 1870, p. 21.

⁶¹ Ray Beckett and Richard Beckett, *Hangman: The Life and Times of Alexander Green Public Executioner to the Colony of New South Wales*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1980, p. 38.

considered religious matters. Of principal concern in the 1840s and 1850s was the definition of Church and State in providing education. The debates over education and burial grounds exhibited many parallels - specifically in their concern over control of doctrine and control of land, and more generally in the attempts by the churches to cling onto the power gained during early colonial settlement.

Why were the clergy so desirous to keep the denominations separate? It had to do with property and income. Burial fees provided an income for ministers. The outspoken Presbyterian minister, Dr Lang, was adamant that it was the greed of some religious bodies which prevented a truly non-denominational cemetery being established. In a letter penned to the *Sydney Morning Herald* after the Report of the Select Committee on the General Cemetery Bill had been tabled in Parliament in November 1845, Lang condemned the selfish interests of other denominations, particularly the Roman Catholics.

Gentlemen, it is long since certain portions of the Christian priesthood discovered that, in addition to fleecing the living they could also make not a little by the dead. I do not refer to the doctrines of Purgatory merely, but to the whole system of burial fees for the clergy. ... hence the desire for exclusive burial grounds, that all the gain of churchyard 'godliness' may be certain people's own, and neither shared with others nor diminished in any degree.⁶²

Fees from burials were a guaranteed source of income for clergy. However, as accounts from St Peter's Anglican Church Cooks River show, the revenue raised from the burial ground fluctuated considerably. In 1845-6 St Peter's Cooks River raised £45 from the burial ground, the following year £35 10s. But in 1849-1850 they received only £3. Fees were below £20 the following two years but were up to £50 in 1852-53 and reached an all time high in 1869-1870 of £100 8s.⁶³ Returns from Rookwood Necropolis indicate a much higher revenue [Table 2.1], but it must be

⁶² Letter to Editor by Dr John Dunmore Lang, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 November 1845, pp. 2-3.

remembered that this cemetery served the Sydney region. St Peter's was a churchyard, and may be considered fairly representative of the income that denominational portions of a general cemetery in a town would raise from burials.

Denomination	7 Jan 1867 to 14 Sept 1868*			year ending 31 December, 1870			year ending 31 December, 1880			Year ending 31 December, 1890		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Church of England	793	17	9	747	14	3	2,928	2	6	3,738	16	11
Roman Catholic	514	8	0	467	19	3	1,098	19	8	1,918	12	6
Presbyterian	390	3	6	215	7	0	689	10	3	787	12	0
Wesleyan	174	4	1	171	1	9	445	10	0	922	3	0
Independent	290	13	5	130	11	0	363	11	0	606	4	0
Jewish	91	8	6	59	9	6	33	12	0	159	12	0
General Cemetery	n/a			n/a			120	5	6	205	12	6

Table 2.1. Annual* balance raised from general fees and charges by each denominational cemetery at Rookwood Necropolis. Sources: 'Expenditure of the Respective Trustees of the Necropolis, Haslem's Creek', *Journal of the NSW Legislative Council Session 1870*, vol. 18, 249-255; 'Receipts and Disbursements of the Cemeteries at the Necropolis', *NSW Government Gazette*, 1871, 1881, 1891.

* The earliest figures available for the Necropolis - 7 January 1867 to 14 September 1868 - cover a period of 21 months and represent the opening period of the cemetery prior to accounts being handed over to the Secretary of the Necropolis.

Income was one attraction in maintaining control of cemeteries. More important to the Churches in the long-term was the land which the government granted for burial grounds. As the Church of England hierarchy later admitted, the motivation for their opposition to the General Cemetery Act was the 'principle of the Act, which prevented each communion from obtaining the absolute title to the area assigned to it'.⁶⁴ Given their perceived inferior social status in the community, the Roman Catholics were particularly keen to keep control over their cemeteries.

⁶³ Cooks River St Peters Minute Book. 21 April 1840-15 April 1884. Anglican Archives - Sydney Diocese. 1978/3 D6j.

Rev. John McEncroe when giving evidence about the General Cemetery Bill stated “the land so apportioned should be vested in trustees, and properly secured, *so that we should not be dispossessed.*”⁶⁵ These fears of dispossession were not unfounded. The ground selected by the Roman Catholic Church for St Patrick’s Cemetery at Parramatta, was deemed too valuable for Catholics by a government surveyor, and an alternate swampy piece of land next to a Protestant burial ground was suggested. This was despite burials already having taken place in the original area. The Roman Catholics swiftly enclosed St Patrick’s cemetery with a fence, thus securing their claims to the land.⁶⁶ Land was a precious commodity which contributed to both the social standing and assets of the Churches. A Government Return in 1892 estimated the land value of metropolitan Sydney cemeteries at £187,305 exclusive of Rookwood Necropolis.⁶⁷

Ultimately, the colonial government was the victim of its own earlier policy of divesting administrative powers to the Church. Opposition by the Churches to the ‘General Cemetery’ of 1847 with its non-denominational emphasis forced the colonial government to redesign the cemetery in Sydney. It was recommended that the government relax the management strictures of one body of trustees, thereby ensuring ‘[an] avoidance of collision with the conscientious scruples or even prejudices of the various sects of religionists’.⁶⁸ In the end, the Churches won the right to have their own denominational portions of the general cemetery vested

⁶⁴ ‘Select Committee on the Management of Burial Grounds’, *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3, Henry Kerrison James, Esq., deputy registrar of the Bishop of Sydney, Q. 4 p. 15.

⁶⁵ ‘Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill’, *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. John McEncroe, Q. 4 p. 11. [emphasis added]

⁶⁶ Judith Dunn, *The Parramatta Cemeteries: St. Patrick’s*, Parramatta & District Historical Society, Parramatta, 1988, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁷ ‘Metropolitan Cemeteries (Estimated Value of Land Dedicated For)’, *JNSWLC*, 1892, vol. 50 part 3, pp. 827.

⁶⁸ ‘Burial Grounds, Sydney’, *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Minute of Secretary for Lands, 17 May 1858, Part II Letter no.87, p.64.

with their own Trustees. The 1867 Necropolis Act repealed the 1847 General Cemetery Act, and the new Sydney cemetery - The Necropolis at Haslem's Creek (later known as Rookwood Necropolis) - was a government planned cemetery but with essentially denominationally managed burial grounds. The one advantage for the colonial government was that the Lands Department had to survey only one portion of land for the denominational allotments, rather than individually, thereby cutting out unnecessary duplication of work.

Government design of general cemeteries

Ironically the General Cemetery Act of 1847, which had been primarily concerned with the creation of a new cemetery for Sydney, had its most immediate impact in rural areas. While Church opposition stalled, and ultimately diluted the implementation of the Act in Sydney, outside the metropolitan area it was put into effect immediately.

The first burial ground in a rural area to be surveyed, laid out and officially described as a General Cemetery was Dungog General Cemetery.⁶⁹ Instructions from the Surveyor General's Office on 17 September 1847 requested

a Reserve for a Cemetery of about five or six acres in extent, marking out an acre thereof for the Church of England, an acre for the Roman Catholics, half an acre for the Wesleyans, half an acre for the Presbyterians, leaving the remainder as a Reserve for other denominations, or for the purposes of extension, sending in a plan, and descriptions of the whole as the General Cemetery at Dungog.⁷⁰

Four acres were surveyed by licensed surveyor E. L. Burrowes in May 1848 for the general cemetery located outside the village and laid out according to the

⁶⁹ SRNSW: Surveyor General; CGS 13874, Catalogue of plans of land for churches, schools and cemeteries. [4/6187], General Cemetery at Dungog, 4ac., plan C 309.⁷³⁰ & plan showing the connection of the general cemetery to the town C309a.⁷³⁰, Surveyor: Burrows, 25 May 1848., p. 6.

⁷⁰ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Copies of Letters sent to surveyors; To G. B. White Esq., from Surveyor Generals Office, Sydney, 17 September 1847, Letter no. 47/265. Reel 2828.

instructions. The arrangement of Dungog General Cemetery [plate 2.7. figure A] differed little from earlier groupings of denominational burial grounds, such as Braidwood Cemetery. The denominational portions were located adjacent to one another beside a road. However, in contrast to Braidwood Cemetery, a larger number of religious groups, five in total, were accommodated in the cemetery, and for the first time proportional areas according to religious representation were surveyed as instructed by the Surveyor General. Thus the Presbyterians and Wesleyans received half an acre, to the one acre of the Church of England, Roman Catholic, and 'Other Denominations' (later to be called the 'general burial ground' or 'general cemetery'). The other half acres were left unallotted along with another strip of land which was reserved for an extension of the cemetery.⁷¹ The cemetery was re-surveyed in 1885-1886 to provide denominational areas for Jews and Independents, as well as an area for plantation and future extension of the cemetery.⁷² [plated 2.7. figure B]

The shift to general cemeteries was swift, despite the fact that single denominational burial grounds continued to be granted until 1867.⁷³ General cemeteries were adopted more frequently for new townships from the 1850s. This shift is illustrated in the design of some early general cemeteries. Cooma General Cemetery was originally the site for a Church of England church and burial ground. The denominational burial ground was first surveyed in 1845, but was subsequently cancelled for the arrangement of a general cemetery in 1850.⁷⁴ The

⁷¹ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Survey of General Cemetery, village of Dungog. C309.730. AO Map No. 2096.

⁷² Diagram Shewing [sic] Cemetery & Reserve. (C1083.1984) Dungog Parish Map, 3rd ed., 1901. (ML).

⁷³ SRNSW: Surveyor General; CGS 13874, Catalogue of plans of land for churches, schools and cemeteries, [4/6187].

⁷⁴ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Survey of land for an Episcopalian Church, Burial Ground and Parsonage, at Cooma Creek, Monaro. April 1845. C214.730.. AO Map No.2024; Plan of a design for a

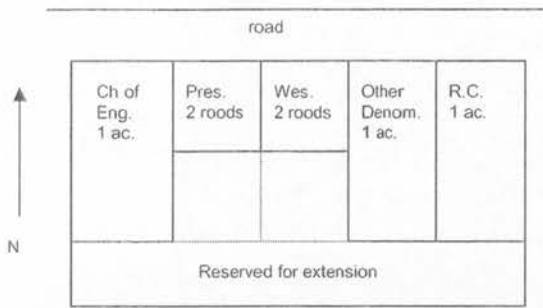


Figure A. Plan of cemetery. Village of Dungog. Parish of Dungog. County of Durham. 1848. (C309.730. Redrawn from SRNSW AO Map No. 2096. [Not to scale])

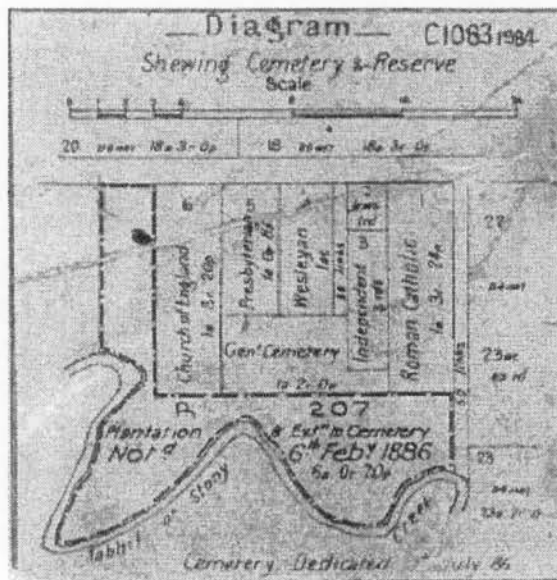


Figure B. Diagram of Dungog General Cemetery. (Detail of Parish Map of Dungog, 3rd ed., 1901. ML)

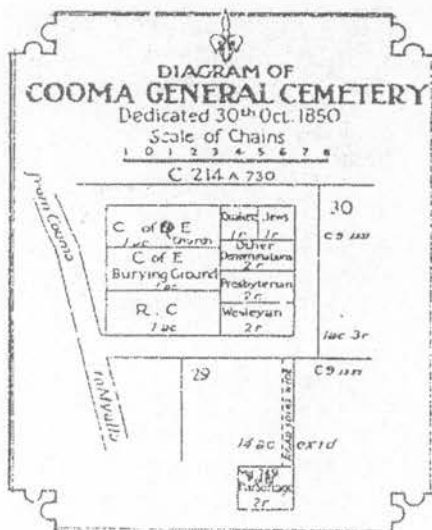


Figure C. Diagram of Cooma General Cemetery. (Detail of Parish Map of Cooma, 6th ed., 1934. ML)

church, however, had already been built, and so Licensed Surveyor Parkinson incorporated the church into the overall design of the cemetery. [plate 2.7. figure C] The surveyor included burial areas for Quakers and Jews as well as the more standard religions of Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan and 'Other Denominations'. Initially, instructions from the Surveyor General to licensed surveyors varied and consequently some general cemeteries were more 'general' than others. Sometimes surveyors were allowed to lay out the cemetery as they saw fit; at other times explicit instructions were sent from the Surveyor General's Office. Licensed Surveyor J. J. Galloway's original town plan for Armidale included a cemetery within 1 mile of the town, thereby contravening the law stating that all burial grounds should be one mile from the town. Galloway was therefore instructed to choose another site for the general cemetery at Armidale. To ensure he addressed all requirements for the general cemetery, Galloway sought advice on the area to be appropriated for each denomination. In December 1850, following instructions from the Surveyor General's Office, he designed an 8 acre cemetery with nine denominational areas, including half an acre each for Pagans, Jews, Baptists, and Independents.⁷⁵ By comparison Licensed Surveyor J. Nicholson accommodated only four denominations in his small general cemetery at Carcoar in July 1851⁷⁶.

The design of general cemeteries was soon standardised by the NSW Surveyor General's Office. In 1859 a circular was sent to Licensed Surveyors

General Cemetery at Cooma, Monaro. June 1850. C214a.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.2025; Cooma Parish Map (Co. Beresford) 6th ed. 1934. (ML).

⁷⁵ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Copies of Letters sent to surveyors, To Assistant Surveyor Galloway From Surveyor General's Office Sydney, 27 February 1850 Letter No. 50/115, 8 August 1850 Letter No.50/435, 26 October 1850 Letter No.50/595, AO Reel 2829; SRNSW: Surveyor General; Plan of the Cemetery at Armidale, County of Sandon. December 1850. C438.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.2163.

⁷⁶ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Survey of land for site of General Cemetery, Carcoar. July 1851. C472.⁷³⁰. AO Map No.2183.

outlining regulations for surveying in the colony. The standard general cemetery was determined to be 8 acres, 'to be subdivided in the proportions, and in accordance with one of the designs shewn on the memoranda attached hereto'. Table 2.2 shows the proportions recommended for an 8 acre general cemetery in 1859 (based upon the 1856 census figures).

TO A CEMETERY OF 8 ACRES						
Denomination	Area			Census of NSW 1856		
	a.	r.	p.			
Church of England	2	2	0	Total population, say, - 130,000		
Roman Catholic	1	2	0	Ditto	78,000	
Presbyterians	0	2	10	Ditto	28,000	
Wesleyans	0	1	15	Ditto	16,000	
Independents	0	0	10	Ditto	3,000	
Jews	0	0	5	Ditto	1,400	
General Cemetery	2	2	0			
Roads, say -	0	2	0			

Table 2.2. Allotment of proportional cemetery areas for denominational groups of an 8 acre general cemetery based on 1856 census figures. Source: NSW Surveyor General's Office, *Circular to Licensed Surveyors to whom specific districts have been, or may hereafter be, appropriated*. 1859. (ML)

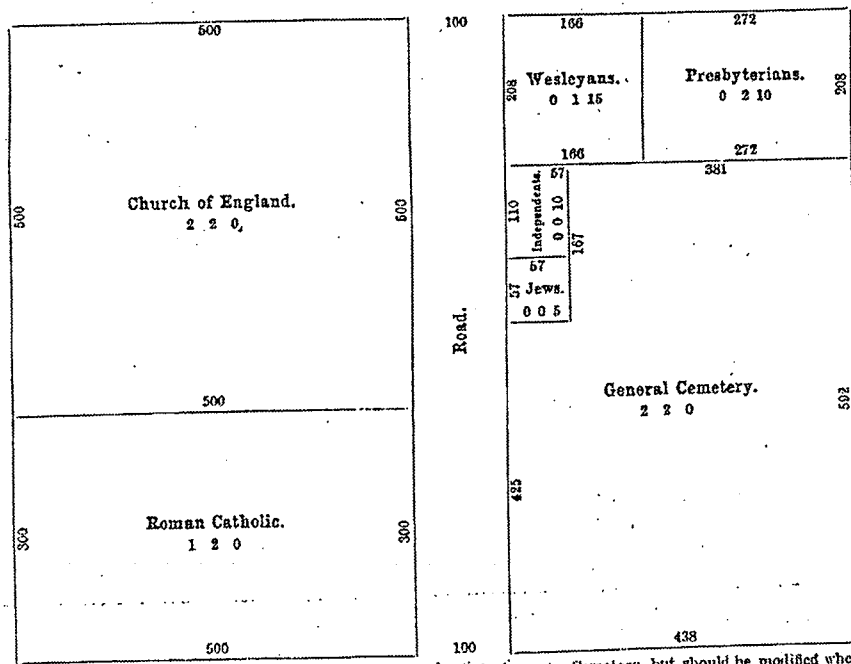
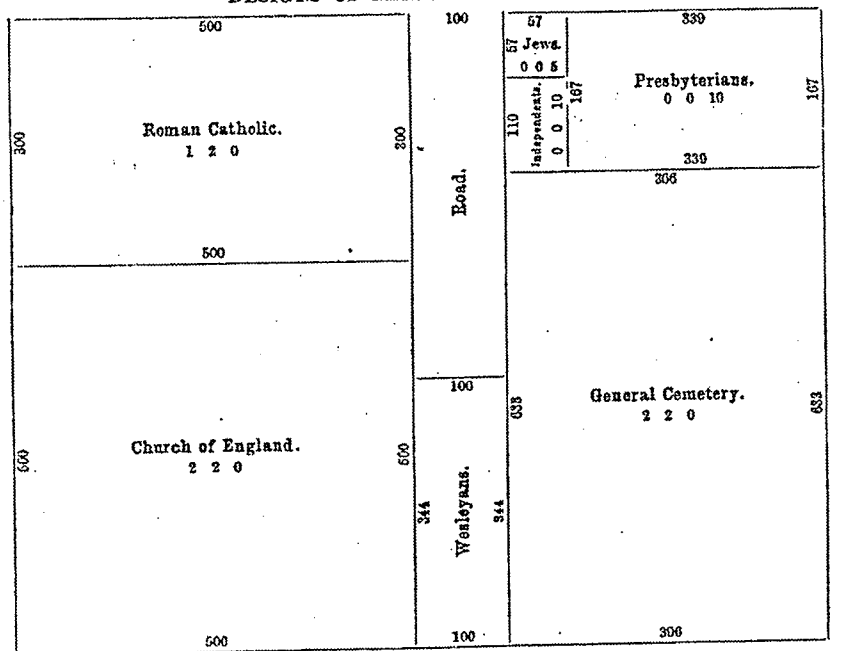
Two designs for 8 acre general cemeteries were issued based upon the proportional allotment of burial grounds and these informed standard cemetery designs for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The denominations accommodated in the general cemetery design were Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyans, Independents, Jews and 'General'.⁷⁷ In 1882 *Regulations for the Employment of Licensed Surveyors* reproduced the 1859 standard designs [plate 2.8. figure A]. The proportional allotment of denominational areas remained the same, despite the growing population.⁷⁸

The 1886 *Regulations* gave more specific guidelines regarding the situation and layout of cemeteries. The location of a general cemetery, as was recommended

⁷⁷NSW Surveyor General's Office, *Circular to Licensed Surveyors to whom specific Districts have been, or may hereafter be, appropriated*, Sydney, 1859 (covering letter 1864). [ML Q526.9/N]

⁷⁸SRNSW: Surveyor General, Miscellaneous, CGS 13937, NSW Surveyor General's Department. *Regulations for the employment of Licensed Surveyors*. 1882. [3/8705A]

DESIGNS OF GENERAL CEMETERY.



NOTE.—One of the above Designs may in general be adopted in laying out a Cemetery, but should be modified when required by the formation of the ground or peculiarities of access.

APPENDIX H.

Figure A. The two standard designs for general cemeteries promoted by the Surveyor General's Office from 1859-1897. (SRNSW: Surveyor General; CGS 13937, NSW Surveyor General's Department. *Regulations for the employment of Licensed Surveyors*. 1882. [3/8705A])

by overseas burial reformers and in accordance with the 1825 law, had to be on the outskirts of a town. 'The cemetery must be outside the town limits; as a general rule the distance should not exceed two (2) miles from the probable nucleus of town settlement, and therefore may be within suburban limits'. There was acknowledgment that the cemetery should be isolated from the noises of everyday life to promote a scene of tranquillity and meditation. 'The position should be remote from the noise and interruption of traffic, but of easy access'. Particular attention was to be paid to the sanitary conditions of the site, especially the suitability of the soil for burials, in order to provide the best conditions for decomposition and ease in digging the grave. 'The site should be elevated, and not in close proximity to a watercourse; the soil should be friable, and should be tested by digging a pit at least 6 feet deep, such pit to be indicated on plan; and the conditions should be otherwise suitable for burial purposes'.⁷⁹

The 1886 instructions for the selection of a cemetery site formalised the ideal conditions and situation for a cemetery debated over the past forty years, both in the colony and overseas. Colonists were aware of cemetery developments overseas and the arguments of burial reformers. It was generally accepted that overcrowded burial grounds were a threat to public health, and that sandy soil was important for decomposition and the neutralising of deadly miasmas. For sanitary reasons, it was deemed that the soil should be fairly dry and not drain into any waterways used for drinking. The reasoning behind the instructions for the layout of cemeteries was made transparent by A. G. McLean, the acting Surveyor General in 1861, when he requested Licensed Surveyor Armstrong to review the proposed cemetery sites for

⁷⁹ SRNSW: Surveyor General, Miscellaneous; CGS 13939, NSW Surveyor General's Department. *Regulations for the employment of Licensed Surveyors*. 1886. [3/8705C].

Sydney. McLean identified three essential and two desirable criteria for cemetery sites.

The essentials in a Cemetery are - soil of sufficient depth, and of such character that, while grave may be dug without any extraordinary labour, their sides will stand vertically; secondly, drainage sufficient to keep the graves dry while being prepared, and leading to salt water, or otherwise, so as not to affect the purity of water which is or may be required for domestic uses; thirdly, such proximity to the railway lines as to render communication with it, and, if possible, with some existing station, easy and inexpensive.

It is desirable, also, that the Cemetery should be, to some extent, isolated, so that its establishment might not depreciate the value of adjacent property, by rendering it undesirable as a residence; and it would be advantageous that the soil should be such that, while meeting the necessities above mentioned, the spot would be capable of being cultured and beautified, as is frequently the case with Cemeteries in other countries.⁸⁰

Sanitary and utilitarian function were the main focus of cemetery site choice, however cemetery design and landscaping were also important. The allusion to real estate value is perhaps surprising given the cultural and civic benefits attributed to nineteenth century cemeteries, but should be taken within the context of finding suitable land (to be purchased from the private owner) for a cemetery to serve metropolitan Sydney, rather than referring to the selection of cemetery sites generally.

Comparison between the New South Wales regulations and Scottish cemetery reformer J. C. Loudon's suggestions outlined in his 1847 *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries* illustrates how closely the colony adopted the sanitary reforms of the 'cemetery ideal'. Loudon recommended the ideal situation and soil for a cemetery was

[a]n elevated situation, and a soil of gravel, sand, or chalk, to a great depth, is evidently preferable to all others, because the moisture generated will be carried

⁸⁰ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Acting Surveyor General to Mr Licensed Surveyor Armstrong. 23 February 1861. Part II, Letter No.176, pp. 89-90.

perpendicularly down by the rains, and the gases evolved will be carried off by the winds.⁸¹

Although much briefer, the 1886 instructions to licensed surveyors addressed all these points: 'the site should be elevated, and not in close proximity to a watercourse; the soil should be friable'. Such soils for burial were also favoured by colonial physicians. When asked in 1855 during a select committee inquiry on the management of burial grounds whether it was advantageous to bury the dead in a sandy soil, Frederick McKellar, a physician and surgeon in Sydney, replied,

Yes, I should say in a sandy, loamy soil; because the moisture filtrates through it, and the sand takes up the putrid matter. If after a grave is dug the water remains in it, it is proof that the fluid putrid matter cannot make its escape into the surrounding soil any more than the water, and therefore putrid effluvia must arise.⁸²

Likewise the Health Officer for the city of Sydney wrote in 1860 that 'dry sandy soil, as that of the burial grounds here, is most favourable to rapid decomposition, particularly when aided by heat and humidity of the atmosphere'.⁸³ Sandy soil for cemeteries did, however, have its disadvantages. The original site for a general cemetery in Sydney settled upon in 1846 on the Old Sydney Common was eventually abandoned, partly because the soil was too sandy, while other areas were subject to inundation. It was argued the removal of vegetation would lead to sandrifts across the site, rendering it totally unsuitable for burials.⁸⁴

Cemetery soil which drained to salt water was preferable because there was virtually no chance of domestic water contamination by decomposing bodies. This

⁸¹ J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1843. Facsimile edition (with introduction by James Stevens Curl), Ivelet Books Ltd, Redhill, Surrey, 1981, p. 44. See also p. 14.

⁸² 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Frederick McKellar Q. 16 p. 2.

⁸³ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Extract from Report of Officer of Health, of date 5 January 1860. Part I, Enclosure in Letter No. 88, p. 34.

⁸⁴ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Report of Surveyor General. 25 September 1856. Part II, Letter No.74, pp. 58-59.

may help to explain the large number of cemeteries located spectacularly along the coastline of New South Wales. More mundanely, but equally relevant, these coastal cemeteries bear testament to the predominantly coastal settlement of the continent. The location of coastal cemeteries also reflects the picturesque and romantic cemetery landscape idealised by writers in the nineteenth century. The landscaping of cemeteries will be discussed further in chapter three.

Unfortunately not all sites chosen for burial grounds met the requirements as outlined by the regulations. The first selection for a general cemetery at Dungog was 'found to be too rocky and totally unsuited for the purpose requested'.⁸⁵ Similarly, in 1893, the Bishop of the Riverina complained that the site surveyed for the cemetery at Grong Grong was too rocky and requested that a new site be selected.⁸⁶ In spite of concerns about water contamination, many burial grounds were situated beside rivers. In the central western region alone, 17 cemeteries, of which 6 were general cemeteries, were located beside creeks or rivers.⁸⁷ While it may be said that the soil was soft and conducive to the easy digging of graves, it also occasionally resulted in cemeteries becoming flooded. The general cemetery at Towamba, down near the south east border, was originally sited by the river, but was relocated to higher ground after flooding.⁸⁸ Similarly, the general cemetery at Cadia, near Orange, was prone to flooding and it is believed that several burials and headstones were washed away in particularly severe flooding.⁸⁹ This cemetery

⁸⁵ SRNSW: Surveyor General; Plan showing the relative positions of the cemetery and village of Dungog. May 1848. C.309a.730. AO Map No. 2097.

⁸⁶ SRNSW: Department of Lands, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8268, Letter Register, Individuals, 1893. Misc. 93/4337 Ind. Bishop Riverina, Hay to Surveyor General, 4 October 1893. [9/4360].

⁸⁷ Lisa Murray, *Report on the Survey of Burial Grounds in the Central West*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), 1998.

⁸⁸ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card -Towamba Cemetery Group: old cemetery and general cemetery.

⁸⁹ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Cadia General Cemetery.

has recently been completely excavated to make way for a gold mine, and the remains relocated nearby.

The location of cemeteries 'outside the town limits' minimised any possible health risks of cemeteries and allowed a tranquil setting away from 'the noise and interruption of traffic'. Again these instructions conformed to the cemetery ideal as outlined by Loudon: cemeteries, he instructed, 'ought always to be at a distance from human dwellings' and should 'favour solemnity by excluding the bustle of every-day life'.⁹⁰ Ironically in rural areas, the location of cemeteries on the town outskirts in the nineteenth century has meant the local tip has become its neighbour in the twentieth century.

The distance to the cemetery from the town centre rarely affected 'easy access' in rural areas. But in populous areas it was a distinct problem. Larger distances meant greater costs in funeral corteges and difficulties in attending graves, especially for the lower classes.⁹¹ The Surveyor General had struggled with this conundrum since 1843: 'the distance [of burial grounds outside Sydney boundaries] is so great that burials would be attended with inconvenience and expense both to rich and poor; at the same time I fully admit the propriety of making burial grounds outside rather than inside of towns.'⁹² The 1886 regulations for cemetery site selection attempted to resolve the issue by conceding the cemetery may be within suburban limits.

⁹⁰ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, pp. 14-15.

⁹¹ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', NSWLCV&P, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper Q. 43, 52, 55-57, pp. 3-4; Rev. John McEncroe Q. 14 p. 12.

⁹² 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', NSWLA V&P, 1863-64, vol. 5: Surveyor General to Colonial Secretary, 6 December 1843. Part II, Letter No. 5, pp. 36.

In Sydney this problem was addressed in a thoroughly utilitarian yet aesthetically pleasing manner, embracing the progressive technology of the era. The railways were harnessed to transport corpses and mourners to cemeteries. J.C. Loudon had suggested back in 1843 that the railway network could be harnessed using 'cooperative railroad hearses' so that cemeteries could be 'laid out on poor soils at great distances from London'.⁹³ The precedent had been set by Brookwood Necropolis in south London in 1854.⁹⁴ The idea for a cemetery accessed by railway in Sydney was first mooted by the Deputy Surveyor General, John Thompson, in September 1856.⁹⁵ And by 1860 the government had settled upon the railway as a practical solution to the distance issue for cemeteries. On the 26 September 1860 a notice was placed in the *Government Gazette* seeking expressions of interest from 'persons who may be willing to dispose of not less than 100 acres of land, which may be suitable for a General Cemetery, on or near the Great Southern Railway, between Sydney and Parramatta'.⁹⁶

The government purchased 200 acres near Haslem's Creek Station on the Great Southern Railway in September 1862 for its new general cemetery for Sydney.⁹⁷ The Necropolis opened in 1867. Mortuary stations were built at Redfern near Central Railway Station and at the Necropolis, with a special train serving the

⁹³ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁴ James Stevens Curl, 'Architecture for a novel purpose: death and the railway age', *Country Life*, 12 June 1986, pp. 1716-1717.

⁹⁵ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Report of Deputy Surveyor General, 20 September 1856, Part II, Enclosure in Letter No.74, p. 59.

⁹⁶ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Department of Lands, Sydney, 26 September, 1860, Notice in *Government Gazette*, no.182, 28 September, 1860. Part II, Letter .No. 169, pp. 87.

⁹⁷ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Part II, Letter Nos. 221-230, pp. 104-109.

cemetery.⁹⁸ [plate 2.9. figure A] The *Sydney Morning Herald* in an editorial rejoiced in their design:

It was fitting that these buildings should be beautiful. ... We cannot but commend the wisdom that has dictated this outlay. ... We congratulate the Colonial Architect, Mr Barnet, upon his most successful treatment of a truly difficult task.⁹⁹

James Barnet later wrote in the journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects that his mortuary stations displayed 'the application of Gothic architecture to a novel purpose'.¹⁰⁰ The structures were widely praised as 'appropriate in character, picturesque in form, and chaste in design'.¹⁰¹ The train service from Sydney to the Necropolis took half an hour and left twice daily. The *Town & Country Journal* was impressed with the service, in spite of the crowds. 'The mourners and friends attending funerals are conveyed by rail to Haslem's Creek at a low rate, and the only inconvenience is that the attendants at two or more funerals often get mixed together, and thus some degree of confusion arises.'¹⁰² It will be recalled that this was the same objection raised against a non-denominational general cemetery back in 1845.

The success of the Necropolis mortuary train led the government to investigate the distances of all Sydney metropolitan cemeteries from railways.¹⁰³ But the railway was really only practical for large metropolitan cemeteries. Two other general cemeteries in New South Wales were designed to incorporate railway transport. Sandgate Cemetery at Newcastle utilised the railway, although its

⁹⁸ For a history of the Rookwood Mortuary Train see, C. C. Singleton, 'The Rookwood Cemetery Line', in *The Sleeping City: The story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston, Society of Australian Genealogists in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, pp. 44-52.

⁹⁹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 April 1868, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ James Barnet, 'Architectural Work in Sydney, New South Wales, 1788-1899', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 6 no. 3, 1899, p. 515.

¹⁰¹ *Sydney Mail supplement*, 16 March 1878, p. 7. See also *Sydney Mail*, 11 April 1868, p. 12; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 29 May 1875, p. 14.

¹⁰² *Town and Country Journal*, 9 December 1876, p. 940.

¹⁰³ 'Cemeteries (return respecting)', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 955.

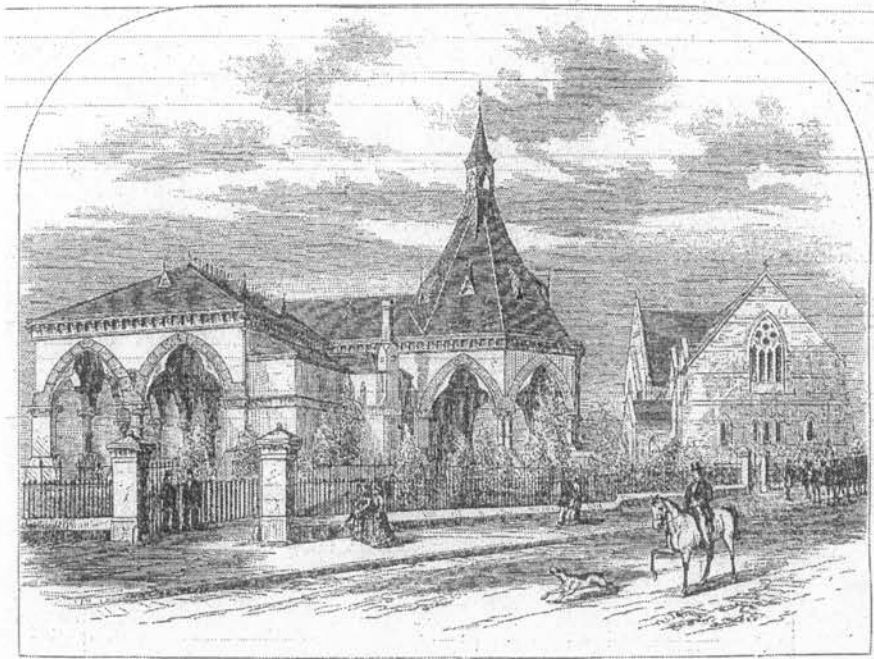


Figure A. Mortuary Station, Redfern.
(*Sydney Mail*, 16 March 1878)

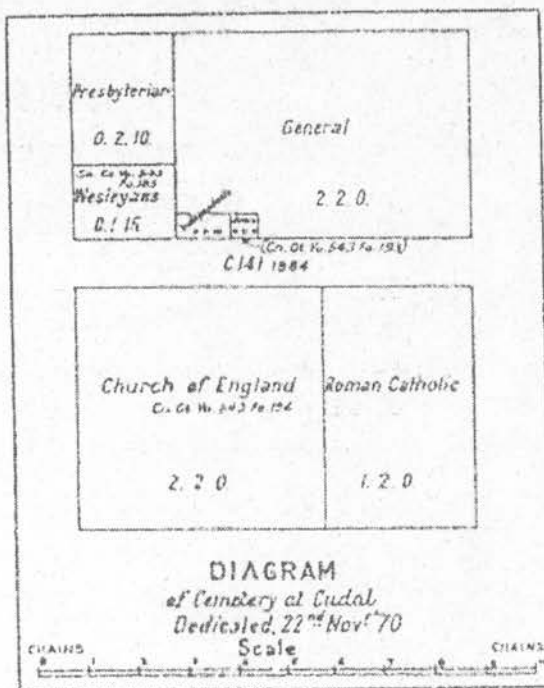


Figure B. Diagram of the General Cemetery at Cudal.
(Detail of Parish Map of Boree Cabonne, 6th ed., 1936. ML)

incorporation into the cemetery design was not as ornate as Rookwood.¹⁰⁴ The other cemetery to be serviced directly by the railway was Woronora Cemetery in Sydney's south. The railway was incorporated into the design when the cemetery was gazetted in 1895, with the service opening in 1900.¹⁰⁵ The central location of the mortuary station with denominational areas radiating out from the centre was similar in design to the Necropolis. This design was later used by the Lands Department as an example of how to lay out a general cemetery. [see plate 2.10. figure A]

The standard general cemetery design with a central avenue and seven denominational allotments, that was first circulated in 1859, was applied to nearly all rural general cemeteries surveyed in the late nineteenth century. Cudal General Cemetery [plate 2.9. figure B], which was dedicated in 1870, is laid out precisely according to the lower design in plate 2.8. (figure A).¹⁰⁶ The reminder that designs 'should be modified when required by the formation of the ground or peculiarities of access' which accompanied the 1882 designs was rarely considered. Neither, it appears, did surveyors pay attention to the 1886 suggestions that the cemetery area could be enlarged 'where a new General Cemetery is required for an established populous settlement' and designs could be modified 'where certain sects greatly exceed the usual proportion'. In 1894 the Chief Surveyor complained, 'there is not sufficient attention bestowed by several District Surveyors to selection of site and design of subdivision of cemeteries'.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Sandgate Cemetery, Newcastle.

¹⁰⁵ National Trust of Australia (NSW), Classification Card - Woronora Cemetery, Sutherland. See also Michael Boyd, *Woronora Cemetery and Crematorium 1895-1995*, Woronora Cemetery and Crematorium Trust, Sutherland, 1995.

¹⁰⁶ Diagram of Cemetery at Cudal. Parish Map of Boree Cabonne (Co. Ashburnham), 6th ed., 1936.

The 'frequent want of judgement shewn [sic] in the matter of design of public Cemeteries' led to the Surveyor General issuing a new set of cemetery regulations and designs which were circulated to district surveyors in 1897.¹⁰⁸ Directions for selection of the cemetery site remained the same as previous regulations. Much greater attention to detail, however, was given to the design principles of general cemeteries as required by the Department of Lands. A general cemetery was to be a minimum of 10 acres, however a smaller area of about 3 acres was to be dedicated and laid out for use, 'in order to economise expenditure in fencing and preparing the ground'.¹⁰⁹ This design strategy was suggested by District Surveyor Robert McDonald in 1892 for the cemetery at Glen Morrison. The design for Windsor Cemetery, one of four general cemetery designs which accompanied the 1897 circular, illustrated this design principle, and the attention of licensed surveyors was drawn to this new design innovation. [plate 2.10 figure A] The design was particularly utilitarian because, as District Surveyor McDonald had argued in 1892,

by confining the area to reasonable limits, the cost of enclosing and clearing which is usually a large item is considerably reduced, while the chances are that the smaller areas are likely to be kept in much better order than the extensive areas which are usually granted.¹¹⁰

The cemetery should be laid out and subdivided according to the 'natural conditions' of the site, and the denominational allotments should be able to be easily extended when necessary. The 'principle of design' for general cemeteries

¹⁰⁷ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8258, Letters Received, Misc. 94/806, [20/7405].

¹⁰⁸ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8258, Letters Received, Misc. 97/8268, [20/7579]; SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99: Circular No. 97-26, 'General Cemetery', 22 November 1897, p. 274, [11/21988]. The general cemetery regulations and designs were reproduced in the 1901 edition of *Regulations for the Employment of Licensed Surveyors* by the NSW Department of Lands. (ML)

¹⁰⁹ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99: Circular No. 97-26, 'General Cemetery', 22 November 1897, p. 274, [11/21988].

¹¹⁰ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Records; CGS 8457, Precedent Book 1892-94: 'Cemeteries - Limitation areas in thinly populated districts', pp. 135-6, [11/21592].

was that 'there shall be one entrance to the Cemetery, and a main drive affording access to the larger burial grounds, from which it may sometime be requisite to have a path to one or two of the smaller grounds'. This principle articulated the previously unspoken rule of a central avenue for cemeteries. Three of the cemetery designs supplied with the circular - Jamberoo, Windsor and Camden cemeteries [plate 2.10 figure A] - all featured the main drive. Licensed surveyors were to use their discretion when apportioning the allotments to the various religious sects. While using the census as a guide to the areas required, 'due regard should be bestowed to the local predominance of, or the absence of, any sect or sects', however an area must always be set aside for 'unsectarian interment'. Finally it was deemed 'desirable to leave an area for ornamental plantation around a Cemetery, and the arrangement thereof may admit of providing sites for a caretaker's residence, waiting-rooms, &c.'¹¹¹

The 1897 circular on General Cemetery design was reproduced in the 1901 edition of *Regulations for the Employment of Licensed Surveyors*. Another edition of the *Regulations* was published in 1914. While the instructions for the site selection and design of cemeteries remained virtually unchanged, two new designs were offered amongst the four models [plate 2.11. figure A]. Designs 1 and 2, of Windsor Cemetery and Woronora Cemetery respectively, were repeated from the 1901 designs. Design 3 was a new model and was based on the layout for Collarenebri General Cemetery.¹¹² Like Design 2 of Woronora Cemetery, the 3rd Design was more adventurous in its layout with the religious subdivisions radiating out from a

¹¹¹ SRNSW: CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99, p. 274, [11/21988].

¹¹² Illustrated in Denis Byrne, *In Sad But Loving Memory: Aboriginal Burials and Cemeteries of the last 200 years in NSW*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Hurstville, 1998, p. 19.

Examples of Design for
GENERAL CEMETERIES.

See Paragraph 50

Jamberoo Cemetery.

Wm. Brown's 1882.

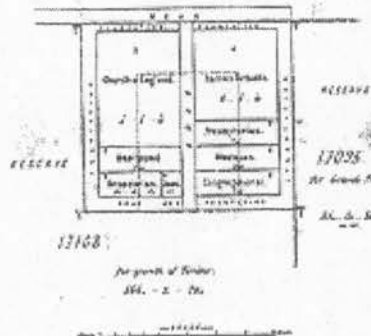
J.C. Fair.



Windsor Cemetery.

Note: The area which is sufficient for present use is indicated by broken lines

Windsor Town Land.



Woronora Cemetery.



Camden Cemetery.

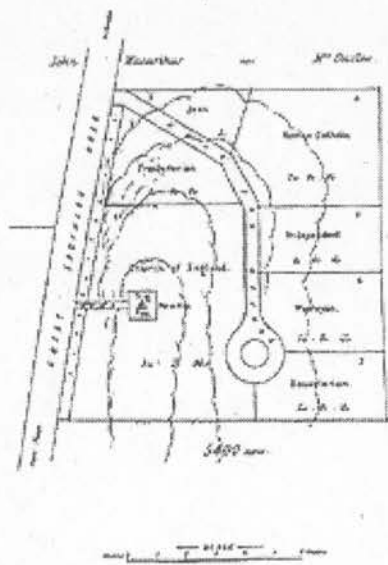


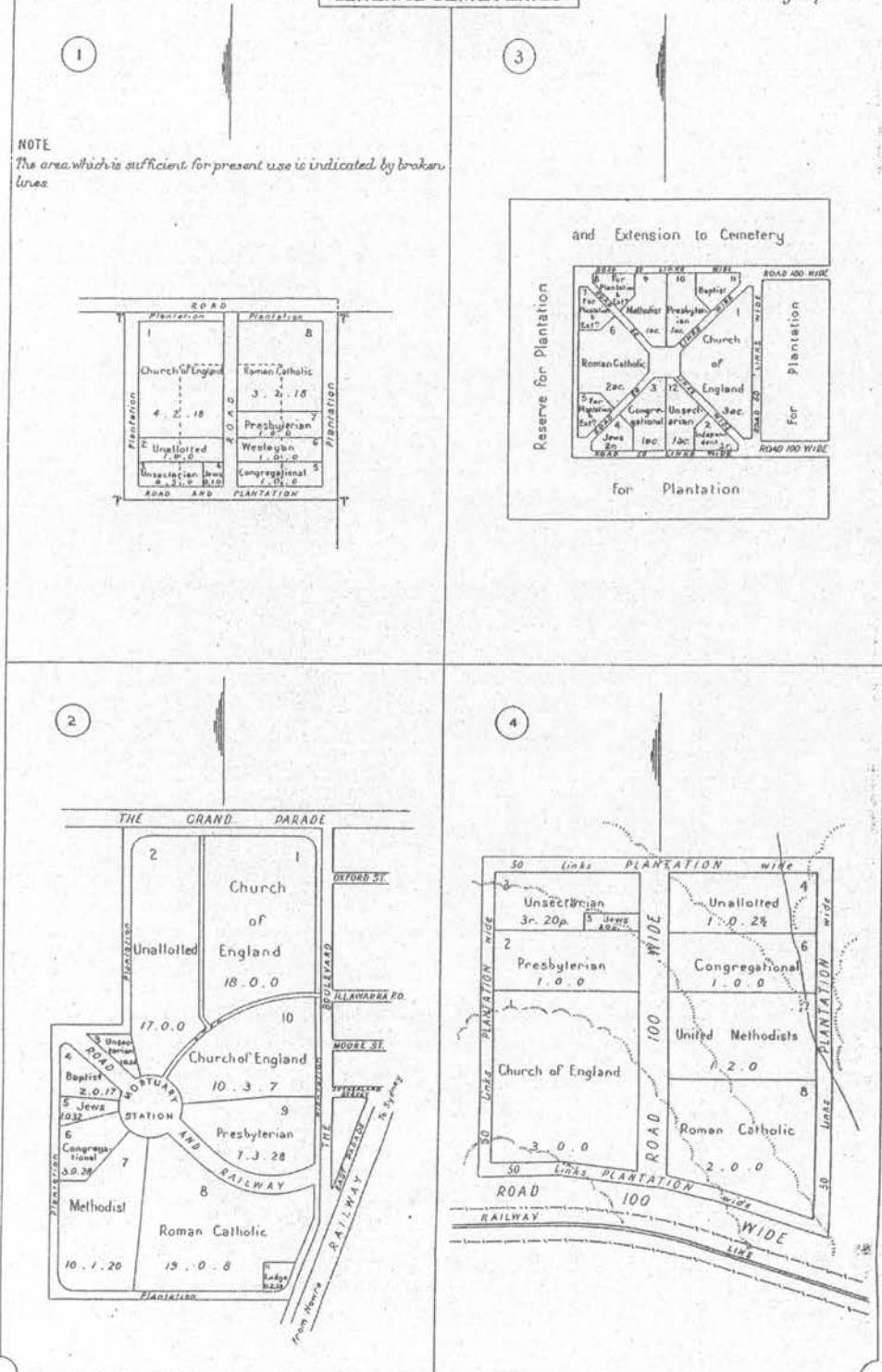
Figure A. Four designs for general cemeteries that were first circulated to licensed surveyors in 1897. These designs were later reproduced in the 1901 edition of *Regulations for the Employment of Licensed Surveyors* by the NSW Surveyor General's Office. (ML)

Examples of Design for
GENERAL CEMETERIES

See Paragraph 95

NOTE

The area which is sufficient for present use is indicated by broken lines.



Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1914.
N^o of Lith. 14.864.M

Figure A. Four designs for general cemeteries promoted by the Surveyor General in 1914. (SRNSW: Lands Department, Ministerial (Surveyor General) Branch; CGS 8013, Regulations for the employment of licensed surveyors, 1914, [3/6709, 3/2408.5])

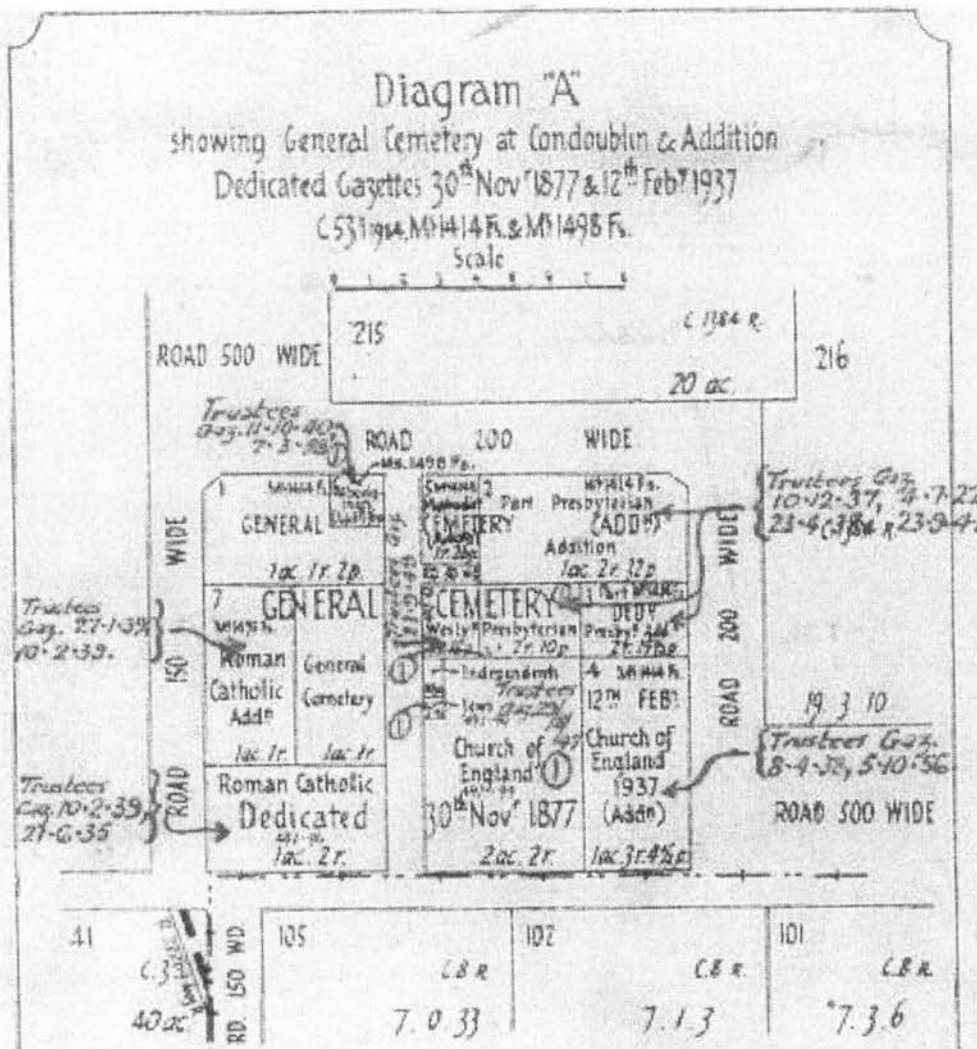


Figure A. Diagram of the General Cemetery at Condobolin.
 (Detail of Parish Map of Condobolin, 7th ed., 1945. ML)

central circle. Design 4 was also a new design, but was a simple layout, conforming to the 'principle of design' of a main drive.

Some cemetery designs did expand and adapt according to local needs. Condobolin General Cemetery was based upon the standard cemetery design when it was first dedicated in 1877. This area is marked in red on plate 2.12. (figure A). The Roman Catholic addition of portion 7 would have originally been part of the General Cemetery allotment. Extensions to the cemetery in 1937 saw the addition of a small section for Aborigines, as well as further land for the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Church of England.¹¹³ Despite the Aboriginal portion set aside in the general cemetery, Aboriginal people have chosen to be buried by denomination rather than 'race' since the 1930s.¹¹⁴

Cemetery management and cemetery trustees

The watering down of the General Cemetery Bill of 1845 had a lasting effect on the design and management of general cemeteries. As we saw in the previous section, general cemeteries came to be subdivided into denominational areas rather than burying indiscriminately. The failure of the government to introduce a single body of trustees for general cemeteries also led to chronic problems in the management of cemeteries. Placing the management of general cemeteries into the hands of 5 or 6 denominational trusts caused confusion and inadvertently led to the neglect of cemeteries.

¹¹³ Diagram A showing General Cemetery at Condoublin [sic] & Addition. Condoublin [sic] Parish Map. (Co. Cunningham). 7th ed., 1945. (ML)

¹¹⁴ Byrne, *In Sad But Loving Memory*, pp. 22-23.

Once the government surveyed, granted and cleared the land for burials, they passed control of the cemetery over to the various denominational trustees. It was up to the cemetery trustees to subdivide their portion into graves and to generally lay out and embellish the cemetery.¹¹⁵ The proper management of cemeteries was entirely dependent upon the appointment of interested, responsible and active trustees. The appointment of trustees was fraught with difficulties. Many of the denominations were 'in the habit' of nominating 'non-resident Trustees', particularly the 'leading Clergymen of the Denomination irrespective of the situation of the land'. Such practices made it difficult for locals to find out who controlled the cemeteries, and also led to 'the neglected state of many of the Burying Grounds of the Colony', as it was 'clearly impossible for [the distant trustees] to exercise any control over the land'. To overcome these difficulties, the Department of Lands was advised in 1888 that cemetery trustees should consist of local residents (laity) and clergy at a ratio of 3:2.¹¹⁶ This recommendation was never enforced, and so the problem of trustees not meeting their responsibilities continued throughout the nineteenth-century and into the next. The head of the Miscellaneous Branch of the Lands Department vented his anger in 1904 when the issue came up again.

There is nothing to be gained by appointing a non resident Trust for a Burial Ground. In fact such appointments only give the Department trouble in superseding them later on by local Trustees. They are, moreover, misleading.

The object in appointing Trustees is to have the land properly controlled and managed for Burial Purposes - and this is obviously impracticable where none of the Trustees reside in the locality.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1899-1906: 'Department does not subdivide cemeteries into grave lots or sections', pp. 310-311, [11/21989].

¹¹⁶ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1885-90:

'Appointment of Trustees for Cemeteries', pp. 92-94, [11/21987].

¹¹⁷ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1899-1904, 'Local trustees should be appointed for Cemeteries', p. 320, [11/21989].

In that particular case the proposed Trustees for the Baptist portion of the General Cemetery at Burren Junction were rejected, and the appointment deferred until local Trustees could be found.

The various denominational Trustees did not necessarily co-ordinate their actions, or indeed communicate, and there were frequently misunderstandings as to who controlled what, particularly by the 'general burial ground' Trustees. The use of the terms 'General Cemetery' to refer to the entire cemetery site, and 'General Burial Ground' to refer to the allotment set aside for non-denominational burials, caused much confusion. The irony of a general portion within a general cemetery was not lost on advocates of cemetery reform and regulation and in 1872 the Secretary of Lands was asked to explain, 'the nature of the distinction between such a "General Cemetery" at Haslem's Creek and any other General Cemetery?' The Secretary of Lands, Mr Farnell, replied that the general cemeteries were 'subdivided among the different denominations, one portion in each case being reserved for a General Burial Ground, and separate grants will be issued in each case to local trustees, when nominated by the several denominations'. He explained further for the benefit of parliament, that '[t]he distinction between a General Cemetery and a General Burial Ground is, that the former term is applied to the total area set apart and subdivided for a Cemetery, and the latter to that portion of the General Cemetery set apart for the public generally, without reference to creed.'¹¹⁸ This explanation may have clarified the issue for parliamentarians, but many of the Trustees themselves were left in the dark. The Lands Department frequently received requests for clarification on the issue, since many General Burial Ground Trustees assumed they controlled the whole General Cemetery. This led some

¹¹⁸ Wed. 18 December 1872. *NSWLAV&P*, 1872-73, vol. 1, p. 80.

Trustees to 'usurp the duties of the other Trustees', and in other cases 'public subsidies granted for the improvement of the General Cemetery as a whole have been expended upon the General portion'. To circumvent such problems, it was resolved in 1896 to rename the 'General Burial Ground' as the 'Unsectarian Burial Ground', and a circular was sent to all District Surveyors to that effect.¹¹⁹

The decision by the government to apportion burial grounds to the various religious sects also led to many difficulties for the Lands Department. As the population of the colony grew, and their religious affiliations diversified, the department was called upon to cater for an increasing number of groups. Smaller religious sects, such as the Salvation Army and the Latter Day Saints, sought recognition through the appointment of their own burial ground. To provide such land would be an expensive exercise and given the small number of adherents in many districts it was deemed to be unjustifiable.¹²⁰ The Department tried to overcome these difficulties by directing smaller sects to approach the Trustees of the Unsectarian portion to see if they would provide a small area for their use.¹²¹

The Department of Lands was also forced to discriminate between rival sects within the various denominations. This too was an administrative nightmare. For example, the government provided a burial ground for the Wesleyans, but up until 1889 not usually the Primitive Methodists. Provisions changed again with the

¹¹⁹ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99: 'General Cemeteries - Designation of the Portion set apart for "unsectarian" burials', pp. 151-3, [11/21988]; SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99: Circular No. 96-41 'Unsectarian Burial Grounds', 7 August 1896, p. 166, [11/21988].

¹²⁰ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99, 'Latter Day Saints - Refusing to provide a Burial Ground for', p. 294, [11/21988].

¹²¹ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; Precedent Book 1885-90: 'Portions of General Cemeteries not to be set apart for the use of the Salvation Army', 21 July 1890, p. 163, [11/21987].

amalgamation of Methodist Churches in 1902.¹²² The appointment of Trustees sometimes even led to rival claims for the denominational burial ground, as was the case with the Presbyterian burial ground in Aberdeen Cemetery. The right of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales to the burial ground was challenged by the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia. The rival claims were resolved by placing representatives of both branches of the Church on the Trust responsible for the burial ground. On reviewing the case, the Under Secretary for Lands remarked,

These fine drawn distinctions are absolutely ludicrous and when applied to burial of the dead are enough to bring utter contempt on Christianity. Before any more sites for Cemeteries are granted, the question of dedicating the whole of such areas as General Cemeteries must be carefully considered.¹²³

One alternative proposed to the practice of subdividing the cemetery into religious burial grounds was to simply select the general cemetery site, and mark the external boundaries, 'leaving the matter of allotment between the various Religious bodies to be attended to by one set of Trustees to be appointed to control the whole area'. In other words, in 1894 it was once again being suggested that cemeteries be managed by one body of Trustees, like that provided in the failed 1847 General Cemetery Act. The Chief Surveyor was nonplussed by this suggestion, arguing the results would be chaotic:

I regard it as desirable if not absolutely necessary that the subdivision or allotment of a cemetery amongst the various sects shall be effected under direction of the Department; if conducted by trustees appointed for the entire area, there will be certainly much dissension, and probably appeal to this Department to settle differences, and a want of finality in the allotment of the land, which may be found embarrassing: moreover the trustees will not pay for the subdivision unless funds be provided by the Government, which is an argument of some weight in favor [sic] of retaining complete control of the business in this Department.¹²⁴

¹²² SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8258, Letters Received, Misc.94/806, 'Office Memorandum: Subdivisions of Cemeteries - Denominations provided for', 15 February 1894, [20/7405]; SRNSW: Lands Department, Ministerial (Surveyor General) Branch; CGS 8006, Index to Circulars Issued to District Surveyors 1885-1908, [3/8669].

¹²³ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Records; CGS 8457, Precedent Book 1892-94: 'Cemeteries - as to necessity of internal subdivisions', p. 259, [11/21592].

¹²⁴ SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8258, Letters Received: Misc.94/806, 'Cemeteries - Subdivision Of', 31 January 1894, [20/7405].

Thus the system of government established and Church controlled general cemeteries continued, with each denominational trust responsible for the regulation and upkeep of their own burial ground.

The appropriateness of the regulation and management of general cemeteries by the Churches was regularly questioned by members of Parliament and reviewed by public servants. Faced with opposition from the Churches to an unsectarian general cemetery in the 1840s and 1850s and having difficulties locating appropriate Crown Land for burial grounds, members within the public service began to question the entire role of government in burying the dead. Should Crown Land continue to be granted for cemeteries? It was a costly exercise to grant land, clear and fence the site in readiness for burials. There were some elements within the public service that supported private companies taking over the provision of cemeteries. John Thompson, the deputy Surveyor General speculated,

It is not improbable, however, that private cemetery companies - such as those around London and other large cities - may ere long relieve the Government from all the difficulties on this subject [of providing cemeteries for Sydney].¹²⁵

He recommended that any legislative burial regulation should consider how such cemeteries could be established and what controls the government should have over them.

The Secretary for Lands and Public Works also pondered the various possibilities for cemetery companies in a memo in 1857, after receiving yet another request from a religious body for land for a burial ground.

¹²⁵ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Report of Deputy Surveyor General, 20 September 1856. Part II, Enclosure in Letter No. 74, p. 59.

The question is one of a very important character, being, I think, nothing less in its present aspect than whether the Government shall continue to hold itself out as providing cemeteries for all classes of inhabitants of Sydney? ... There is no doubt but that the present arrangement is a wasteful one where space as is required can be got for the asking. The arrangement of cemeteries for those who are beyond the class of paupers is, where the population has become dense, perhaps best in the hands of companies or of the different religious bodies.¹²⁶

As the Deputy Surveyor General was well aware, the large cemeteries in London had been established by private companies. Indeed the use of joint-stock companies to finance the establishment of cemeteries was common in both England and the United States of America. Unlike the commercial cemeteries in London, the majority of cemeteries in both England and America were established by non-profit companies or municipal bodies that directed profits back into the embellishment and management of the cemeteries.¹²⁷ Private cemetery companies were not unheard of in New South Wales either. As was discussed earlier, Camperdown Cemetery was established by the Church of England Cemetery Company in 1848. Two hundred shares were sold at £10 each¹²⁸ - among the 20 shareholders were prominent citizens Mary Reiby and Thomas S. Mort.¹²⁹ It was a non-profit company that functioned from 1848 to 1871, at which time it was transferred to the Lord Bishop of Sydney and a board of trustees appointed.¹³⁰

The Balmain Cemetery, in contrast to Camperdown Cemetery, was established by a private cemetery company founded in 1866 by three men - William

¹²⁶ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Memorandum of Secretary for Lands and Public Works, 11 July 1857. Part II, Letter No. 77 p. 60.

¹²⁷ See chapter 1 'The cemetery ideal in the 'Age of Improvement'.

¹²⁸ Church of England Cemetery Company, *Deed of Settlement*, J. T. Brocott, Sydney, 1848; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1849, p. 2.

¹²⁹ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Josiah Richard Treeve, addenda, , p. 60; Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company, Shares issued to Mary Reibey of Newtown, 1849. National Library of Australia. MS 3350.

¹³⁰ 'Report from the Select Committee on the Camperdown Cemetery Trust Bill; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings*, 1870-71, vol. 4, pp. 1259-1265; 'Report from the Select Committee on the

Patten, James Martyn Combes, and Alexander Henry Brown. At least one of the company directors already had a pecuniary interest in the funerary industry. William Patten was a monumental mason whose firm Patten Bros. was one of the largest marble and monumental masonry firms in nineteenth century Sydney.¹³¹ The Balmain Cemetery encompassed 11 acres 10 perches of land in Leichhardt and was founded at a time when there was an acute shortage of burial space in the Sydney region. It had no denominational divisions and was simply divided into 3 sections: 2 private selected grave areas and one unselected (ordinary) area - the equivalent of 1st, 2nd and pauper classes.¹³²

Despite the advice from the Deputy Surveyor General and the Secretary for Lands and Public Works, private cemetery companies were never encouraged by the government. Perhaps this was because concerns about the burial practices of both the Camperdown and Balmain cemetery companies had been raised in parliament. Both companies were accused of burial mismanagement resulting in noxious gases and miasmas emanating from the cemeteries. In addition, the Balmain Cemetery Company was attacked by Parliamentarians for profiteering from death.¹³³ These accusations, although never fully substantiated, no doubt left parliamentarians wary of the benefits of cemetery companies. No regulatory legislation for private cemeteries or cemetery management was ever passed.¹³⁴

Petersham Church Grant Bill; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings*, 1872, vol. 2, pp. 735-758.

¹³¹ See chapter 5 for more information on William Patten and Patten Bros.

¹³² 'Report from the Select Committee on the Balmain Cemetery Bill; together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix', *Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, 1881, vol. 5, pp. 933-948.

¹³³ *NSW Parliamentary Debates [NSWPD]*, 1881, 'Balmain Cemetery Bill', Legislative Assembly [LA], 21 October 1881, Mr Garrard p. 1701, Mr Abigail, p. 1702; Legislative Council [LC], 17 November 1881, Mr Lucas p. 2026.

¹³⁴ Specific legislation was passed in relation to the Balmain Cemetery. The Balmain Cemetery Act of 1881 was enacted to clarify the position of the Balmain Cemetery Company for selling graves under the by-laws of Leichhardt Municipal Council. It did not, however, set any regulations for other private cemeteries.

The Necropolis at Haslem's Creek had supposedly heralded a new era of cemetery management and regulation. All records were to be meticulously kept and each group of trustees was accountable to the government. A Secretary was to be set up in the city to field inquiries, arrange burials and receive fees. The opening of the Haslem Creek Cemetery Office was signalled with great fanfare and approval by the *Sydney Mail*. The newspaper praised the 'energetic supervision' of the secretary, Mr John Evelyn Liardet, and admired the suitability of the office space. But the most interest was applied to the burial registers, which were described in intimate detail. The *Sydney Mail* was impressed with the 'great minuteness and precision' demanded of the new registers and expressed the hope that inadequate or incomplete burial registers, which led to 'ruinous lawsuits and much other social misery', would now become a thing of the past. The furnishing of much of the information was optional, but as the *Sydney Mail* concluded, 'the utility of such information (for public use, and private, or family advantages) will be so obvious that it is not likely that such information will ever be refused'.¹³⁵ But while the Necropolis supposedly set the standard, other cemeteries did not follow their lead.

Inefficient management and difficulties faced by the public service in sorting out all the problems may not have convinced parliamentarians of the need to legislate for one body of cemetery trustees. But in the face of continued public scandals, including charges of fraud at the Necropolis¹³⁶, and a belief in the inadequate depth of graves in many cemeteries across the state¹³⁷, some members of Parliament were again persuaded of the need for the centralised management of

¹³⁵ *Sydney Mail*, 12 September 1868, p. 4.

¹³⁶ 3 July 1877 Church of England sexton dismissed for improper conduct and embezzlement of money. Anglican Trustees Minute Book 1868-1894. Rookwood Necropolis.

each cemetery through one body of Trustees. Between 1868 and 1890 nine attempts were made to introduce legislation which would restructure the management and regulate burials within cemeteries. Like the 1845 General Cemetery Bill, these bills attempted to make government control of cemeteries more comprehensive, particularly to address sanitary issues. But once again, sectarian divisions and the conflict between Church and State meant that the Churches labelled the bills as government interference in religious issues. In essence the bills sought to consolidate the trustees into one body corporate which would have greater powers to enforce rules and regulations, and also to establish a minimum burial depth to satisfy public health requirements. One of the most controversial clauses was the government's power to prohibit burials and close cemeteries if deemed a 'public nuisance'. The proposed legislation produced a flurry of petitions and a level of public debate that was unprecedented in the history of New South Wales cemeteries. This time the Church of England Bishop of Sydney (unlike his predecessors) supported reform of cemetery management.

[T]he idea, ... is one which I have held ever since I came to the Colony - that this parcelling out of public cemeteries, and handing over the several portions of the ground to separate bodies of denominational trustees, is a serious mistake, and one, moreover, which, in the smaller cemeteries especially, is fraught with very mischievous, and sometimes scandalous consequences.

....

In many cemeteries there is hardly a chance of any common action on the part of all the trustees. In the case of one cemetery there are actually more than seventy. The very number, to say nothing of the chance of clique and sectarian jealousy, forbids all vigorous and sustained action.¹³⁸

The Cemeteries Regulation Bills were also supported by residents who wanted nearby cemeteries closed.¹³⁹ The majority of residential and municipal petitioners, however, objected to the proposal that the government could close cemeteries.

¹³⁷ Question in the *JNSWLC*, 1867-68, vol. 15, pp. 213, 217.

¹³⁸ Letter to the Editor by Alfred Barry, Bishop of Sydney, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1887, p. 4.

Grave plot owners were afraid they would be barred from using their family grave if a cemetery was closed and local residents feared the financial hardship caused by excessive distances to travel to other cemeteries.¹⁴⁰ Opposition from the Churches was consistent with their stance taken against the General Cemetery Act of 1847. They again objected to the interference of the government in their religious doctrine and practices. A single body of Trustees was considered 'undesirable' and 'open to serious objection' because the denominations lost control over the performance of funerals and over the religious expression on monuments. The Cemeteries Regulation Bill, it was argued, would curtail their religious freedom. The Churches reiterated their opposition each time the Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly.¹⁴¹ The Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Most Reverend J. B. Polding concluded that the Bill was more like 'an expression of despotic will than the measure we are accustomed to expect from the temperate and free spirit of British legislation, acting for the common good and contentment'.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ 'Balmain Cemetery, Petersham. Petition - certain inhabitants of Petersham', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69; vol. 3, p. 967; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - certain freeholders, &c., Parish of St. Peter's, Cook's River', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 969.

¹⁴⁰ 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - Balmain'. *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 959; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - Residents in the vicinity of the Balmain Cemetery, Petersham', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 963; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - From the Municipal Council of Balmain', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 961; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - Clergyman and Churchwardens of St. Peter's, Cook's River', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 967; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - Residents in the vicinity of the Balmain Cemetery, Petersham - No.2', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 965; 'Burials Regulation Bill. Petition - Borough of Balmain', *NSWLAV&P*, 1868-69, vol. 3, p. 971; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Municipal Council of Randwick', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 491.

¹⁴¹ 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill No. 2. Petition - Archbishop Polding', *JNSWLC*, 1870, vol. 18 part 1, p. 383; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill No. 2. Petition - Trustees of the Independent section of the Necropolis, Haslem's Creek', *JNSWLC*, 1870, vol. 18 part 1, p. 385; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill, No.2. Petition - Standing Committee of the Synod of the Church of England for the Diocese of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1870, vol. 2, p. 813; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Standing Committee of Synod of Church of England, Diocese of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 485; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Most Rev'd J. B. Polding, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 489; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Trustees of various cemeteries at Necropolis, Haslem's Creek', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 487; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Roman Catholic Archbishop', *NSWLAV&P*, 1872, vol. 2, p. 775.

The Churches need not have been so anxious. All attempts to reform cemetery regulation were continually thwarted in Parliament. The Bill was continually deferred and frequently when it did come up there was not a quorum. In reality, there was not the political will to introduce such a radical challenge to the Churches' power and authority. The government did provide denominational Trustees with standard rules and regulations for the management of general cemeteries by the end of the nineteenth century. But the ultimate control of cemeteries remained divested in the Trustees and to a lesser extent with municipalities.¹⁴³

The General Cemetery Act, sectarian divisions, and struggles between Church and State in the second half of the nineteenth century left an enduring legacy on the design and management of cemeteries. General cemeteries from the 1850s onwards would always be divided into denominational sections. The government failed to clarify the relationship between the church and state over burial of the dead. The government provided grants for land, and basic improvements to cemetery sites, such as fencing and clearing the land in preparation for burials. However, it was the religious bodies who subdivided and managed the cemeteries until 1966 when the Local Government Act was amended to pass control of general cemeteries over to the local councils.¹⁴⁴ The Churches were also responsible for the registration of deaths until 1856 and for conducting burial services. The rules and regulations imposed by the Churches through the Trustees

¹⁴² 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Most Rev'd J. B. Polding, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 489.

¹⁴³ For rulings and precedents related to the Model Regulations, see for example, SRNSW, Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch: CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99, 'Amendment of Model Code' pp. 312-313, [11/21988]; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1899-1906, 'Control of Church of England Burial Grounds', pp. 123-124, 'Department does not subdivide cemeteries into grave lots or sections', p. 310, [11/21989]. Municipal Councils were authorised to make by-laws for the interment of the dead under section 153 of the Municipalities Act of 1867.

controlled not simply the sanitary and administrative requirements of burial, but also the expression of religious beliefs and behaviour. The Church was thus intimately involved with both the spiritual and administrative responsibilities surrounding the burial of the dead. These issues often became blurred. Attempts by the government to regulate the management of cemeteries were attacked by the Churches as interference in their religious freedom. In reality it was an attack on their property and land holdings, something which they refused to relinquish, thereby hindering the implementation of effective management of burials in New South Wales throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁴ Local Government (Control of Cemeteries) Amendment Act of 1966.

CHAPTER THREE

'GOD'S ACRE':

SANCTITY, DECENCY AND ORDER IN THE CEMETERY LANDSCAPE

I like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls
The burial ground God's Acre! It is just:
It consecrates each grave within its walls
And breathes a benison o'er the sleeping dust.

God's-Acre! Yes, that blessed name imparts
Comfort to those who in the grave have sown
The seed that they had garnered in their hearts,
Their bread of life, alas! no more their own.

Into its furrows shall we all be cast,
In the sure faith, that we shall rise again
At the great harvest, when the archangel's blast
Shall winnow, like a fan, the chaff and grain.

Then shall the good stand in immortal bloom,
In the fair gardens of that second birth;
And each bright blossom mingle its perfume
With that of flowers, which never bloomed on earth.

With thy rude ploughshare, Death, turn up the sod,
And spread the furrow for the seed we sow;
This is the field and Acre of our God,
This is the place where human harvests grow.

God's acre and the cemetery ideal

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem 'God's Acre', first published in 1841, was a celebration of Christian faith in the resurrection. This was the first time the phrase, adopted from modern German, had been used in the English language.¹ In an era obsessed with death and cemeteries, 'God's acre' was quickly embraced as the phrase which encapsulated all the religious and moralistic qualities of the cemetery landscape. 'God's acre' was applied equally to cemeteries and

¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* identifies Longfellow as first using the term, but provides the date 1844. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989. However, in a collection of Longfellow's poetry, it is recorded that he wrote "God's Acre" on 23 October 1841 and that it was first published in *The Democratic Review* in December 1841. *Voices of the Night and Other Poems vol. 3. The Writings of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, The Riverside Edition. George Routledge &

churchyards in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The phrase evoked an image of a neatly kept cemetery that demonstrated Christian faith and respect for the dead. It became synonymous in the collective imagination with sanctity, decency and order. English landscape gardener William Robinson, an avid funerary reformer, published a tract entitled *God's Acre Beautiful*, the second edition of which appeared in 1882. His idea was to merge the landscaped garden or cemetery with the modern sanitary benefits of cremation to promote urn-burials in beautiful landscaped public gardens - a concept vividly illustrated in the frontispiece to *God's Acre Beautiful*. [plate 3.1. figure A]

The cemetery ideal defined the landscape of the dead as a sacred space, where Nature and religion combined to produce a sublime environment. Through its location, landscape and monuments, the cemetery was to be a sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum. The cemetery was seen as an important civic institution which improved the taste and morals of the public. Scottish cemetery reformer John Strang argued,

A garden cemetery and monumental decoration are not only beneficial to public morals, to the improvement of manners, but are likewise calculated to extend virtuous and generous feelings ... A garden cemetery and monumental decoration afford the most convincing tokens of a nation's progress in civilization and in the arts, which are its result.²

Neatness in the cemetery landscape was associated with decency and good taste. J. C. Loudon commented 'it must be obvious that the first step to rendering the churchyard a source of amelioration or instruction is, to render it attractive'.³ In

Sons, London, 1886. It is an interesting aside that Longfellow recorded 'I would like to be *burned*, not *buried*' after writing this poem.

² John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis; with Osbervations (sic) on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture*, Takinson and Company Glasgow, 1831, pp. 58, 62. (BL).

³ J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1843. Facsimile edition. Introduction by James Stevens Curl, Ivelet Books Ltd, Redhill, Surrey, 1981, p. 8.



Figure A. Frontispiece from William Robinson's *God's Acre Beautiful*, 1882.

stating the obvious, Loudon underlined the widespread acceptance of the idea current in the nineteenth century of the moralistic influence of landscaped Nature. The ordering of the landscape, controlling Nature and rendering it beautiful and tasteful, was applied not simply to cemeteries but to landscaped gardens and public parks. Ordered nature was seen as a metaphor for genteel civilised society. The landscape was designed to shape the behaviour of visitors in appropriate ways and to inculcate an understanding of moral and social values.⁴

But whose values were they? Loudon's definition of the cemetery makes it clear. A cemetery should be aimed at 'the improvement of the moral sentiments and general taste of all classes, and more especially of the great masses of society'.⁵ The values which created and shaped the cemetery landscape were those of the bourgeoisie, aimed particularly at improving the lower classes. The cemetery was thus a space created by the nineteenth century bourgeoisie to assert their social status and values. Religion, morality and class became the ultimate definers of the cemetery landscape.

The cemeteries which developed in colonial New South Wales also embraced these values and 'God's Acre' became the familiar synonym for this new landscape of the dead. Rookwood Necropolis was often referred to as 'God's acre' with, for example, *Fuller's Sydney Hand-Book (A Reliable Guide to Sydney and Suburbs)* of 1879 recommending the Necropolis - God's Acre - as a place to visit and

⁴ Hilary A. Taylor, *Age and Order: The Public Park as a Metaphor for a Civilised Society*, The Future of Urban Parks and Open Spaces, Working Paper No. 10, Comedia in association with Demos, November 1994, pp. 5-10; Ian Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen: Cultural Politics in the Parks and Gardens of Sydney, 1880-1930', PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, March 1996; Sara Schmidt, "'Private' Acts in 'Public' Spaces: Parks in Turn-of-the-Century Montreal', in *Power, Place and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*, ed. T. Myers, K. Boyer, M-A. Pontanen and S. Walt, Montreal History Group, Montreal, 1998, pp. 129-149.

⁵ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 1.

enthusiastically quoted Longfellow.⁶ In the same year the cemetery on Norfolk Island was described, by the *Sydney Mail*, as 'God's acre'.⁷ The *Sydney Diocesan Directory* also proclaimed St John's Anglican Cemetery at Parramatta 'God's acre', and encouraged parishioners to meditatively stroll around the ground.

The burial ground is a very instructive spot, and has many historical and sacred associations. ... All that was mortal of many of our leading men in the early days was committed to this cemetery - the sleeping-place of many a pilgrim on earth - God's Acre. Suggestive and instructive memories are revived as you read the names of [those buried in St John's].⁸

Journalists such as 'the Vagabond' who wrote for the Melbourne *Argus* regularly employed the phrase,⁹ and amateur historians such as William Freame loved it.¹⁰ Freame, writing in the early twentieth century, promoted a continuation of the cemetery ideal, encouraging cemetery visitation as a source of education and moral uplift. Freame was among the earliest historians and genealogists recording the graves and inscriptions to be found in colonial cemeteries.

The use of 'God's acre' as a convenient shorthand which encapsulated both the religious and moralistic qualities of the cemetery illustrates the prominence of the cemetery ideal in the public imagination.¹¹ Cemeteries were visited, written about and discussed as cultural places which resonated with religious, social and

⁶ Fuller's *Sydney Hand-Book (A Reliable Guide to Sydney and Suburbs)*, C. E. Fuller, Sydney, 1879, p. 90.

⁷ W. R. Churchouse, "Rambles in the South Pacific. IV - Norfolk Island Ruins", *Sydney Mail*, 3 May, 1879, p. 692.

⁸ Church of England, *Sydney Diocesan Directory*, Sydney, 1912, p. xix.

⁹ For examples see an edited collection of John Stanley James "The Vagabond", *Vagabond Country: Australian Bush and Town Life in the Victorian Age*, ed. Michael Cannon, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1981. Stanley refers to Shepparton Cemetery (Victoria) in 1884 as God's Acre p. 33, and similarly the church cemetery at Hernhut (Victoria) is described in this manner p. 103.

¹⁰ See for example William Freame, 'God's Acre, in Penrith', *The Nepean Times*, Penrith, 23 September 1911. A collection of William Freame's press contributions 1904-1931 may be found in Mitchell Library: ML Q 991/F (microfilm: FM4/9553).

¹¹ Other examples of the use of the term "God's Acre" may be found in 'The Devonshire Street Cemetery - Its Neglected Condition', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 October 1900, p. 6; 'Devonshire Street Cemetery - Some Ghoully Revelations', *The Australian Star*, 5 February 1901; P. W. Gledhill, *Plan and Description of Some of the Historic Graves, Camperdown Cemetery, Church Street, Newtown, N.S.W.*, Camperdown Cemetery Trustees, Newtown, 1934.

historical meanings for the community. While the rhetoric ostensibly focused on the sacred nature of the cemetery's space, the definitions of moral sentiment were much more secular and class specific. Genteel notions of social status, taste and respectability were the ultimate definers of the cemetery landscape as a public and private space.

Government officials and public figures were aware of the cemetery ideal and examples of this movement in Europe and Britain. As chapter two has shown, the colonists rapidly adopted the practical aspects of cemetery location and layout. But colonists were also conscious of the more philosophical aspects of the cemetery ideal, and were eager to implement appropriate and tasteful landscaping in the cemeteries.

Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris was well known and highly regarded in nineteenth century Sydney. The Presbyterian minister, Reverend Dr. McGarvie, for example, was particularly impressed with Père-Lachaise, declaring it an 'interesting place', well worthwhile emulating in the colony.

I think it would be very desirable, for many reasons, to have a similar General Cemetery [to Père-Lachaise] here, laid out under a good arrangement, and public management; leaving other considerations out of question, the erection of handsome tombs and monuments, would give a stimulus to art, and would be more extensively adopted, when parties were assured by perpetual property in the ground, that such monuments would be duly respected, and preserved in a Public Necropolis ... the chief reasons with many persons, for incurring expense in erecting memorials to deceased friends, and family burial places.¹²

Government officials were equally aware of developments in Britain - both the rejection of intramural burials and the development of large metropolitan cemeteries run by joint stock companies. Colonial Architect Mortimer W. Lewis, for

¹² 'Report from the Select Committee on the General Cemetery Bill, with the Minutes of Evidence' *NSW Legislative Council Votes & Proceedings*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. Dr McGarvie, Q. 19 & 20 p. 13.

example, informed the general cemetery select committee inquiry of 1845 of the latest cemetery developments in London. He discussed Kensal Green, Norwood, Highgate, and Abney Park Cemeteries, all located in and around London, as well as cemeteries at Liverpool, Gravesend, and the Necropolis in Glasgow. Lewis pointed out that 'all the Cemeteries are ornamented more or less, with plantations of trees and flowers, after the manner of the *Pere la Chaise*, at Paris, or the more antique and immense Cemetery at Scutari, opposite the City of Constantinople, called by the Turks the "City of Silence".¹³ Turkish cemeteries were also admired by cemetery reformers such as Loudon.¹⁴

The didactic landscape of the cemetery was to be meticulously constructed: its location, consecration, layout, and ornamentation were all designed to inspire public visitation and private meditation. The Police Commissioner of Sydney, W. A. Miles, recommended to the General Cemetery Select Committee of 1845 the moral benefits of the cemetery landscape.

The cemetery should be carefully laid out in walks; trees and shrubs should be planted. The living have in all times been prone to show respect to the dead, and I think cemeteries ought to be arranged with the greatest attention, so that every thing, even the judicious planting of a shrub, should tend to induce a feeling of repose to those who might come to mourn. I remember seeing a poor cart driver planting geranium slips round the grave, and then he prayed; I asked him afterwards, if he had been kneeling in prayer for a relative? "No, sir," said the man, "but we had been fellow servants". I should wish to see this feeling fostered.¹⁵

Miles' interest in the poor cart driver was symptomatic of the bourgeois values that informed the philosophy of the cemetery ideal. The cemetery landscape fostered moral and social reform, instilling taste and educating the masses. This philosophy

¹³ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: M. W. Lewis, Esq., Q. 47 p. 11.

¹⁴ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, pp. 70-74.

¹⁵ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: W. A. Miles, Esq., Q. 22 p. 8.

was embraced by the colonists and its moral arguments underpinned the arrangements which the colonial government made for cemeteries.

Several proposed schemes for cemeteries in Sydney demonstrate how the colonists envisaged the cemetery landscape. Garden Island, located in Sydney Harbour, was considered in 1845 eminently suitable for a cemetery. Its 'seclusion' and 'picturesque features' would be favoured by persons wishing 'to erect Funeral Monuments, of a more durable and expensive character, to the memory of their deceased relatives, or friends.'¹⁶ The appeal of Garden Island as a cemetery was no doubt heightened by the presence of the graves of two prominent and respectable Sydney residents - Ellis Bent (d. 1815) and Major John Ovens (d.1825). [plate 3.2. figure A] While this idyllic spot was never formally established as a cemetery,¹⁷ its identification as a preferred cemetery site demonstrates the colonists' understanding of the cemetery ideal. Garden Island continued to be viewed as a 'beautiful retired spot' in the harbour and the graves of Bent and Ovens were promoted as a melancholy but picturesque site of interest in Sydney Harbour for many years.¹⁸

The original proposal to maintain the Old Burial Ground in George Street, Sydney also conformed to ideas promoted by the garden cemetery movement in England. Loudon, in his tract *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, had suggested that old churchyards no longer in use could be landscaped with gravel paths and the judicious planting of trees. [plate 3.2. figure B] A similar proposal was considered

¹⁶ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSW LCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Select Committee Report, p. 3.

¹⁷ Governor Brisbane gave permission for a vault to be built on Garden Island to receive the transferred remains of Ellis Bent from the Old Sydney Burial Ground. *Sydney Gazette*, 25 September 1823, p. 2.

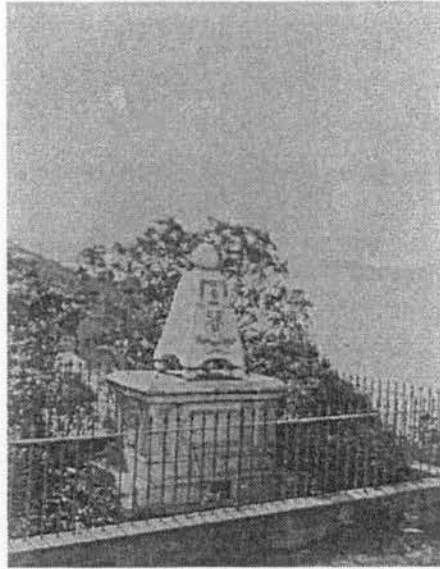


Figure A. Graves of Ovens and Bent on Garden Island
(RAHS call no. 21779.017)



Figure B. A Churchyard no longer used for burying people in, planted as a Cemetery Garden, and a new Piece of Ground added and laid out.
(J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, Fig. 50, p.79.)

for the Old Burial Ground in Sydney. Evidence provided to the General Cemetery Select Committee pointed out that it was colonial architect Francis Greenway's original intention to leave the burial ground as an open public space.¹⁹ Witnesses urged the government to retain the burial ground, rather than clearing it to build a town hall. If the tombs were kept, the ground put in order, ornamented with trees and opened to public visitation, the monumental public square, it was argued, would be a 'place which would afford solemn and agreeable recreation'.²⁰ Despite the recommendation of the Select Committee in 1845 to retain the Old Burial Ground and widespread public support, the land was resumed in 1868 for the Sydney Town Hall, the site cleared of monuments and the burial remains removed to the new Necropolis at Haslem's Creek.²¹

The cemetery debate of the 1860s provides further evidence of the high level of public awareness of the cemetery ideal. One particularly well informed correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, who supported the closure of intramural burial grounds, adopted the nom de plume "Pere La Chaise". "Pere La Chaise" made his support of the cemetery ideal explicit through his writings, clearly articulating the essential relationship between landscape and memory that was its central principle.

A cemetery ought to be one of the most beautiful places in the land. The planting of shrubs and flowers should not be checked by heavy fees. Everywhere there should be the fragrance of flowers whose annual resurrection is pleasant to the sight, and

¹⁸ James William Waugh, *The Stranger's Guide to Sydney, arranged in a series of walks*, The Author, Sydney, 1861, p. 27.

¹⁹ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 34 pp. 2-3, Sir T. L. Mitchell, Q. 5 & Q. 7 p. 4, Q. 36 p. 6.

²⁰ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper Q. 34 p. 3. See also W. A. Miles Q. 5 p. 7, Rev. John McEncroe Q. 12 p.12.

²¹ 'Report from the Select Committee on St. Andrew's Cathedral Close Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1867, vol. 4, pp. 953-1002.; Cathedral Close Act of 1868, (32 Victoriae No.4); Keith A. Johnson and Malcolm R. Sainty, *Sydney Burial Ground 1819-1901 (Elizabeth and Devonshire Streets) and History of Sydney's Early Cemeteries from 1788*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 2001, pp. 19-21.

suggestive of precious thoughts to every Christian mind. ... a spot which ought to excite the tenderest emotions.²²

The cemetery landscape: design realities

As we have seen in chapter two, the colonial government generally provided the land for cemeteries and facilitated the clearing and fencing of the ground through provision of grants of money. After that, it was the responsibility of the cemetery trustees to manage the land, preparing it for burial, laying out graves and sections, forming avenues and paths, and ornamenting the ground as they saw fit.²³

One of the earliest descriptions of the arrangement of a cemetery landscape comes from the Church of England burial ground regulations at the Devonshire Street Cemetery, set apart and consecrated in 1820. The regulations which aimed to 'preserve the future Regularity of Interments in the New Burial Ground' directed that graves, with or without headstones or tombs, be 'uniformly placed in Line with each other, extending East and West, according to the Order established in the Mother Country, and that the Distances between Graves be not made unnecessarily great'. All vaults were similarly to be of 'the same Length, however they may vary in Breadth, and be placed uniformly in Line with each other, and all placed on one particular Side of the Burial Ground, under the Direction of the Assistant Chaplain of Sydney'. The layout of graves paid attention to the economical use of ground, and the orientation of graves east-west in a line followed British tradition. The direction that vaults should be placed together in one area suggests the cemetery was divided into at least two sections: an area for unmarked and marked graves,

²² Letter to the Editor by "Pere La Chaise", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 1866, p. 5.

²³ 'The Ryde Cemetery', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1890, p. 7; SRNSW: Department of Lands, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1899-1906: Circular, 1900-14., p. 31, 'Department does not subdivide cemeteries into grave lots or sections', p. 310, [11/21989].

and an area for vaults. In addition, one corner of the cemetery was 'set apart by the Assistant Chaplain for peculiar and special Purposes, at the Discretion of the said Chaplain'.²⁴ While not explicit, this area was probably used for the unbaptised, executed criminals, and suicides. These directions for laying out cemeteries were applied in 1822 to all chaplains regulating cemeteries.²⁵

A description of the Devonshire Street Cemeteries in 1842 proclaimed Sydney at the forefront of cemetery design.

The practice of having large cemeteries on the outskirts of populous towns and cities, is one that is rapidly growing into practice ... Sydney in this respect is well provided. The new cemetery is a large and commodious one, situated on an open and airy ascent, and commanding a picturesque view of the city and harbour. The tombs and monuments which are erected over the dead, are many of them handsome pieces of sculpture. We are adverse to there being any exclusion from this spot, as we are aware that a walk through it must be interesting to all...²⁶

This newspaper article is one of the earliest articulations of the cemetery ideal and its implementation in colonial New South Wales. From the description, we can see that the cemetery landscaping was closely associated with burial reform, respect for the dead, and a pantheistic view of Nature. These ideas were interrelated and reinforced one another. The result was a new cemetery landscape: commodious and airy with picturesque views and handsome monuments that encouraged reflective recreation.

The layout of graves in a grid pattern anticipated the suggestions made by Loudon. He criticised the 'want of order' in country churchyards caused by the absence of any 'regular or systematic plan' being implemented when the

²⁴ 'Government and General Orders', *Sydney Gazette*, 29th January, 1820, p. 1.

²⁵ 'Government and General Orders. Governor Brisbane to Chaplains'. 1822. Quoted in Judith Dunn, *The Parramatta Cemeteries: St John's*, Parramatta and District Historical Society, Parramatta, 1991, pp. 19-20.

²⁶ *Australian*, 12 December 1842, p. 2.

churchyard was being originally laid out. 'The graves are put down at random, leaving spaces between them either too narrow for graves, or of shapes so irregular that they cannot be filled up, so that in many churchyards a large proportion of the ground is thus rendered useless.'²⁷ Loudon advocated a system of 'double beds with green paths between'. [plate 3.3 figure A]

These beds ought to be of such a width as to contain two rows of graves, with the headstones of each row placed back to back in the middle of the bed, so as to face the alleys. The necessary width for this purpose is 18 ft.; which will allow 7 ft. for the length of each grave; 1 ft. at the head of each grave, on which to erected a headstone, or other monument not exceeding 1 ft. in thickness nor the width of the grave; and 1 ft. at the end next the walk, for a foot-stone or number.²⁸

This was the layout applied by Loudon to Cambridge Cemetery. [plate 3.4 figure A]

Colonial Architect, Mortimer Lewis, while noting that the relative size of the cemetery required depended upon the manner of grave arrangement, agreed that placing tombs in rows allowed both regularity of arrangement and economy of ground use.²⁹ Cemetery grave-plots were thus generally surveyed using a grid pattern. In larger cemeteries, monuments were laid out in rows back-to-back, while smaller cemeteries had single rows of monuments facing east. The Church of England in the Diocese of Goulburn endorsed this method of cemetery planning. For larger cemeteries, they recommended dividing the cemetery into several sections on the advice of the diocesan registrar and planned by a surveyor. For the average country denominational portion of a general cemetery the following suggestions were made.

DRIVES AND PATHS - Where the extent of the ground available permits, the cemetery should be divided into two or four portions by a carriage drive. This as a permanent feature should be properly formed and metalled. These portions from time to time should be subdivided into "sections" by the formation of paths. It is inadvisable to lay out more sections than are actually required for about two years in advance

²⁷ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 76.

²⁸ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 18.

²⁹ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Mortimer Lewis Q. 19-20 p. 12.

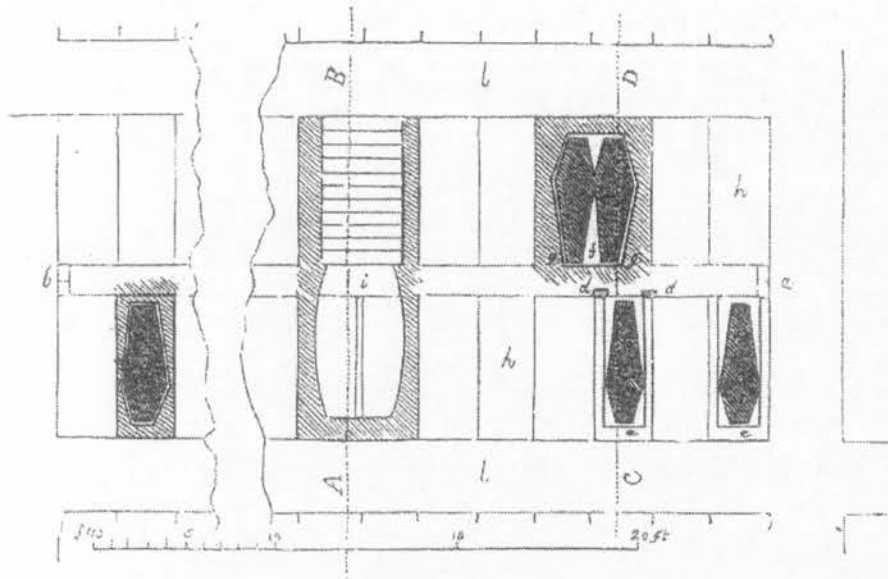


Fig. 17. Plan of a Double Bed for the Arrangement of two Rows of Graves, with green Alleys between.

Figure A. Plan of a Double Bed for the Arrangement of two Rows of Graves, with green Alleys between.

(J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, Fig. 17, p. 30)

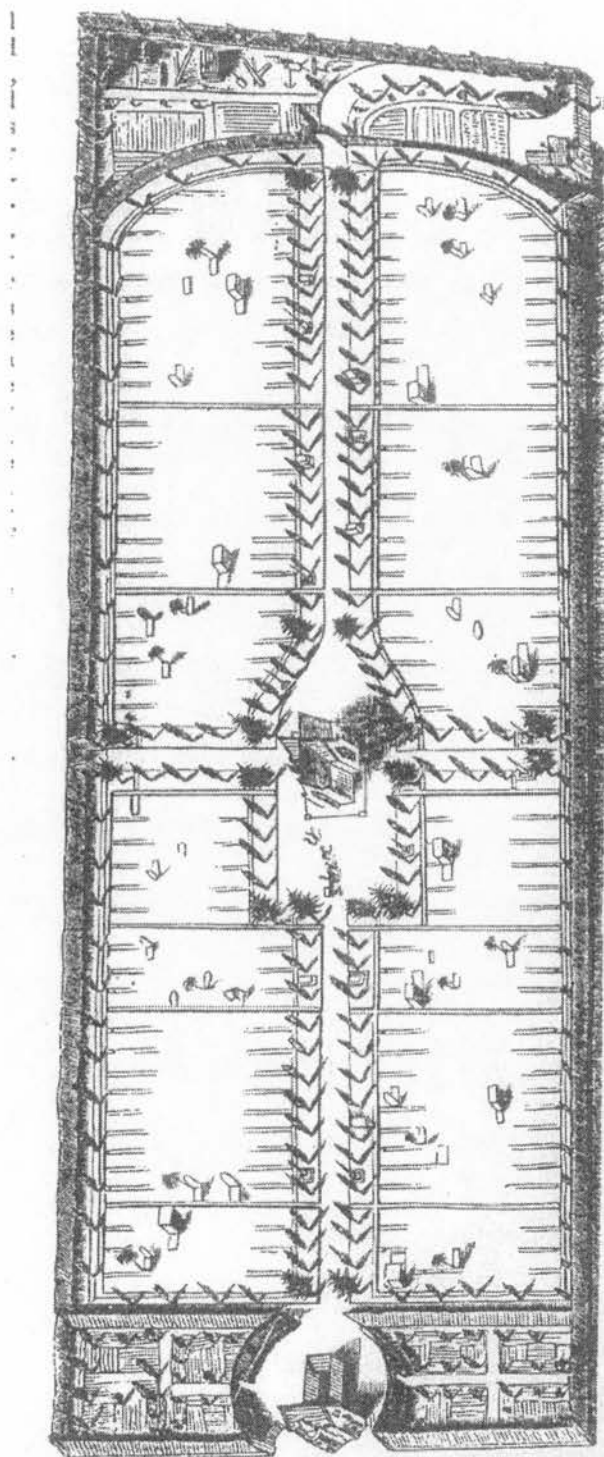


Fig. 40. *Isometrical View of the Cambridge Cemetery.*

Figure A. Isometrical View of the Cambridge Cemetery.
(J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, Fig. 40, p. 60)

Map or Plan.—All interments should be promptly marked upon the plan. All exclusive rights granted should also be entered there.

PLAN of portion of a typical section of a cemetery.

Left side shows method of pegging out a section.
Right side shows method of recording interments.

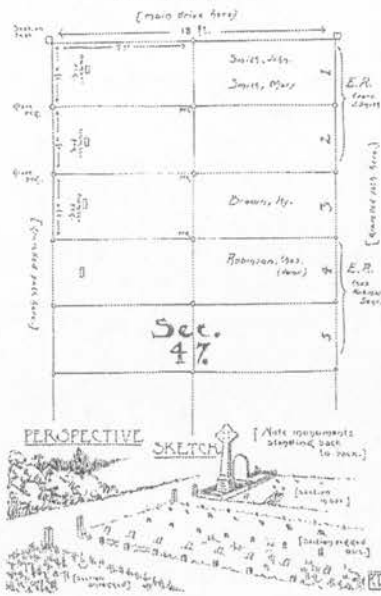


Figure A. Plan of portion of a typical section of a cemetery. (Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre: Notes on the care & management of churchyards, cemeteries and burial-grounds in the Diocese of Goulburn*, 2nd ed., The Diocesan Registry, Goulburn, 1924, p. 14)

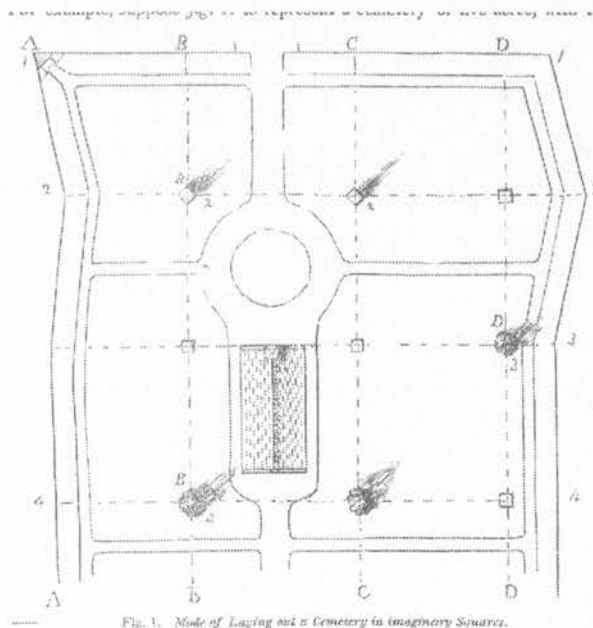


Figure B. Mode of Laying Out a Cemetery in imaginary Squares. (J.C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, Fig. 1, p. 16)

SECTIONS - A section may be of any size, provided that it contains an even number of graves 8ft x 3ft or in the case of a large cemetery if preferred 9ft x 4ft. It is recommended that sections should contain two rows of graves so arranged that when monuments are erected they should stand back to back.³⁰

These directions were illustrated in a model cemetery plan [plate 3.5 figure A] and showed how graves should be pegged out and how the monuments would be sited on the graves. This type of layout was typical of general cemeteries and larger church cemeteries in New South Wales.

One method of planning cemeteries utilised in Britain, particularly by the new large metropolitan cemeteries, was the division of the cemetery into 'imaginary squares'. [plate 3.5 figure B] Loudon noted that this method was particularly favoured in contemporary cemetery landscapes '

where, from the numerous turnings of the winding walks, the ground is laid out in very irregular shapes. In the working of such cemeteries the practice is to number every grave or vault in the order in which it is made, and indicate its place in the cemetery by reference to the square in which it is situated, and by laying it down in the plan of that square in the cemetery Map Book.³¹

This method was adopted by the Church of England Cemetery Company at Camperdown Cemetery. The *Sydney Morning Herald* explained, 'A plan of the cemetery is kept at the office, divided into squares of 100 feet each, with a separate plan of each square, in which will be registered the number and size of each grave or vault, particulars of which will be entered in the deed of grant issued'.³² It appears that in the use of the imaginary squares, Camperdown was the exception in colonial cemetery landscape design, rather than the rule. No other cemetery plans on this layout have been identified in New South Wales.

³⁰ Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre: Notes on the care and management of churchyards, cemeteries and burial-grounds in the Diocese of Goulburn*, 2nd ed., The Diocesan Registry, Goulburn, 1924, pp. 6-7.

³¹ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 42.

³² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1849, p. 2.

Camperdown Cemetery, although later to face serious allegations of overcrowding, poor management and scandalous burial practices, was initially praised for its layout and landscape.

It is securely enclosed by a close paling fence six feet high, and the whole will be laid out in plantations and walks (which are now in progress), on the principle of cemeteries in England. ... It is intended to erect a chapel on the ground, in which will be performed that part of the funeral service appointed thereto, prior to the removal of the corpse to the grave.³³

The description of the landscaping as being based upon 'the principle of cemeteries in England' shows the cultural transmission of the cemetery ideal and its landscaping principles to colonial cemeteries. A lodge was built in 1848 beside the cemetery gates and housed the cemetery office and sexton. The chapel foreshadowed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* was not built, but after the cemetery was partially closed to burials by the Newtown and Randwick Cemeteries Act of 1867 (31 Victoriae no.2), the land was transferred from the Church of England Cemetery Company to the new Camperdown Cemetery Trustees. A sandstone church designed by architect Edmund Blacket (1871-79) was subsequently constructed in the cemetery.³⁴ The former directors of the cemetery company and some of the local parishioners believed the church would be an appropriate embellishment for the cemetery and anticipated that relatives of those buried in the cemetery would contribute handsomely to the building of the church.³⁵ But a photo

³³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1849, p. 2.

³⁴ The Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Act of 1867 (31 Victoriae no. 2) prohibited burials in Camperdown Cemetery from 1 January 1868, excepting those with exclusive right to burials in family graves and vaults. See also, 'Report from the Select Committee on the Camperdown Cemetery Trust Bill; Together with the proceeding of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, 1870-71, vol. 4, pp. 1259-1265; Alan Nichols (ed.), *Camperdown: A History of Camperdown Cemetery and St. Stephen's Newtown*, Camperdown Press, Newtown, 1976. For information about St Stephens Church, Newtown, see Joan Kerr, *Edmund Thomas Blacket: Our Great Victorian Architect*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney, 1983, pp. 34-35.

³⁵ 'Report from the Select Committee on the Petersham Church Grant Bill; Together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, 1872, vol. 2, pp. 735-758: 'The Hon. John Campbell, Esq., Q. 155 p. 5; Mr C. Sampson, Q. 485 p. 14; The Hon. C. Campbell, M.L.C., Q. 518 p. 15

of the church and cemetery taken soon after the church was completed shows a tall timber paling fence separating the cemetery from the church, suggesting perhaps that the parishioners wished to keep the cemetery separate from the church.³⁶ Today, however, the fence has gone and the cemetery landscape has changed yet again. Camperdown Cemetery has been converted, contracted and enclosed by a substantial sandstone wall, giving the misleading impression of an intimate churchyard landscape surrounding the impressive St Stephen's Church.

Rookwood Necropolis, which opened in 1867, was the elaborate and triumphant exemplar of the cemetery ideal in New South Wales. The landscape design of the original 200 acres of the Necropolis was highly ornamental, being in the gardenesque style so disapproved of by Loudon.³⁷ [plate 3.6 figure A] The ornamental layout has been attributed to Charles Moore, director of the Sydney Botanic Gardens, excepting the large Church of England section which has been attributed to the cemetery trustee Simeon Henry Pearce. It appears that Pearce's landscaping ideas were based on his own tour of European and American cemeteries..³⁸

Rookwood Necropolis met all six attributes identified by Strang for a landscaped garden cemetery. As plate 3.6 (figure B) from the *Illustrated Sydney News* shows, the cemetery site was 'appropriate and commanding' with an impressive Gothic mortuary station at its centre. This station (and the railway terminus at

³⁶ Photograph of St Stephen's Church, Newtown, c. 1880. Reproduced in Joan Kerr, *Edmund Thomas Blackett: Our Great Victorian Architect*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney, 1983, p. 35.

³⁷ For an informed discussion of Loudon and the application of his principles at Rookwood Necropolis, see Matthew Devine, 'The Garden of Mourning: The Necropolis at Rookwood, John Claudius Loudon, and the Garden Cemetery Movement', B. Arch. Dissertation, University of Sydney, 1991.

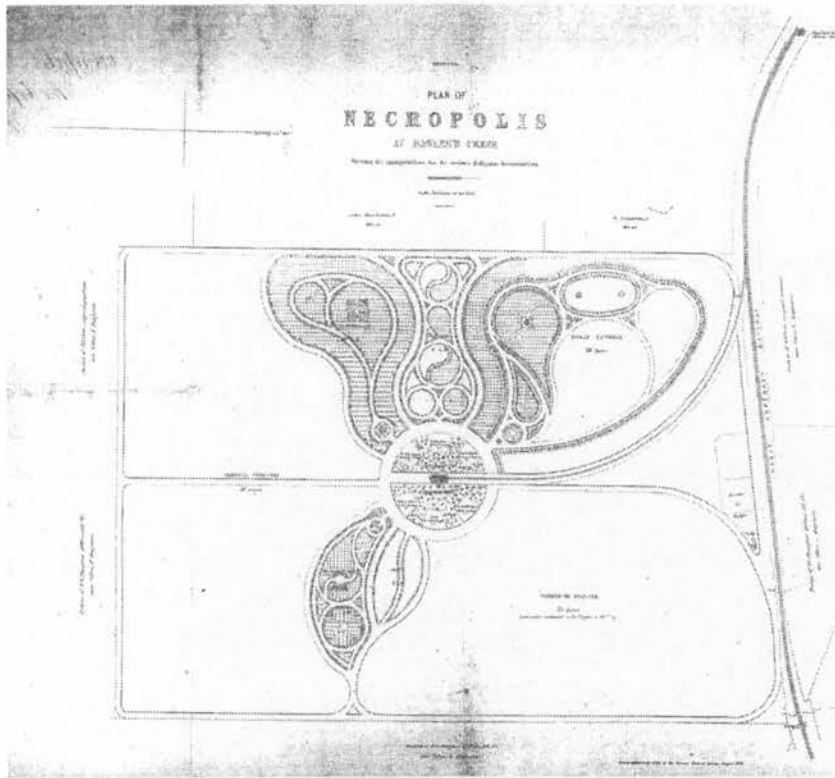


Figure A. Plan of the Necropolis at Haslems Creek. 1868.
(SRNSW: AO Map No. 10529)

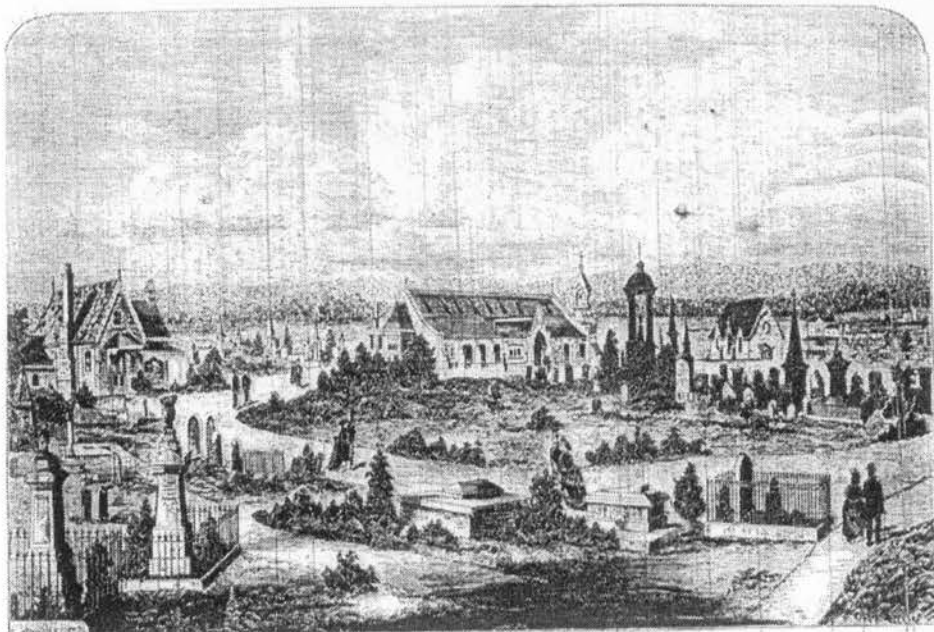


Figure B. The Necropolis, Haslem Creek.
(*Illustrated Sydney News*, 29 May 1875.)

Redfern) attracted much attention for their novelty and architectural taste - being praised as 'appropriate in character, picturesque in form, and chaste in design'. They were even reported in the *London Illustrated News*.³⁹ A number of chapels and lodges were also built in the cemetery, most of which, unfortunately, were demolished in the twentieth century.⁴⁰ The landform and layout were 'picturesque and romantic', being beautified with trees and 'winding walks' and having 'views and vistas' to the surrounding neighbourhood. And there were a variety of monument types.⁴¹ The *Illustrated Sydney News* gave its seal of approval to the new cemetery, declaring the Necropolis was 'tastefully laid out with shrubs and parterres, divided by neatly kept paths.' Attention was drawn to the 'modern Gothic' chapels of the Necropolis, and the Mortuary Station was singled out as being a 'light and elegant' architectural feature that contributed to, rather than detracting from, the 'picturesqueness' of the cemetery.⁴² Like many nineteenth century descriptions of Rookwood Necropolis, the *Illustrated Sydney News* emphasised the 'taste', 'neatness' and 'order' shown in the cemetery landscape, key features of the cemetery ideal that could be appreciated through passive recreation. The same illustration was reproduced the following year in the *Town and Country Journal*. Again the associated article emphasised the picturesque beauty of the landscape that the cemetery visitor could appreciate.

³⁸ Caroline Burke and Chris Betteridge, 'From bush to burial ground: the landscape and design of a garden cemetery', in *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston, Society of Australian Genealogists in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, p. 67.

³⁹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 April 1868, p.4; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1868, p. 5; *Sydney Mail*, 11 April 1868, p. 12; *Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1870, p. 376; *Sydney Mail*, 16 March 1878, p. 7. Supplement.

⁴⁰ Plans of the Necropolis by Norman Weekes, engineer, over the period 1925-1971 show the locations of various structures in the Necropolis, including chapels. See Norman Weekes. Collection of architectural plans, photographs & photocopies of sketches Rookwood Necropolis. PXD 84 ML Pic Acc. 2704. (ML) Some of the early structures appear in photographs in the Burton family album. See SAG PR 6/592. Archaeologist, Siobhan Lavelle, has documented the location of some of these structures in the *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*, Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993.

⁴¹ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 38 (BL).

⁴² *Illustrated Sydney News*, 29 May 1875, p. 14.

[T]he situation and aspect of the grounds are pleasing, and even picturesque. The Cemetery, although not very elevated in position, commands a view of the surrounding neighbourhood, including Seven Hills, Prospect, and Parramatta. ... Upon arrival at the Cemetery, the visitor at once sees that those in charge have succeeded in laying out the place so as to produce a very pleasing effect ... embellishing the grounds with walks, avenues, trees, shrubs, and flowers; and the monuments, tombstones, enclosures, buildings, and shrubberies are kept in a clean and orderly manner. Some of the monuments exhibit great taste on the part of their designers; and it is consoling and comforting to find that the metropolitan burial-ground is kept and ornamented in a highly creditable manner.⁴³

Like Abney Park Cemetery in London and Laurel Hill Cemetery near Philadelphia, the trees and shrubs in Rookwood Necropolis were labelled for the interest and education of visitors.⁴⁴

Waverley Cemetery, established in 1877 in the eastern suburbs of Sydney, was another of the most admired cemeteries in Sydney. Picturesquely located on a sloping cliff top overlooking the Pacific Ocean. [plate 3.7 figure A] its position amongst the healthier and wealthier eastern suburbs, combined with its sublime aspect, made Waverley Cemetery a popular choice for burials of the famous and wealthy. [plate 3.7 figure B] The roaming journalist 'the Vagabond', writing for the *Melbourne Argus* in 1884, celebrated its beautiful situation:

Waverley Cemetery, near Sydney, [is] the most charming place to be buried in that I know of in Australia. The ocean murmurs beneath, a continual lullaby to weary souls. After life's fitful fever, I feel that I could sleep well here...⁴⁵

Similarly in a historical sketch in 1914, the *Sydney Morning Herald* praised Waverley cemetery's location, for both its sanitary situation and beauty.

The cemetery, by reason of its beautiful position overlooking the waters of the Pacific and its sandy soil, well drained oceanward, became very popular, and

⁴³ *Town and Country Journal*, 9 December 1876, p. 940.

⁴⁴ Paul Joyce, *A Guide to Abney Park Cemetery*, 2nd ed., Abney Park Cemetery Trust, Stoke Newington, London, 1994, pp. 49-53; *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia. With a list of lotholders*. For sale at the cemetery, and by the treasurer, Philadelphia, 1854, (BL); Information about Rookwood Necropolis from an interview with Allan Brown (1908-1999), 22/7/1993. Allan Brown was a third generation stonemason whose family had worked in Rookwood since 1867.

⁴⁵ Michael Cannon (ed.), *Vagabond Country: Australian Bush and Town Life in the Victorian Age*, by The Vagabond (John Stanley James), Hyland House, Melbourne, 1981, p. 61.

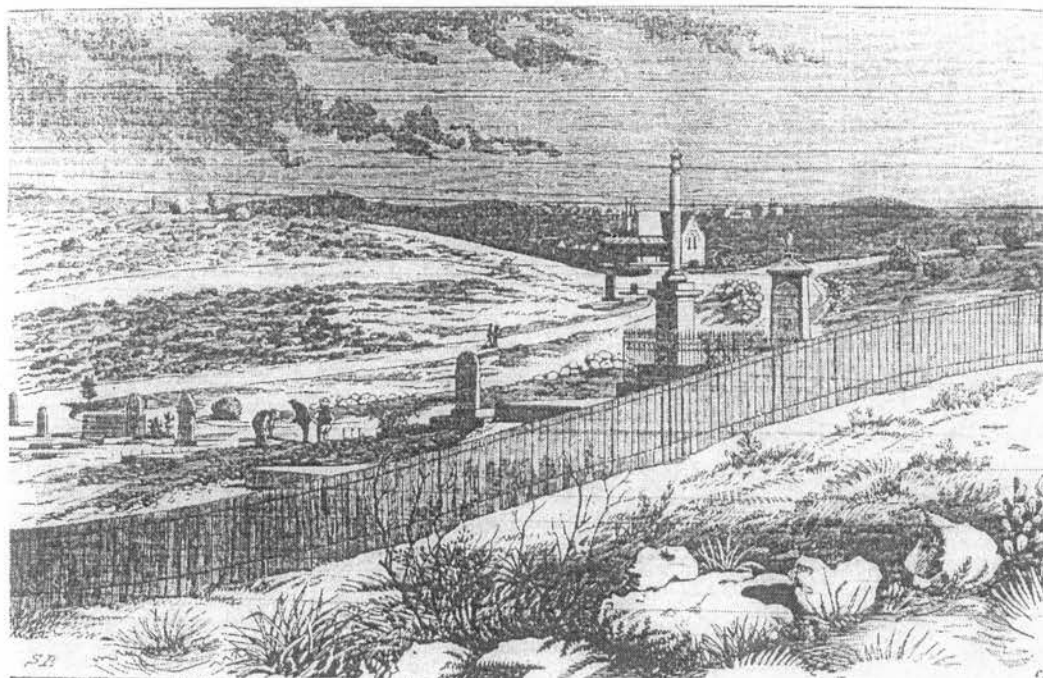


Figure A. Waverley Cemetery, 18 months after it was established.
(*Town and Country Journal*, 17 May 1879)



Figure B. Funeral arriving at Waverley Cemetery, turn of the century. Note the number of people gathering to peer over the fence at the funeral.
(ML SPF: Sydney - Cemeteries - Waverley Cemetery)

people from all parts of Sydney and its suburbs selected sites for the burial of their dead at this centre. Not that it matters where a man sleeps his last long sleep, but there is a sentiment, a pleasant outlook, which seems to attract the living, and it was, no doubt, the peaceful surroundings and the bracing air from the ocean which led one or two naval seamen, when attending a funeral at this cemetery, to remark "By Jove, this would be a fine healthy place to be buried in".⁴⁶

Both of these descriptions of Waverley Cemetery focus upon its close proximity to the ocean and the pleasing affect this had upon visitors. Cemeteries by the sea were 'beautiful', 'picturesque', and 'peaceful', all essential qualities of a sublime landscape that would encourage meditations and moral improvement. The influence of Romanticism is evident in such cemetery landscapes. A number of cemeteries in colonial New South Wales were established beside the ocean.⁴⁷ While these sites no doubt addressed health issues, allowing cemetery drainage into salt (rather than drinking) water, their continued selection, and descriptions such as those above, suggests that such positions were considered particularly desirable and appropriate for a cemetery landscape.

Built structures, such as gatehouses, lodges, chapels and robing rooms, were also important features within the ideal cemetery landscape. These buildings were intended to display architectural taste which would enhance the picturesque quality of the cemetery landscape. While the sanitary benefits of the cemetery movement were quickly adopted in the colony, grander architectural statements in the cemetery landscape were generally less popular. In this regard, Rookwood Necropolis, with its gardenesque landscape, imposing mortuary station, and several chapels, lodges and rest houses, was the remarkable exception rather than the rule. Several modest chapels were built in cemeteries in metropolitan Sydney. A small

⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 February 1914, p.3.

⁴⁷ For example, along the South Coast of New South Wales: Bulli General Cemetery, Kiama General Cemetery, Gerringong General Cemetery, Moruya Heads Cemetery, Narooma General Cemetery,

sandstone mortuary chapel was built at St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cemetery at Parramatta in 1844.⁴⁸ It has been claimed that this was the first mortuary chapel to be built in Australia; this honour, however, should be given to the Jews. They had a burial house and sexton's residence at the Devonshire Street Jewish Cemetery. It is not clear exactly when this structure was built, but it was probably built soon after the grant of the Jewish burial ground in 1835.⁴⁹ Chapels within general cemeteries however were uncommon, probably due to customs associated with the funeral procession and burial service. In nineteenth-century New South Wales, the average funeral left from a private residence and proceeded directly to the gravesite, where a brief burial service would be read over the grave. Church or chapel services usually only featured in funeral ceremonies for prominent or wealthy citizens.⁵⁰

The most common type of building found in the cemetery landscape was a lodge or gatehouse for the cemetery sexton. The earliest ones identified were those erected in the Devonshire Street cemeteries. The Roman Catholic burial ground had a 'sexton's hut', dating from the mid-1830s, and the Church of England section had a lodge for a grave-digger or caretaker.⁵¹ Lodges were also erected in the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Petersham, Camperdown Cemetery, and Woronora General

Tilba Tilba General Cemetery. And along the North Coast: Catherine Bay Cemetery, Nambucca Heads Cemetery, Ballina (North) General Cemetery.

⁴⁸ 'New Mortuary Chapel', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1844. Quoted in full in Judith Dunn, *The Parramatta Cemeteries: St Patrick's*, Parramatta and District Historical Society, Parramatta, 1988, 13.

⁴⁹ Plan of the Jewish Section of the Devonshire Street Cemetery, drawn by John Meredith, Surveyor, 1844. ML MSS V1/CEM DEV ST/1; SRNSW: Plan of the Sydney Burial Grounds, 1836. C68 730. July 1836. A.O. Map No.1878.

⁵⁰ Graeme M. Griffin and Des Tobin, *In the Midst of Life ... The Australian Response to Death*, 2nd ed., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997, pp. 153-4.

⁵¹ SRNSW Map 5/7704. date. 1836. Redrawn map reproduced in Keith A. Johnson and Malcolm R. Sainty, *Sydney Burial Ground 1819-1901 (Elizabeth and Devonshire Streets) and History of Sydney's Early Cemeteries from 1788*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 2001, p. 24; 'Government and General Orders', *Sydney Gazette*, 29 January 1820, p. 1; A. G. Foster, 'The Sandhills, An Historic Cemetery', *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, vol. 5 no.4, 1919, p. 157.

Cemetery.⁵² The Gothic sandstone lodge near the entrance gates at Waverley Cemetery was a picturesque feature of the cemetery. This building still functions today as the cemetery office. Gore Hill General Cemetery, dedicated by the government in 1868 but not active until 1877, also had a sexton's cottage. In addition it featured a robing room in the Church of England section (that at times functioned as a chapel), a lychgate leading to the Roman Catholic section, and a rest house located in the Presbyterian section beside the main avenue.⁵³ The robing room was built in 1903 and was praised for being 'an exquisite Gothic design and richly, yet gracefully ornamented'.⁵⁴

Rest houses were integral to the cemetery landscape, providing protection to mourners during inclement weather and encouraging visitors to utilise the cemetery for passive recreation. Several small Gothic sandstone rest houses are dotted across the cemetery landscape at Waverley, complementing the cemetery office in their picturesque design. [plate 3.8 figure A] Rookwood Necropolis, not surprisingly given its ornate landscaping, featured several rest houses and shelter sheds constructed in both timber and brick that invited the visitor to linger and contemplate the sublime environment. [plate 3.8 figures B & C] Providing less shelter, but equally welcome to the tired or emotional visitor, were garden seats. The Presbyterian Trustees at Rookwood Necropolis resolved to purchase a dozen garden seats in 1905, believing 'this [measure] would be a great boon to visitors to

⁵² *Sydney Echo*, 24 July 1890: 'The Suburbs of Sydney. No. XIV Petersham. A History of Progress.' Mitchell Library Newspaper Clippings, vol. 59. F991.1/N; P. W. Gledhill, *Camperdown Cemetery: Plan and Description of Some of the Historic Graves*, Camperdown Cemetery Trust, Newtown, 1934; Chris Morgan, *Life and Death on the North Side: A History of St Thomas' Church and Cemetery, North Sydney*, Stanton Library, North Sydney Municipal Council, North Sydney, 1988; Michael Boyd, *Woronora Cemetery and Crematorium 1895-1995*, Woronora General Cemetery and Crematorium Trust, Sutherland, 1995.

⁵³ Edith A. Sims, *Gore Hill Cemetery 1868-1974: A History*, The Friends of Gore Hill Cemetery, Lindfield, 1985, pp. 25-27.



Figure A Gothic sandstone resthouse, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)

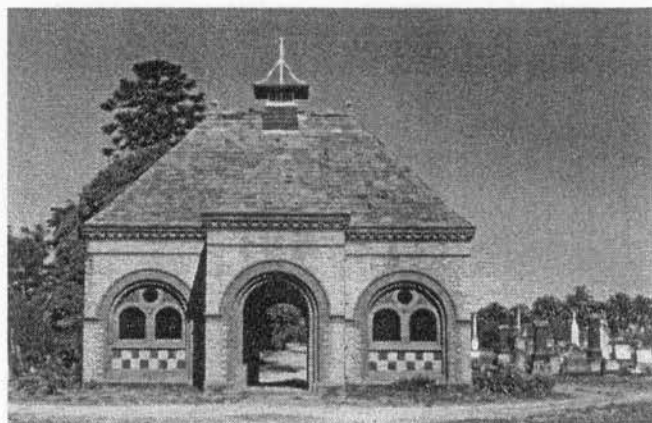


Figure B. Resthouse, Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection)

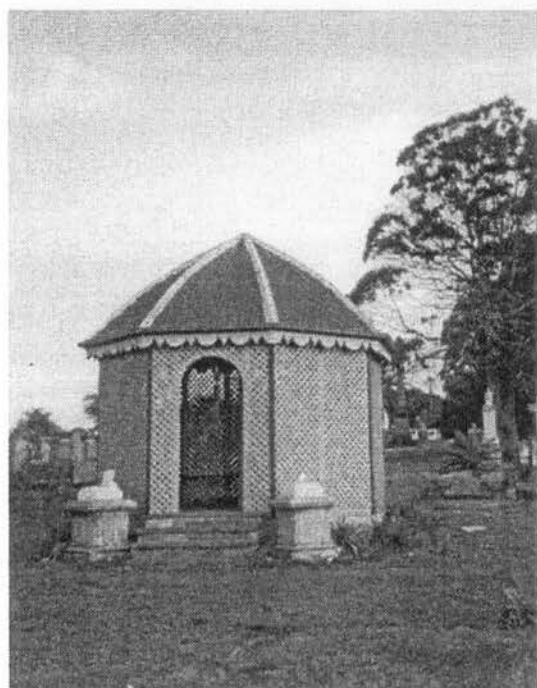


Figure C. Resthouse, Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection)



Figure A. A typical cemetery landscape of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century in New South Wales.

(SPF: Cemeteries - NSW. n.d. ML)

the Cemetery, and the cost would not be very great.' They were able to purchase 12 seats for a sum of £12. The trustees instructed that the words 'Presbyterian Cemetery Trust' be printed on the back of the seats, and that they be positioned judiciously around the cemetery by the Ground Manager.⁵⁵ A dozen seats were similarly purchased for section 5 of the Church of England Cemetery at Rookwood in 1910, with more garden seats and litter bins being purchased in 1925, indicating the increasing volume of visitors (and of rubbish). By 1938 the trustees recorded that they had 66 seats throughout their portion.⁵⁶ Smaller cemeteries also incorporated seating into the landscaping, as the photograph in plate 3.9 (figure A) shows. Here we can see that seats were placed to the side of the graves, allowing the visitor to sit back and contemplate the melancholy pleasures of the cemetery. The ornamental flower bed in the foreground appears to have been recently established, and there are several small shrubs or trees defining the edge of the grave area. The graves are laid out on an axial plan in double beds, back to back, and many of the grave plots are neatly fenced with low picket or composite iron fences. This simple cemetery landscape, probably dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, may be considered representative of the layout and landscaping of general cemeteries in both metropolitan and rural areas.

Ornamental structures and cemetery buildings in rural general cemeteries appear to have been built even less frequently than their city counterparts. The only extant nineteenth century structure in a rural context identified by the author thus

⁵⁴ *North Shore and Manly Times*, 2 January 1904, quoted in Sims, *Gore Hill Cemetery*, p. 26. This robing room no longer exists, having burnt down in 1975.

⁵⁵ 23 August 1905, Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1867-1917. Ferguson Memorial Library.

⁵⁶ 8 July 1910, 9 May 1925, and 23 June 1938. Trustees' Minute Books. Anglican Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis, in Carol Liston, 'Extracts from the Minutes of the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Independent Cemetery Trusts and List of Documentary Sources', Appendix 23,

far is a lychgate built in Goulburn General Cemetery.⁵⁷ No doubt more examples will come to light as this aspect of cemetery landscapes is further studied. In comparison to the large metropolitan cemeteries of London or America, the gatehouses, lodges, and chapels constructed in New South Welsh cemeteries were modest. This may be partially explained by the manner in which cemeteries were established and managed in the colony. Unlike many cemeteries in Britain and America, which were established by joint stock companies, land for church cemeteries and general cemeteries in New South Wales was granted by the government, with denominational trustees responsible for the ornamentation of their cemetery portions. Joint stock companies relied upon attractive cemetery landscapes and ornamental buildings to encourage people to use their burial grounds instead of the local parish churchyard. In contrast it appears that many denominational trustees in the colony, particularly in country areas, could neither afford nor justify by need, the large expenditure required to erect elaborate lodges, chapels and rest houses. This interpretation is borne out by comments made by the Church of England Goulburn Diocese in their guide to cemetery management.

Lychgates, chapels and robing rooms hardly exist so far in this diocese; yet if cemetery moneys had been properly handled in years past they might now have given a definite church tone to many a church burial ground.⁵⁸

Such comments also suggest that the management of cemetery funds in the nineteenth century (or lack thereof) also contributed to the modest built environment of many general cemeteries.

Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management, vol. 6, Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993.

⁵⁷ National Trust of Australia (NSW). Cemetery Classification Card - Goulburn (North) General Cemetery. This analysis deliberately excludes churches which were built next to church cemeteries, since they were built primarily for the purpose of worship and were placed beside cemeteries by virtue of the type of land grant rather than from any specific need to erect a building to service and/or ornament the cemetery.

Regulating the landscape: sanctity, decency and order

Religious ceremonies emphasised the sanctity of the grave and the cemetery landscape. Consecration marked the ground as a 'Peculiar place' set apart under God's instructions. This was acknowledged by town planners as well as the religious bodies. As the Deputy Surveyor General noted in 1847, a burial ground was 'dedicated to the *Almighty*, for the sacred purpose of burial'.⁵⁹ The prayers said at Protestant consecrations articulated the aims and religious beliefs which created the religious significance of the cemetery. The cemetery was to provide a place where 'the bodies of the faithful may be committed to the Ground, in sure and certain hopes of the Resurrection to Eternal Life ... where they may rest in peace, and be preserved from all indignities'. The cemetery was also to provide a reminder to the living of their mortality and thus spur them on to better conduct: 'that in the midst of Life, thinking upon Death, and daily preparing ourselves for the Judgement, that is to follow, we may pass through the Grave to a joyful Resurrection'.⁶⁰ Nineteenth century general cemeteries, with their attention to landscaping and chaste symbolic funerary monuments, particularly encouraged such meditations.

The rites of consecration required that corpses had to be 'preserved from all indignities'. When surveying general cemeteries, the licensed surveyor frequently marked out the boundaries with pegs in the corners and dug a trench around the site to stop the entry of animals.⁶¹ It was a common requirement among the

⁵⁸ Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre*, p. 8.

⁵⁹ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Report of Deputy Surveyor General, 9 April 1847. Part I, Letter No. 6, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Church of England, *The Forms of Consecrating Churches and Church Yards in the Diocese of Sydney*, Sydney, 1857.

⁶¹ See for example Plan of 1 acre at the Moruya Head in the Parish of Moruya. Co. of Dampier Applied for a burial ground. Henry V. Evans, Licensed Surveyor. 6 November 1865. Crown Land Plan C937.⁷³⁰

churches that burial grounds had to be cleared of vegetation and fenced prior to consecration. The Church of England instructed 'The ground must be securely enclosed with a paling or other sufficient fence, and gates, to prevent the intrusion of animals: and otherwise be put into decent order prior to the Consecration.'⁶²

Despite the important rituals associated with consecration, this religious dedication was not essential for the space of the cemetery to be viewed as sacred. Rev. Edward Cranswick believed the violation of graves in Springwood Cemetery by cattle was scandalous, even though the rites of consecration had yet to be performed. He informed the Trustees,

Although the Church of England portion has not yet been formally consecrated, it is practically consecrated by the interments; it is a sacred place at any rate to those whose relatives have been buried there, and their feelings should be respected by the Trustees.⁶³

Here we can see the essence of the meanings ascribed to the cemetery landscape. It was not simply the ground which was sacred; the grave and the corpse were sacred, and the feelings or sentiments attached to the graves were also revered.

Cemetery trustees developed rules and regulations to ensure that the atmosphere of, and behaviour within, God's Acre was appropriate and respectful. In the nineteenth century, a quiet and peaceful resting spot for the burial of the dead was thought to reflect 'refined feeling'.⁶⁴ As Loudon argued,

the most important rules respecting a place of burial must necessarily be those which have reference to the sacredness of the place, the security from disturbance of the bodies of the dead, the healthfulness of the living, and their improvement in sentiment and morals.⁶⁵

⁶² Church of England Diocese of Sydney, *The Forms of Consecrating Churches and Burial Grounds, in the Diocese of Sydney*, Sydney, 1861.

⁶³ Letter Rev. E. G. Cranswick 28 July 1892, recorded in Minutes of Trustees of Church of England portion of Springwood Cemetery, 1887-1892. (Sydney Diocese Anglican Archives. 1994/102/27).

⁶⁴ See for example the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 July 1878, p.3, which criticised the Devonshire Street Cemetery for not conforming to this 'refined feeling'.

⁶⁵ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, pp. 36-37.

Cemetery regulations in colonial New South Wales followed these guidelines, aiming to protect the corpses from 'all indignities' and create a sombre atmosphere. Early Sydney cemeteries and rural cemeteries battled the constant problem of animals grazing in the cemetery. In 1820 the Governor declared,

It being reported that certain Persons have been hitherto in the habit of driving pigs, cows, and horses into the old Burial Ground, to the great offence of Decency; it is hereby notified that any Animals which shall hereafter be found either in the old or new Burial Ground will be impounded for trespass, and the Owners prosecuted for a misdemeanour.⁶⁶

In Fernmount General Cemetery on the New South Wales north coast the trustees ruled it was unlawful 'to put any animal or animals in the burial ground for the purpose of grazing therein, except with the consent in writing of the trustees'. Nor could the cemetery be used as a shortcut for driving stock.⁶⁷

Rules tempered the behaviour of workmen, mourners and visitors. Stonemasons and other workmen could not leave traces of their work. Left-over soil, cement, and refuse had to be cleared away, thereby making sure that the indications of commerce and labour were not visible in the cemetery. Fines of 10 shillings were imposed for non-compliance.⁶⁸ It was harder to control the demeanour of the workmen, although some trustees tried. Rookwood Necropolis banned stonemasons from working or dressing the stone in the cemetery after several men employed in building vaults had been 'committing nuisances -

⁶⁶ 'Government and General Orders', *Sydney Gazette*, 29 January 1820, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Regulations for Unsectarian Burial Ground of the General Cemetery at Fernmount (Weekes), *NSW Government Gazette*, 12 January 1910. Regulations 38 and 39 (c).

⁶⁸ SRNSW: Attorney- General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries in Sydney, 1835-81: Amended Rules and Regulations for the Church of England Cemetery, The Necropolis. 7 August 1877. [5/7705].

Fighting, Swearing etc.’.⁶⁹ In the name of sobriety and good behaviour the Roman Catholic Trustees resolved ‘not to supply spirits to workmen re-opening graves’.⁷⁰ Other behaviour which was considered inappropriate included advertising and hawking, holding a meeting of a non-commemorative character, disturbing a funeral through working nearby or making a noise, discharging firearms, and wantonly disturbing flowers and tokens placed on graves. In summary it was ‘unlawful to commit any riot, breach of the peace, or nuisance, or otherwise offend against decency or decorum within the burial ground.’⁷¹ In contrast to the hustle and bustle of the town, the atmosphere of the cemetery was to be peaceful and subdued; a sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum, where the ‘genteel performance’ of mourning could take place.

The construction of the cemetery and the grave as a sacred space that should not be disturbed was partially a reaction against the condition of churchyards in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The sacredness of the grave also reflected the Christian belief in a physical resurrection. But the inviolability of the grave and the marking of the gravesite were also seen to express ‘respect for the dead’. “An Old Subscriber” summed up this feeling in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1844.

In every country, and amongst all nations of the world, the mansions of the dead have been held sacred and inviolate -- whether we trace the pages of Grecian or Roman history, or approach to more modern times; whether we examine into the manners and customs of civilised Europe, or the more barbarous rites of savage tribes, we find on universal opinion prevailing amongst all -- a sacred reverence for the habitation of the dead.⁷²

⁶⁹ 17 July 1888. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1). (Anglican Trustees Office, Rookwood Necropolis).

⁷⁰ 3 September 1894. Trustees Minutes, Roman Catholic Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis. Extracted by Carol Liston. Appendix A8. *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*.

⁷¹ Regulations for the Unsectarian Burial Ground of the General Cemetery at Fernmount. *NSW Government Gazette*, 12 January 1910, pp. 182-3.

There was public outrage when it was first proposed to remove remains from the Old Sydney Burial Ground in George Street to make way for the building of a city Town Hall. Prominent Sydney citizen and merchant John Tooth, Esq. vehemently argued against the disturbance of graves as a 'monstrous sacrilege' which was 'calculated to destroy one of the finest feelings of our nature'.⁷³ Reverend William Cowper agreed with Tooth, stating 'I fear if we have not a certain degree of respect for the dead we shall lose sight of that respect which we ought to have for the living'.⁷⁴ Cowper's observation provides insight into the cemetery's landscape's role in the expression of social and moral values. The association between the sanctity of the grave, respect for the dead, and civilisation was central to the construction of the cemetery ideal in the public imagination. The cemetery landscape was not only a highly refined expression of religious, social and moral values but also aimed to cultivate these values, particularly among the lower classes. Whenever the subject of cemeteries was debated in parliament, or discussed in contemporary newspapers and journals, the sacredness of the cemetery was invoked as a marker of civilisation and humanity. The condition of the cemetery landscape thus became an important measure of the colony's morality and level of civilisation.

The churches viewed the cemetery landscape as a physical manifestation of their religious beliefs and church leaders impressed upon clergymen the importance of maintaining the cemetery landscape. In 1861 Archbishop Polding reminded Roman Catholic priests of their duty.

The condition of many cemeteries in the Archdiocese is a disgrace to the name of Christian and Catholic. I lay anew upon the priests the charge of a reformation in this respect. We believe in the resurrection of the body, we believe that it is the

⁷² Letter to the editor by "An Old Subscriber", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1844, pp. 2-3.

⁷³ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: John Tooth, Esq., Q. 5 p. 6, Q. 10 p. 7.

⁷⁴ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 14 p. 2.

temple of the Holy Ghost, and the place where we lay it to rest must give evidence of this belief. ... [Cemeteries must have] A substantial fence, and some ordinary neatness and good taste in the laying out of the grounds, so that they may express somewhat of the cheerfulness of Christian hope whilst they soothe the grief of the mourner.⁷⁵

The Church of England agreed. Their manual for the management of cemeteries - appropriately titled *God's Acre* [plate 3.10 figure A] - emphasised the careful attention which cemeteries required. The Bishop of Goulburn reminded his flock,

“God’s acre” should be the best-kept plot of ground in the whole neighbourhood, neat and tidy and beautiful as a “garden of the Lord”. ... The cemetery is the resting-place not only of our own friends but of the household of God; its decency and dignity are the concern of the whole family; and its condition speaks ill or well for the practical Christianity of the parish.⁷⁶

While a neglected or overgrown cemetery attracted criticism, a well maintained one, such as St Anne’s church cemetery at Ryde, could be praised for its ‘excellent order’, which reflected ‘great credit, not only on the caretaker (Mr Andrew Sturgeon Whitfield) but also on the town and district’.⁷⁷

Regulations specified that all graves and enclosures must be ‘kept in order’ and in some cemeteries only approved species of shrubs were allowed to be planted on gravesites.⁷⁸ Trustees had the power to request repairs to monuments that were unsafe or disorderly. For example, in 1894 the sexton at the Presbyterian Cemetery, Necropolis, wrote a letter to the owners of a plot demanding that repairs be made to a headstone within fourteen days, or the Trustees would instigate repairs at the

⁷⁵ The Pastoral Monition of John Bede, by Divine Grace and favour of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan, to the Very Reverend and Reverend the Clergy of the Archdiocese. 1 November 1861, in *The Eye of Faith: The Pastoral Letters of John Bede Polding*, ed. Gregory Haines, Sister Mary Gregory Forster, & F. Brophy, Lowden Publishing Co., Kilmore, Vic., 1977, pp. 280-281.

⁷⁶ Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre*, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁷ ‘The Suburbs of Sydney no. 35 - Ryde’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, n.d., Mitchell Library Newspaper Clippings vol. 59, F991.1/N.

⁷⁸ SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries in Sydney 1835-81. Amended Rules and Regulations for the Church of England Cemetery, Necropolis. [5/7705].

GOD'S ACRE



NOTES on
the care &
manage-
ment of church-
yards, ceme-
ter-



ies and burial-grounds
in the Diocese of



WITH FORE-
WORD BY THE
BISHOP OF
GOULBURN

Price
6d.
Posted
7d.

Goulburn.

Published by
Authority.


The Diocesan Registry,
Goulburn. 

Figure A. God's Acre as envisaged by the Church of England Goulburn Diocese. (Title Page from Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre: Notes on the care and management of churchyards, cemeteries and burial-grounds in the Diocese of Goulburn*, 2nd ed., The Diocesan Registry, Goulburn, 1924.)

owners' expense.⁷⁹ Some cemetery trustees were concerned to keep their cemeteries in good order, while others did not appear to prioritise it. The Anglican Archbishop of Sydney complained that the organisation of general cemeteries into denominational areas meant that there was no standard of neatness and orderliness in the cemetery landscape.

In [some] instances one body of trustees does its work well, and keeps its part of the cemetery in decent order, while another allows the neighbouring plot of ground, with its fences, to go to rack and ruin; so that it has been sometimes even necessary to separate the two portions by an inner fence.⁸⁰

The Church of England portion of the general cemetery at Balgowlah (Manly) was neglected after the appointed trustees retired or lost interest. In 1904 some newly appointed Trustees were trying to establish who the 'old' Trustees were and whether there was an account or balance sheet for the cemetery. It took them nearly two years to sort out the matter. Fortunately they discovered the accounts, which indicated a 'satisfactory financial position', and the trustees were able to authorise major works in the cemetery.⁸¹ In July 1906 the *North Sydney News* praised the progress of the Church of England trustees. The Manly cemetery, according to the newspaper, had been 'notoriously neglected' with 'knee deep' weeds, but it had now been put in 'thorough order and condition'. Such action was necessary and appropriate, according to the paper, and should be emulated by other trustees.

It is to be hoped that a general movement will be made to get the cemetery into the respectable state that the 'God's acre' of such a large and prosperous locality as the Village merits.⁸²

⁷⁹ 30 January 1894. Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1867-1917. (Ferguson Memorial Library).

⁸⁰ Letter to the Editor by Alfred Sydney, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1887, p. 4.

⁸¹ 12 May 1906. Newspaper clipping [no title] p. 16 in Manly - Balgowlah Burial Ground Trustees' Minutes. 31 October 1904 - 16 February 1951. (Anglican Archives - Sydney Diocese. 1985/2/1).

⁸² *North Sydney News*, 20 July 1906. Newspaper clipping p. 17 in Manly - Balgowlah Burial Ground Trustees' Minutes. 31 October 1904 - 16 February 1951. (Anglican Archives - Sydney Diocese. 1985/2/1).

Like the report of St Anne's Anglican Church Cemetery quoted earlier, the *North Sydney News* believed a well kept cemetery was an important civic requirement for a 'large and prosperous locality'.

The cemetery landscape may have been viewed by religious leaders as a physical manifestation of their religious beliefs, and by civic leaders as proof of their civic pride and progress, but the cemetery landscape also reflected and reinforced other economic and social values. An analysis of plans, regulations and fees reveals that the layout of the cemetery landscape was defined and ordered by class-specific values. Class, status and wealth were graphically demonstrated in the cemetery through a hierarchy of burial plot position and ornate monumental sculpture. Most cemeteries offered different classes of plots, such as vault, select, and common grave plots. A common grave was only one step above the most basic pauper burial. Both were earth graves and the site of the grave plot could not be chosen. Technically a common grave guaranteed the right to an exclusive and undisturbed plot. Pauper burials by contrast could contain numerous unrelated corpses. Pauper burials however were often intermingled with the common graves making any distinction between them a fine one. In some cemeteries, relatives were not even allowed to erect a headstone on common graves. Consequently the stigma of the pauper burial was also often attached to the common grave.⁸³ This will be examined in more detail in chapter four. Select graves, or private graves, were sold under 'exclusive right' ensuring only burials authorised by the family occurred in

⁸³ See for example 'Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company. Fees and Charges in the Camperdown Cemetery'. Appendix D, pp. 73-74. in 'Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2, pp. 619-702. While the features and regulations of a common grave were similar to pauper graves, the former should not be mistaken for the latter. In England, J. C. Loudon used the term 'common grave' to designate pauper graves, and 'private graves' to designate cheap earth graves. (Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 28.) Common graves in New South Wales were the equivalent of

the grave. Select graves were sold in several different sizes: 3 x 8 feet, a standard grave size; 6 x 8 feet, the equivalent of two adjacent graves; 9 x 8 feet or three graves; 12 x 8 feet, or four graves.⁸⁴ Large select graves encouraged family plots to be established. Vaults were usually large brick-lined or masonry graves with shelves or cells and a covered entrance and steps leading to the vault. [plate 3.11 figure A] Brick-lined graves were similar to vaults, but did not have an entrance and stairs and were re-opened from above. [plate 3.11 figure B] Large monuments were usually erected over the vaults. Sometimes the structure of the vaults extended above-ground, while mausolea were also constructed in vault sections. Land for vaults came in three sizes: 6 x 12 feet, 12 x 12 feet, and 12 x 24 feet. Such vaults could hold between 4 and 12 coffins.⁸⁵

The classes of graves were differentiated by location and price, with the prominent and desirable plots attracting a premium fee. Grave plots beside pathways were desirable because monuments could be easily viewed by cemetery visitors. As William Russell, owner of a prominent monument in Balmain Cemetery, succinctly explained: 'the nearer the road the better the position'.⁸⁶ The layout of Randwick Cemetery illustrates this maxim. [plate 3.12 figure A] The vault

Loudon's 'private graves'. Pauper graves were referred to as 'pauper interments' or 'charitable and public interments'.

⁸⁴ The dimensions given here are taken from the Amended Rules and Regulations for the Church of England Cemetery, Necropolis. 13 December 1877. SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries In Sydney 1835-81. [5/7705]. The Presbyterians at the Necropolis supplied allotments measuring 12 x 10 feet in sections 1 to 3, 8 x 10 feet in section 4, and 3 x 7 feet in sections 5 and 6. (Amended Rules and Regulations for the Presbyterian Cemetery, The Necropolis. *NSW Government Gazette*, 9 January 1886.) The Roman Catholics at the Necropolis charged land for graves and vaults at a set fee 'per superficial foot'. (Rules and Regulations for the Catholic Cemetery, Haslem's Creek. 8 September 1875. SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries in Sydney, 1835-81, [5/7705].)

⁸⁵ 'Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company. Fees and Charges in the Camperdown Cemetery'. Appendix D, 73-74, in 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2; Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, pp. 26-28.

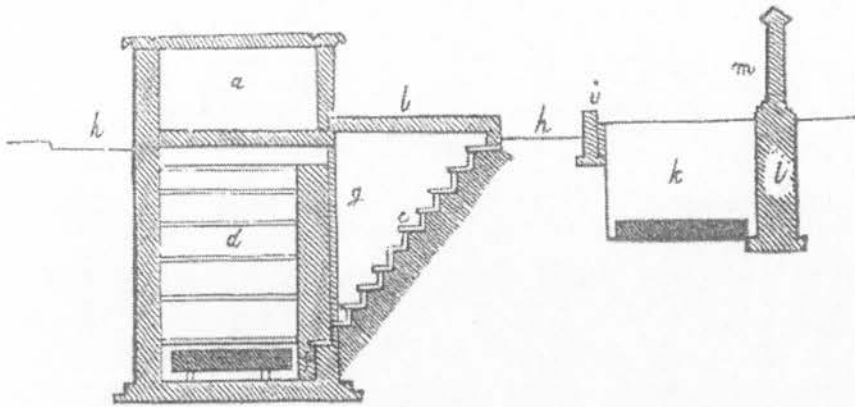


Fig. 12. Section A B in the Plan fig. 17., through a Vault fitted up with Catacombs, and also through a common Grave, k.

Figure A. Diagram of a vault.
 (J.C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, fig. 12, p. 26)

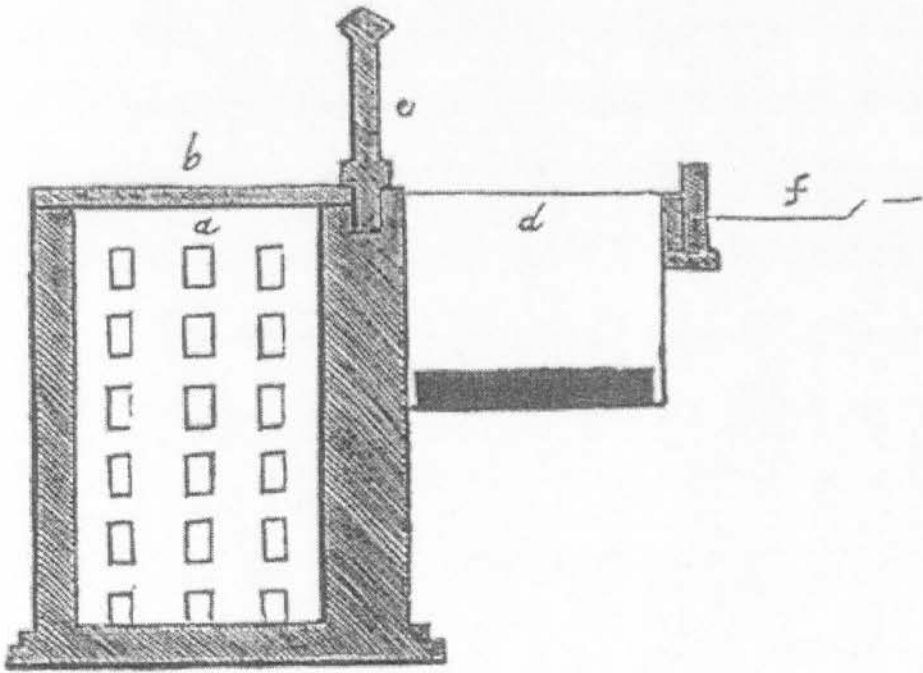


Fig. 13. Section C D in the Plan fig. 17., through a Brick Grave and a common Grave.

Figure B. Diagram of a brick-lined grave.
 (J.C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, 1843, fig. 13, p. 27)

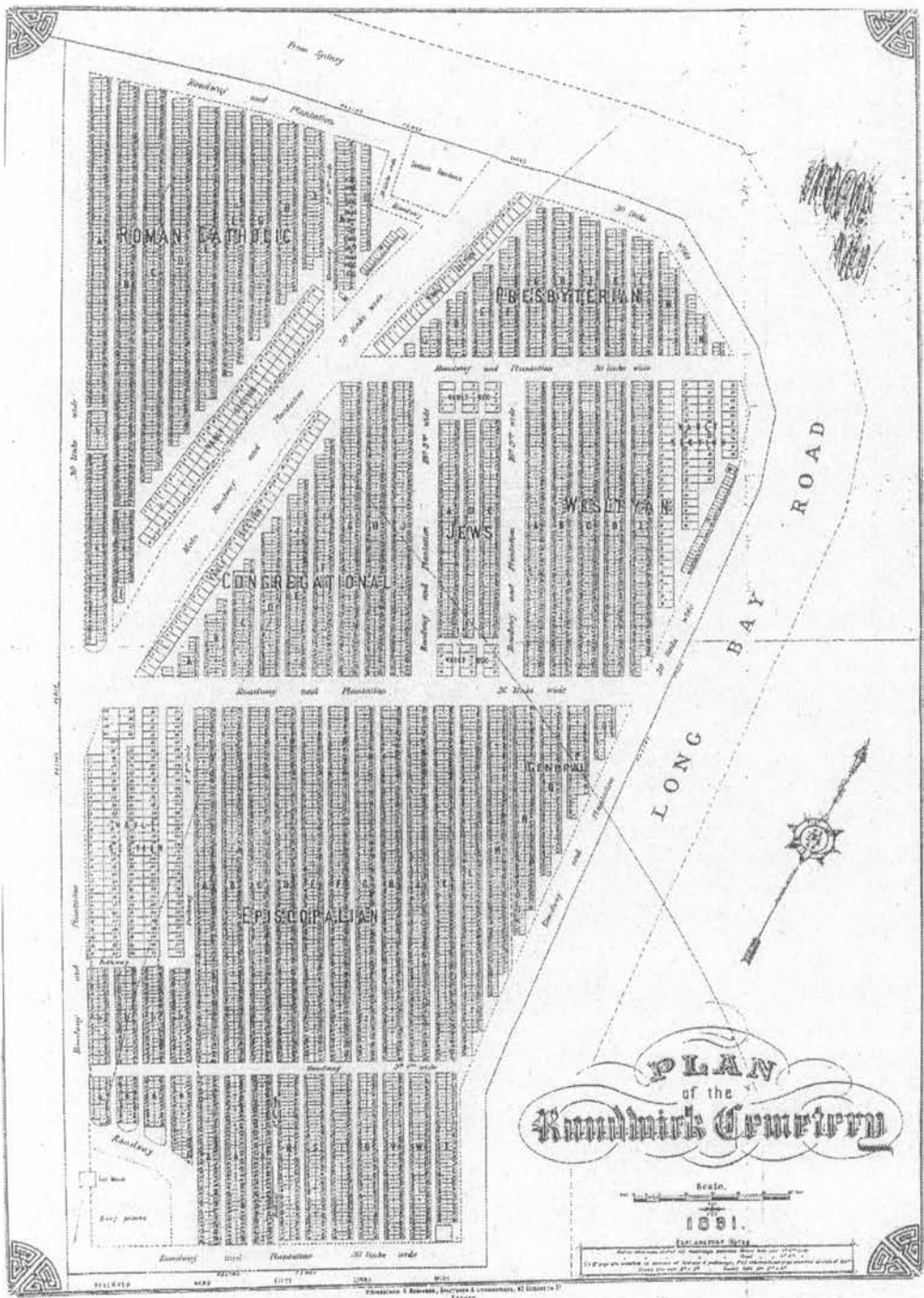


Figure A. Plan of the Randwick Cemetery, Sydney 1891 by Higinbotham & Robinson. (ML Z M2 811.1866/1891/1)

sections, which were the most expensive areas of the cemetery, were located beside a path or road for each denomination. Similarly, the vault sections at Waverley Cemetery are located beside all the major pathways. Monuments were even turned around to face the pathway so that they could be read by passers-by.⁸⁷ In England, Loudon suggested that graves featuring prominent monuments could be flanked on either side with unmarked or common graves. This, he rationalised, would both economise the use of ground, and ensure that 'each structure may have its full effect on the spectator while approaching it, as well as while directly opposite to it.'⁸⁸ This suggestion was not implemented in New South Wales. Instead common graves were separated out from the select and vault sections, with the cheaper common graves being placed on less desirable land. The location of graves became an overt statement of class and wealth, and the Church was a consenting partner in the maintenance of these divisions. While not wishing to promote 'social distinction', church authorities acknowledged that different classes of graves were profitable, and they were loathe to challenge these practices.⁸⁹

There was widespread variation in the charges for grave types across denominations and cemeteries. In the 1850s in Sydney charges for a grave with a headstone varied from seven shillings & sixpence in the Presbyterian and Wesleyan burial grounds at Devonshire Street, 12 shillings in the Roman Catholic ground and 15 shillings in the Congregational ground, while the Church of England

⁸⁶ 'Report from the Select Committee on the Balmain Cemetery Bill; Together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5: Mr William Russell, Q. 136 p. 10.

⁸⁷ For example the Methodist Church Cemetery, Upper Cranebrook; Church of England Cemetery No. 1, Rookwood Necropolis.

⁸⁸ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 41.

⁸⁹ Diocese of Goulburn, *God's Acre*, p. 7.

Camperdown Cemetery charged 30 shillings for the same privilege.⁹⁰ It is difficult to compare charges across the denominations as they had different measurements for graves and different types of burials. The original charges gazetted at the Necropolis were similar across the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan Methodist, Independent and General cemeteries. They charged 17s. 6d. for a common grave and 12s. 6d. for paupers and still-borns. Land for select graves and vaults were originally charged at 2s. per foot, although there was different sizes of graves and vaults amongst the denominations. Permission to erect a headstone with footstone 15s.; slab over grave £1; tomb or monument on stone foundation £2 10s. The Jewish cemetery, in comparison, had no fees designated for pauper or still births and no differentiation was made between common and select graves. Instead they charged according to whether it was an adult or child burial (£3 3s. and £2 2s. respectively), and they had an escalating fee for the erection of gravemarkers: headstones with footstones £2 2s. (adults); tombs £3 3s.; and monuments £5 5s.⁹¹ However within the first ten years of operation, there were noticeable adjustments made to the scale of fees and charges. Grave sizes and grave locations also became more defined. The Presbyterians at the Necropolis had six classes of graves. They ranged in price from 12 shilling 6 pence in Section 6 to £10 10s. in Section 1. This fee however was only for the purchase of the plot. It was extra to erect a monument or vault. Section 1 was near the Necropolis Circuit and mortuary station, whereas section 6 was at the bottom of the site, far from the chapels and transport, where the drainage was bad, and the common graves were dug.⁹² The Church of England at Rookwood Necropolis had a similar hierarchy of common graves, selected portions and vault sections. Even in rural cemeteries such as that at Ulladulla on the south

⁹⁰ 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, part 3: Mr J Curtis Q. 64 p. 12.

coast of New South Wales the system of differential fees was maintained. The fees themselves were generally lower but a grave 12 x 8 ft, under exclusive right still cost £1 5s and £3 15s in the Wesleyan and Church of England sections respectively while for a smaller grave measuring 8 x 3 ft, under exclusive right, the Wesleyans charged 10s. and the Church of England £1 10s.⁹³

Such charges led to various forms of protest by the general public. In one reported case in 1887, members of the public unlawfully dug their own graves within an unnamed cemetery to protest at what they considered to be high burial fees. While the Bishop of Sydney thought the Trustees had drawn up a 'reasonable scale of fees' the local inhabitants clearly did not and 'refuse[d] to pay fees, and insist[ed] on invading the cemetery and digging the graves they need[ed]'. Consequently, complained the Bishop, the cemetery was in a 'disgraceful condition'.⁹⁴

A more measured, and legal, alternative was to shop around for an affordable grave. In 1894 Congregational and Baptist ministers protested to the Independent Cemetery trustees of Rookwood Necropolis that the Independent Cemetery's fees were higher than those of other denominations. This was because the Independent Cemetery at Rookwood charged a single fee for all burials, whereas other cemeteries in the Necropolis had various classes of burials. The uniform charge was influenced by their theological beliefs, the Independents having

⁹¹ 'Rules and Regulations, Fees and Charges, relative to Burials in the Necropolis at Haslem's Creek', *NSW Government Gazette*, 9 September 1868, pp. 3173-3181.

⁹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1877, p. 7.

⁹³ Regulations for portion of the General Cemetery at Ulladulla, dedicated 26 April 1893, set apart for Wesleyan Burial Ground, 4 December 1897; Regulations for portion of the General Cemetery at Ulladulla, dedicated 26 April 1893, set apart for Church of England Burial Ground, 3 May 1905. Milton Parish Rectors' Correspondence Re: Burial Grounds 1900-1951. (Anglican Archives, Sydney Diocese. 1991/76/2).

'always object[ed] to making distinctions between rich and poor'. The Congregational and Baptist ministers pointed out that 'many Congregationalists and Baptists were buried in the Church of England sections because the charges were lower.' The Independent trustees refused to recognise pauper burials, but reminded the clergy that 'every minister has the right to recommend a free interment'.⁹⁵ The Independents were not the only denomination who refused to recognise pauper burials. Both the Presbyterian and Jewish trustees at the Necropolis claimed they 'had no paupers'.⁹⁶ Pauper burials were viewed as undesirable in the nineteenth century, and refusing to accommodate pauper burials was one way of avoiding the issue. Pauper burials were a constant source of health and moral concerns to the government administration and the bourgeoisie, as chapter four will show.

The class divisions exhibited in the layout of cemeteries were a legacy of funerary practices in Britain, where there were clear class distinctions between being buried in the church and the churchyard. Clerics, royalty and later the aristocracy were buried in the vaults under the church, whereas the churchyard was the province of the common people.⁹⁷ This tradition of differentiation in death was mocked in an English tombstone epitaph from 1795:

Here lie I at the chapel door,
 Here lie I because I'm poor
 The farther in the more you'll pay,
 Here lie I as warm as they.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Letter to the Editor by Bishop of Sydney, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1887, p. 4.

⁹⁵ 27 April 1894; 27 July 1894. Independent Cemetery. Rookwood Necropolis. Trustees Minutes, in Carol Liston, Appendix 23, *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*.

⁹⁶ 'The Necropolis', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1877, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Vanessa Harding, 'Burial on the margin: distance and discrimination in early modern London', in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700 to 1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, CBA Research Report 113, Council for British Archaeology, York, 1998, pp. 54-64.

⁹⁸ Epitaph to Robert Philip, parish grave-digger, 1795, Kingsbridge (Devon). Quoted in Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, SPCK, London, 1979, p. 20.

In colonial New South Wales, where burial inside the church was banned from 1825, a similar hierarchy of grave types and sections differentiated by social class and wealth developed in the cemetery.

Other British traditions, however, were not sustained in the colony. An example is the preference for burial plots on the southern side of a church. In Britain this practice was well established by 1657⁹⁹ and Loudon suggests it arose because of 'the comparative dampness and gloominess of [the northern] side compared with the south side'.¹⁰⁰ Whatever the explanation the northern side of the churchyard was reserved for strangers, heretics, the unbaptised, suicides, executed criminals and other undesirables.¹⁰¹ The corpses of these unfortunates often received minimal or no burial care, and in the case of executed criminals were dismembered and/or used for medical dissection.¹⁰²

Analysis of churchyards in Sydney confirms that such a preference for burial on one side of the church was not strictly adhered to in the colony.¹⁰³ However, the tradition of giving minimal burial care and segregated burials to social outcasts continued in colonial New South Wales. Nevertheless, by the 1840s, executed felons were being buried in the public cemetery. In 1849 Edmund Blackett reported to the Bishop of Sydney that 'there is really no unoccupied ground whatever' in the

⁹⁹ Samwaies, *The Wise and Faithful Steward*, p. 27. Quoted in Clare Gittings, *Death, burial and the individual in early modern England*, Croom Helm, Beckenham, Kent, 1984, p. 139.

¹⁰⁰ Loudon, *On the Laying Out of Cemeteries*, p. 76.

¹⁰¹ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, pp. 60-85, 139; Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 25.

¹⁰² Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Penguin Books, London, 1988; Harding, 'Burial on the Margin'; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, esp. ch. 3 'Funerals of the Unfortunates'. For a discussion of marginalisation in death and burial in France see John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death Among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981, especially ch. 11 'Death as an Instrument: The Public Execution' and ch. 12 'Suicide'; and also Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, pp. 191-199.

¹⁰³ National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives and Classification Cards.

Church of England cemetery at Devonshire Street and the sexton was having trouble encouraging people to bury in the remaining space because 'the place at present in use ... is in bad repute, on account of its proximity to the graves of those persons who were executed.'¹⁰⁴ The derided and polluted corpses of those who had been executed were derided and shunned by the general population, and people did not want to be associated with them even in death, in case they too were socially and morally tainted. In 1855 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported the first 'private' hanging within the confines of the gaol at Darlinghurst, 'After hanging three-quarters of an hour, the corpse was cut down, placed in a coffin and conveyed to the Roman Catholic cemetery.'¹⁰⁵ The corpses of the executed were probably buried as a government interment in the pauper or common section.

Suicide was another case where corpses were not given 'proper' burial care. Usually this involved the denial of burial within consecrated ground. Until 1823, suicides in Britain were buried at highway crossroads and their property forfeited to the Crown.¹⁰⁶ After this period burial could take place within a cemetery if a willing clergyman could be found, but only at night between 9pm and midnight.¹⁰⁷ Judith Dunn has identified one example in Parramatta of a suicide being buried at crossroads.¹⁰⁸ , while Grace Karskens has identified another example in the town of Sydney in 1809. The *Sydney Gazette* recorded that 'the body was interred on Friday

¹⁰⁴ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: E. Blacket, Esq. to John Campbell, Esq., 9 February 1849. Part I, Letter No. 34, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 March 1855. Quoted in Ray and Richard Beckett, *Hangman: The Life and Times of Alexander Green Public Executioner to the Colony of New South Wales*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1980, p. 179.

¹⁰⁶ Harding, 'Burial on the Margin', p. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 69-73; Robert Nicol, 'Aspects of Death and Burial in the Colony of South Australia 1836-1901', PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, 1986, pp. 89-90; Harding, 'Burial on the Margin', pp. 60-61; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, pp. 72-74.

¹⁰⁸ Judith Dunn, *The Parramatta Cemeteries: St. John's*, Parramatta and District Historical Society, Parramatta, 1991, p. 7.

near the place where the act was committed and a stake driven through it'.¹⁰⁹ The limited number of accounts suggest such treatment was exceptional, rather than the rule. By 1840 suicides in New South Wales were being buried 'in a particular spot assigned them in the burial ground at twelve o'clock at night, and under the warrant of the coroner', whereas previously they were not buried in consecrated ground. Nevertheless, this treatment still denied them all the rites of a Christian burial.¹¹⁰ In rural areas, people could establish a private burial ground on their property if they were not a part of the local religious denomination, or were not permitted to be buried within the consecrated grounds. George Sherry, for example, was buried on his property near Grenfell after he committed suicide.¹¹¹

It is hard to determine the extent to which people were buried outside cemeteries in order to distinguish the corpse as an unbeliever or as a mark of disrespect. The treatment of the corpse was often dependent upon the presiding clergyman of the district. The Roman Catholic Church was quite strict in its performance of burial rites. Rev. John McEncroe, Dean of the Roman Catholic Church, stated in 1845 that

in the performance of our religious service for the dead ... we consider that those only are entitled to the ordinances of a Christian burial, who conform to the principles of a Christian life; those who have led a notoriously bad life are deprived of those ceremonies and a separate portion of the burial ground is generally allotted for their interment.¹¹²

Who was defined as leading a 'notoriously bad life'? In 1847 clergy could legally refuse interment to the 'unbaptized, or excommunicated, or those who had laid

¹⁰⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 28 May 1809, quoted in Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ *Australian*, 29 August 1840, p.2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1840, p. 4.

¹¹¹ National Trust of Australia (NSW). Classification Report - Lone Grave of George Sherry, Arramagong.

¹¹² 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. John McEncroe Q. 7 p.11.

violent hands on themselves'.¹¹³ The 1874 Rules for the Conducting of Catholic Cemeteries in the Diocese of Goulburn refused burial to 'the unbaptised, those who die separated from the Catholic Church, those who die manifestly impenitent, those who die guilty of their own death by suicide or duelling'.¹¹⁴

Refusal to bury non-adherents or non-parishioners was a contentious issue and responses varied amongst the clergy. Until 1836 when the Church Act was passed, the Church of England clergy were the only ministers authorised to perform funerals and charge fees for burials, although there were other denominational burial grounds functioning in Sydney in the 1820s, namely the Devonshire Street Cemeteries.¹¹⁵ Religious differentiation even in death was an irritation to grieving families. Church of England clergy could legally refuse to read 'the service at the burial of persons not belonging to the Church of England'.¹¹⁶ As Ian Breward notes 'Some Anglican clergy were willing to waive their rights, but others insisted either on a fee or on performing the service. This was legally their right, but it still smacked of the arrogance which Dissenters and Roman Catholics resented so deeply in England'.¹¹⁷ The churchwardens of St Peter's Church of England, Cook's River received a letter from the Bishop in 1846 insisting that the burial of 'Strangers' in the Parish burial ground should attract double fees. The churchwardens minuted, 'It appeared the Bishop considered the Burial ground as too small to admit of its being made a promiscuous place of burial, but if the Churchwardens would add

¹¹³ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1847, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ 'Rules for the Conducting of Catholic Cemeteries in the Diocese of Goulburn, May, 1874', in *Documents in Australian Catholic History, volume 1: 1788-1884*, ed. Patrick O'Farrell, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1969, pp. 335-336.

¹¹⁵ I have deliberately adopted the plural for the name Devonshire Street Cemeteries (as opposed to the commonly used Devonshire Street Cemetery) to emphasise that it was not one cemetery, but rather a number of burial grounds grouped together yet fenced off from each other and with separate entrances.

¹¹⁶ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1847, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1993, pp. 80-81.

half an acre to it, he would not object'. The churchwardens decided to extend the burial ground to meet the Bishop's requirement that they bury 'Strangers'.¹¹⁸

Cemeteries in rural areas of New South Wales catered in varying degrees for religious and ethnic minorities. Orange General Cemetery and Armidale General Cemetery both originally had an area set aside for 'Pagans'. More commonly these areas were termed 'general' cemeteries or, after 1896, 'unsectarian' cemeteries.¹¹⁹ The regulations for these cemeteries ensured that no body could be excluded from being buried therein.¹²⁰ Chinese people were usually buried in the general section of cemeteries, and there are extant Chinese funerary structures for burning offerings in the General Cemetery No. 1 at Rookwood Necropolis, Condobolin General Cemetery and Nyngan General Cemetery.¹²¹ One exception was at Wagga Wagga General Cemetery, where half an acre was dedicated to Chinese burials in 1852.¹²² Although provision was made for Chinese burials within general cemeteries in New South Wales, Chinese burial practices were viewed by the general public in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as 'queer', and funerary rites were frequently reported in the newspapers as an oddity or a spectacle.¹²³ Chinese burials in Christian consecrated cemeteries exhibited a mixture of Chinese practices,

¹¹⁸ Churchwardens and Pewholders meeting, 22 April 1846. Cooks River St Peters Minute Book. 21 April 1840-15 April 1884. (Anglican Archives - Sydney Diocese. 1978/3 D6j).

¹¹⁹ Plan of the Cemetery at Armidale, County of Sandon. Surveyed December 1850. SRNSW: A.O. Map No.: 2163; SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1894-99: 'General Cemeteries - Designation of the Portion set apart for "unsectarian" burials', pp. 151-153, [11/21988].

¹²⁰ See for example regulation no. 8 of Regulations for the portion of the General Cemetery at Fernmount (Weekes), dedicated 4 July 1898, set apart for Unsectarian Burial Ground, *Government Gazette*, 12 January 1910.

¹²¹ National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card - Condobolin General Cemetery; National Trust of Australia (NSW) archives - Nyngan General Cemetery file; See photograph of Chinese feast day c. 1930 in Weston, *Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, p. 24.

¹²² Diagram General Cemetery. South Wagga Wagga Parish Map. 5th edition. 1910. (ML).

¹²³ See for example 'Chinese Rites', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 28 September 1872, p. 6; 'Chinese Feast - Scaring Spirits Away', *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers' Advocate*, 19 April 1927, p. 5. Jan Ryan recounts that many Chinese in Western Australia were segregated in death and were refused

such as burning incense and offerings, alongside a Christian burial service.¹²⁴ It was the desire of many Chinese to be buried in their ancestral homeland in China. If they died overseas, it was tradition for the body to be buried for a short period of time - between five and ten years - before the remains were exhumed and sent back to China for reburial.¹²⁵ This tradition was maintained in Australia, to the consternation of some Anglo-Saxon observers. The inhabitants of Albury complained in the 1880s that the Chinese were scraping the exhumed bones of their dead into the local creek, polluting the drinking water of the townspeople.¹²⁶ Similarly in Sydney complaints were made about Chinese corpses festering in the heat while awaiting export on Campbell's Wharf. The City Health Officer inspected the matter, but found nothing untoward or offensive.¹²⁷ The percentage of Chinese remains exhumed in New South Wales and shipped back to China remains unclear. However it appears the practice was relatively common as there were established clan associations dealing with the repatriation of remains and the government made rulings on the matter.¹²⁸

Unmarked graves were often the mark of the poor and those marginalised by nineteenth century colonial society. A description of St Thomas' Anglican Churchyard at Enfield, which was established in 1849, revered the 'many mounds

burial in consecrated cemeteries. See Jan Ryan, 'Chinese Burials in Western Australia in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in Western Australian History*, vol. 12, April 1991, pp. 12-14.

¹²⁴ 'Singular Funeral Cemetery', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 21 February 1880, p. 14; See also the account of Way Kee's funeral in Shirley Fitzgerald, *Red Tape, Gold Scissors: The Story of Sydney's Chinese*, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1996, pp.54-58.

¹²⁵ Ryan, 'Chinese Burials in Western Australia', 8.

¹²⁶ Graeme M. Griffin and Des Tobin, *In the Midst of Life...: The Australian Response to Death*, 2nd ed., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997, 242.

¹²⁷ Fitzgerald, *Red Tape, Gold Scissors*, p. 54.

¹²⁸ Fitzgerald, *Red Tape, Gold Scissors*, pp. 53-62; SRNSW: Lands Department, Miscellaneous Branch; CGS 8290, Precedent Book 1899-1906: 'Procedure in dealing with applications to exhume bodies' pp. 87-90, [11/21989]. 'Exhumation and Removal of a Corpse', Church of England, *Sydney Diocesan Directory*, Sydney, 1907, pp. 186-188. Doris Yau-Chong Jones is currently researching the frequency of the exhumation of remains by the Chinese community in Australia and other Chinese funeral customs.

where those who have taken their share in life's work in this district rest in unknown graves'. While the graves of the white labouring classes were poetically described, the article goes on to note matter-of-factly, 'It is said that a blackfellow and one or more Chinese are buried in this cemetery'.¹²⁹ Their graves, like those of the labouring classes, are unmarked, but they are also portrayed as unremarkable, consigned to folklore rather than recalled in the records and progress of the district's history. Aboriginal people were often buried just outside of consecrated ground, as for example the 'Graves of the 6 recently poisoned Aborigines' at Fernmount on the north coast.¹³⁰ While a small number of cemeteries (such as Condobolin General Cemetery¹³¹) accommodated Aboriginal people within their layout this was the exception rather than the rule.

The burial of inmates from Lunatic Asylums and Infectious Diseases Hospitals is another example of the segregation of social outcasts at death. Most asylums and hospitals had their own cemeteries, and the majority of burials within these cemeteries were either unmarked, or marked with a timber cross or peg bearing a number. The social stigma attached to an asylum or infectious diseases hospital meant that few relatives attended the burial or marked the grave with a memorial. At Kenmore Hospital Cemetery, near Goulburn, of an estimated 300 burials fewer than 10 are marked by stone memorials.¹³² Those who died at the Quarantine Station at North Head in Sydney Harbour, Gladesville (Tarban Creek) Hospital, Little Bay Hospital, and Garrawarra Hospital were similarly treated.

¹²⁹ 'The Suburbs of Sydney. No. 23 - Enfield. A History of its Progress', *Sydney Echo*, 25 September 1890. Mitchell Library Newspaper Clippings, vol. 59, F991.1/N.

¹³⁰ Plan of General Cemetery at Weekes, County of Raleigh, Parish of South Bellingen. Surveyed 31 October 1895. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives - Fernmount General Cemetery File.

¹³¹ Diagram A showing General Cemetery at Condoublin [sic] and Addition. Condoublin [sic] Parish Map. 7th edition, 1945. (ML).

¹³² National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card - Kenmore Hospital Cemetery, Goulburn North.

Today these cemeteries are often overgrown and largely forgotten, a legacy of nineteenth century marginalisation of asylum inmates. The fate of the asylum inmate in death was frequently also the fate of the pauper in death. Pauper burials will be discussed further in chapter four.

Convicts and outlaws fared better than many social outcasts when it came to burial. From its inception as a penal colony, the colonial government provided burials for convicts and descriptions of the Old Sydney Burial Ground in George Street suggest that convicts were buried side-by-side with the free population.¹³³ Nevertheless, there were reports in Parliament in 1840 that 'in many parts of the Interior when assigned servants died on their master's premises, it was frequently with great reluctance that the masters would pay even a moderate sum for a coffin, or the other necessary expenses that was occasioned by the decease of those who had probably grown old in their service'.¹³⁴ A bushranger who murdered a policeman was allegedly buried outside the cemetery at Nerrigundah.¹³⁵ But other bushrangers such as Ben Hall and Thunderbolt were buried within consecrated grounds.¹³⁶ Indeed Ben Hall's grave in Forbes General Cemetery fared better than most. In 1929 it was reported that Ben Hall's grave was the only one properly attended (read, kept 'neat' and in 'order').¹³⁷ Thus the outlaw in life, the flouter of laws and conventions, became (through the reverence of others) neat, ordered and lawfully abiding of social conventions and cemetery regulations in death. One could keep on citing the variations between different cemeteries and different social groups, but what all these cases point to is the social and religious significance of

¹³³ 'Select Committee - General Cemetery Bill', *NSWLCV&P*, 1845, vol. 2: Rev. William Cowper, Q. 26 p. 2.

¹³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1840, p. 4.

¹³⁵ National Trust of Australia (NSW). Classification Report - Old Cemetery, Nerrigundah.

¹³⁶ National Trust of Australia (NSW). Classification Reports - Forbes General Cemetery; Uralla General Cemetery.

where the corpse was buried. Burial within the consecrated ground of the cemetery was highly valued by the general population in the nineteenth century, and was a mark of Christianity, decency and respectability.

These descriptions of cemetery landscapes and instructions for cemetery maintenance and regulation illustrate both the religious and moralistic objectives of the cemetery landscape. 'God's Acre', was defined in the nineteenth century as a civic and cultural institution as well as being hallowed ground. The landscaping and layout of the graves presented a picture of neatness and order. Sanctity and respect for the dead became conflated with notions of decency and taste. While consecration of the cemetery and the religious ceremonies performed over the grave marked the cemetery as a sacred space, many of the values that shaped the cemetery landscape were much more secular in character, based upon the bourgeois values of morality, taste and civilisation. These class-based values were manifested in the cemetery landscape through a hierarchy of grave plots and the treatment and segregation of the socially marginalised in death. As the remainder of this thesis will show, the memories of the famous and the wealthy were perpetuated through epitaphs, monuments and regular grave visitation, while the poor were forgotten, consigned to the anonymity and ignominy of a pauper pit.

¹³⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 November 1929, p. 14.

CHAPTER FOUR

“... BE RAISED INCORRUPTIBLE”:

PAUPER BURIALS, HYGIENE AND RESPECTABILITY IN THE CEMETERY

*For the trumpet shall sound,
the dead shall be raised incorruptible,
and we shall be changed.
1 Corinthians 15: 52*

Noxious gases, putrid emanations, blowflies ... this was the unappealing reality of many cemeteries in colonial New South Wales. On the surface, the nineteenth century cemetery was a scene of tranquillity and respectability, with landscaped gardens and sublime monuments. But beneath lay a subterranean sea of corruptible corpses. These bodies were viewed as pollutants, emanating noxious gases which were toxic, if not fatal, to the health and morals of the city's citizens.

Ideas about public health and sanitation were instrumental in the evolution of the public general cemetery, and also played an important role in shaping Victorian dreams and fears about death, burial and the after-life. The garden cemetery was a creation of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie to regulate and control bodies - both the living and the dead. The cemetery ideal tried to neutralise the negative affect of decomposing corpses on the morals and health of the living. This chapter reveals the uneasy relationship between the tranquil cemetery landscape - God's acre - and the festering subterranean corpses which continually threatened to disturb the cemetery ideal. Several Sydney cemeteries, established between the 1820s and 1860s, were later subjected to public and parliamentary scrutiny, with official inquiries into their state and management. The ensuing public discussion of miasmas and burial regulations particularly focused upon common

graves and pauper burials in colonial cemeteries. The bourgeoisie condemned the graves of the lower classes as being un-Christian, indecent, and contaminating, threatening the moral and respectable landscape of God's acre. The public discussion over what constituted a 'decent' and 'respectable' burial illustrates how reformers' concerns about social hygiene were united in the nineteenth century with notions of social respectability and moral reform. Issues of class could not be avoided, even in the grave.

Sydney's Cemeteries Scrutinised

In the preceding chapters, I have shown how cemeteries in colonial New South Wales both anticipated and followed the British trends in burial reform and funerary culture. From the outset, the colonial government was closely involved in the establishment of large general cemeteries; this was an advancement on the profiteering private companies of metropolitan London. Admittedly the first cemeteries established in the penal colony were small, and within a few decades became overcrowded and surrounded by development. However, during the mid-nineteenth century the general cemeteries established in larger colonial towns incorporated the major features of the cemetery ideal. They were being located outside the town and had neat and ordered landscapes that facilitated mourning and encouraged moral improvement. The laid out paths, picturesque plantings, and pleasing aspect of many cemeteries were, however, a genteel facade that hid problems of poor drainage, inadequate burial depths and multiple coffins in graves.

The insanitary conditions of colonial cemeteries were exposed in a series of parliamentary debates and inquiries in 1855 and 1866 that investigated the management and condition of Sydney's burial grounds. The first inquiry was set

up in September 1855 on the motion of George Robert Nichols to investigate the 'management of the various Burial Grounds in the city and district of Sydney'. In doing so, Nichols hoped to shame the colonial government into establishing a 'proper place for the burial of the dead'. It will be recalled that as far back as 1845 the colonial government had commenced preparations for providing a new cemetery for the Sydney district. But these plans had become mired in sectarian and political conflict. In the meantime, the Church of England had established a private cemetery at Camperdown and other denominations struggled to bury their dead. Nichols claimed the Camperdown Cemetery was 'a shame and a disgrace to any community', with graves of the poor being 'piled three or four deep, and in many place the lid of the uppermost coffin was not covered by more than five or six inches of clay.'¹ The scope of the Legislative Council Select Committee was broad, enabling the Committee to investigate and make recommendations on the management of burial grounds across the Sydney district. However, due to the allegations made in parliament, the inquiry focused initially upon the management of Camperdown Cemetery. The Select Committee questioned eight witnesses including a doctor, undertakers, local residents of Camperdown, and representatives of the Church of England and the cemetery company. A progress report was tabled recommending further consideration of the subject in the next session of parliament.² Unfortunately, this did not happen and burial practices continued to remain unregulated.

The issue was raised again in 1866, on the eve of the opening of the Necropolis at Haslem's Creek. A Bill was introduced in July 1866 to prohibit burials

¹ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1855, p. 5.

² 'Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Management of Burial Grounds, with minutes of evidence', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3, pp. 401-420.

within the city of Sydney. The aim of the Bill was 'not only the improvement of the sanitary condition of the city, but also compelling the use of a very suitable place [the Necropolis at Haslem's Creek] for burials.' Mr Wilson, promoter of the Bill, argued that there was growing public opposition to intramural burials and that the Bill was a timely measure to ensure the health of the living.³ The Bill provoked much debate in parliament - over the condition of cemeteries; over which cemeteries the Bill was to be applied to; and, over the rights of those with family vaults in cemeteries to be closed. It was resolved to pass an Act to close cemeteries in Sydney, namely the Devonshire Street cemeteries, and then to frame separate legislation for other cemeteries.⁴

In August 1866 a second cemeteries Bill was introduced to close the cemeteries at Camperdown and Randwick. Again there was heated debate in parliament as to the necessity of the Bill. There was also widespread public debate on the condition of cemeteries and pauper burials, with editorials and letters in the newspapers. Public interest in the issue was no doubt heightened by the concurrent trial of an undertaker charged with fraudulent conduct of pauper burials for the government.⁵ To address the 'popular cry ... against all burial grounds', or perhaps in an attempt to waylay the Bill, a Select Committee was established to further

³ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1866, p. 2: Mr Wilson; 'NSW Parliament' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1866, pp. 4, 6: Mr Wilson.

⁴ An Act to prohibit Burials within the City of Sydney. Assented to 12 September 1866. (30 Victoriae No. 3 1866)

⁵ Richard Switson, an undertaker located on Old South Head Road, was 'charged with obtaining money under false pretences in his capacity as contractor for providing coffins and performing certain services in connection with the burial of persons dying in the Government asylums for the infirm and destitute'. In the course of the trial it was revealed that Switson was burying two bodies in one coffin, and charging the government for two coffins and the fees for two burials. He was found guilty and was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour in Sydney gaol. For coverage of the trial see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 August 1866, p. 2; 30 August 1866, p. 5; 31 August 1866, p. 5; 6 September 1866, pp. 2 & 5 or *Sydney Mail*, 1 September 1866, pp. 3 & 9.

investigate the issue.⁶ Twenty witnesses were examined, including the Health Officer to the City of Sydney, employees of the cemetery, an undertaker, a doctor, a surveyor, an engineer, local politicians and residents. The Select Committee tabled a progress report in December 1866, requesting more time in the next session of parliament. But such was the voluminous and compelling nature of the evidence, that when the Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill was reintroduced in the next session of parliament, it progressed without further inquiry, albeit with some opposition, and was eventually passed.⁷

These inquiries and legislative measures did little to actually address the problem of cemetery conditions, and so the spectre of unsanitary practices in cemeteries continued to arise in the late nineteenth century. A further parliamentary inquiry was held into the condition of Balmain Cemetery in 1881, in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the Leichhardt Municipal Council and the cemetery company and to ensure appropriate legislation. Complaints made about the effluvium arising from the cemetery led the municipal council to enact a by-law forbidding any burials within 100 feet of a public building or street. Six witnesses were interviewed, including the secretary of the cemetery company, local residents, grave owners, and aldermen.⁸ The resulting Balmain Cemetery Act was passed in 1881, allowing burials to continue in the cemetery, except within 60 feet of the

⁶ Mr Plunkett during a debate in parliament referred to the 'popular cry' against burial grounds. 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 September 1866, p. 2. The *Sydney Mail* suspected that referring the Bill to a Select Committee was an attempt to stall the Bill. *Sydney Mail*, 29 September 1866, p. 4.

⁷ 'Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2, pp. 619-702; An Act to prohibit Burials in the Camperdown Cemetery and to regulate Burials in the Randwick Cemetery. Assented to 2 September 1867. (31 Victoriae No. 2 1867).

⁸ 'Report from the Select Committee on the Balmain Cemetery Bill; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5, pp. 933-948.

cemetery boundaries.⁹ In 1887-88 the system of burial and management at Rookwood Necropolis was also scrutinised by the Legislative Council.¹⁰ The Randwick Cemetery, although partially closed by the Camperdown and Randwick Cemetery Bill in 1867, allegedly continued to pose a threat to the health of residents with the opening of vaults to receive further burials. A Bill to close Randwick Cemetery was introduced three times in consecutive parliamentary sessions in the late nineteenth century. However, the vested interests of the wealthy vault holders prevailed and the Bill was never passed.¹¹

The evidence recorded from dozens of witnesses at the various parliamentary inquiries, along with the public debate that ensued both in the newspapers and parliament, provides a glimpse of common perceptions held about death, burial and cemeteries in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. Overcrowded cemeteries were condemned as 'revolting to the good feelings, and injurious to the health of the inhabitants'.¹² These perceptions demonstrate the impact of G. A. Walker's work *Gatherings from Graveyards* (see Chapter 1) in transforming the public's understanding of burial grounds, as well as the influence of the cemetery ideal. The public recoiled at images of jam-packed cemeteries, with coffins breaking the surface and emanating effluvia. The *Sydney Morning Herald* at first did not believe the allegations:

The representations made by Mr Nichols and supported by Mr. Donaldson, of the condition of the Cemetery at Newtown, are perfectly amazing. ... the alleged disposal of the dead is astonishing, appalling, and full of horror. In the absence of

⁹ Balmain Cemetery Act of 1881. Assented to 16 December 1881. (45 Victoriae)

¹⁰ 'The Necropolis, Rookwood. (Correspondence, &c., respecting)', *New South Wales Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings*, 1887-88, vol. 4, pp. 853-875.

¹¹ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates (NSWPD)*, 1894-95, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill', NSW Government Printer, Sydney, 1895; *NSWPD*, 1895, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill'; *NSWPD*, 1896, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill'.

¹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 March 1866, p. 7.

explanations, we cannot do more than express our hope, that there has been great exaggeration.¹³

And was then incredulous that such horrific conditions had been allowed to continue for so long.

Sometimes we are told of the disturbing of the remains of the dead to make new graves, at other burying so close to the surface of the ground that coffins are exposed to view by animals prowling about the graveyard. At others we are informed that so awful is the effluvia in certain states of the atmosphere, that it is painfully perceptible by passers by, and to make almost unsafe to pass by the boundaries. For months and years these abuses have continued.¹⁴

Although the official inquiries and legislation focused upon the over-crowded cemeteries in the inner Sydney area, the problems of shallow graves and neglected cemeteries could equally be found in metropolitan and country towns. Mr Hay MLA reported to Parliament in 1870,

The burial grounds in and about Sydney - those in the interior of this colony - were not well cared for, were not pleasing to the eye. So far as could be said in such a matter, this colony was all behind Victoria. He had observed this in travelling through the interior. Graves were swept by winds and washed by rains, and coffins were exposed to view, but no one seemed to care. ... to his sorrow he very seldom found burial-places in this colony such as they ought to be.¹⁵

Nor was the situation confined to the colony of New South Wales. Despite Mr Hay's concerns that New South Wales was lagging behind its colonial rival, Victoria, the state of cemeteries revealed by these inquiries was replicated in colonial cemeteries across the continent.¹⁶

¹³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1855, p. 4.

¹⁴ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 March 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1870, p. 2.

¹⁶ See for example Robert Nicol, *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1994 for a commentary on the development of cemeteries and sanitary reform in South Australia. Similarly for Melbourne see Chris McConville, 'Cities of the dead: the new cemeteries of the nineteenth century', *Urban Futures Journal*, no. 22 June 1997, pp. 41-45; for Brisbane see Georgy McCall, 'The Brisbane General Cemetery: the Accidental Cemetery', in *Images of the Urban: Conference Proceedings*, eds. Lynette Finch and Chris McConville, Sunshine Coast University College and International Australian Studies Association, Maroochydore, 1997, pp. 48-51; and for cemeteries in Tasmania see Stefan

The overall understanding of the threat of cemeteries to the health of the living was based on an environmental theory of disease. It was believed that rotting organic matter and piles of filth exhaled miasmas, effluvia or noxious gases. Bad smells were a sign of noxious gases. Miasmas were believed to be deleterious to health and were attributed to the unwholesomeness of the urban environment. The unimpeded movement of air within dwellings, and the city more broadly, was believed to help alleviate some of the problems caused by noxious gases.¹⁷ It was this miasmatic disease theory which underpinned Walker's exposé of burial practices in London. Environmental theories were articulated in medical journals, literary journals, newspapers and encyclopaedias until at least the 1880s in Britain.¹⁸ Not surprisingly, it was also the predominant theory in Australia for explaining the spread of disease until the early twentieth century.¹⁹ In South Australia in 1849 a local newspaper proprietor, John Stephens, gave a lecture on Sanitary Reform in which he clearly articulated the toxic nature of miasmas.

[I]f the blood in the lungs, seeking purification from atmospheric air, should happen to come into contact with, and imbibe *miasma* or *malaria*, it will convey the deleterious *virus* to the extremities of the system, and lodge the seeds of disease in the most vital parts, as certainly as itself alternately becomes venous and arterial, or changes its colour in the act of circulation.²⁰

Petrow, 'God's Neglected Acres: Cemeteries in Tasmania 1803-1992', *Public History Review*, vol. 2, 1993, pp. 144-167.

¹⁷ A. J. C. Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice: Sanitation and Social Policy in Victorian Sydney*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982, esp. ch. 2, pp. 23-36; Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain*, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, London, 1983, p. 87.

¹⁸ Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, p. 87. Examples of contemporary articles see 'On Interments in Churches', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 103 part 1, January 1833, p. 8; 'Unwholesome Practice of Burying the Dead in Churches', *The Examiner, a Sunday Paper on Politics, Domestic Economy, & Theatricals*, no. 929, Sunday 27 November 1825, pp. 756-757; J. H. Elliott, 'Gatherings from Graveyards', [rev.art] *Westminster Review*, vol. 37 no. 1, 1842, pp. 201-216; 'Cemetery', *Encyclopedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, 9th ed., Adam & Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1876, vol. 5, pp. 328-332.

¹⁹ Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice*, p. 27.

²⁰ John Stephens, *Sanitary Reform; its general aspect & local importance considered in a lecture delivered at the new Queen's Theatre, Adelaide, on Tuesday Evening, 13th February, 1849, together with practical observations on South Australia, applicable to the subject as affecting the sanitary condition of the Colony*, The Author, Adelaide, 1849, 4-5; facsimile edition: Public Library of South

Miasmas exuding from burial grounds were viewed as being particularly life-threatening. The City Health Officer in Sydney on several occasions warned the government of the problems created by burial grounds.

The history of medicine shews that overcrowded graveyards within towns and cities have given rise to most fatal consequences. The gases which are evolved from the dead human body are capable of producing contagious and most pestilential diseases, even plague and cholera.²¹

Dr Henry Graham, the City Health Officer, wrote again in 1862:

It is a well established fact, that exhalations from the dead, even when placed in Leaden Coffins and deposited in vaults, may continue for years after. From the surface of old Grave Yards, there are constant noxious emanations, much increased in hot and wet weather. The gases so evolved are of a most poisonous nature - and when escaping from a Leaden Coffin have been known to destroy life - when these gases are more diluted with atmospheric air, they produced epidemic putrid disease.²²

The rejection of intramural burials was based upon this understanding of miasmas. In 1866 William Bell, a medical practitioner, warned readers of the *Empire* newspaper of the dangers of overcrowded burial grounds with a particularly dramatic version of the familiar miasma theory.

The most remarkable cases of sudden deaths from the concentrated exhalations of dead bodies, occurred in Aldgate churchyard in 1838, where the grave digger, Thomas Oakes, and a young man named Luddeth, were both instantaneously killed by the emanations from a pauper grave. ... and Mr Walker, in his "Gatherings from Graveyards" relates many remarkable cases. There can be no question but that the putrid exhalations from decomposing dead bodies, in a concentrated degree, produce highly injurious and even fatal effects upon the living human being.²³

Bell's reference to *Gatherings from Graveyards* confirms that this tract was available in colonial New South Wales.²⁴ It is striking that from all the 'abundant instances on

Australia, Adelaide, 1962. For a discussion of Stephens' role in sanitary reform in the colony of South Australia see Nicol, *At the End of the Road*, pp. 112-115.

²¹ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Extract from Report of Officer of Health, 5 January 1860. Part I, Enclosure in Letter No. 88, p. 34.

²² SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries: City Health Officer to Colonial Secretary, 7 January 1862, [5/7704].

²³ William Bell, 'Graveyards', *Empire*, 6 December 1866, p. 2.

²⁴ Walker, G. A., *On the past and present state of intramural burying places, with practical suggestions for the establishment of national extramural cemeteries*, Longman, Brown, Green &

record' of gravediggers falling ill while working in overcrowded graveyards, Bell chose to focus on the fatalities caused by a pauper grave - just as Walker had done before him. While the concentration of corpses within common graves may help to explain this focus upon the burial of the poor it also, as we shall see, indicates the particular danger that the bodies of the lower classes were seen to present. Bell justified his actions by emphasising the 'fearful social evils' that resulted from 'overcrowding together masses of living humanity', and from heaping up the dead among the living'.²⁵ Such warnings were reminiscent of Edwin Chadwick's assessment in Britain in his report on *Interment of the Dead*. In the Victorian mind, burial grounds within the city were disease-ridden and a 'very great evil'.²⁶

Complaints about colonial cemeteries frequently centred upon the smells emanating from them - smells were variously described as 'unpleasant', 'offensive' and 'noxious' and were said to be at their worst in hot humid weather in summer and after rain.²⁷ The effluvia rising from Camperdown Cemetery on a 'close damp morning' was described as a 'mist hanging over the ground like a veil' and Councillor Munro of Newtown Municipality claimed he had 'frequently been obliged to hold a handkerchief over his mouth and nose, so insufferable was the atmosphere'.²⁸ Correspondent to the *Herald*, "Pere La Chaise", suggested a health inspection of Camperdown Cemetery should take place 'on a hot summer's day,

Longmans, London, 1852. This volume is located in the Rare Book Library at the University of Sydney. Provenance records indicate that the book was purchased by the University at the time of publication.

²⁵ William Bell, 'Graveyards', *Empire*, 6 December 1866, p. 2.

²⁶ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1855, p. 5: Mr Donaldson.

²⁷ See for example 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1855, p. 5: Mr Donaldson; 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Mr Henry Thomas Q. 12 p. 2, Mr John Lucas Q. 10 p. 3; Letter to the editor by "An Old Resident", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1866, p. 6; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 956 p. 34, Mr John Lucas Q. 1355-1358 & Q. 1366 p. 48; 'Select Committee - Balmain Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5: Mr James Williams Q. 275 p. 18, Mr Walter Beames Q. 352-354 & Q. 373 pp. 14--15.

when the season is drooping, the atmosphere thick and heavy, the effluvia unmistakably suggestive of coffins and the sluggish stream flowing towards Camperdown thickly impregnated with putrescent remains.²⁹

The presence of blowflies and maggots were a further reminder of the underworld of corruption in the cemetery. Businesses beside Camperdown Cemetery complained of 'nasty greenish-blue' blowflies invading their workshops³⁰ from the drainage sump of the cemetery and the pauper graves which were left open for several days to receive numerous bodies.³¹ Blowflies were also a problem at Balmain Cemetery while maggots surfaced with floodwaters that gushed across Camperdown Cemetery after severe thunderstorms and subsequently contaminated neighbouring residential wells.³² The disgorging of maggots from the burial ground after heavy rain was a stark reminder of the mortality of humans, and of the corruption that followed death; an image which contrasted dramatically with the idealisation of 'God's acre' and religious beliefs in a physical resurrection.

Many of the offensive smells reported would have arisen from inadequate drainage. From evidence received during parliamentary inquiries, many cemeteries only had surface drainage, which then flowed through residential areas 'scattering miasma around'.³³ Frequently graves were three-quarters full of water.³⁴ Mr. Robert

²⁸ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1866, p. 6: Report of proceedings of the Newtown Municipal Council, 7 September 1863, quoted by Mr Lucas during parliamentary debate.

²⁹ Letter to the Editor by "Pere La Chaise", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 1866, p. 5.

³⁰ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. Ninian Melville, senior Q. 542-543 pp. 19-20, Mr. Ninian Melville, junior Q. 953-954, p. 34.

³¹ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. Ninian Melville, senior Q. 606 p. 23.

³² 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. James Conley Q. 522-523 p. 18.

³³ Correspondent 'Old Resident' provides a colourful description of the drainage at the Camperdown Cemetery. Letter to the Editor by "Old Resident", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1866, p. 6: See also 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Mr John Lucas Q. 8-9 p. 3; Mr Robert Stewart Q. 17 p. 6; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick

Tubbey, who was employed as a grave-digger for several years at Camperdown Cemetery, graphically described how they pumped out the effluvia from graves and vaults prior to interments.

Sometimes when we got to the bottom of a grave, we used to dig a bit of a hole at the foot, to get the bucket in, so as to empty it out and get it nice and dry before the funeral procession would come. Sometimes the stuff that was taken out used to be blood and all corruption; I used to think it was something like old Tooth's "stringy" [a type of colonial stout beer], for when we get a bucket of it half full it used to be over the top with froth.³⁵

Graves at Balmain Cemetery also reportedly became filled with water that was covered by a 'thick scum' which was 'quite putrid, and when disturbed gives out a most disgusting effluvium'.³⁶

Given the above descriptions the public was justifiably concerned that cemeteries were contaminating their drinking water. This was one of the most common reasons for local opposition to a cemetery and was one of the chief arguments used by petitioners against the establishment of both Gore Hill Cemetery³⁷, and the cemetery at the old Sydney Common³⁸. Cemeteries at Newtown, Randwick, Leichhardt (Balmain), and Botany were all accused of fouling water courses³⁹ while residents' water near Camperdown Cemetery was affected by

Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Appendices A & B; 'Select Committee - Balmain Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5: Mr James Williams Q. 233-239 p. 12, Mr William Beames Q. 356 Q. 364-365 p. 15.

³⁴ 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 5: Frederick McKellar, Esq. Q. 8 p. 1; 'Select Committee - Balmain Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, Mr. Mark Powell Q. 400-404 p. 16.

³⁵ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. Robert Tubbey Q. 743 p. 27.

³⁶ 'Select Committee - Balmain Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5: Mr Walter Beames Q. 352 p. 14.

³⁷ SRNSW: Attorney General and Justice: Special Bundle; CGS 333, Administration of Gore Hill Cemetery 1867-1896: Petition 20 September 1867 [5/7737].

³⁸ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Memorial from Inhabitants of Sydney, Surry Hills &c., 30 July 1859. Part II Letter No. 135, p. 78.

³⁹ For claims of water contamination by Camperdown Cemetery at Newtown see 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2; 'Petition relative to Camperdown

'a sort of greasy matter on the top of it'.⁴⁰ It was also claimed that horses grazing nearby refused to drink the water that drained from Camperdown Cemetery.⁴¹ Whether such claims were true is difficult to establish, although scientific analysis and medical reports on both the Camperdown Cemetery and Balmain Cemetery do appear to indicate there was some water pollution.⁴² But the veracity of such claims is to some extent, irrelevant. What is important is that there was a perception that cemeteries were a public health threat and that there was widespread public debate over the state of Sydney's cemeteries. The complaints and concerns expressed by the public demonstrates a high level of public awareness, verging at times towards obsessiveness, about the health hazards posed by overcrowded burial grounds.

But where was this contamination coming from? Most commonly the accusing gaze of parliamentary inquiries, newspapers and citizens fell upon the burials of the poorer classes. As we shall see, the burial practices in common graves

Cemetery', *NSWLAV&P*, 1859-60, vol. 4, p. 1149; 'Petition - certain in habitants of Newtown - Newtown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1866, vol. 5, p. 577; 'Petition from Municipal Council of Cook - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 2, p. 753. See also parliamentary debates reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August to 8 August 1867.

For claims of water contamination by St Jude's Cemetery, Randwick (also referred to as the Randwick Cemetery) see 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2; 'Petition - Edwin Daintrey - Newtown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1866, vol. 5, p. 573; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August 1866, p. 7; Letter to the Editor by "A voice from the animalcule world", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1867, p. 3; Letter to the Editor by "The carnival of the animalculae", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1867, p. 7; 'Randwick Cemetery Bill - Petition from John Alfred Ironside Perry and Others, of Randwick, Praying that the House will not allow any further interments in the Burial-Ground known as the Randwick Cemetery', *NSWLAV&P*, 1894-5, vol. 3, p. 575.

For claims of water contamination by the Balmain Cemetery see Report by Dr. Ashburton Thompson on an outbreak of typhoid from the Balmain cemetery, quoted by Mr Creed in parliamentary debate on the Cremation Bill - *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 16 March 1887, Mr Creed, pp. 223-224. See also minutes of evidence for accusations of effluvia and stagnant water, 'Select Committee - Balmain Cemetery Bill', *NSWLAV&P*, 1881, vol. 5.

For claims of water contamination of the cemetery at Botany see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 September 1866, p. 5.

⁴⁰ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. Edward Constable Q. 617 p. 23.

⁴¹ Letter to the Editor by "An Old Resident", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September 1866, p. 6.

⁴² 'Select committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Appendix C. Evidence given by Mr J. S. Norrie, Analytical Chemist, 3 December 1866, p. 72; *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 24 June 1886, Legislative Council, 'Cremation Bill', p. 2928. Mr Creed refers to

tacitly endorsed by cemetery trustees and the government undoubtedly contributed to the unsanitary conditions of cemeteries in colonial New South Wales. But it seems that inadequate surface drainage and large subterranean brick vaults that encouraged the accumulation of run off and adipocere⁴³ were equally responsible for the unpleasant emanations which kept gurgling up from the deathly underworld. Indeed Loudon had campaigned against brick vaults, believing they created a 'pestilential mass of putridity'⁴⁴; and descriptions of water like 'Tooth's stringy' accumulating in Camperdown Cemetery suggest that his warnings were not unfounded. Nevertheless both government officials and citizens emphasised the physical and moral treatment of the poorer classes in death, rather than focusing on the expensive and prestigious vaults of the upper classes. The 1855 parliamentary inquiry into the management of burial grounds focused almost entirely upon the pauper burials in Camperdown Cemetery⁴⁵ with many of the complainants expressing their disgust at the management of pauper and common burials, which were decried as being undignified and an affront to Christian sensibilities.⁴⁶ This focus illustrates not simply a perceived source of pollution in cemeteries; it is indicative of the way sanitary, social and moral reforms were associated in the nineteenth century.

The disapproving gaze of the bourgeoisie focused particularly on the body. How was the corpse treated when it was buried? How many bodies were placed in

Dr. Ashburton Thompson's report on Balmain Cemetery that shows the cemetery to be a public health hazard.

⁴³ adipocere - a greyish waxy substance formed by the decomposition of soft tissue in dead bodies that have been subjected to moisture, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

⁴⁴ J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1843. Facsimile Edition, ed. James Stevens Curl, Ivet Books Ltd, Redhill, 1981, p. 46.

⁴⁵ 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3. See in particular the evidence of Frederick McKellar, Esq., M.D., Mr. Henry Thomas, Mr. John Lucas, Josiah Richard Treeve, Esq., and Mr. James Curtis.

one grave? Was the burial service read over each individual body, groups of corpses, or not at all? What happened to the corpse after it was buried?⁴⁶ And who was responsible for allowing such burials - the cemetery trustees, ministers of religion, undertakers, the government, or the poor themselves? While the objectives of the parliamentary inquiries were to expose the unsanitary conditions of cemeteries and either regulate or close the cemeteries, a discourse developed around what constituted a 'decent' burial. Expressions of outrage in the colonial press suggests there was a common perception about how a corpse should be treated or buried which was associated with religious feelings and social values such as decency. To understand more clearly the moral standards applied to burials and funerals in nineteenth century New South Wales, it is helpful to outline the common traits of the pauper burial which were deemed to be so indecent and disgraceful.

Pauper burials and respectable burials

The distinguishing mark of a pauper burial in Sydney was a simple coffin made of deal, that is pine wood board, which was light in colour. Sometimes this was blackened, sometimes not. The coffin often did not have a name plate attached, and in such instances, in order to distinguish between Protestant and Roman Catholic paupers, a cross would sometimes be drawn on the coffin holding the

⁴⁶ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. James Conley Q. 322 p. 12, Mr. Melville, senior Q. 553 p. 21.

⁴⁷ See for example 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr. James Conley Q. 325-341 pp. 12-13, Mr. Ninian Melville, senior Q. 578-582 pp. 22, Mr. Ninian Melville, junior Q. 956-962 p. 34. See also 'Hospital Funerals', *Argus*, 23 December 1876, republished in John Stanley James, *The Vagabond Papers*, ed. Michael Cannon, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1969, as 'Pauper Funerals', pp. 66-73. 'Report from the Select Committee on St. Andrew's Cathedral Close Bill, together with minutes of evidence and appendix', *NSWLAV&P*, 1867, vol. 4, pp. 953-1002 deals with both the moral and health issues surrounding the exhumation of remains from the Old Sydney Burial Ground for the construction of Sydney Town Hall and creation of St. Andrew's Cathedral Close.

Catholic.⁴⁸ A pauper coffin contrasted dramatically with the cedar and material covered coffins of the respectable classes.⁴⁹

Pauper and common graves were usually located in the least desirable areas of cemeteries, away from major pathways on low lying, poorly drained land.⁵⁰ They were segregated geographically and visually from the select areas of private graves chosen by the 'respectable portion of the community'.⁵¹ [plate 4.1 figure A] A pauper grave cost between 10 and 15 shillings. One step up from a pauper burial was the common grave. This cost between 15 shillings and £1, but with similar regulations to that of a pauper burial. Pauper and common graves were always earth graves, and the site of the grave could not be selected. Burials were just placed in the next available space.

A defining feature of a pauper or common grave was that more than one coffin was placed in each grave. Frequently the coffin would be left virtually uncovered, with just a scattering of earth, while the grave awaited more burials. In

⁴⁸ *Sydney Mail*, 1 September 1866, p. 3: evidence of Lucy Ann Applewhaite, matron of Hyde Park Asylum; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, Mr James Conley Q. 304 p. 11, Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 962-3 p. 34.

⁴⁹ Judy Birmingham and Carol Liston, *Old Sydney Burial Ground, 1974: Emergency Excavation in the City of Sydney*, Studies in Historical Archaeology No. 5, Sydney, 1976; Godden Mackay, *Old Sydney Burial Ground, Sydney Town Hall: Archaeological Monitoring Excavation*, Report prepared for The Council of the City of Sydney, The Heritage Council of NSW, September 1991. For descriptions of British coffins see for example, Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450*, Robert Hale, London, 1991, esp. ch. 4; Eric Boore, 'Burial vaults and coffin furniture in the West Country', in Margaret Cox (ed.), *Grave Concerns: Death & Burial in England 1700-1850*, CBA Research Report 13, Council for British Archaeology, York, 1998, pp. 67-84.

⁵⁰ 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Frederick McKellar Esq. M.D. Q. 4 p. 1; Letter to the editor by "An Old Resident", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1866, p. 6; Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: 'Mr William Baldock Q. 1756 p. 63; 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-88, vol. 43 part 4: Letter Nos. 17, 18, 54 (enclosure).

⁵¹ W. M. Brownrigg makes this contrast between the pauper class and the respectable portion of the community in his report 5 November 1866. 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Appendix B.

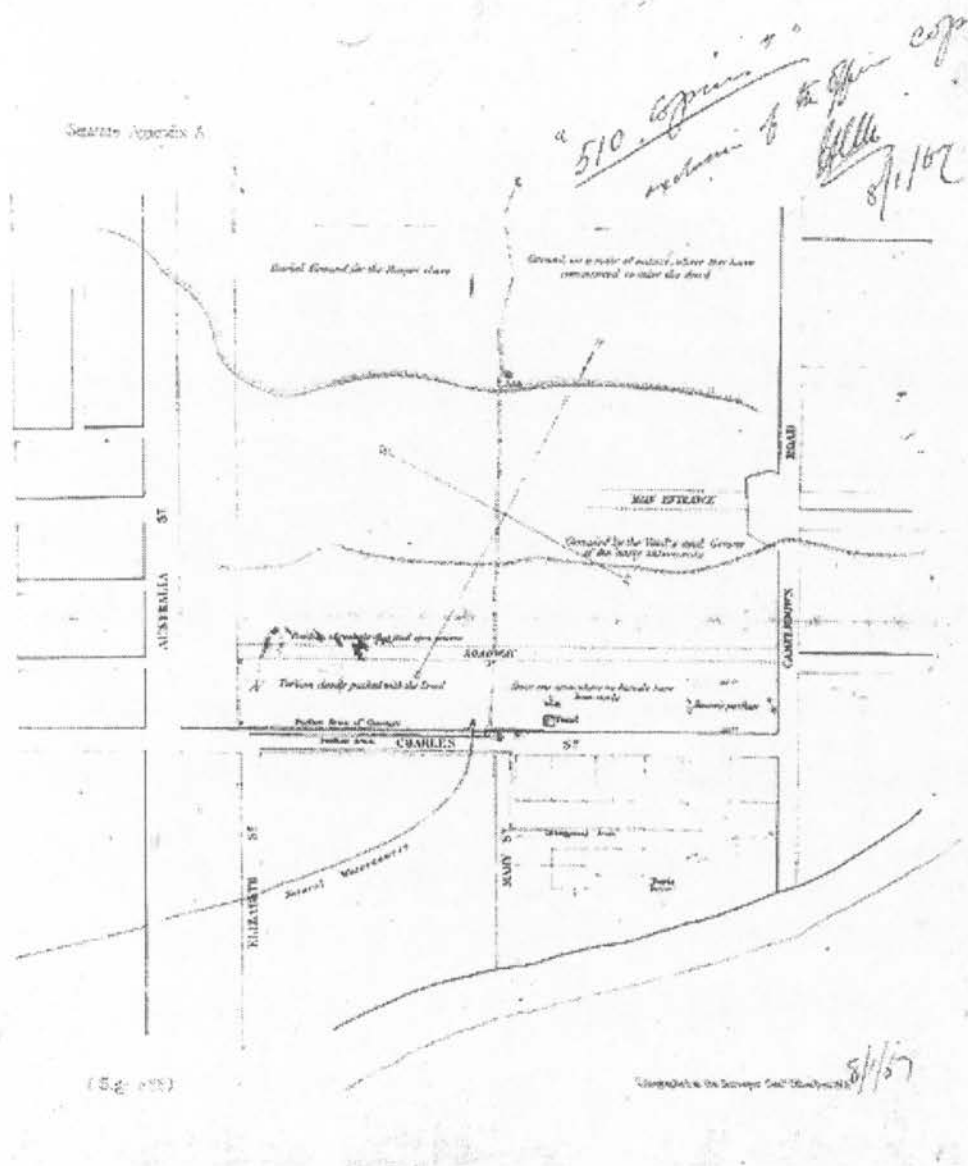


Figure A. Plan of Camperdown Cemetery, showing pauper burials in the north-west corner of the cemetery upon the lowest lying land. (SRNSW: AO Map No. 10432.)

some cases it was reported that there were up to four corpses in a grave.⁵² This practice was referred to as the 'packing system', where coffins were literally piled on top of one another.⁵³ In other instances, areas of pauper burials would be re-worked with a second layer of burials taking place and the ground artificially raised to make room for the graves.⁵⁴ Such practices were little different from those that had prevailed in British parish churchyards throughout the eighteenth century. And there is evidence to suggest that the 'packing system' for burying paupers continued into the twentieth century.⁵⁵ Shallow burials were a common occurrence, even if such actions were not condoned in health and cemetery regulations. There were regular reports of coffins being only a few inches below the surface and easily uncovered, touched or penetrated by a foot, an umbrella or walking stick.⁵⁶ These conditions violated the sanctity of the grave promoted by the cemetery ideal. The grave plots in pauper and common sections were often left unmarked or were identified simply with a timber peg bearing the grave number. While in some cases this lack of monumentation may have been due to the poor financial circumstances of relatives of the deceased, regulations in many cemeteries prohibited the erection of headstones on common graves. At Camperdown Cemetery, for example, the

⁵² There are numerous testimonies in the minutes of evidence for both the 1855 and 1866 parliamentary inquiries. See for example 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3, Frederick McKellar Q. 4-7, 10-12, 18 pp. 1-2, Mr. Henry Thomas Q. 9-13 p. 2, Mr John Lucas Q. 7 p. 3, Q. 24-25 p. 4; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr James Conley Q. 337 p. 13, Mr. Ninian Melville, junior Q. 934-946 pp. 32-33. Allegations were also made during parliamentary debates. See for example, 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1855, p. 5: Mr Nichols.

⁵³ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Report by W. M. Brownrigg 5 November 1866, Appendix B.

⁵⁴ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 943 p. 33; 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-88, vol. 43 part 4: Report of Dr Ashburton Thompson 20 July 1887 of burials in Roman Catholic Cemetery, The Necropolis. Enclosure in Letter No. 24, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 1911, p. 5.

⁵⁶ See for example 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Extract from Report of the Officer of Health, 9 December 1859. Part I Enclosure in Letter No. 88, p. 34; 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCV&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Mr John Lucas Q. 7 p. 3; 11 October 1887, 13 January 1888, Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1); 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-88, vol. 43 part 4: Letter Nos. 20, 21, 23, 24 pp. 7-8.

regulations stated 'In common graves, coffins of wood only shall be used, and (except in special cases) no monuments or grave-stones will be allowed.'⁵⁷

Pauper burials took place with little ceremony. Mr Melville, a cabinet-maker whose workshop was near Camperdown Cemetery, described several pauper funerals to the parliamentary inquiry in 1866, even recalling one instance where a coffin was literally dropped into a grave by the undertaker and grave-digger.⁵⁸ Pauper burials were not even guaranteed to have a religious service performed over the body; if prayers were said for the departed souls they were often collective rather than individual, and sometimes performed a couple of days after burial.⁵⁹ Those who died in government asylums were rarely given funerals that were attended by relatives. Usually they died and were 'sent away [to be buried] the same day'.⁶⁰ Perhaps they didn't have any relatives in the locality; or perhaps there were relatives, but as one contemporary social commentator on workhouse life in Britain speculated, 'none who have a sufficient regard for [their] memory to induce them to appear at a "pauper funeral"'.⁶¹

⁵⁷ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 946 p. 33; 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-88, vol. 43 part 4: Report of Dr Ashburton Thompson 20 July 1887 of burials in Roman Catholic Cemetery, The Necropolis. Enclosure in Letter No. 24, pp. 8-9; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Appendix D - Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company, List of Fees and Charges in the Camperdown Cemetery.

⁵⁸ 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 939 pp. 32-33.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Mail*, 1 September 1866, p. 3: evidence of William Baldick [sic], sexton at Camperdown Cemetery; 'Select Committee - Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Mr James Conley Q. 325-329 p. 12, Mr Ninian Melville, junior Q. 956-961 p. 34, Mr William Baldock [sic] Q. 1774-1780 p. 64; 3 July 1883, Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1). See also The Vagabond's account of pauper burials in Melbourne, originally published as 'Hospital Funerals', *Argus*, 23 December 1876 and reproduced in John Stanley James ('The Vagabond'), *The Vagabond Papers*, ed. Michael Cannon, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 66-73.

⁶⁰ *Sydney Mail*, 1 September 1866, p. 3: evidence of Ann Jeffreys, paid nurse, Hyde Park Asylum.

⁶¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1866, p. 6.

A common or pauper burial was reviled by the middle and labouring classes - a fate to be avoided at all costs. It was a mark of social disgrace. [plate 4.2 figure A] The social and moral connotations of a pauper burial were a legacy of eighteenth century England. As Ruth Richardson has shown in her revealing social history of the Anatomy Act, pauper burials in Britain had long been the target of bodysnatchers, who supplied the medical schools with corpses for dissection, and this became institutionalised with the passing of the Anatomy Act in 1832. In such circumstances the integrity of the corpse was violated and destroyed, attacking religious beliefs in a physical resurrection and popular beliefs of 'respect' for the dead. The indignity of such treatment of the corpse was heightened by the fact that previously such treatment had only been meted out to executed criminals.⁶²

The revelations of the undertakers' fraudulent dealings in 1866, whereby paupers were being buried two corpses to one coffin, brought media attention to the treatment of the pauper corpse.⁶³ For one respectable correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* the revelations of the fraud case, and the disclosures of burial practices in Camperdown Cemetery being reported at the same time, completely changed his understanding of what it meant to die a pauper. Previously he had been astonished at the 'antipathy manifested by many poor destitute old people' towards the asylum, believing their fears were ill-founded. He ashamedly recalled how 'just the other day' he had tried (unsuccessfully) to persuade a 'poor helpless and friendless old woman' to go to the asylum. She had refused, saying 'Oh, Sir, I have not many days to live, and I would not like to die there'. Now he

⁶² Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, Penguin Books, London, 1988.

⁶³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1866, p. 5, & 31 August 1866, p. 5; *Sydney Mail*, 1 September 1866, pp. 3, 9.

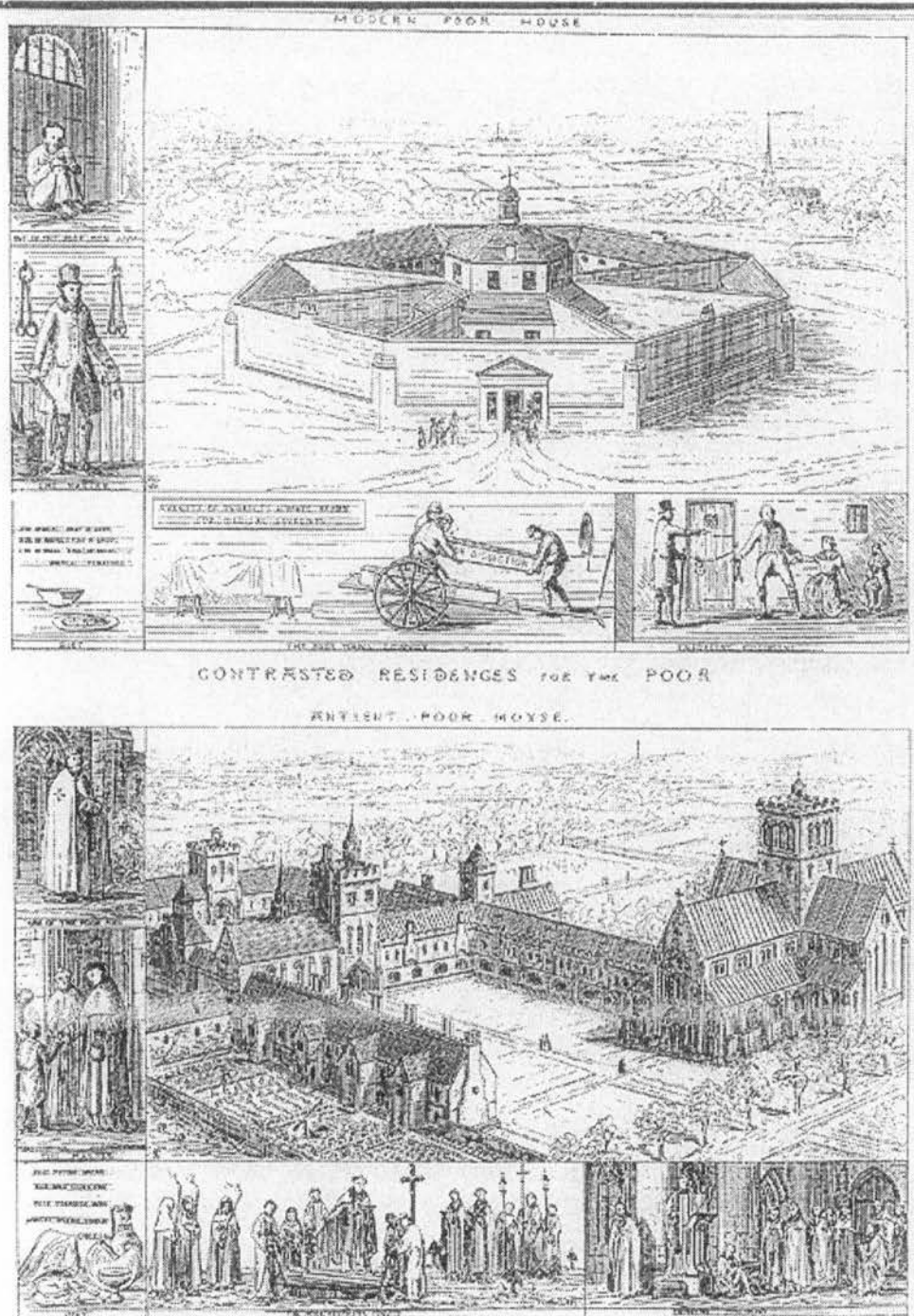


Figure A. 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor - Modern Poor House, Ancient Poor House'. Pugin contrasts the pauper burial destined for medical dissection with the religious ceremony attributed to pauper burials in the middle ages.

(A.W. Pugin, *Contrasts: Or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, 1841.)

felt empathy for their plight and he rallied the government to change their practices to ensure the poor were buried with 'decency and respect'.

... Surely the poor, helpless, worn-out members of society ought to be provided with a refuge where they may die in peace, and be buried with the decency and respect due to our common mortality.

... Will not the recollection of recent events sit like a nightmare on their enfeebled minds, unless a better system is introduced which shall inspire confidence that no member of the community, although a pauper, shall have their poor remains treated with contempt, or meet with the burial of a dog?

... Is it not unfeeling to hand over the pauper dead to the undertaker without permitting even a pauper friend to follow to the last resting-place, with no one upon the part of the Government to see that the last office for the dead are duly performed?⁶⁴

The issue of decent funerals for paupers was also taken up by philanthropic members of colonial Sydney society. Caroline Chisholm attempted to raise funds in 1843 to provide a basic hearse which could be used for the burial of paupers, thus 'remov[ing] from the city the disgrace of sending Christians to be buried in a dog-cart.'⁶⁵ The image of paupers being buried like a dogs was invoked throughout the nineteenth century by philanthropists, reformers and social commentators keen to emphasise the contrast between a 'decent Christian burial' and the burial of the poor.

However, it wasn't simply the treatment of the corpse that violated common Victorian beliefs of what constituted a decent burial and respect for the dead. The emergence of cemeteries in the nineteenth century, with their emphasis upon the sanctity of the grave, reinforced the stigma of a pauper's grave. The 'packing system' adopted in many colonial cemeteries meant that there was no guarantee that a common grave or pauper grave would not be disturbed. The anonymity of common graves provided no location for the private veneration of the dead at the

sentimental tomb.⁶⁶ As we have seen monumentation and other funereal status symbols, such as the lead coffin, were forbidden for common graves and the prohibitive costs of select portions were beyond the reach of many colonial residents.⁶⁷ The regulations and charges of cemeteries and the segregation of graves into public and private denied the poorer classes the opportunity to participate in the collective social ritual of mourning.

One of the striking characteristics of the Victorian period in both Britain and Australia was the determination, particularly amongst the lower classes, to avoid a pauper burial and to secure a 'respectable' and 'decent' interment for themselves and family members. A 'decent' burial usually meant a funeral with a hearse and at least one mourning coach, and burial within a select grave on which to erect a gravemarker.⁶⁸ This was defined as a socially respectable funeral and contrasted visibly with the pauper funeral and burial described earlier. A respectable funeral was a sign of social status, but it also provided some protection to the corpse and ensured the sanctity of the grave. As the parliamentary inquiries and newspaper exposés demonstrated, a pauper burial could provide no such guarantee. A select

⁶⁴ Letter to the Editor by "A Man's A Man for a' that", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September 1886, p. 6.

⁶⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 February, 1843, p. 2.

⁶⁶ James Walvin, 'Dust to Dust: Celebrations of Death in Victorian England', *Historical Reflections*, vol. 9 no. 3, Fall, 1982, p. 355. See also Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, pp. 204-205.

⁶⁷ There were distinct charges and regulations for common and pauper graves (public graves) and select portions (private graves). See for example 'Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill', *JNSWLC*, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Appendix D - Sydney Church of England Cemetery Company, Fees and Charges in the Camperdown Cemetery, SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries in Sydney, 'Church of England Cemetery, Necropolis Haslem's Creek, Fees and Charges 1868' and 'The Necropolis, Haslem's Creek, Roman Catholic Cemetery. Abstract of Fees and Charges to be Made 1879', [5/7705].

⁶⁸ Walvin, 'Dust to Dust', p. 354. See also Thomas Laqueur, 'Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals', *Representations* vol. 1 no. 1, February 1983, pp. 109-131; Michael Cannon, 'Keeping Death at Bay', ch. 10, *Life in the Cities - Australia in the Victorian Age*, vol. 3, Nelson, Sydney, 1975; Sir Arnold Wilson & Prof. Hermann Levy, *Burial Reform and Funeral Costs*, Oxford University Press, London, 1938, esp. ch. 4 & ch. 5; Litten, *The England Way of Death*, esp. ch. 6. John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, Studio Vista, London, 1971 - Appendix A outlines funeral costs in 1874; Graeme

grave, where a monument could be erected, was, according to the undertaker James Curtis, 'the wish of a great many'.

Great numbers of persons complain that they cannot, on account of the high charge, get a grave to which they would be permitted to put a headstone, which is, of course, the wish of a great many; they can only get a common interment. I am of the opinion that, were it not for the prosperity of the labouring classes during the last three or four years, there would be more complaints.⁶⁹

Many citizens buried relatives beyond their financial means in order to obtain a respectable burial. The late Mrs Smith was interred by her relatives in the 'Select Portion' of the Anglican cemetery at Rookwood. In spite of their poverty, they desired an exclusive grave for their dearly departed. However they found little sympathy from cemetery trustees when they couldn't pay the fees. Even a petition from The Dean of Sydney to waive the burial fees was to no avail. The Trustees resolved that 'it would be contrary to Rule and Custom to make paupers of such people who insisted to inter in those [Select] Sections.'⁷⁰ It appears that this was not an isolated incident. The *Sydney Morning Herald* condemned costly respectable funerals as 'one of the social tyrannies of the age'.

There are few persons who are not familiar with instances in which households, not in good pecuniary circumstances, have been heavily burdened by burial expenses. Money that could be ill spared has been spent in doing imaginary honour to the dead. Survivors are afraid of public opinion, if they should pay any close regard to economy. They dread to have a whisper of shabbiness.... Poor but respectable families are very sensitive on such points, and, out of deference to a false standard of duty, allow themselves to be cruelly victimised at a time when their feelings are especially tender and when their usual firmness of will is unhinged by sorrow.⁷¹

The *Herald* inferred that a respectable funeral should be able to keep an eye on economy without being marked as either disrespectful or shabby. Writing just after the announcement of the new cemetery at Haslem's Creek, the editor hoped that the

M. Griffin & Des Tobin, *In the Midst of Life... The Australian Response to Death*, 2nd ed., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997, esp. ch. 7.

⁶⁹ 'Select Committee - Management of Burial Grounds', *NSWLCP&P*, 1855, vol. 3: Mr. James Curtis Q. 45 p. 11.

⁷⁰ 1 July 1873, Anglican Trustees Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1).

⁷¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1866, p. 4.

railway line to the new Necropolis would encourage funeral economy and lead the way in burial reform. The *Herald* was perceptive in its commentary of current funerary practices and the association between respectability, social customs and religious feelings. 'We attach so much sacredness to death, that we are apt to transfer that sacredness to the customs that have gathered round the disposal of the dead.' Under the gaze of the bourgeoisie, the lower classes were placed in a catch-22 situation. Exposing the fate of the poor in death did nothing to ease the burden felt by the lower classes in obtaining a respectable burial. If anything, it reinforced their desire to avoid the 'whisper of shabbiness'. Yet families who attempted to avoid the pauper grave and conduct a 'respectable' funeral were condemned as victims of opportunistic undertakers and social conventions.

The same line of argument was taken up by the funeral reformers of the 1870's. Their criticisms of funeral practices particularly singled out 'the absurd pomp and ceremony connected with the funerals of ordinary folk'. Funeral reformers believed there would be resistance amongst the poor to changes in funerary customs because 'it was considered almost a disgrace, and was thrown up in their teeth, if a poor unfortunate widow and orphan children did not give an immense sum that they could not afford for the burial of their dead husband and father'. The Reverend Canon Stephen reminded the audience at a public meeting on funeral reform that such customs were reprehensible from a sanitary point of view. Why, just by chance, on his way to the meeting 'he saw a mourning coach with five persons in it, and, as if that was not enough, there was the body of a dead child. Such a thing was most reprehensible for in this way pestilence and disease might be spread through the community'.⁷² In 1859 the City Health Officer's report

⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p. 3.

had similarly identified the funerary customs of the poor as being 'detrimental to public health'.

In such warm climates such as this, procrastination of interment is attended with bad consequences. The effluvia of a dead body diffusing itself in a house where the minds and vital energies of the occupants are depressed by sorrow, and where, as it frequently occurs here, the friends are in bad circumstances and incapable of providing means of interment without soliciting assistance, may produce the worst effects.⁷³

The City Health Officer was not worried by the economic, social or cultural circumstances which created the poor's inability to afford a burial or funeral. They were merely spreaders of disease. Thus reformers attacked the poor on two levels. Pauper burials were condemned as insanitary, indecent and a threat to public health and morals; but attempts by the poor to bury their dead in a decent and respectable manner - in other words, to keep the corpse for longer and save or collect money to purchase a private grave - were also condemned as causes of pestilence and disease.

The bourgeois gaze: social reform of the 'Other'

Investigations of insanitary cemeteries and burial of the poor must be seen within the wider social reform agenda of the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. The interest in reforming the lower classes was a strong sentiment in the nineteenth century fuelled by Enlightenment ideals. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White note, 'As the bourgeoisie produced new forms of regulation and prohibition governing their own bodies, they wrote ever more loquaciously of the body of the Other - of the city's "scum".'⁷⁴ The conditions of the British labouring classes were the subject

⁷³ 'Burial Grounds, Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1863-64, vol. 5: Report of Officer of Health, 9 December 1859, Part I Enclosure in Letter No. 88, p. 34.

⁷⁴ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics & Poetics of Transgression*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1986, p. 126.

of an extensive parliamentary inquiry by Edwin Chadwick in 1843.⁷⁵ The moral degradation associated with poor sanitary conditions was emphasised in this study. Colonial Australia also fostered this inquiring gaze. Shirley Fitzgerald noted in *Rising Damp*,

the realities of Sydney's slums were being mapped out by that breed of nineteenth-century amateur social scientists whose enthusiasm for recording never flagged - the journalists, sensational and other wise, and the scientific men who sat on committees of enquiry and gave voluminous evidence to royal commissions.⁷⁶

The bourgeoisie in the late nineteenth century tried to cleanse the metropolis of vice and pestilence and instil morality and virtue in the city as a sign of civilisation. A correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* wondered if this reforming zealotry had gone too far. Would there be anything left to reform?

The reforming bosoms of the present day are effecting such a thorough cleansing and purifying of our national, political, and social errors, vices, and ideas on things in general; that it is a fruitful source of conjecture what will be left unfinished or unreformed for the succeeding generations to devote their energies to.⁷⁷

Investigations into the living conditions of the Australian working classes exhibited the same bourgeois concerns (with hygiene, morals and social respectability) that we have seen in the cemetery.⁷⁸ The eventual cleansing of The Rocks area in 1902 was an exceptional manifestation of the reforming zealotry of the middle class. The proposal to introduce cremation in nineteenth-century New South Wales was a similar attempt to cleanse the corpse through sanitary and moral reform.

⁷⁵ Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. A supplementary Report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in Towns*. London, 1843.

⁷⁶ Shirley Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp, Sydney 1870-90*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1987, 62. She reports that similar housing conditions were found to those in Britain.

⁷⁷ Letter to the editor by 'W. H. R.', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 December, 1874, p. 3.

⁷⁸ For example 'Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Working Class of the Metropolis', *NSWLAV&P*, 1859-60, vol. 4 pp. 1263-1465; 'Sydney City and Suburban Sewage & Health Board -Sub-committee Report on the Crowded State of Dwellings & Areas', *JNSWLC*, 1875-76, vol. 26 part 2, pp. 491ff., 547 ff. & 559ff. Newspapers also exposed the overcrowded housing and poor sanitary conditions. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published a series of articles on 'The Sanitary State of Sydney', February & March 1851. Max Kelly provides an excellent summary of the sources relating to 'slums' in Sydney; see Max Kelly 'Picturesque and Pestilential: The Sydney Slum

'What to do with City slums, so as to overcome their disease menace and abate potential tension arising from deprivation, without at the same time causing revolutionary changes in the distribution of wealth and the structure of existing society', remained, according to A. J. C. Mayne, a difficult and unresolved issue throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ The same conundrum was encountered by cemetery and burial reformers. Social respectability was closely associated with the hygienic disposal of the dead. While the bourgeoisie were prepared to expose and analyse the burial practices of the poor, and argue for funeral reform among the lower classes, they were unwilling to address the class system and social conditions that reinforced the customs surrounding death.

The parliamentary inquiries into the management of cemeteries in nineteenth century New South Wales demonstrate that although the principles of the cemetery ideal aimed to address the sanitary and moral issues of overcrowded burial grounds, the same burial practices, and hence sanitary problems, continued in the newly established cemeteries, simply on a grander scale. The landscaping of cemeteries barely managed to cover most of the sanitary evils with a picturesque facade of striking monuments, floral blooms, and pleasing vistas. It was probably just as well that most visitors to cemeteries did not venture towards the pauper graves. For the respectable classes there was little moral edification in such a visit. Visitors would be overcome by the stench of multiple coffins lying just below the surface, and horrified by the lack of 'respect' shown towards the deceased. Through the philosophy of the cemetery, government regulations, and the fascinated gaze of the bourgeoisie, the bodies of the poor were marked as being a

Observed 1860-1900', in *Nineteenth-Century Sydney: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Max Kelly, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1978, pp. 66-80. See also Mayne, *Fever, Squalor & Vice*.

⁷⁹ Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice*, p. 34.



Figure A. 'The NSW Minister for Graveyards (Mr Melville)'. *The Bulletin* satirised the Parliamentary debates surrounding burial laws and cemetery regulation in the 1880s. (*Bulletin*, 3 April 1886)

burials in the pauper section of the Roman Catholic Cemetery at the Necropolis, the Board of Health recommended 'that all cemetery By-laws be amended by insertion of the words, "That in no grave shall the upper surface of a coffin be at a less depth than four feet from the natural surface of the soil"'.⁸¹ This effectively meant that a single grave, in order to accommodate the standard two burials, had to be at least six feet deep. This recommendation was passed on to all the trustees at the Necropolis, resulting in a change to their gazetted regulations. The Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Independent and Jewish Cemetery trustees all adopted the regulation verbatim. The Church of England and General Cemetery trustees also ruled that 'not more than two adults shall be interred in each grave', while the Wesleyan trustees at Rookwood reworded their rules so that graves had to be six feet deep and contain not more than two adult corpses, unless a greater depth of grave be commissioned by the owners.⁸² So here we can identify the beginning of burial depth standardisation at 6 feet.

Second, the only way for the colonial government to close a cemetery was to enact special legislation. The Cemeteries Regulation Bills tried to address this by giving the government the power to close a cemetery deemed a 'public nuisance'. This could occur if the government was petitioned by twenty local residents, the cemetery's condition was verified on written certificate by three qualified medical practitioners as being 'injurious to health', and reported as such by a Commission of Inquiry consisting of three Justices of the Peace and another medical practitioner.⁸³ While still leaving the day-to-day management with a body of trustees, the

⁸¹ 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-8, vol. 43 part 4: The Secretary, Board of Health, to The Acting Under Secretary of Justice, Letter No.28, p. 10.

⁸² 'The Necropolis, Rookwood', *JNSWLC*, 1887-8, vol. 43 part 4: Letter Nos. 28-29, 38-43, 45-49, pp.10, 12-15; *NSW Government Gazette*, no. 597, 11 September 1888, p. 6359.

⁸³ 'A Bill to regulate Cemeteries.' Mr Forster - 21 June, 1872. *NSW Parliament - Statutes*, No. 9. (ML).

legislation allowed the state government to ensure public health and public decency.

The Bill, however, was never passed. Not because of any significant opposition to its sanitary measures, which received scant attention in the parliamentary debates; but rather because of widespread opposition to the single non-denominational board of trustees which was to be appointed by the government to manage each cemetery.⁸⁴ It was not until 1902 with the passing of the Public Health Act that provision was made for the regulation of burials.⁸⁵

In addition to legislative measures, some more unusual schemes were bandied about in parliament and the press to deal with insanitary cemeteries. In 1888 the *Australasian Builder and Contractors' News* reprinted a story from the *English Mechanic* reporting 'a very original and sanitary method of thus honouring the departed without endangering the living' that was devised by a 'clever engineer'.

He would take a quadrangular plot of ground marked out with graves; when this is filled he would pour concrete over the surface, and leaving a few feet of this plinth all round at an exact distance, he would commence a fresh layer of coffins, cemented over as they are deposited, preceding gradually in the same method of building up, till the apex of the pyramid is attained, when the vast towering necropolis would be coated with some imperishable cement.

⁸⁴ See coverage of the Parliamentary debates in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1869, 11 February 1870, 16 February 1870, 18 February 1870, 26 February 1870, 24 March 1870, 25 March 1870, 3 April 1870, 3 June 1871. Several petitions against the Bill were tabled in Parliament. See 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition - Archbishop Polding', *JNSWLC*, 1870, vol. 18 part 1, p. 383; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition - Trustees of the Independent section of the Necropolis, Haslem's Creek', *JNSWLC*, 1870, vol. 18 part 1, p. 385; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill, No. 2. Petition - Standing Committee of the Synod of the Church of England for the Diocese of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1870, vol. 2, p. 813; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Standing Committee of Synod of Church of England, Diocese of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 485; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Most Rev'd J. B. Polding, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 489; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Trustees of various cemeteries at Necropolis, Haslem's Creek', *NSWLAV&P*, 1871-72, vol. 2, p. 487; 'Cemeteries Regulation Bill. Petition Against - Roman Catholic Archbishop', *NSWLAV&P*, 1872, vol. 2, p. 775.

⁸⁵ Public Health Act, No. 30 of 1902.

The engineering journal speculated (perhaps tongue-in-cheek) that such structures could be used as 'sea-marks for shipping' and 'beacon-fires in case of foreign invasion'. As the journal pointed out, the real merit of the plan was the small amount of land needed for interments. However, clearly this was a utilitarian approach that did not take into account the nineteenth century custom of grave visitation and sentimental attachment to the grave and the memory of the deceased. It seems doubtful that this suggestion would have been taken seriously by politicians or the general public.⁸⁶

An equally utilitarian suggestion by a local politician was only slightly more practical. Mr Campbell, member for Waverley, suggested that over-crowded cemeteries which had become surrounded by population and were a 'menace to public health' should be 'undermined, ... allowed to sink into the earth, and houses ... built on the top of it'. He claimed that this practice had been used 'in some parts of Great Britain and America', although no specific examples were forthcoming.⁸⁷ Another politician challenged the severity of the problem of overcrowded cemeteries in New South Wales. 'We have ample room for burial-grounds for many years to come. The whole of the Blue Mountain Range, which is unoccupied, could be utilised for the purpose.'⁸⁸ Such suggestions demonstrate the (negative) influence of the Australian landscape upon town planning in the colonies. The misguided notion that there was an inexhaustible supply of land meant that reservation of land for future uses was rarely given priority. This tendency contributed to the difficulties experienced by the colonial government in identifying appropriate land for cemeteries in populated areas when the need arose.

⁸⁶ *Australasian Builder and Contractor's News*, 7 July 1888, p. 22.

⁸⁷ *NSWPD*, 1894-95, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill', LA, 7 May 1895, Mr Cameron, p. 5933.

⁸⁸ *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 7 July 1886, Mr J. Smith, p. 3135.

Cremation - an alternative to unsanitary cemeteries

Given the sanitary concerns of the bourgeoisie, it is perhaps not surprising that cremation was promoted in the late nineteenth century as the answer 'to all this disgusting business' of overcrowded and insanitary cemeteries.⁸⁹ The subject first received attention in New South Wales in November 1863, when Dr John Le Gay Brereton gave a lecture on urn-burial at the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts. Although generating some interest, the object of introducing cremation advanced little as a result.⁹⁰ Two and a half years later, in August 1866, the idea of cremation was again raised, this time during the parliamentary debate over the closure of Sydney burial grounds. Mr Farnell advocated cremation, or 'urn-burial' as he termed it, as a viable alternative for disposing of the dead that would address the problems caused by ill-sited cemeteries. He argued it was an economic form of disposal that would be less expensive than current burial practices and 'would be better for the [health of the] living'. In this respect, proponents of cremation shared concerns with advocates of funeral reform. Mr Farnell confessed that 'he would prefer having his dead body put into a hot furnace rather than into a wet, cold grave'.⁹¹ Farnell's suggestion outraged other parliamentarians. Perhaps this was due to his overt reference to the physical corruption of the corpse in the 'wet, cold grave' and the 'hot furnace'. But both Brereton and Farnell were also men ahead of their time. It was not until the 1870s that the issue of cremation really captured the interest of both medical men and the general public. Inspired by a cremation device designed by Professor Brunetti, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Padua, that was exhibited at the Great Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, the prominent British surgeon Sir Henry Thompson wrote an article on cremation, which appeared in the

⁸⁹ *NSWPD*, 1894-95, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill', LC, 29 May 1895, J. H. Want, p. 6512.

⁹⁰ Simon Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul: The Cremation Debate in New South Wales, 1863-1925', *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 97, October 1991, pp. 324-5.

⁹¹ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1866, p. 6: Mr Farnell.

Contemporary Review in Britain in January 1874. It was this article, 'The Treatment of the Body After Death', that popularised the issue of cremation and led to vigorous debate in Britain, Europe, and the Australian colonies.⁹² According to the *Illustrated Sydney News* in October 1874, 'Scarcely a journal in the country but had its chapter on the subject of "Cremation" when that fashionable idea of disposing of defunct humanity was broached.'⁹³

On 3 June 1886, Dr. J. M. Creed, MLC, introduced a Bill to regulate cremation in the colony of New South Wales. This was prompted, as Creed prefaced when introducing the Bill, by legal and parliamentary developments in Britain. Two years previously it was established in Britain that the burning of a corpse was not a crime (*The Queen v. Price*, 1884). Following this legal decision, an attempt was made to introduce regulations for cremation in the House of Commons and the Cremation Society in England conducted their first cremation at their purpose-built facilities at Woking in 1885.⁹⁴ The Cremation Bill in New South Wales, like its counterpart in Britain, aimed to provide government regulation of cremation and crematoria to ensure the practice conformed to legal strictures and did not offend public sentiment. The Bill was simply permissive, rather than being a compulsory measure, allowing people a choice in the disposal of the dead. The Cremation Bill, introduced during the 1885-86 session of parliament, was vigorously debated in the Legislative Council before being passed on to the Legislative Assembly, where it stalled and was not considered during the session.⁹⁵ Creed introduced the Cremation Bill for the second time in March 1887, in the

⁹² Jennifer Leaney, 'Ashes to Ashes: Cremation and the Celebration of Death in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Death, Ritual and Bereavement*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke, Routledge, London, 1989, p. 120; Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', p. 324; Robert Nicol, *At the End of the Road*, pp. 171-175.

⁹³ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 17 October 1874, p. 2.

⁹⁴ *NSWPD*, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 3 June 1886, Mr Creed, pp. 2371-2; Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', p. 325; Leaney, 'Ashes to Ashes', pp. 127-129.

following session of parliament. Again it was vigorously debated, with overseas precedents quoted and local issues raised asserting the necessity of the measure, but like its predecessor, the Bill was ultimately unsuccessful.⁹⁶ Despite the failure of the Cremation Bill, Creed continued his campaign to reform the disposal of the dead throughout the nineteenth century, both within parliament and as an active member of the New South Wales Cremation Society.⁹⁷

The cremation debate in New South Wales in the nineteenth century employed the same arguments as those in Britain. Simon Cooke, in the only detailed historical analysis of the cremation debate in New South Wales, has shown that 'the body was at the centre of the cremation debate'.⁹⁸ The chief arguments in support of cremation were on sanitary grounds. Dr Creed, promoter of the Cremation Bill, argued that cremation was the answer to the 'evils of burial'.⁹⁹ Proponents of cremation focused upon the corpse, emphasising the purifying element of fire on the rotting, corruptible corpse. Cooke correctly points to how the cremation debate signalled a shift in religious belief amongst proponents of cremation away from the belief in a physical resurrection towards a more spiritual belief in the resurrection of the dead.¹⁰⁰

Objections to cremation were primarily based on sentimental rather than sanitary grounds. Indeed 'sentiment' was a word that was used incessantly by opponents of cremation. In the minds of many parliamentarians, there was a clear relationship between the appropriate treatment of the corpse and the concept of

⁹⁵ 'Cremation Bill', *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 3 June, 24 June, 7 July, 22 July, 29 July, & 5 August 1886.

⁹⁶ 'Cremation Bill', *NSWPD*, 1887, 16 March, 31 March, 14 April, 27 April, 28 April, & 18 May 1887.

⁹⁷ Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', p. 326.

⁹⁸ Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', p. 324.

⁹⁹ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 16 March 1887, Mr Creed, p. 222.

'respect for the dead'. The debate about cremation and the sentiments attached to death in nineteenth century New South Wales illustrates the moral and social values placed on the corpse, and in particular the close association between the corpse, the grave and the memory of the deceased. It was this attachment to sentiment, and the bourgeois morals it represented, that also drove the parliamentary inquiries into the management of cemeteries and condemnation of the burial of the poor.

The language used to describe neglected cemeteries, pauper burials, opposition to exhumation of corpses and opposition to cremation was in each case similar and expressed the moral values of the bourgeoisie. The *Sydney Morning Herald's* reluctance to accept the allegations of indecent pauper burials at Camperdown Cemetery is echoed in the anti-cremation arguments thirty-two years later.

The very idea of cremation is to my mind *horrible* and *repugnant* in the extreme. I confess that the idea of cremating my wife, or my mother, or my sister, or my child, is *revolting* in the extreme.¹⁰¹ (Mr Vickery, 14 April, 1887)

These similarities illustrate the cultural meanings attached to the corpse and the grave in the nineteenth century. As was discussed earlier, an individual marked grave was the sign of respect and respectability. Mr Vickery encapsulated this belief in his passionate speech in parliament against cremation in 1887.

I look upon mother earth as the God-appointed deodoriser of the human frame. My wish ... is that every Hon. member shall be decently interred, as well as all who are near and dear to me; ... I have no wish to be "Creedmated".¹⁰² (Mr Vickery, 14 April, 1887)

¹⁰⁰ Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', pp. 328-336.

¹⁰¹ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 14 April 1887, Mr Vickery, pp. 757.

¹⁰² *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 14 April 1887, Mr Vickery, p. 757.

Mr Vickery's belief in the grave as the 'God-appointed deodoriser of the human frame' is rather ironic given the sanitary problems uncovered in nineteenth century cemeteries. However his wish for respectable people to be 'decently interred' was representative of Victorian attitudes towards death and burial. The physical result of cremation - 'reduc[ing] the corruptible shell of humanity to a small quantity of ashes'¹⁰³ - undermined the association between the corpse, the grave and the tombstone.

It is only a matter of sentiment whether the bodies be consumed or buried; but at the same time I think that the practice of burying bodies strengthens one of the holiest sentiments that belong to humanity. What can be more vividly impressed upon the memory than the scene at the burial of our kindred? Every one remembers the picture to his dying day. There is nothing that binds a man more to his country than the knowledge that the dust of his kindred lied in the parish churchyard. No doubt it is a matter of sentiment; but sentiment is the cement that holds humanity together.¹⁰⁴

Although supporters of cremation suggested that ashes could still be deposited in cemeteries¹⁰⁵, opponents of the Cremation Bill argued that cremation attacked the moral values and social definition of the living (and the dead). [plate 4.4. figure A] The grave, and through association, the corpse became a site of cultural memory and an expression of 'civilisation' and 'humanity'. The following chapters elucidate further the relationship between monuments and memories, and the role of commemoration in constructing an identity in colonial society. It was not until the twentieth century, when attitudes towards death and the individual had shifted dramatically, that cremation became a socially acceptable practice and a crematorium was built.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 24 June 1886, Mr Creed, p. 2930.

¹⁰⁴ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 31 March 1887, Mr Macintosh, p. 509.

¹⁰⁵ *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', LC, 7 July 1886, Mr Norton, p. 3129, Mr Jacob, p. 3132. See also William Robinson, *God's Acre Beautiful, or The Cemeteries of the Future*, 2nd ed., The Garden Office, London, 1882.

¹⁰⁶ While cremation was deemed legal under English common law in the late nineteenth century, and in NSW the Public Health Act of 1902 allowed for the building of crematoria within cemetery reserves, the first crematorium in NSW - Rookwood Crematorium - was not built until 1925. The first



Cremation in Various Aspects.

Figure A. 'Cremation in Various Aspects:

1. The End of a Crematory Urn;
 2. A Moribund Murmur;
 3. A Heart Bowed Down - A Romance of Cremation'
- (Bulletin, 1 August 1886)

The design of cemeteries aimed to improve the morals of the general masses and provide a respectable place of death, as well as solving sanitary problems. However this transformation was superficial, and the terror of death was often buried barely two feet underground. Throughout the nineteenth century cemetery trustees struggled to maintain the genteel facade of the cemetery. Poor drainage and misguided burial practices ensured that the corporeality of death was never far from the surface of cemeteries. Public investigations of these sites particularly focused upon burial of the lower classes, especially pauper burials. This preoccupation reveals the twin bourgeois concerns of moral reform and social respectability. Ultimately the cemetery was just one of many sites in which morality and social hygiene were linked in the nineteenth century. However the fusion of these two values with religion and ceremonial rites provided a symbolic place in which social respectability could be constructed and reinforced through death.

cremation took place on 28 May 1925. NSW was in fact some years behind other states. South Australia had passed legislation in 1891, with its first cremation in 1903, and Victoria passed cremation legislation in 1903, with its first cremation two years later. Cooke, 'Death, Body and Soul', p. 323; Sue Zelinka, *Tender Sympathies: A Social History of Botany Cemetery*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1991, pp. 48 & 50.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THE DESIGNS ARE THE CHOICEST'¹:

SEPULCHRAL DESIGNS AND CEMETERY MONUMENTS

Sepulchral monument designs in New South Wales were essentially modified derivatives from Great Britain and to a lesser extent Europe, utilising the established 'language' of funerary memorials. Not only were designs translated in the colony, but also the social values and meanings attached to memorials. The design of a memorial was chosen by individuals to be a personal, yet public, expression of their religious beliefs, values, and social aspirations. The stylistic debate in England surrounding the Italian Classical style and the Gothic style encouraged more correct use of stylistic devices in New South Wales, and contributed to denominational differences in funerary memorials, but did not overtly influence the design of colonial gravemarkers. As the century progressed, pattern books became widely available and the latest trends in British and European sepulchral design could be emulated in the colony. Funerary monuments became less individualised and more standardised. Monuments became larger, the materials utilised more expensive, and designs more ornate. A Victorian propensity for eclectic styles and symbols was a defining feature of cemetery monuments in New South Wales, but this did not translate into a discernible Australian style. Nineteenth century memorials offered variety and choice, but rarely originality when it came to designs. The ideal of the improving, uplifting nature of the cemetery and its monuments was tempered by the reality of funerary trends in popular culture. The excesses of endless design repetition and (almost) meaningless symbolism on monuments, which architects, trustees and clergy fought to eradicate

¹ Advertisement - 'J. Hason's Monumental Works', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 2 September 1882, p. 19.

or at least to temper, reigned supreme by the end of the nineteenth century. Ironically, as choice became increasingly important to the individual the monuments themselves became more and more standardised.

Gravemarkers in nineteenth century New South Wales

Funerary monuments in New South Wales can be divided into five main categories: stelae, horizontal slabs, pillars, sculpture and crosses. These categories were first outlined in the National Trust of Australia (NSW) *Cemeteries Policy Paper* and have been adopted in the interests of promoting a uniform typology for cemetery monuments to encourage comparative discussions in Australian cemetery historiography.² These monument types followed British and to a lesser extent American trends in outdoor funerary sculpture.³ The majority of gravemarkers in New South Wales were executed in stone. Sandstone (or freestone) was the most common material in the first half of the nineteenth century, but was later replaced by marble in the latter half of the nineteenth century as the material of choice. Granite was another stone utilised in the late nineteenth century for expensive sepulchral monuments. The National Trust identifies iron gravemarkers in a miscellaneous category of monuments. As we shall see, iron gravemarkers were a cheaper alternative to stone and were popular in isolated rural communities.

Stelae (commonly called headstones or gravestones) were the most common type of grave marker and were utilised throughout the nineteenth century. Prior to

² National Trust of Australia (NSW), *Cemeteries: A Policy Paper*, National Trust, Sydney, 1985. Appendix F. Suggested Gravestone Terminology. 59-66. For a more complex breakdown of stelae see Mary Casey, 'Archaeological Significance, Research Potential and Camperdown Cemetery', Master of the Built Environment Thesis, University of NSW, March 1992. Appendix 1- type series of upright headstones (vols. 2 & 3).

³ Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, SPCK, London, 1979, esp. ch. 2 pp. 60-153; David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1991.

the 1860s a grave would often be marked with a matching headstone and a footstone. The footstone usually recorded the initials of the deceased, and often also noted the year of death. From the 1860s onwards, it became more usual to mark the grave plot with stone kerbing, sometimes with iron railings. This was partly due to cemetery regulations which required owners to enclose their plots shortly after purchase. For example, the Church of England Cemetery at Rookwood Necropolis, required graves to be kerbed and marked with the grave number within three months.⁴

Horizontal slabs in the nineteenth century consisted of ledger stones, altar tombs, coped stones and sarcophagi. These monuments were inspired from English church memorials. Altar tombs were present in some of the colony's earliest burial grounds, including Old George Street Cemetery, Devonshire Street Cemeteries, and St John's Cemetery at Parramatta. Altar tombs were used to mark larger brick vaults in the period up to c.1850. The tombs did not contain the bodies themselves, merely functioning as a commemorative monument. Unfortunately the continued misconception that these monuments entombed the coffins, has led to much vandalism of altar tombs in the twentieth century.

Pillars describe the various forms of columns, obelisks, and pedestals. Such monuments have been used since 1800, but did not become widespread until the 1870's. It was at this point that large monumental masonry firms had become established and could offer an impressive range of local and imported cemetery monuments at more affordable prices. By the late nineteenth century, pillars were

⁴ Regulation number 8. Amended Rules and Regulations for the Church of England Cemetery, The Necropolis. 7 August 1877 in SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and control of public cemeteries in Sydney, 1835-81. [5/7705].

usually being executed in marble and to a lesser extent granite. Three dimensional sculpture was another form of cemetery monument used to mark large brick graves, vaults and to embellish mausolea. Sculpture, typically an angel or allegorical figure, was usually placed upon a pedestal to reinforce the landmark qualities of the gravemarker.

Crosses are the final category of monuments identified by the National Trust of Australia (NSW). As the name suggests, this category covers all manner of crosses - including timber, Celtic, Calvary, and rustic crosses. Crosses were often incorporated into headstones, as either a major stylistic motif or as a surmount, as well as being sculptural elements.

One category not identified by the National Trust is mausoleums. Mausoleums were the domain of the wealthy in New South Wales, and are rarely found outside metropolitan Sydney. Unlike Britain, the funerary architecture of the elite has not been studied in any great depth in New South Wales.⁵ This may be partially explained by the smaller number of mausoleums in New South Wales which, in comparison to international examples, appear to be modest and unremarkable. However, the lack of detailed research into mausoleums, and indeed all forms of sepulchral monuments in New South Wales, demonstrates the limited historiography of Australian cemeteries. While mentioning various examples of prominent mausoleums and vaults, I am not presenting a detailed history of this particular category of funerary memorial. The focus of this chapter is on looking at

⁵ Mary Mackay discusses a couple of prominent mausoleums at Rookwood Necropolis in her chapter on 'Architectural styles and funerary symbolism' in *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston, Society of Australian Genealogists, in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, pp. 30-42. Interstate, Chrys Spicer analyses the Springthorpe Memorial in Boroondara (Kew) Cemetery in Melbourne, Victoria. See Chrys Spicer, 'Love Evermore: The History of the Springthorpe Memorial', *Historic Environment*, vol. 6 no. 1, 1987, pp. 39-46.

how a broad range of sepulchral designs were introduced, disseminated and interpreted in cemeteries across New South Wales.

The architectural style and ornamentation of sepulchral designs in colonial New South Wales can be divided into two broad categories: Classical and Gothic. These memorial styles replicated trends in architectural styles. This was not a new phenomenon. As Katherine Esdaile has shown, English sepulchral monuments have followed architectural fashions since the medieval period.⁶ The designs of headstones from 1788 to the 1850s reflect a continuation of late eighteenth century designs from Britain. Plates from the influential chronological catalogue of design by William Brindley and Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments* (1887)⁷, illustrate English and Scottish headstones from the late eighteenth century [plate 5.1. figures A & B]. These designs are echoed in colonial New South Wales [plate 5.2. figures A-D]. The similarity between these headstones, in basic shapes as well as some decorative motifs, emphasises that the repertoire of designs which stonemasons brought with them to the colony were based upon their training in their homeland. The continuation of such motifs on cemetery monuments in New South Wales illustrates not only the British origins of Australian funerary culture, but also the conservative nature of sepulchral designs which was heightened by the geographic isolation of the Australian colony.

⁶ Katherine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840*, B. T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1946, p. 56.

⁷ William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, The Authors, London, 1887. This publication was promoted in *Building News*, 4 April 1884, p. 514 as a 'textbook on the subject' and designs were selected so 'that they shall not only be typical but practically valuable for modern use or adaptation'. Amongst the list of the first subscribers were bishops and ministers, architects, libraries, and the aristocracy, mainly from England, but also Scotland, Italy, and the United States of America. *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments* was available in the Free Public Library of Sydney (name embossed on the binding). Now held in NSW State Library F718/3.

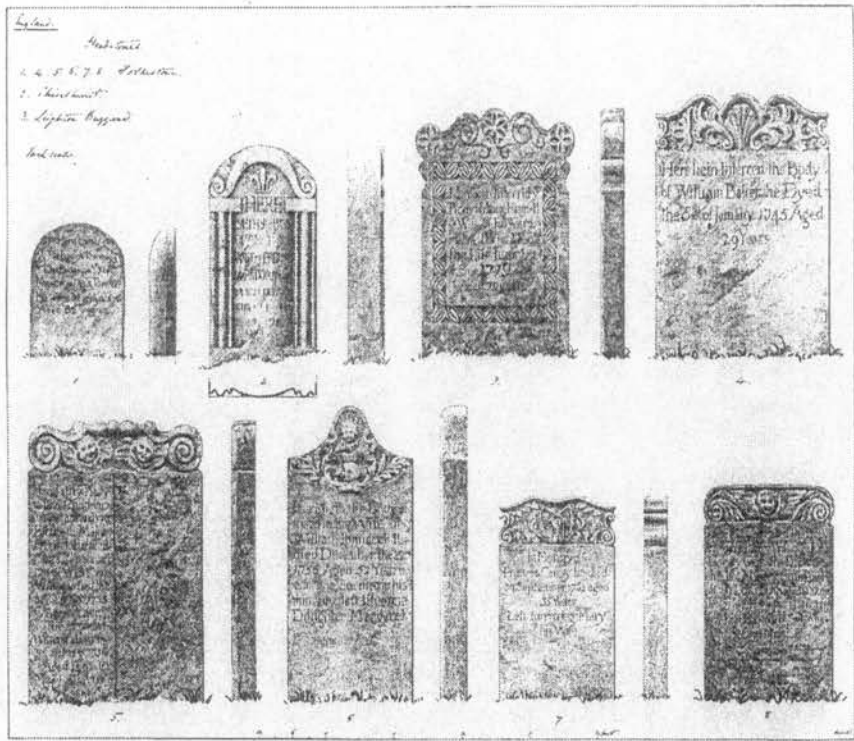


Figure A. Examples of late eighteenth century headstone design from Britain. (William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, The Authors, London, 1887. Plate 192)

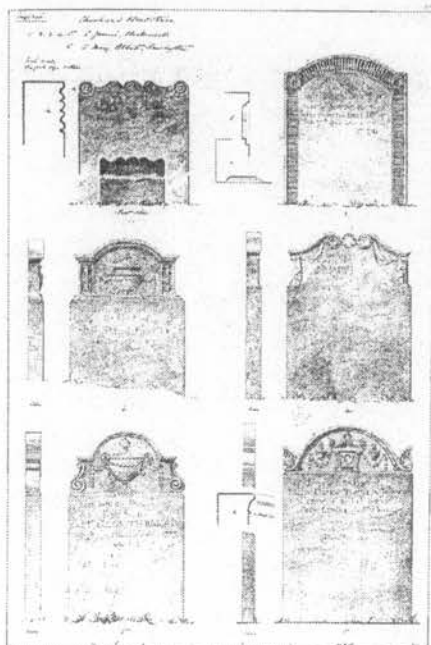


Figure B. Examples of late eighteenth century headstone design from Britain. (William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, The Authors, London, 1887. Plate 194)



Figure A. Monument in St Patrick's Cemetery, Parramatta c.1840s.
(Author's Collection)



Figure B. Monument in St Jude's Anglican Cemetery, Randwick c.1862.
(Author's Collection)

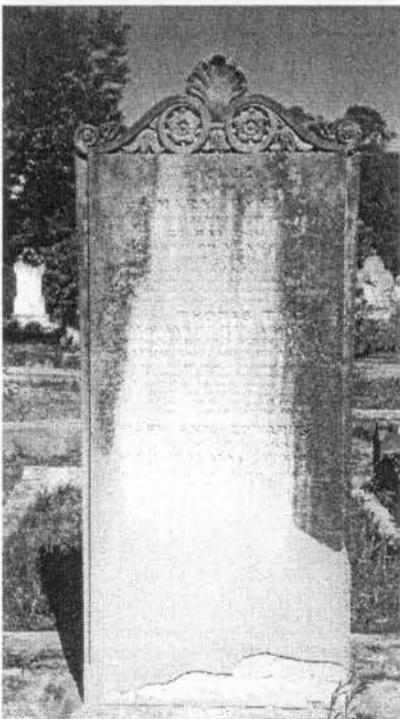


Figure C. Monument in Rookwood Necropolis, c.1837 (ex-Devonshire Street).
(Author's Collection)

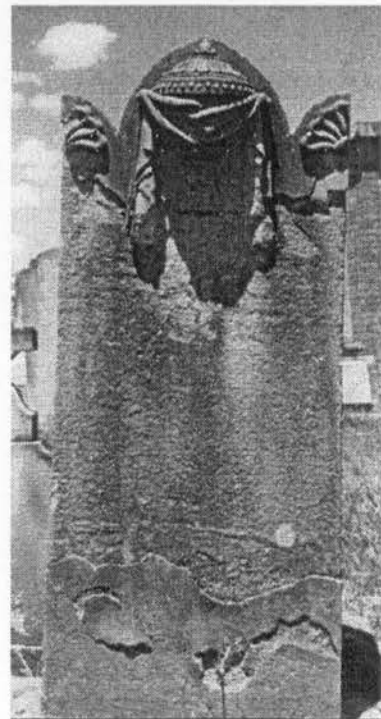


Figure D. Monument in Rookwood Necropolis, c.1837 (ex-Devonshire Street).
(Author's Collection)

Until the 1840's there was little embellishment on headstones. The simplicity of these early colonial gravemarkers has been attributed to the Georgian period of late eighteenth century Britain.⁸ Plain horizontal slabs or simple upright stelae were common. Larger monuments were usually altar tombs or occasionally a pedestal or obelisk. Decorative work concentrated on the lettering of the inscription and simple decorative motifs, which were either incised or in low relief. Often the incised lettering of the headstones was painted black, following English traditions, which made the inscription easier to read and emphasised decorative lettering. The simplicity of early nineteenth century monuments was captured by Mrs. A. G. Foster in her photographic recording of the Church of England section of Devonshire Street Cemetery in 1901. [plate 5.3. figures A & B]

The application of Neoclassicism to sepulchral design produced headstones with pediments; pilasters; Ionic, Doric and Corinthian columns; pedestals; and obelisks. Classicism's influence was also evident in decorative features such as dentils, the egg & dart motif, acanthus leaves, wreaths, garlands, shells and urns. [plate 5.4. figures A-C] The Classical style was popular with many because it was easily referenced by such stylised motifs and diagrammatic pilasters. 'Here was a version of classicism at once agreeable, easy and economical to build.'⁹ [plate 5.5. figures A & B] Many colonial headstones in this style were tapered rather than being rectangular, giving an elegant line. In Britain stone monuments were whitewashed to both protect the monument and give an impression of the lightness

⁸ Mary Mackay et. al., *In Memoriam: Cemeteries and Tombstone Art in New South Wales*, Exhibition Catalogue, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1981, p. 15.

⁹ Sir John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash Architect*, quoted in James Broadbent and Joy Hughes, *Francis Greenway: Architect*, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1997, p. 33.

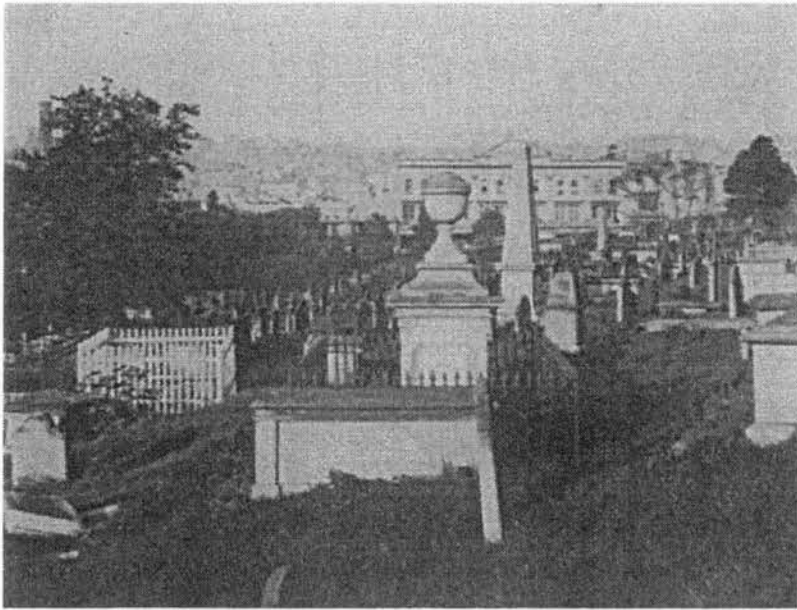


Figure A. Early sepulchral designs, Devonshire Street Cemetery.
(RAHS, A. G. Foster Collection, call no. S00025)



Figure B. Early sepulchral designs, Devonshire Street Cemetery.
(RAHS, A. G. Foster Collection, call no. S00060)



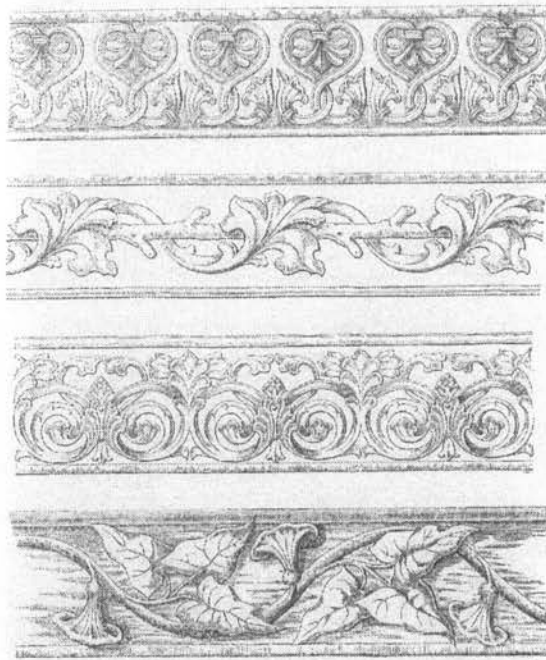
Figure A. Classical headstone, Bathurst General Cemetery c.1865. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Classical headstone, Bathurst General Cemetery c.1869. (Author's Collection)

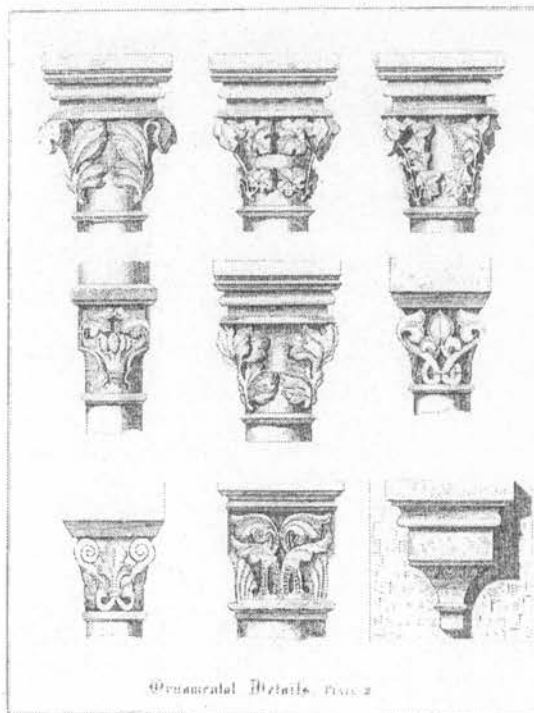


Figure C. Elaborate Classical monument in Rookwood Necropolis c.1884. (Author's Collection)



Ornamental Details - Tombstones. PLATE 1

Figure A. Classical Ornamental Details from *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses & c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867. (BL)



Ornamental Details - Tombstones. PLATE 2

Figure B. Classical Ornamental Details from *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses & c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867. (BL)

of Carrara marble.¹⁰ This custom was less common in New South Wales, however, the widespread use of actual marble (both local and imported) for cemetery monuments from the 1860s certainly added to the classical overtones of much sepulchral architecture.

Prior to the 1860s, the Gothick style ('Gothick' with a 'k' indicating the simplistic and more 'Romantic' pre-Victorian phase of the Gothic Revival) was also employed on colonial headstones. Colonial Gothick, as Joan Kerr argues in her definitive work *Gothick Taste In The Colony of New South Wales*, was a provincial attempt to replicate English cultural standards. Its application in the colony had little to do with European Romanticism, and everything to do with popular taste. Stylistically, Gothick 'meant little more than pointed arches, barge-boarded gables, or crenellations and pinnacles.'¹¹ For headstone design it meant a picturesque silhouette and the extensive use of pointed arches with cross motifs. [plate 5.6. figure A] Anthropomorphic headstones were an evocative early example of the Gothick, their crescent shoulders casting shadows that suggested winged creatures (such as death heads or seraphs), admirably suited to the melancholic churchyard or cemetery. [plate 5.6. figure B] Such decorative treatment of the shoulders of headstones was a simple way to create a dramatic silhouette. By the 1860s Gothic styling was becoming more correct with the introduction of crosses, crockets, quatrefoils, tracery and spires. [plate 5.6. figures C & D] Gothic arches, angels and corbels were also popular manifestations of the Gothic style. [plate 5.7. figures A-D]

¹⁰ Roger Bowdler, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: The Neoclassical Tomb 1760-1840', in *Soane and Death: The Tombs and Monuments of Sir John Soane*, ed. Giles Waterfield, [exhibition catalogue 29 Feb - 12 May 1996] Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1996, p. 29.

¹¹ Joan Kerr and James Broadbent, *Gothick Taste In The Colony of New South Wales*, The David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980, p. 8. For an overview of the Gothick movement in England, see Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, 3rd ed., John Murray, London, 1962 (1st ed. 1928), especially chapters 2 & 3.

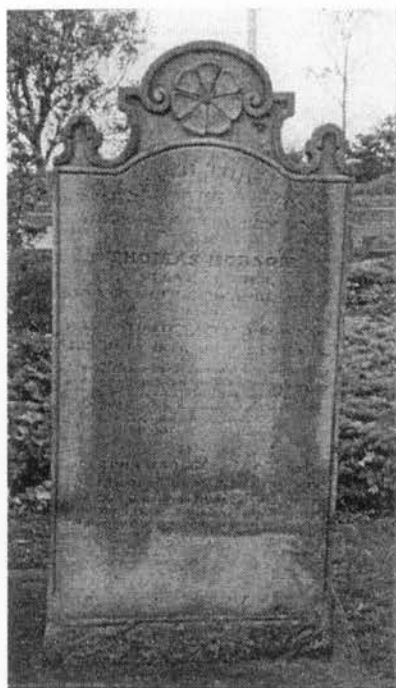


Figure A. Gothic headstone, Botany Pioneer Cemetery (ex-Devonshire Street) c. 1841. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Anthropomorphic headstones, St John's Anglican Cemetery, Parramatta c. 1840. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Gothic headstone, Bathurst General Cemetery c. 1879. (Author's Collection)



Figure D. Gothic headstone, St John's Anglican Cemetery, Canberra c. 1872. (Author's Collection)



Figure A. Angel in bas-relief on a Gothic headstone, Rookwood Necropolis, c.1880s. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Corbel on a Gothic headstone, Rookwood Necropolis, c.1883. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Seraph and corbels on a Gothic headstone, Rookwood Necropolis, c.1885. (Author's Collection)



Figure D. Corbel on a Gothic headstone, Rookwood Necropolis, c.1867. (Author's Collection)

Ornamental embellishment and Gothic motifs carved in relief replaced silhouettes as the main decorative focus of Gothic headstones.

The cinerary urn was the most popular motif amongst classical style monuments. It can be found on headstones from the 1840s and remained popular throughout the nineteenth century. Urns were typically represented in high relief on the pediment or top section of the headstone and although they were occasionally unadorned, more commonly they were partially covered with mourning drapery or a pall. Plate 5.8.(figures A-C) illustrates a range of urns which were carved on headstones prior to the 1870s. By the 1880s, urns had become highly stylised, with virtually every representation featuring a draped urn surmounting a large pedestal. [Plate 5.9.figure A]

The symbolism derived from the ancient Romans who cremated human remains, placing them in such urns. The urn itself was thus a symbol of mortality. Other classical symbols of mortality included the sarcophagus or tomb (often depicted in relief on the pediment of a tombstone) and the down-turned torch (which suggested a life extinguished). The torch was frequently used in conjunction with cinerary urns - flanking the inscription on the headstone or pedestal while the urn surmounted the monument. The urn replaced more traditional symbols of Death from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the skull and cross bones or winged hourglass. These symbols of mortality were part of the English funerary tradition of *memento mori*.¹² While occasionally found on colonial headstones throughout the nineteenth century, they are comparatively rare. The urn was embraced for its classical allusions and was more refined in its sentiment than



Figure A. Headstone with urn motif, Botany Pioneer Cemetery (ex-Devonshire Street Cemetery) c.1855. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Headstone with urn motif, Camperdown Cemetery c.1861. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Headstones with urn motifs, Rookwood Necropolis c.1854. (Author's Collection)

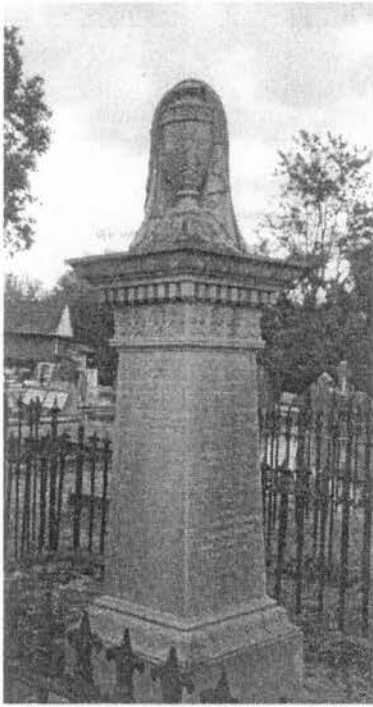


Figure A. Sandstone pedestal with draped urn surmount, St Matthew's Anglican Church Cemetery, Windsor c.1864. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Marble pedestal with draped urn surmount, Waverley Cemetery c.1883. (Author's Collection)



2148. 4'0" x 1'10" x 1'10"
7'0" x 1'10" x 1'10"
Also supplied with Extra Base 7'0" x 1'10" x 1'10"



5222. 8'0" x 2'0" x 2'0"
5'0" x 1'0" x 1'0"
8'4" x 2'0" x 2'0"
(Facing not visible)



5291. 5'0" x 3'0" x 3'0"
10'0" x 3'0" x 3'0"

WE ALSO SUPPLY THESE DESIGNS TO ANY OTHER SIZES.

Figure C. Examples of marble pedestals with draped urn surmounts from a monumental mason's catalogue - Art Originality & Sculpture, *Marble Memorials*, [London], c.1920s. (Private Collection, Gordon Brown)

the cruder skull and cross bones.¹³ The inconsistency however, of Christians placing a cinerary urn (with its implied endorsement of cremation) above buried remains was not lost on nineteenth-century critics who variously described the use of urns as 'repetitious', 'offensive', 'Pagan' and 'utterly inappropriate'.¹⁴ Such criticisms, however, did little damage to the popularity of urns for sepulchral monuments.

More sophisticated headstone designs in Sydney were based on works by well-known artists and sculptors of the Neoclassical tradition. At St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Parramatta the sandstone headstone of Mary Rispin (d.1873) has a carved reproduction of 'Night with her children, sleep and death' by Bertel Thorvaldsen (1842, from a model of 1815).¹⁵ [plate 5.10 figure A] This sculpture was illustrated in *Mottoes for Monuments* (1872) and was clearly a popular image of mortality.¹⁶ [plate 5.10 figure B] Other sandstone headstones at Parramatta take up the neoclassical theme. [plate 5.11. figures A-D] The tapered upright headstones mimic the shape of classical Greek and Roman stelae while the figures

¹² Literally 'remember you must die'. It refers to imagery or objects that were used as explicit reminders of the inevitability of death. See for example, Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*.

¹³ F. Edward Hulme, *The History, Principles and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art*, 2nd ed., Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1892, p. 99; Arnold Whittick, *Symbols for Designers: A handbook on the application of symbols and symbolism to design, for the use of architects, sculptors, ecclesiastical and memorial designers, commercial artists and students of symbolism*, Crosby Lockwood & Son Ltd, London, 1935. Republished by Gale Research Company, Detroit, 1972, pp. 130, 132-33. For a discussion of Death and his representation in the Dances of Death see Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800*, Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991, esp. ch. 4.

¹⁴ Theophilus Smith, *Christian Memorials for Churchyards and Cemeteries*, J. H. & J. Parker, London, [1864-73] (BL). See especially his 'Introductory thoughts on Burial Places and Christian memorials', pp. 11-15; W. Hastings Kelke (rector of Drayton Beauchamp), *The Churchyard Manual. Intended Chiefly for Rural Districts, with designs for churchyard memorials kindly furnished by G. G. Scott, Esq., and W. Slater, Esq., Architects*, C. Cox, London, 1851, p. 22. (BL); Francis Edward Paget, *A Tract Upon Tomb-Stones; or, suggestions for the consideration of persons intending to set up that kind of monument to the memory of deceased friends*, James Burns, London, 1843, p. 21. (BL); A. Welby Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, Henry G. Bohn, London, 1853, p. 39.

¹⁵ Bertel Thorvaldsen, b. 1770, d. 1844, Danish (working in Rome). The original marble sculpture is on display in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, lent by the Thorvaldsen's Museum, Copenhagen.

¹⁶ F. Palliser and M. A. Palliser, *Mottoes for Monuments, or epitaphs selected for study or application*, John Murray, London, 1872.



Figure A. Memorial to Mary Rispin (d.1873) depicting Thorvaldsen's 'Night with her children, sleep and death' at St Patrick's Catholic Cemetery, Parramatta. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Etching of Thorvaldsen's 'Night with her children, sleep and death', in F. Palliser & M. A. Palliser, *Mottoes for Monuments*, London, 1872.



Figure A. Classical style headstone, St Patrick's Catholic Cemetery, Parramatta c.1860s.
(Author's Collection)



Figure B. Classical style headstone, All Saints' Anglican Cemetery, Parramatta c.1860s.
(Author's Collection)



Figure C. Classical style headstone, St Patrick's Catholic Cemetery, Parramatta c.1871.
(Author's Collection)



Figure D. Classical style headstone, St John's Anglican Cemetery, Parramatta c.1868.
(Author's Collection)

depicted on two of the headstones wear clothing draped in the classical manner. The draped urn and down-turned torch carved are used here as well. Interestingly the urns on these early headstones show some individualism in the detail of the carving - a feature which was lost when the urn became conventionalised in the late nineteenth century. The monuments were probably all carved by local monumental masons. Only Sarah Turner's headstone [plate 5.11 figure D] in St John's Cemetery Parramatta can, however, be attributed, being signed 'J. Craig'. Joseph Craig had a monumental yard in Church Street Parramatta c.1856-1874. A photograph of the yard taken c.1870 shows a similar style of monument in the background. [plate 5.12. figure A] George Peters, another Parramatta monumental mason in business c.1868-1901, also designed monuments in this style, as a photograph of his yard illustrates. [plate 5.12. figure B] The tall headstone to the left of the photograph has a draped urn and downturned torch with wreath and wheat motif that is almost identical to the headstone of James Breathour [plate 5.11. figure B].

Allegorical scenes on colonial headstones also drew upon the neoclassical tradition of sepulchral sculpture in English churches.¹⁷ Decorative carvings introducing a scene with a symbolic figure, such as cherubs, angels, and mourners, were depicted on the pediments of headstones from the 1840s until the 1870s. These scenes usually emphasised death, grief, and mourning. The elaborate headstone to Margaret Daly (d. 1863) [plate 5.13 figure A] features two cherubs lounging above a draped sarcophagus, with a pair of trumpeting Resurrection angels and eight seraphs symmetrically bordering the inscription panel, calling her soul to heaven.¹⁸

¹⁷ For a discussion of neoclassical English funerary sculpture see Nicholas Penny, 'Themes and conventions in English commemorative sculpture, c.1780 - c.1840', PhD Thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London University, 1975; Nicholas Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1977.

¹⁸ Memorial to Margaret Daly d. 1863. Originally located in Devonshire Street Cemetery, later relocated to Roman Catholic Cemetery No. 1, Rookwood Necropolis. The monument has been

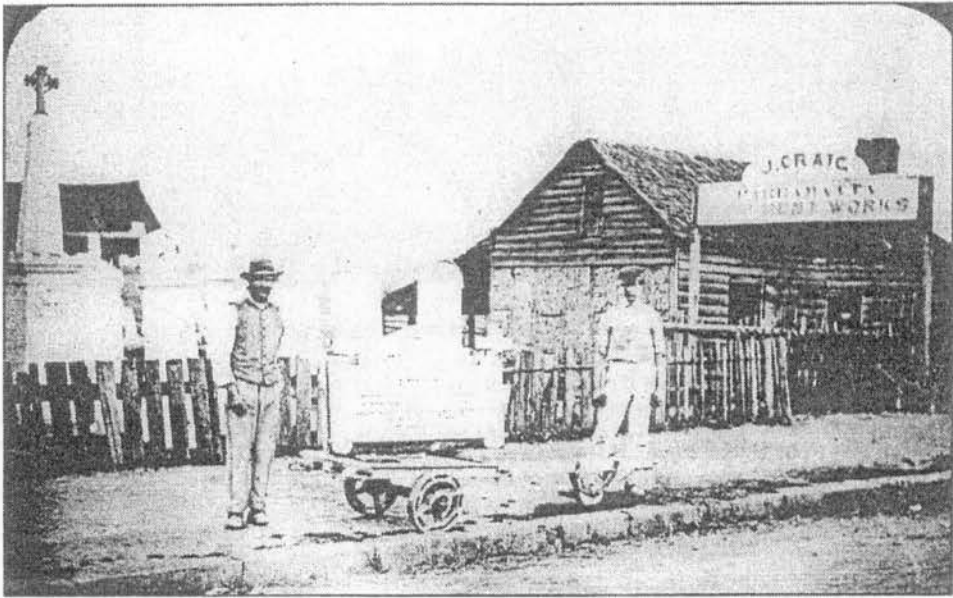


Figure A. Joseph Craig's monumental masonry yard in Church Street, Parramatta.
(From the Houison Collection, SAG 5/6352)



Figure B. George Peters, monumental masonry yard in Parramatta.
(From the Houison Collection, SAG 5/6345)



Figure A. Memorial to Margaret Daly (d.1863), Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection)

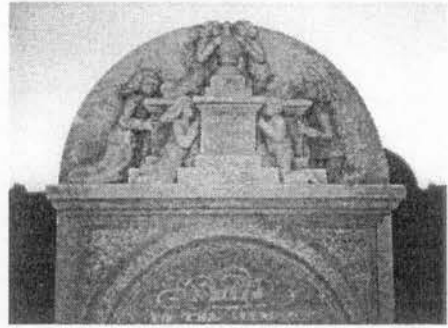


Figure B. Memorial to Christina and John Roberts (d. 1875), Uralla General Cemetery. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Kneeling family figures, plate 94 in Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840*, 1946.

The memorial to Christina and John Roberts (d.1875/1876) [plate 5.13 figure B] features six figures kneeling facing the altar tomb and urn pedestal - three females on the left and three males on the right.¹⁹ These figures are possibly meant to represent the Roberts children, since the inscription records that they erected the headstone 'as a grateful tribute to their [parents'] memory'. The arrangement of the figures into gender groups facing the altar is reminiscent of the seventeenth century English church effigies where children were depicted beside their parents or on a separate panel below the effigy.²⁰ [plate 5.13 figure C]

The weeping widow motif - a mourning widow usually leaning over an urn - is a fascinating neoclassical motif that remained popular throughout the nineteenth century. The weeping widow was a common figure in English neoclassical art from the mid-eighteenth century, and drew upon the English sepulchral tradition of kneeling figures.²¹ Plate 5.14. (figure A-D) shows the development of this motif up to the late nineteenth century. (For further examples see plate 7.10) It was popular from the 1840s until the late 1870s as a pedimental bas relief carving, and had become conventionalised as a three dimensional sculpture by the 1880s. Its popularity as a symbol on headstones illustrates a shift in attitudes from *memento mori* to a focus upon the identity of the deceased through personal remembrance. The popularity of this subject in New South Wales during the mid to late nineteenth century came at a time when cemeteries were being idealised as a place of remembrance, rather than a place of death. It also came at a time when women's

signed, but unfortunately the name has weathered and it is only possible to identify the locality of carving 'Sydney'.

¹⁹ Memorial to Christina Roberts d. 1875, John Roberts d.1876. Signed by 'Davies & Ross, George St Sydney'. Uralla General Cemetery.

²⁰ Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 54-55.

²¹ Mackay et. al., *In Memoriam*, p. 19; Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, pp. 54-55; Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, pp. 186-7; Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, pp. 66-73.



Figure A. Kneeling widow, Camperdown Cemetery c.1856. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Weeping widow, Camperdown Cemetery c.1862. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Weeping widow, Gulgong General Cemetery, c.1873. (National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)

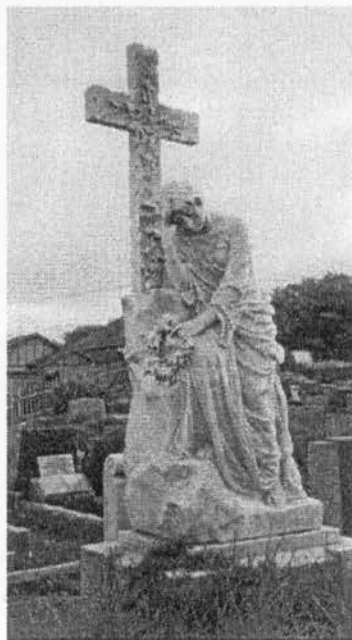


Figure D. Allegorical figure of grief, Waverley Cemetery, c.1910s. (Author's Collection)

role in mourning culture was escalating. The focus of this motif is upon the mourner and her role - it is almost invariably a female mourner²² - in perpetuating the memory of the deceased. Mourning was emphasised as an integral part of remembrance, and the grave became the focus of these attentions. The identity of the deceased became associated with their memorialisation in death, both materially and imaginatively. The gender implications of such imagery will be considered further in chapter seven.

The relative popularity of the Classical and Gothic styles waxed and waned throughout the nineteenth century, and the expression of the styles also changed over the same period. Nevertheless the Classical and Gothic styles remained the two main forms of embellishment on sepulchral monuments in New South Wales. Prior to 1860 sepulchral monuments utilised either Gothick or Greek Revival styling. However by 1860, with the expansion and specialisation of the monumental masonry trade and the wider availability of pattern books, expressions of the both the Classical and Gothic Styles became more and more conventionalised.

The Stylistic Debate : Classical versus Gothic

Neoclassicism (which was also known as Greek Revivalism) had developed in the late eighteenth century in Britain and was well established by 1810. Its revival of classical Greek and Roman style reflected the belief that ancient Greece and Rome represented 'enlightened civilisations built upon reason and respect for the

²² Joan Kerr and James Kerr have identified one widower leaning on a pedestal and urn mourning the loss of his wife, Jabez Patmore (d.1865), in the Church of England section of Goulburn General Cemetery. See *In Memoriam*, pp. 19-20. Lionel Gilbert has identified a husband and child grieving in the Old Cemetery at East Perth. See Lionel Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a Vanishing Form of Folk Art*, John Ferguson, Sydney, 1980, p. 53. These motifs are exceptional and stand in stark contrast to the hundreds of weeping widows depicted in cemeteries across the state.

laws of nature'.²³ As a movement Neoclassicism was informed, at least initially, by a rational aesthetic philosophy and archaeological evidence²⁴. Its design language was one of 'chaste, neat, and elegant' lines²⁵, symmetry and restraint that recalled the temples and public buildings of Greece and Rome. In colonial New South Wales however the movement's higher ideals were lost and the style was simply fashionable, becoming the benchmark for 'architectural distinction'.²⁶ Its influence was found in all forms of architecture including houses, public buildings, furniture and furnishings, as well sepulchral design. Decorative devices were adopted as stylistic features, rather than from any sense of proportion or structural design merit.

The increasing popularity of Neoclassicism in Britain, and its endless reproduction in cemeteries and churchyards across the country, also provoked a reassessment of the stylistic meanings and Christian relevance of such designs. The stylistic debate became a moral issue as critics raised three interrelated objections: firstly, Classicism on Christian sepulchre resulted in 'gross inconsistencies' and represented Paganism²⁷; secondly, the overt sentimentality of funerary symbolism and 'mawkish spirit of romance' of epitaphs denied Faith²⁸; and finally, funerary monuments had lost artistic merit, being 'wearisome and uninteresting from repetition'.²⁹ Cherubs, skulls, hourglasses, lamps, columns, broken flowers, urns,

²³ Donald Martin Reynolds, *Nineteenth-Century Architecture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p. 3.

²⁴ Bowdler, 'The Neoclassical Tomb', p. 29.

²⁵ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 123.

²⁶ Mordaunt Crook, quoted in James Broadbent, *Colonial Greek: The Greek Revival in New South Wales 1810-1850*, exhibition catalogue, Historical Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1985, p. 2.

²⁷ Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 40.

²⁸ D. A. Clarkson, *New Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Mural Tablets, Crosses, Head Stones and Ornamental Stone and Iron Work*, vol. 1, Atchley & Co., London, 1852, p. 1.(BL)

²⁹ J. H. Markland, *Remarks on English Churches and the expediency of rendering sepulchral memorials subservient to pious and Christian uses*, 3rd ed., John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1843, p. 90. (BL).

obelisks, sarcophagi, weeping widows, drapery and inverted torches were all condemned as 'silly or objectionable'.³⁰ The following commentary in a revisionist's catalogue of designs is a typical response to the classical designs.

There is yet another class of memorials equally offensive, those which express namby-pamby sentiment. A shattered Corinthian column used to be a favourite symbol. What have we to do with Corinthian columns here in England? and what right have we to say death shatters and ruins? That is not the language of the burial service which was read over the body of the deceased. If the departed was a very young person, a lily with the stem snapped is (or was) considered a sweet device. It embodies the same idea in another form, that death is destruction.³¹

Instead, it was argued, monuments should be 'subservient to pious and Christian uses'.³² Goethe's heroine Charlotte (in the novel *Wahlverwandtschaften*) echoed the objections of Ecclesiologists. 'She remonstrated with an architect that he had shown her nothing but a small obelisk, a broken column, and an urn. The promised thousand innovations in design turned out to be a thousand repetitions.' Charlotte rejected all design suggestions and instead planted clover on the grave, achieving 'the pure feeling of a final great equality'.³³

Gothicism was held up by critics as an alternative. The Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century was inspired by religious, patriotic, ethical and aesthetic principles. The work of John Ruskin, A. W. N. Pugin and the Camden Society³⁴ fuelled the moral side of the stylistic debate between Classical and Gothic architecture in Britain. Gothic was seen as 'not just a style of architecture but as a

³⁰ Paget, *A Tract Upon Tomb-Stones*, p. 22

³¹ Cox & Sons, *Illustrated Catalogue of Monuments, Tombs, Crosses, and Headstones in Granite, Marble, and Stone; Tomb Rails, Mural Tablets and Monumental Brasses, Bronzes, & c. & c.*, new edition, London, 1870. (Bodleian Library: John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera; Advertisements - Church Furnishings Box 1.)

³² Markland, *Remarks on English Churches*, p. 90.

³³ Goethe, *Wahlverwandtschaften* II:i. Quoted in Gunther Barth, *Fleeting Moments: Nature and Culture in American History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990, p. 136.

³⁴ The Camden Society was formed at Cambridge in 1839 with the aim of reforming church architecture and reviving religious ritual. The society published a monthly magazine, *The Ecclesiologist* and a number of other pamphlets. See Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, 3rd ed., John Murray, 1962, esp. ch. 8.

repository of truth and goodness', embodying all the true principles of Christian faith.³⁵ Indeed the Camden Society stridently proclaimed 'Gothic is the only true Christian Architecture'.³⁶ Ruskin argued architecture should embody seven principles (or Lamps): sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory and obedience. Pugin's arguments embodied similar ideas, as his concluding call-to-arms in *True Principles* indicates: 'Let then the Beautiful and the True be our watchword for future exertions in the overthrow of modern paltry taste and paganism, and the revival of Catholic art and dignity'.³⁷

Crosses and Gothic designs were deemed far more appropriate for commemorative Christian sculpture than pagan (neoclassical) symbolism. The cross was seen as particularly admirable funerary monument, being a clear symbol of Christian hope in the Resurrection, and as Edward Paget summarised in his *Tract Upon Tombstones*, 'perfectly appropriate, full of solemnity [and] full of consolation'.³⁸ Paget's *Tract on Tombstones* inspired many British architects and sculptors, such as J. W. Hallam, James Forsyth, John Gibbs, Theophilus Smith, and D. A. Clarkson, to offer alternative Gothic designs.³⁹ Many of the resulting Gothic pattern books ran into several editions, suggesting a responsive market.⁴⁰ The proposed headstone

³⁵ Richard Apperly, Robert Irving, and Peter Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1989, p. 78.

³⁶ Camden Society, 'Few Words to Church-builders', 1844. Quoted in Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, p. 171.

³⁷ Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 56.

³⁸ Paget, *A Tract Upon Tomb-Stones*, p. 22.

³⁹ J. W. Hallam, architect, *Monumental Memorials: Being Designs for Headstones and Mural Monuments*, Part I, Joseph Masters, London, 1856. (BL); James Forsyth, sculptor, *Book of Designs for Mural and Other Monuments*, 3rd ed., The Author, 8 Edward St, Hampstead Rd, London, 1863. (NAL, V&A); John Gibbs, architect and sculptor, *A Series of Designs for Gothic Monuments, Churchyard Crosses, Sepulchral Slabs and Head Crosses*, George Bell, London, 1852. (BL); Theophilus Smith, sculptor, *Christian Memorials for Churchyards and Cemeteries*, J. H. & J. Parker, London, [1864-73]. (BL); D. A. Clarkson, architect, *New Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Mural Tablets, Crosses, Headstones and Ornamental Stone & Iron Work*, Atchley & Co., London, 1852. (BL).

⁴⁰ James Forsyth's *Book of Designs for Mural and other Monuments*, was first released by the sculptor in 1863 (copy held in Royal Institute of British Architects Library) and was already into its

designs were simple with little ornamentation, often utilising the symbolism of the cross, while larger pedestal monuments were more strictly Gothic with spires, crockets and, of course, cross surmounts.

In arguing for monuments which were pious, uplifting and would cultivate public taste⁴¹ advocates of the Gothic echoed the arguments being used by the general cemetery movement which idealised the cemetery as a sublime environment for melancholy meditation. Both movements emphasised the importance of 'chaste' monuments whose designs reflected architectural taste and Christian faith.

Monumental masons, pattern books and catalogues

The monumental masonry industry was the main trade supplying funerary memorials for cemeteries. The styles and dissemination of sepulchral designs must be placed within the context of how the monumental masonry industry developed and functioned. The earliest colonial craftsmen brought their knowledge of design from their native country - usually England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland. The development of the monumental masonry industry in New South Wales followed a similar pattern to that of England, but at a later and more compressed time period. The skills of monumental masons developed from the medieval master mason. The trade in England was established early in the 16th century with craft guilds and mason societies.⁴² By the eighteenth century in England, headstones were being

third edition by 1868 (copy held in National Art Library, London). According to Frederick Burgess (*English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 124) John Gibbs' *Designs for Christian Memorials*, first published in 1864, ran through eight editions.

⁴¹ Clarkson, *New Designs for Monuments*, 1852, p. 1.

⁴² Nicola Coldstream, *Masons and Sculptors*, British Museum Press, London, 1991.

produced by a variety of tradesmen: village craftsmen, master masons, quarry owners, family contractors, and larger firms.⁴³

Up until the 1850s in New South Wales, individual artisans produced funerary monuments. Some of these tradesmen had their own business and a yard to display their wares. The monumental masonry industry was a conservative, close-knit hereditary craft trade built upon the foundation of family businesses.⁴⁴ Training was supplied on the job in the form of an apprenticeship. A firm, depending on its size would take on one or two apprentices. An apprenticeship involved an indenture for five years.⁴⁵ A relative often paid the indenture fee to gain the precious training. The sons of monumental masons often learnt the trade from their father, but of course there was no indenture fee in such cases. John Joseph Edstein was apprenticed to Thomas Brown in Maitland in 1880 for five years during which period his father paid Brown £50.⁴⁶ The apprenticeship system was also integral to the expansion of the industry - particularly in rural areas. After serving his apprenticeship, Edstein travelled to Sydney and Melbourne but soon returned to the Hunter region to start up his own monumental masonry business. Promotion was assured and the prospects of starting a business were excellent. George Watters was apprenticed to a stonemason in Mudgee at the age of 14, and by 20 was manager of the Acton monumental works at Lithgow.⁴⁷

⁴³ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁴ Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Operative Stone Mason Society (NSW), Award of the Building Trades Group, No. 2 (Stonemasons, &c., State) Board, 1916. NBAC/ANU Reference: T46/20/1. Allan Brown, 'The Stonemason', in *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston, Society of Australian Genealogists in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, p. 57. For English traditions in regards to training see Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, esp. ch. 4 'Technique', and Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, esp. ch. 3 'Design and the Craftsman'.

During the 1840s to 1860s, several skilled stonemasons immigrated to the colony and the monumental trade became increasingly organised and specialised. The history of two successful monumental firms in Sydney demonstrate the shift from individual artisans to larger monumental masonry firms. William Patten was amongst the most prominent and successful early monumental masons, establishing a marble works in 1835. William Patten's sons, Francis George Patten and William Patten, took over the business after their father's death in 1874, and 'steadily increased the reputation gained by their late father'.⁴⁶ The head office of Patten Bros. in Pitt St, Sydney, was also known as the Australian and Italian Marble Works. [Plate 5.15 figures A -C] As well as using local marble, Patten Bros. imported marble from 'the United Kingdom, Italy and Belgium'.⁴⁹ Patten Bros. provided Sydneysiders with chimney pieces, tiles, cisterns, baths, fonts, fountains and vases, however memorials were a central part of their business. They also did work in granite, slate and sandstone (which was also known as 'freestone').⁵⁰ It became the 'oldest, largest and most complete sculpturing establishment in Australia' servicing the colony for 65 years before it closed at the turn of the century, possibly the victim of the economic depression of the 1890's.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Barbara Elizabeth Howard, 'Five Edstein and Idstein Ancestors', Assignment 2 Option no. 3, Local History III, Dept of History, University of New England, Armidale, May 1995. Manuscript . National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives.

⁴⁷ 'Dying is George's business - and his business is dying', *Sunday Telegraph*, 14 March 1971.

⁴⁸ W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales*, Aldine Publishing Co., Sydney, 1888, vol. 2, biographical entry for The Australian and Italian Marble, Slate and Stone Works, 302 Pitt Street.

⁴⁹ Morrison, *Aldine Centennial History*; R. T. Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, Technical Education Series, No. 20, Technological Museum, Sydney, 1915, p. 14.

⁵⁰ *Sands' Directory*, 1880.

⁵¹ Advertisement - Patten Bros., *Sydney Diocesan Directory*, Church of England, Sydney, 1893. In this advertisement it was explained 'Owing to alteration in the business, the Stock is now being offered at Reduced Prices'.

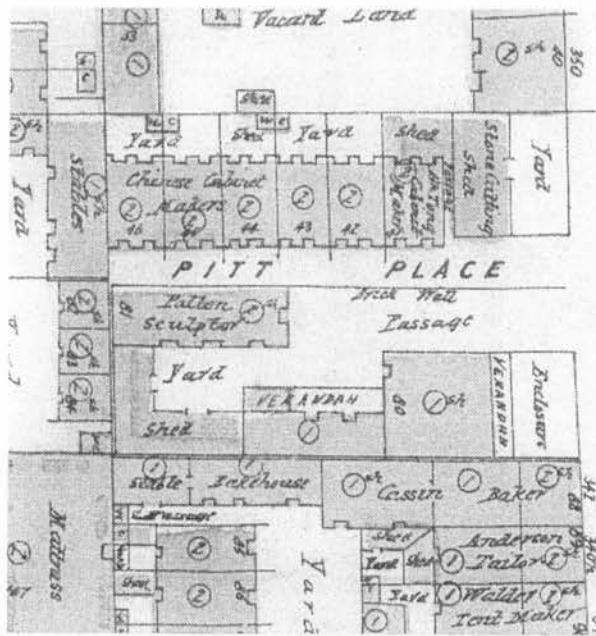


Figure A. Map showing Patten Bros' monumental yard.
(Doves' Plans, 1880. COSA)

PATTEN BROS.
THE
Australian & Italian Marble Works,
302, PITT STREET, SYDNEY,
AND
Steam Works:—MOORATE STREET, BLACKFRIARS' ESTATE.
ESTABLISHED A.D. 1835.



IMPORTERS OF
Marble, Enamelled & Slate
Chimney: Pierre, Register
Grates, &c.; also Marble
Monuments, Headstones,
&c., and Slabs.

**Marble and Encaustic Tiles for Halls, &c.,
&c., Supplied and Laid.**

SLATE TREADS, HEARTHS, LANDINGS, &c., &c., very cheap
EVERY DESCRIPTION OF WORK IN MARBLE, SLATE, & STONE EXECUTED.

AGENTS FOR
JAMES TAYLOR'S
STEAM GRANITE POLISHING WORKS,
SANDHURST, VICTORIA.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'Patten Bros.,
The Australian & Italian Marble Works'.
(Sands' Directory, 1885.)

PATTEN BROS.,
SCULPTORS.
302 PITT ST., SYDNEY.

MONUMENTAL
MABONS.
—
VAULTS
BUILT
And Designs and also
Prices.
—
TOMB
RAILINGS.
—
FOUNTAINS,
VASES, &c.



NEW SHOW ROOMS
FOR
MONUMENTS,
TOMBSTONES,
AND
CROSSES,
OF
GRANITE,
MARBLE,
And all kinds of
STONE.
—
MURAL TABLETS,
FONTAINS, &c.

BRANCH WORKS AT ROOKWOOD CEMETERY.
HEAD OFFICE:
302 PITT STREET
(BETWEEN BATHURST ST. AND LIVERPOOL ST.)
Special Attention to Cemetery Orders. "S" Please send for Catalogue and Descriptions.

Figure C. Advertisement - 'Patten Bros.,
Sculptors'.
(Sands' Directory, 1889)

John Roote Andrews was a statuary and mason in London in the 1830's⁵² before he emigrated to Sydney in the 1840s. By 1849 he had established a monumental masonry yard in Church Street, opposite Camperdown Cemetery, a Church of England private cemetery that had been established in the same year. [plate 5.16. figure A] Andrews advertised widely throughout the colony, with remarkable success. By 1866 his work could be viewed in cemeteries at Port Macquarie, Bathurst, Windsor, Brisbane Water, Eden (Twofold Bay), Bega, Dapto, Kiama, and Newtown.⁵³ Upon Andrews' death his son Thomas took over the business. In turn Thomas' five sons also became involved in the funerary trade. Thomas James Andrews opened a monumental yard at Rookwood with his brother Edwin, before moving to Elizabeth St, in the city. Here he established the Andrews Brothers firm in 1879. [plate 5.16. figure B] He later returned to Newtown in the 1890s to take over T. Andrews & Sons - the undertaking and monumental masonry business that had grown from John Roote Andrews' original small yard. He understood the benefits of being part of a long line in the family trade. He advertised his association with his grandfather and the establishment date of his business of 1849. [plate 5.16. figure C]. Two of his siblings -- Ernest Andrews and George Andrews -- were also undertakers with their own businesses.⁵⁴

Andrews' and Patten's small monumental yards developed into two of the largest monumental masonry firms in the Sydney metropolitan district. Although based upon family connections, each firm expanded their business beyond family bounds and became increasingly professionalised. Andrews Bros. and Patten Bros.

⁵² *Pigot & Co.'s Commercial Directory* for 1832, 1833, 1834; *Robson's London Directory* 1835.

⁵³ *Sands' Directory*, 1866.

⁵⁴ William Chubb, *Jubilee Souvenir of the Municipality of Newtown 1862-1912*, The Austral Press & Advertising Ltd for Newtown Municipal Council, Sydney, 1912, p.127, pp. 146-147; Sydney D. Smith, *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the Municipality of Newtown 1862-1922*, Sydney Dorning Smith



Figure A. R. Andrew's monumental masonry yard, Church Street, Newtown.
(Chubb, *Jubilee Souvenir of the Municipality of Newtown*, 1912)

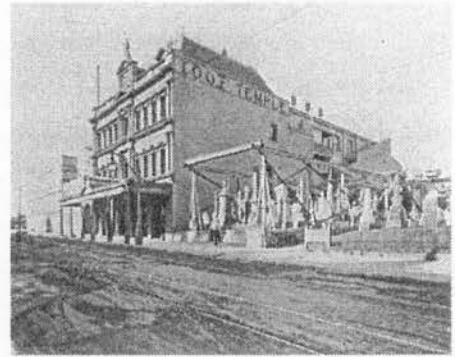

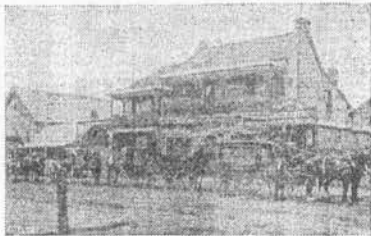


Figure B. Andrews Bros. Elizabeth Street, Sydney.
(City of Sydney Archives. NSCA CRS 51/2654)


ESTABLISHED 1849.

PLEASE NOTE
OUR ADDRESS.  TELEPHONE:
155 NEWTOWN.

T. ANDREWS & SONS,
UNDERTAKERS,
AND
MONUMENTAL MASONS,

Funerals Completely Furnished.		Undertaking in all its Branches.
--------------------------------------	---	---

51 AUSTRALIA ST., NEWTOWN.



THIS IS RAILWAY ST., BOOKWOOD.
MONUMENTAL WORK IN EVERY BRANCH.
Country work faithfully executed.
PRICES AS LOW AS COMPATIBLE WITH GOOD WORK, &c.

Figure C. Advertisement - 'T. Andrews & Sons'.
(*Sands' Directory*, 1900.)

expanded their market share by establishing branches across the Sydney area. They also took advantage of growing rural settlement and the extension of railways across the colony in the late nineteenth century by advertising widely and promptly attending to country orders. Finally both Andrews and Patten expanded their businesses to encompass other lucrative areas of the stone and funerary trade.

Towns in rural New South Wales were also well serviced by local monumental masons and the emergence of local masons in an area often reflected settlement patterns in the region. As a town expanded in population and facilities, a local general cemetery was established and the need/market for a monumental mason flourished. A comparison of population statistics and trade directories confirms this trend. In 1886 *Wise's NSW Post Office Directory* listed 11 monumental masons in country areas.⁵⁵ The municipality of Maitland (East and West) which had a combined population of 9,250 in February 1890 was, according to *Wise's* served by three monumental masons. Other country areas - Albury (population 6,000); Lismore (pop. 3,200); Lithgow (pop. 3,500); Mudgee (population 3,000); Narrabri (pop. 2,000); Orange (including Orange East 5,600); Wagga Wagga (4,500) - had only one monumental mason each.⁵⁶ As the population in the country expanded however, so did the number of monumental masons. By 1895 *Wise's* identified 74 monumental masons working in New South Wales, of which 35 were in country areas. This is illustrated further in Appendix 1, which summarises the population of country New South Wales by municipal areas and identifies the monumental

(Suburban Dailies Ltd) for Municipality of Newtown, Sydney, 1922, pp.106, 112; *Sands' Directories*, 1859-1930; Malcolm Andrews, 'The way the Andrews were', *Daily Telegraph*, 20 May 1985.

⁵⁵ This was the first listing of country monumental masons in a directory. *Wise's Post Office and Commercial Directories* continued to provide lists of country monumental masons until the 1950s. While a useful guide to monumental masonry businesses, it should not be viewed as a definitive list of the industry (since several omissions of businesses from listings have been noted) but rather the directory listings should be seen as indicative of numbers and trends.

masons listed working there in 1895. In general regional centres in the nineteenth century could not support more than three monumental masons.⁵⁷

As noted earlier the expansion of the railways exposed many regional and country monumental masons to direct competition from larger firms based in Sydney. Like many of the larger metropolitan firms Patten Bros. serviced rural New South Wales, advertising 'special attention to country orders - please send for designs and quotation'.⁵⁸ In such cases regional masons, undertakers or builders often acted as agents for the Sydney firms. The prominent firm F. Arnold, for example, used C. W. Medcalf, a builder in Wentworth Falls, as his local agent in the Blue Mountains area.⁵⁹ Thomas Edward Walters, an undertaker at Moruya, was similarly an agent for Patten Bros. in Sydney. Walters liaised with the local cemetery, organised cemetery fees, and arranged the delivery and erection of the stone once it had arrived in Moruya.⁶⁰ For coastal settlements (such as Moruya) the headstone would have been transported by sea. However, the majority of rural orders would have been sent by rail.⁶¹ Competition from Sydney masons was fierce, and local masons in country areas were forced to clearly market their advantages. In 1891 J. & R. Ziegler of Moruya advertised they were 'prepared to execute all

⁵⁶ *Wise's NSW Post Office Commercial Directory*, 1886-87; T. A. Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1889-90*, p. 416.

⁵⁷ This is reflected in the trade listings in *Wise's NSW Post Office Commercial Directory*, 1886, 1895.

⁵⁸ Advertisement - Patten Bros., *Sands Directory*, 1890.

⁵⁹ Advertisement - F. Arnold ('For Monumental Work Consult F. Arnold'), *Blue Mountain Echo*, 18 July 1913, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Walters Family Papers ML MSS 5226 Box 4(9). Letter Book 1883-1909, 17 December 1884, p. 407.

⁶¹ John Bach, 'Sydney and the coastal shipping trade' in *Sydney's Transport: Studies in Urban History*, ed. Gary Wotherspoon, Hale & Iremonger in association with The Sydney History Group, Sydney, 1983, pp. 51-62; Gary Wotherspoon, 'Trains and Boats and Planes...' in *Making A Life: A People's History of Australia since 1788*, ed. Verity Burgmann & Jenny Lee, McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, Victoria, 1988, pp. 56-69.

descriptions of stone work, monumental headstones, tablets, kerbings &c., &c., far below Sydney prices, in all kinds of stone.⁶²

Monumental masons provided a number of services, as their advertisements clearly illustrate [plate 5.17 figures A & B] and despite growing competition from marble merchants, iron foundries and funeral directors, they remained by far the largest producers of funerary statuary. They offered a range of monument designs which they could produce to specific requirements and, as noted above, also did contractual work, ordering and erecting monuments designed and carved elsewhere. Tomb railings could be ordered, and many monumental masons offered a selection of grave furniture, such as immortelles and vases. Smaller income producing activities included additional inscriptions and grave renovations, such as the cleaning and re-painting of graves or the re-newing of marble chips and other grave coverings. Grave renovations accounted for over 50% of a monumental mason's business, providing a steady income.⁶³

The carving and lettering of monuments was usually completed at the mason's workshop which was commonly a large shed with the space organised so that the stone was worked sequentially along a quasi-production line. Completed monuments were displayed in the stoneyard in front of the workshop and office, advertising the designs available as well as the skill of the monumental mason. In the late nineteenth century, anywhere between ten and forty monuments were displayed in the yard [plate 5.18 figures A & B] and the position of a monumental masonry yard near, or even adjacent to, a cemetery became not only a convenient practicality but also an invaluable marketing tool. The establishment of large

⁶² Advertisement - J. & R. Ziegler. *Moruya Examiner*, 13 February, 1891, p. 1.

J. HANSON,
MONUMENTAL SCULPTOR,
MARBLE & GRANITE MERCHANT,
 HAS ALWAYS IN STOCK A GOOD VARIETY TO SELECT FROM OF
MONUMENTS & TOMBSTONES,
 IN
MARBLE AND GRANITE,
 The largest and best variety in Australia, at prices not higher than
 hitherto paid for painted Freestones.

TOMB RAILINGS IN VARIETY.
CHURCH TABLETS.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED WITH MARBLE SLABS FROM
 1/4 TO 6 IN. THICK.

J. HANSON,
ELIZABETH ST. NORTH.
 REAR OF NEW LANDS OFFICE,
S Y D N E Y.

Stone, Granite & Marble Works
 ESTABLISHED MELBURN 1874
 SINGLETON 1878

HEADSTONES, Crosses, Monuments and Tombs in Marble or Granite, Imported direct by Thos. Browne From the centres of Italy in Italy and Scotland, also Swedish and Labrador Granite.

MARBLE GRANITE, Melbourn, Bluestone and Stone Kerbing at prices lowest.

CEMETERY WORK, of all kinds, Lettering and re-cutting executed in every town in the Northern District.

CHURCH TABLETS, Marble Fonts, Pulpits, or Reredos and all Church Decorations.

IRON RAILING in every variety, both cast and wrought at lowest prices.

BUILDING MASONRY of every description supplied for Town and Country.

All work properly packed.

ESTIMATES Given to fix Monuments &c. in any Cemetery in the Northern District.

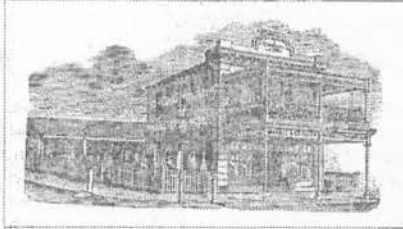
DESIGNS forwarded at request, Communications to be addressed to
THOS. BROWNE
High Street, West Melbourn.
 OR
W. H. BARTROP
 MANAGER
 SINGLETON.

D. O. HOWLE, PRINTER, HERBERT ST.

Figure A. Advertisement - 'J. Hanson, Monumental Sculptor, Marble & Granite Merchant'.
 (Sands' Directory, 1879.)

Figure B. Flier - Stone, Granite & Marble Works. Thomas Browne & W. H. Bartrop.
 (Thomas Browne Pty Ltd Order Book, ML MSS 4284/3(11).)

GEORGE P. LOCK
 (Late LOCK & DOHERTY),
 Marble and Granite Works,
 BLANE AND UNION STREETS,
NEWCASTLE, N.S.W.



IMPORTER AND MANUFACTURER OF

Marble Mantelpieces.	Monuments, Tombstones
Marble Fenders.	&c., in Marble, Granite
Hearth Tiles.	or Freestone.
Hall and Verandah Tiles,	Carvings, Tomb Railings and
&c., &c.	General Cemetery Work.

DESIGNS AND ESTIMATES POST FREE ANYWHERE.
 EXPERIENCED MASONS TO FIX ALL WORK.

Figure A. Advertisement - 'George P. Lock, (Late Lock & Doherty)'.
 (Sands' Directory, 1888.)

ESTABLISHED 1890.
R. CLARK,
 MONUMENTAL MASON, &c.



All kinds of Monumental Work in Marble, Granite, and Freestone, in any Design at Reasonable Charges.
 First-class Workmanship at Lowest Prices.
 All Branches of the Trade executed in Town or Country on Reasonable Terms.
 Designs and Estimates forwarded to any part of the States Free on Application.
 IRON RAILINGS IN GREAT VARIETY.
 A Large Selection of Stone and Marble in Marble, Granite, and Freestone always in Stock in chosen lots.
 Old Work Renovated equal to New, at Reasonable Rates.
 Country Orders Faithfully and Promptly Executed.
 All Work Guaranteed. A Speciality—Impenetrable Lead Lettering.

RAILWAY STREET, ROOKWOOD.
 P.R. RAPHAEL STREET, ROOKWOOD. Branch Yard, Picton.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'R. Clark, Monumental Mason, & c.'.
 (Sands' Directory, 1908.)

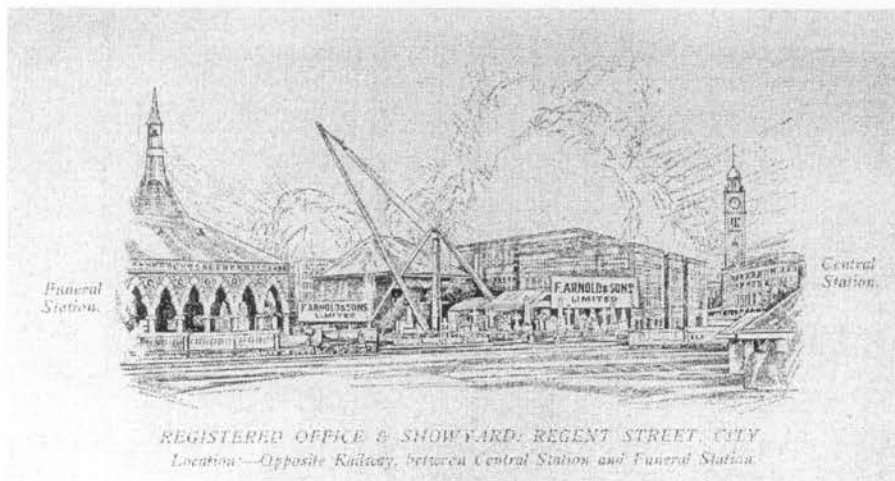


Figure C. Illustration of office and showyard location in F. Arnold & Sons Ltd, *Rock of Ages Memorials*, Catalogue Number 5, [c.1929]
 (ML MSS 3621/73)

general cemeteries, such as Rookwood and Waverley, quickly attracted monumental masonry firms - many of whom had branch offices at each of the major cemeteries. Rookwood Necropolis as Sydney's principal cemetery was an obvious drawcard for monumental masons. By 1890 the *Sydney Echo* claimed,

The size of the Necropolis, and the number of burials there, have induced about 20 monumental masons to open branch yards at the place, so that nearly all the monumental masons of Sydney and Parramatta are represented at Rookwood.⁶⁴

A survey of the *Sands Directory* and *Wise's NSW Post Office Directory* confirms at least fourteen monumental masons advertised their location at Rookwood in 1890. Similarly Waverley Cemetery in the 1890's supported thirteen monumental masons in nearby St Thomas Street and McPherson's Road.⁶⁵ Frederick Arnold was equally enterprising, establishing his business in Regent Street, Sydney in 1879, right beside the Mortuary Station that serviced Rookwood Necropolis [plate 5.18. figure C].

The relationship between a cemetery and a particular monumental mason is hard to establish without business records or consistent signatures on monuments. William Chubb claimed that up to 90% of the monuments in Camperdown Cemetery were executed by John Roote Andrews.⁶⁶ It is hard to verify such claims since many of the monuments in Camperdown Cemetery are unsigned. Nevertheless, given the proximity of the business to the cemetery it could be safely assumed that Andrews received a constant flow of orders for monuments to be erected at Camperdown.

⁶³ See for example the order books of F. Arnold & Sons Pty Ltd. ML MSS 3621.

⁶⁴ 'The Suburbs of Sydney no. xxxiv. The unincorporated suburbs comprising Rookwood, Auburn, Bankstown, & c.', *Sydney Echo*, 11 December, 1890, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁵ *Sands Directory* 1890-1900; *Wise's Post Office Directory* 1890-1900.

⁶⁶ Chubb, *Jubilee Souvenir*, p. 127.

The relationship between cemetery and mason was in some cases even closer. At Rookwood Necropolis Donald McNab was employed as the sexton for the Presbyterian cemetery from 1866 to 1888⁶⁷. By 1867 he had also established a monumental masonry business at Rookwood. His first recorded workshop was on East & Railway Streets. Several impressive examples of his work may be found in the No. 1 Presbyterian Cemetery. To what extent he solicited these jobs while in his capacity as sexton is unclear. It appears that the Trustees may have endorsed McNab's work, since the firm advertised in the *Presbyterian*, a church newspaper, as 'Donald McNab, Monumental Mason, Presbyterian Cemetery Works, Rookwood Necropolis'.⁶⁸ Thus McNab may have been viewed as an 'official' monumental mason for the Presbyterian Trustees. However, the advertisement appeared just after McNab retired as sexton, and his son took over the monumental masonry business. So it may be that his son was trying to capitalise upon the previous association between the monumental masonry business and the Presbyterian Cemetery at Rookwood.

Monumental masons were an artisan trade that were highly skilled in carving and shaping stone. While some produced their own original designs, most relied upon pattern books for the designs they executed. Such pattern books played an important role in the dissemination of popular British designs amongst colonial monumental masons, particularly the Neoclassical and Gothic styles. Pattern books flourished between the mid-seventeenth century and mid-nineteenth century,

⁶⁷ 29 December 1866, Minutes for Presbyterian Trustees, Rookwood Necropolis, Dr Carol Liston, Extracts from the Minutes of the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Independent Cemetery Trusts and list of Documentary Sources, Appendix 23, Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management, volume 6, Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993, p.32; 16 October 1888. Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1867-1917. (Ferguson Memorial Library).

⁶⁸ *The Presbyterian (and Australian Witness)*, 10 November, 1888, p.11.

reaching their peak in Britain and America in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁹ Pattern books were both a catalyst for and product of mass production, but their influence amongst amateurs in England and America as a source of designs for architecture and furniture was diffused by the emergence of professional journals from the 1830s.⁷⁰ In Australia their effect was more profound. The desire to emulate the latest trends in the 'mother country' made pattern books and trade catalogues an essential item for designers, artisans and bourgeois society.

It is necessary to make some distinctions between different types of 'pattern books'. Eileen Harris defines pattern books of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as 'a collection of ideal, untried designs made for a particular publication ... with the express purpose of assisting the reader in making a choice'.⁷¹ This is expanded further by James Broadbent who adopts Loudon's explanation that they are

books entirely devoted to illustrating designs or details for secular or ecclesiastical architecture (including designs for furniture and furnishings) in order, as John Claudius Loudon suggested, "to instruct the builder or amateur how to design and build" or "to afford the man of wealth an opportunity of choosing the sort of design which he would like an architect to prepare and execute for him".⁷²

Clearly the dissemination of designs was the principal purpose of the pattern book. The number and style of designs promoted within pattern books varied according to who was publishing the book, the audience at which it was aimed, and within

⁶⁹ Thomas S. Mitchie, 'The Production and Use of Pattern Books', in *Furniture in Print: Pattern Books from the Redwood Library*, ed. Christopher P. Mondkhouse and Thomas S. Mitchie, published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, held at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Sept 22-Nov 12, 1989, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Mitchie, 'Production and Use of Pattern Books', p. 9.

⁷¹ Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 34.

⁷² James Broadbent, 'Notes on Pattern Books', in *A Manual of Architectural History Sources*, ed. David Saunders, Department of Architecture, University of Adelaide, 1981, p. 54.

what period it was published. While some pattern books served to advocate a particular style, others promoted a professional's talent.⁷³

The impact of pattern books on colonial Australian domestic architecture has been studied by James Broadbent and Joan Kerr.⁷⁴ Pattern books played a central role in the development of architecture in New South Wales during the mid-nineteenth century. John Claudius Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London 1833, 7th ed. 1869) was the 'most influential pattern-book for domestic use in Australia'.⁷⁵ Loudon was also interested in cemetery landscapes, producing a guide to the layout and management of cemeteries.⁷⁶ Joan Kerr has demonstrated that a large range of architectural books and pattern books was available during the nineteenth century both in public libraries and within private collections of prominent individuals.⁷⁷ Simon Bathgate has also compiled a list of nineteenth century architectural source books, catalogues and periodicals now held in the New South Wales State Library that were inherited from the Australian Subscription Library and Free Public Library.⁷⁸ Nineteenth century architectural and builders journals also discussed and reviewed sepulchral monuments and would

⁷³ For a discussion of English and American hardware catalogues, which show similar developments to architectural pattern books, see Lee H. Nelson, 'Catalogue of American Hardware Introduction' in *Illustrated Catalogue of American Hardware of the Russell Erwin Manufacturing Company - an unabridged reprint of the 1865 edition*, Association for Preservation Technology, pp. iii-xii.

⁷⁴ James Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House: architecture and society in New South Wales 1788-1842*, Hordern House Sydney, 1997; Joan Kerr and James Broadbent, *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, The David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980; Eleanor Joan Kerr, 'Designing a Colonial Church: Church Building in New South Wales 1788-1888', D. Phil, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, 1977.

⁷⁵ Kerr and Broadbent, *Gothick Taste*, p. 16.

⁷⁶ J. C. Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, London, 1843. Facsimile edition, with introduction by James Stevens Curl, Ivelet Books Ltd, Redhill, Surrey, 1981.

⁷⁷ Kerr, 'Designing a Colonial Church', Vol. 2, Appendix - Architectural books known to have been in New South Wales: A preliminary listing, pp. 73-96.

⁷⁸ Simon Bathgate, *Information Sources Available to Early Australian Builders: An Annotated Bibliography of Building Materials and Construction Information Available in Australia Prior to 1920*, The Author, Sydney, 1981. Bathgate does not provide any accession dates, but works on the assumption that books published outside Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were available in New South Wales soon after the publication date.

have contributed to the dissemination of designs. These bibliographies of architectural publications confirm the availability of pattern books and architectural journals in colonial New South Wales. A study of sepulchral designs shows that monumental pattern books were equally influential in tombstone design in New South Wales.

The following types of pattern books may be identified in the monumental trade: a record of executed works; proposed designs by a sculptor or architect, published by the author through raising a subscription; proposed designs published by an architectural publisher; and trade or wholesale catalogues. This final category has been included within the broad term 'pattern books' because although trade catalogues were published by manufacturers to promote certain wares and often contained prices, many contractors and masons used them as pattern books, borrowing and pilfering designs, even to the extent of cutting them up, placing them in an album and promoting them as their own designs.⁷⁹ One could even extend the concept of the 'pattern book' to the cemetery itself, an expansive open air catalogue where people could browse the designs of various masons and choose a style of headstone. No doubt this was the reason why some monumental masons advertised in directory listings where their work was executed.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ A photographic design book of monuments and prices by Thomas Browne Pty Ltd dating from the late nineteenth century includes pictures of headstones that have been cut out of a catalogue. For example design 20 of a cross on a pedestal appears to have been taken from a catalogue, and the monument in the illustration is actually signed 'Lock & Doherty'. Thomas Brown Pty Ltd. ML MSS 4284 Box 8.

⁸⁰ For example John R. Andrews & Son, Monumental Masons, &c., Newtown, listed in the Trade Directory under Masons, Stonecutters, &c., *Sands Directory* 1866; Advertisement - Ross & Bowman, Monumental Sculptors, Waverley, *Sands Directory*, 1898.

It is hard to determine exactly which tombstone pattern books were utilised in New South Wales. Unlike pattern books of domestic architecture, publications of sepulchral design appear to have rarely been bought by gentlemen and thus did not find their way over time into library collections. Pattern books were primarily utilised by monumental masons and most have not survived the ravages of the workshop. Some monumental pattern books and trade catalogues were identified within public library collections. It has not been possible to associate these with any particular monumental masonry firms, nevertheless it may be assumed that their availability in public libraries theoretically meant that architects, designers, monumental masons and their clients were able to consult these pattern books.⁸¹ Furthermore, a review of nineteenth century tombstone pattern books in London reveals that some were available in the colony.

At least two monumental masons in Sydney received copies of a pattern book published by Joseph Barlow Robinson, a sculptor in Derby, England. He produced a number of publications on the design of cemetery monuments and headstones, mainly in the 1860s, as well as a manual for sculptors, modellers and stonemasons (1862), a design book for shop fronts (1869) and a design book for church fonts (1869).⁸² His *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials* (vols. 1 & 2) which was published between 1856 and 1860. [plate 5.19 figures A & B; plate 5.20 figures A-D] includes in its list of subscribers a Mr. Cowlshaw, Sculptor, Sydney, New South

⁸¹ J. Boussard, *Recueil Des Tombeaux les Plus Remarquables*, Librairie Polytechnique de J. Baudry, editeur, Paris, c. 1878-79 (SLNSW); William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, The Authors, London, 1887 (SLNSW); Lawrence Weaver, *Memorials and Monuments*, George Newnes, London, 1915 (SLNSW); O. H. Sample (ed.), *Monuments Dealer's Manual*, allied Arts Publishing Co., Chicago, 1919 (SLNSW).

⁸² Nine publications by Joseph Barlow Robinson were consulted in the British Library. For a full listing please consult the bibliography.

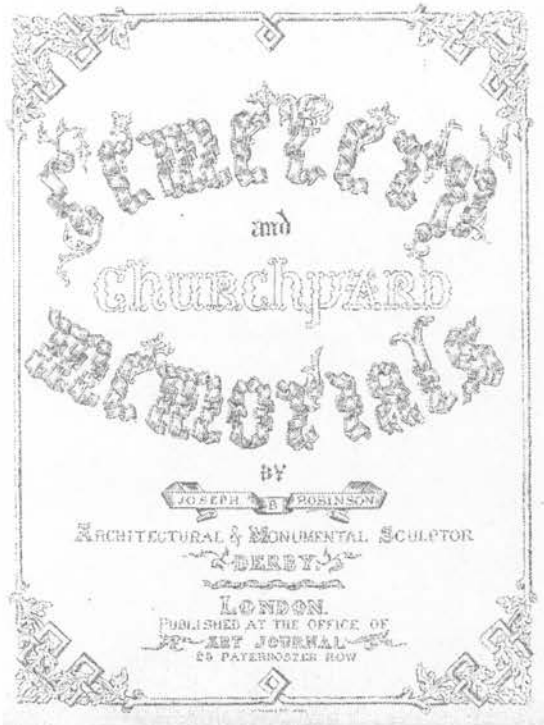


Figure A. Title page - Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, Art Journal, London, [1856-1860]. (BL). James Cowlshaw and William Patten were among the list of subscribers.



Figure B. Title page - Joseph B. Robinson, *Memorials. A Series of Original & Selected Designs*. [*Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials* vol. 2] [1856-60] (BL)



Figure A. Designs from Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, [1856-60].



Figure B. Designs from Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, [1856-60].



Figure C. Designs from Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, [1856-60].



Figure D. Designs from Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, [1856-60].

Wales, and Mr. W. Patten, Sculptor, & c., Sydney, New South Wales.⁸³ James Cowlshaw was an architect in Sydney between 1839 and the 1860s who later moved to Brisbane where he was an original trustee of Brisbane General Cemetery.⁸⁴ As has been noted previously Patten was the proprietor of Patten Bros. monumental masons. No copies of this pattern book have been identified in Australia. A connection has been made, however, between one design featured in *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials* and a headstone executed in New South Wales. The sandstone headstone executed by the monumental mason J. Turner of Goulburn, and erected to the memory of Sarah Jane Bleakley (d. 1884) in Queanbeyan General Cemetery [plate 5.21 figure A] is identical to the design on the right in plate 5.21 (figure B). Although it cannot be concluded that Turner owned a copy of *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, the correlation does confirm that English sepulchral designs were executed in New South Wales, and that it is appropriate to extrapolate design influences from British pattern books.

At least one other pattern book by Robinson was also available in Sydney. *The Sculptor's & Cemetery Mason's Portfolio of Designs* was published by Robinson in 1869.⁸⁵ According to information furnished on the title page [plate 5.22 figure A], this pattern book could be procured 'from him [Robinson], or his travelling agents in the United Kingdom, also from his agents in Paris, Brussels, New York, and Sydney, New South Wales.' It is not known if this volume was purchased by any sculptors or monumental masons in New South Wales, although it seems highly

⁸³ Joseph B. Robinson, Architectural & Monumental Sculptor, Derby, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, Art Journal, London, [1856-1860]. (BL).

⁸⁴ *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. Douglass Pike, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974; E. W. H. Fowles, *The Brisbane General Cemetery: Handbook of Public Information*, Cemetery Trustees, Brisbane, 1924.

⁸⁵ Joseph Barlow Robinson, Sculptor Derby, *The Sculptor's and Cemetery Mason's Portfolio of Designs, For Monuments, Tombs, Crosses, Headstones, Chimney Pieces, Borders to Graves, Garden*



Figure A. Memorial to Sarah Jane Bleakley (d.1884), executed by J. Turner, Goulburn, in Queanbeyan General Cemetery. (Author's Collection)

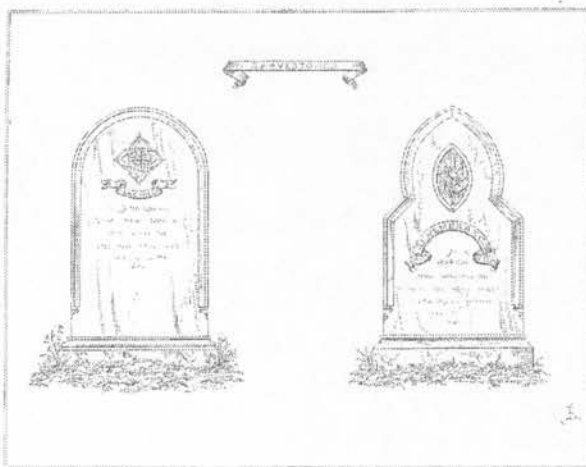


Figure B. Designs from Joseph B. Robinson, *Cemetery and Churchyard Memorials*, [1856-60]. The design on the right is identical to the memorial to Sarah Jane Bleakley.

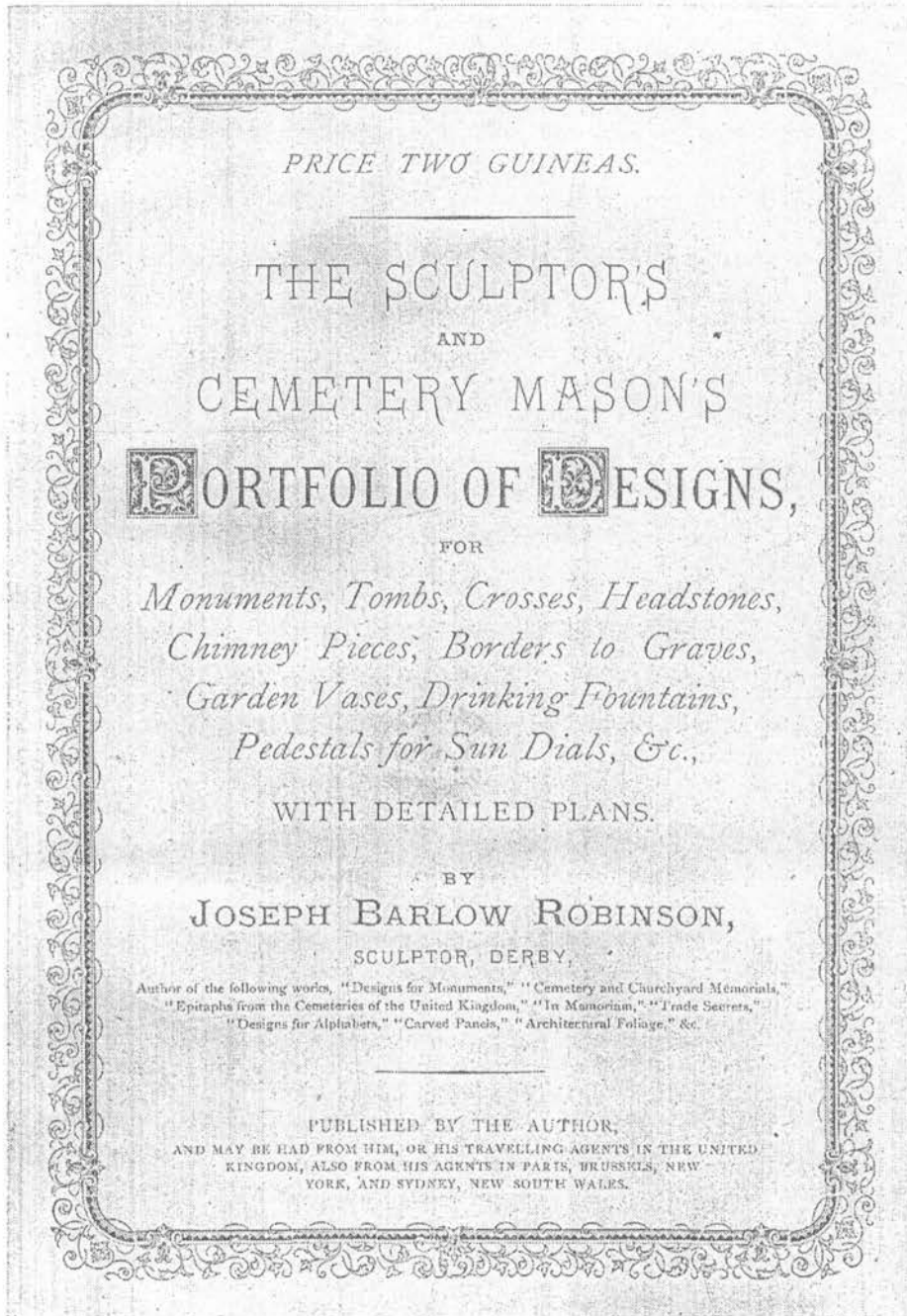


Figure A. Title page - Joseph Barlow Robinson, *The Sculptor's & Cemetery Mason's Portfolio of Designs*, Published by the author, Derby, 1869. This pattern book was available from his agent in Sydney, New South Wales.

probable. No copies of these pattern books by Robinson have survived in New South Wales. The designs in this pattern book feature some more ornate Gothic monuments and headstones, compared to his previous volume. However, they were not correct in their Gothic details and were more an amalgamation of the classical and Gothic styles. Robinson still favoured plain headstones. The most common decorative motifs were crosses and floral motifs. On his designs Robinson also indicated appropriate spacing for the lettering of inscriptions. The information recorded in these two pattern books confirms that British monument designs and pattern books were indeed available in New South Wales for monumental masons to copy and adapt.

Comparison of other British pattern books with gravemarkers in New South Wales confirms strong similarities in design. Sculptor James Forsyth produced a *Book of Designs for Mural & Other Monuments* in 1863. An example of the monument in the centre of plate 5.23 (figure A) can be found in the Church of England Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis. [plate 5.23 figures B] *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses &c. with working details* (London 1867) [plate 5.24 figure A] was a pattern book marketed to monumental masons and sculptors, as well as arbiters of taste such as

the clergyman, the heads of families, and every one desirous of introducing into our "national records of the past" Monuments in keeping with the ever-increasing Christian feeling of the age.⁸⁶

The volume was a compilation of designs by architects and artists specifically engaged for the project, and the work was issued in monthly parts. The great variety of designs and treatment made it a practical volume for customers to

Vases, Drinking Fountains, Pedestals for Sun Dials, & c., with detailed plans, Published by the author, Derby, 1869. (BL).

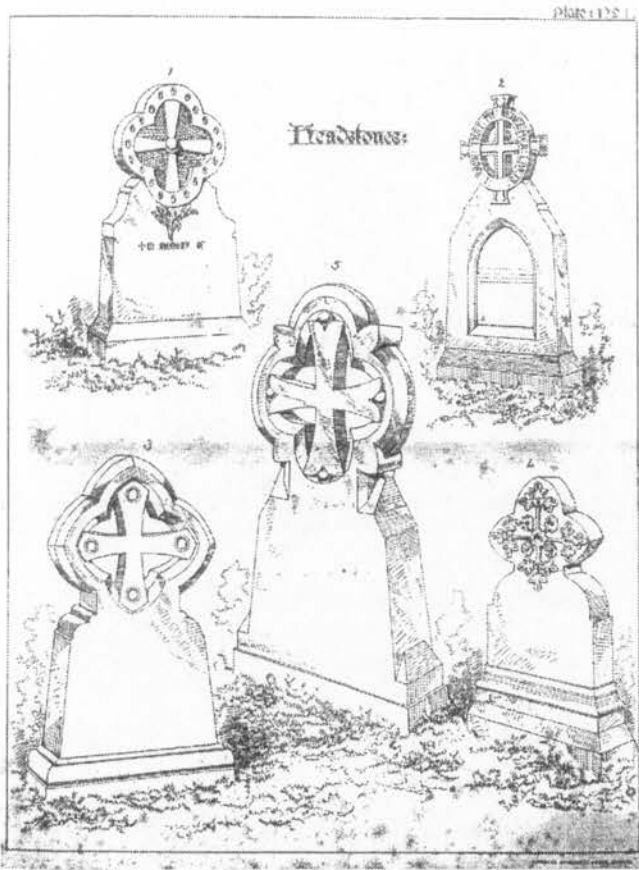


Figure A. Designs from James Forsyth, book of *Designs for Mural and Other Monuments*, 3rd ed., The Author, London, 1863. (NAL, V&A)

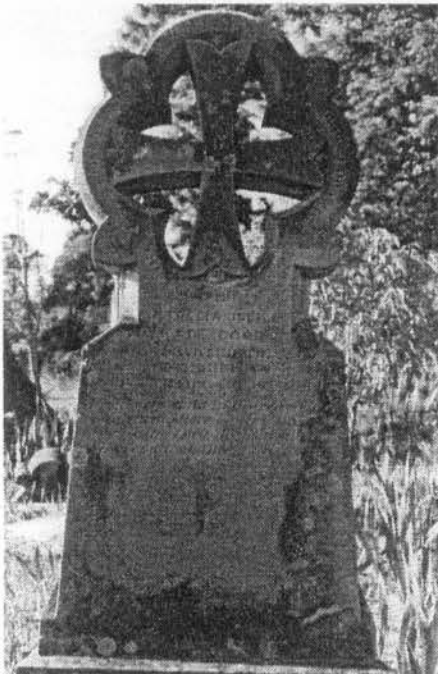


Figure B. Memorial to Andrew Edward Goodwin (d.1871), Rookwood Necropolis. This monument is identical to the design in the centre of plate 5.23 (figure A) by James Forsyth.

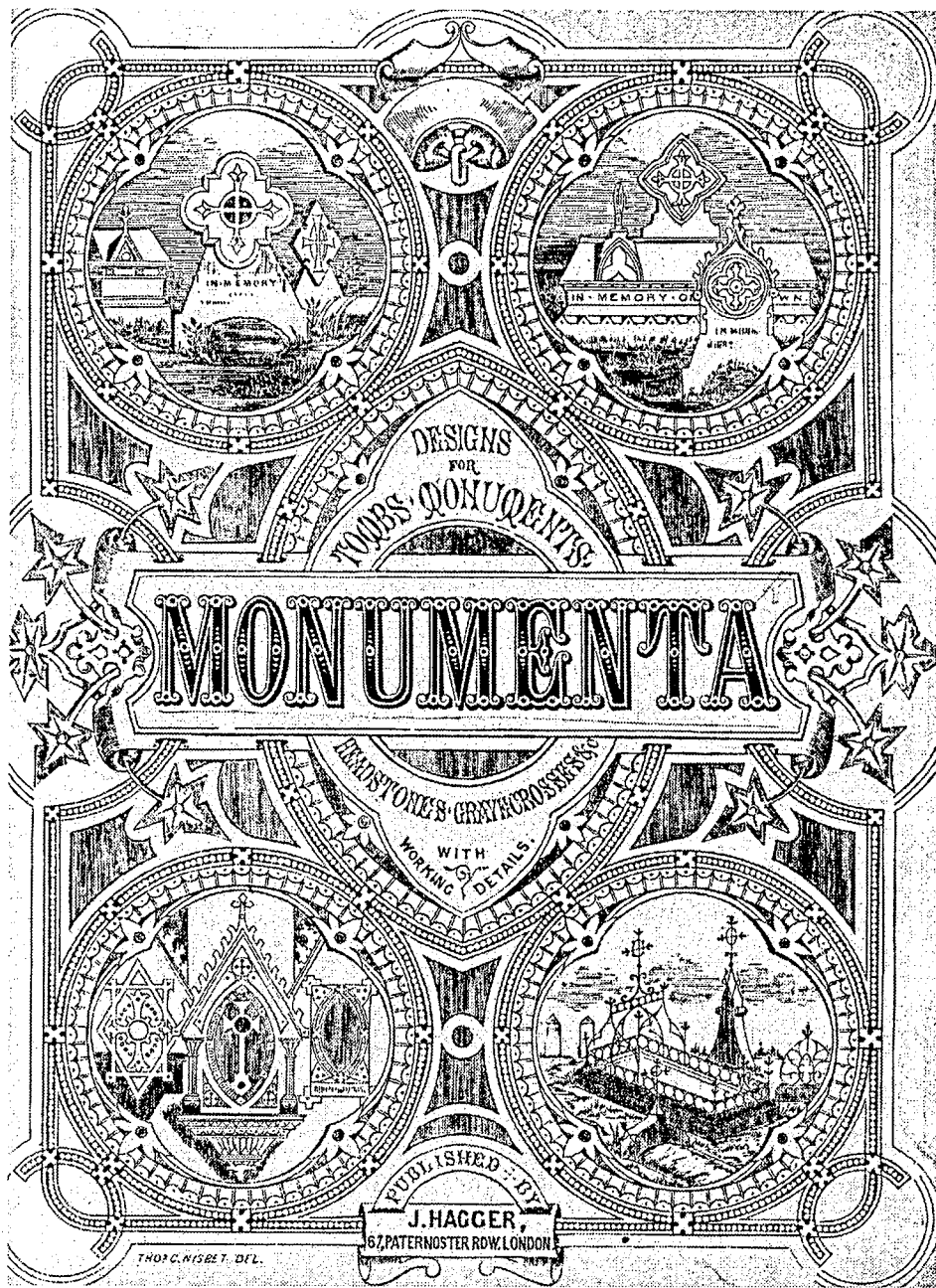


Figure A. Title page - *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses &c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867. (BL)

browse through. Working details such as elevation, section and plan views were provided for easy replication in the workshop. From a pattern book design, such as that reproduced in plate 5.25 (figure A) a skilled mason could easily execute the monument illustrated.

A fine sandstone pedestal and urn executed by F. Rex and erected in the vault section of the Anglican No. 1 Cemetery at Rookwood Necropolis (Ebenezer Orr d. 1874) [plate 5.26 figure A] is a direct copy of Figure 2 from Plate 14 a 'Head and Grave Stones' in *Monumenta*. [plate 5.26 figure C] This impressive monument is described in the pattern book as

a square tomb in the classical Italian style, crowned with a richly decorated draped urn. On each side of this tomb two columns and an arch with carved spandrels enclose a slightly sunk recess; the base mouldings of the columns are continued round the tomb; the arches have key-stone; and a mould cornice, weathered, and surmounted by three diminishing steps, supports the urn which completes the design.

Rex copied the design almost exactly. The decorative details of the columns, spandrels, keystones, cornice and urn are identical. Only the garland wrapped around the urn varies ever so slightly; Rex's garland is denser and features a greater array of flowers.

The memorial to David Henry Dunlop (d. 1874) [plate 5.26 figure B] has also come straight out of *Monumenta*. The elaborately draped headstone corresponds with the front elevation for the Italian style headstone, Figure 3 of Plate 14a. 'Head and Grave Stones'. [plate 5.26 figure C] The flame surmount of the Dunlop memorial appears to have been adopted from the urn of Figure 2 on the same page. This monument was rarely reproduced in New South Wales. However two other

⁸⁶ *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses &c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867. Publisher's Note.

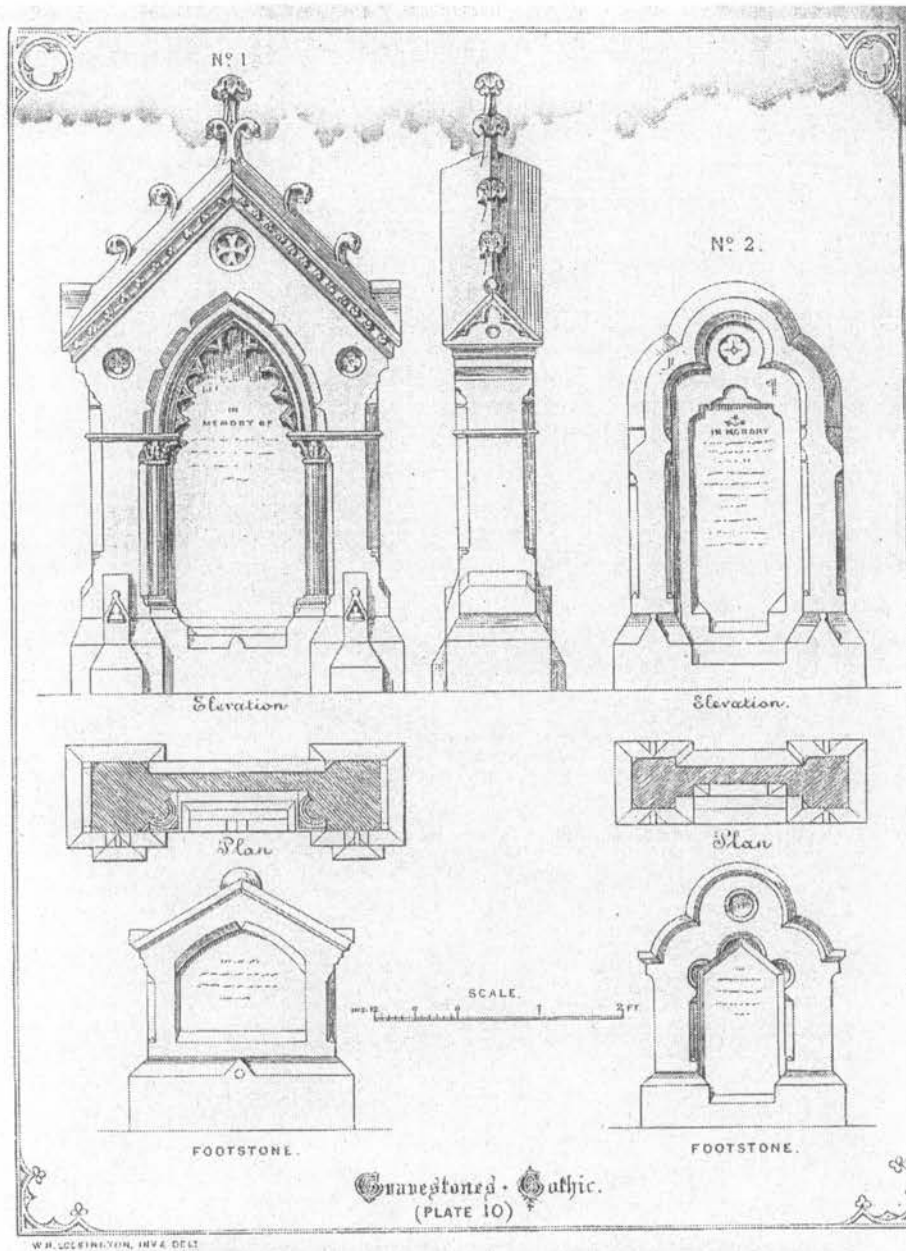


Figure A. Plate from *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses &c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867, illustrating how plans and details were given to aid the reproduction of the designs.

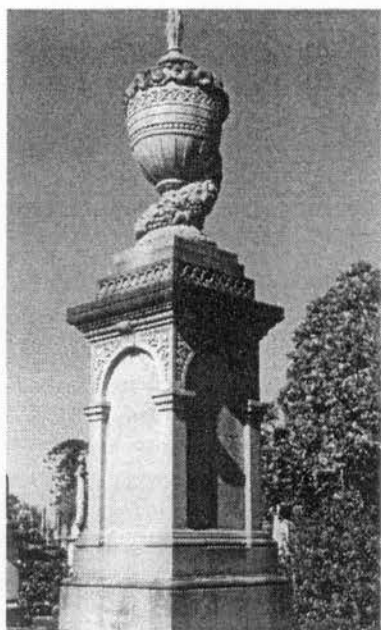


Figure A. Monument to Ebenezer Orr d. 1874, Rookwood Necropolis, executed by F. Rex, Rookwood. This monument is a replica of a design in *Monumenta* reproduced in figure C.

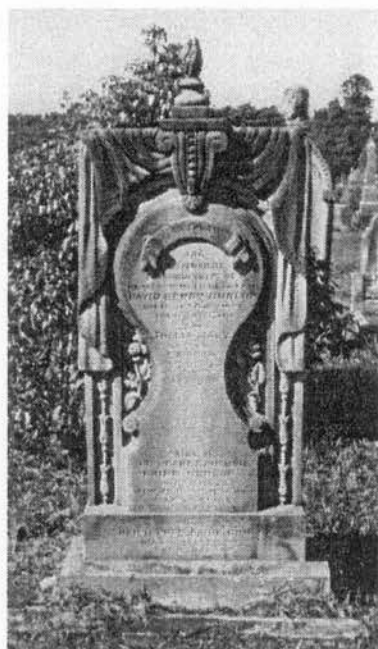


Figure B. Memorial to David Henry Dunlop (d. 1874), Rookwood Necropolis. This design has also come straight out of *Monumenta*. (cf. Figure C)

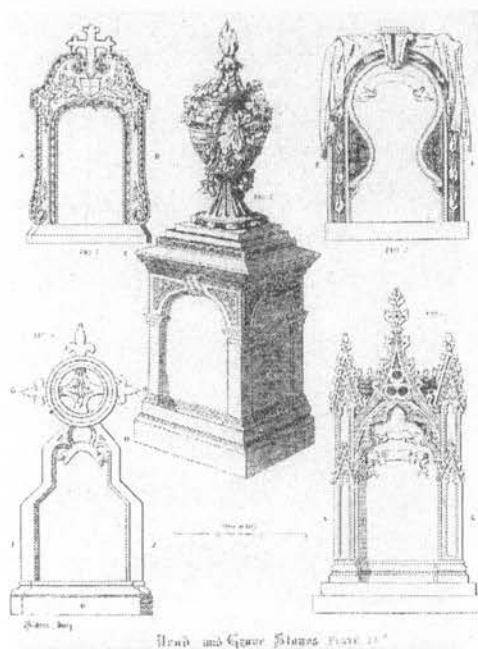


Figure C. Plate 14a. 'Head and Grave Stones', in *Monumenta: Designs for Tombs, Monuments, Headstones, Grave Crosses &c. with working details*, J. Hagger, London, 1867.

examples, more heavily carved and clearly produced by a different mason, have been identified in the Merton Cemetery at Denman, Muswellbrook Shire.⁸⁷

Plates from many other pattern books bear designs which are represented in cemeteries in New South Wales. While the designs may not always have been adopted wholesale in the colony the similarities demonstrate a high level of awareness of trends in sepulchral designs. The circulation of overseas pattern books in New South Wales clearly encouraged the continued cultural transmission of such designs at the same time as they served to further standardise the appearance of the average headstone.

Monumental masons in New South Wales also developed their own range of catalogues and fliers that promoted their skills and designs. Unfortunately, few examples of these catalogues and fliers survive. A photographic catalogue of Thomas Browne has been identified, dating from around the turn of the century.⁸⁸ This album would have been used in the yard to show clients the variety of headstone and monument styles available. [plate 5.27 figures A & B] In the twentieth century, F. Arnold & Sons published at least five catalogues, as well as broadsheets with designs.⁸⁹ The catalogues had photographs of memorials along with a brief description including dimensions [plate 5.28 figure A], and in catalogue no. 5 many of the designs noted in which cemetery the memorial illustrated was erected. [plate 5.28 figure B] Arnold encouraged prospective customers to ‘inspect

⁸⁷ National Trust Cemetery Index Card - Merton Cemetery, Denman.

⁸⁸ Thomas Brown Pty Ltd. ML MSS 4284 Box 8.

⁸⁹ *Frederick Arnold, Monumental Sculptor, Sydney*. Catalogue No. 3. (copyright), c.1920. Private Collection, Ruth Keir; F. Arnold & Sons Ltd, *Rock of Ages Memorials*, Catalogue Number 5 (copyright), c.1929. Private Collection, Ruth Keir and ML MSS 3621 / 73 nb: the copy of catalogue number 5 held in the manuscript collection of Mitchell Library has had some designs cut out and is therefore not complete; F. Arnold & Sons Pty Ltd, *Stones of Remembrance* [broadsheet of designs], c.1969. ML MSS 3621 / 73 Item 2.

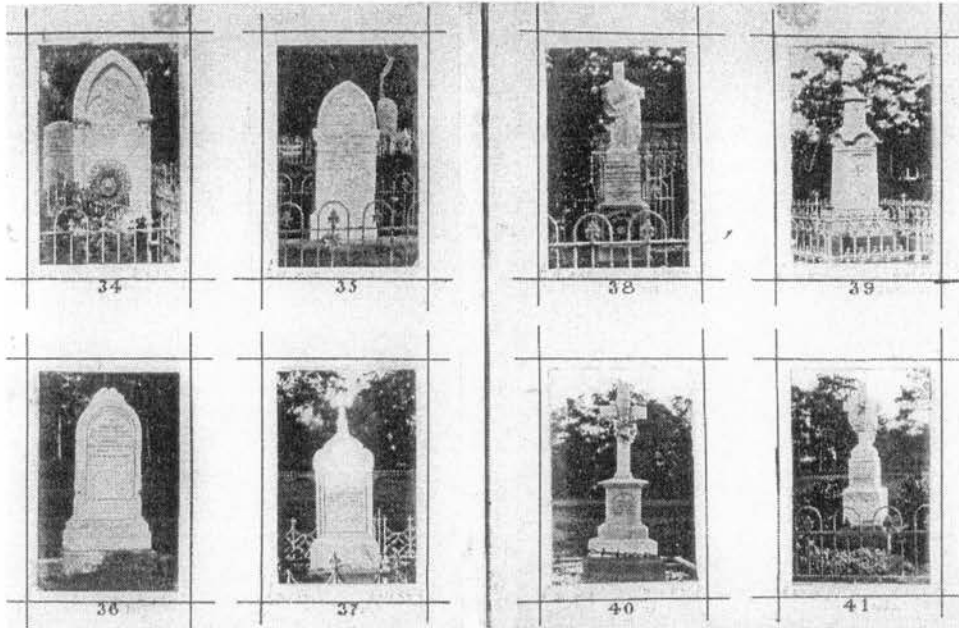


Figure A. Designs from Thomas Browne's photographic album of headstone designs. (ML MSS 4284/8(11).)

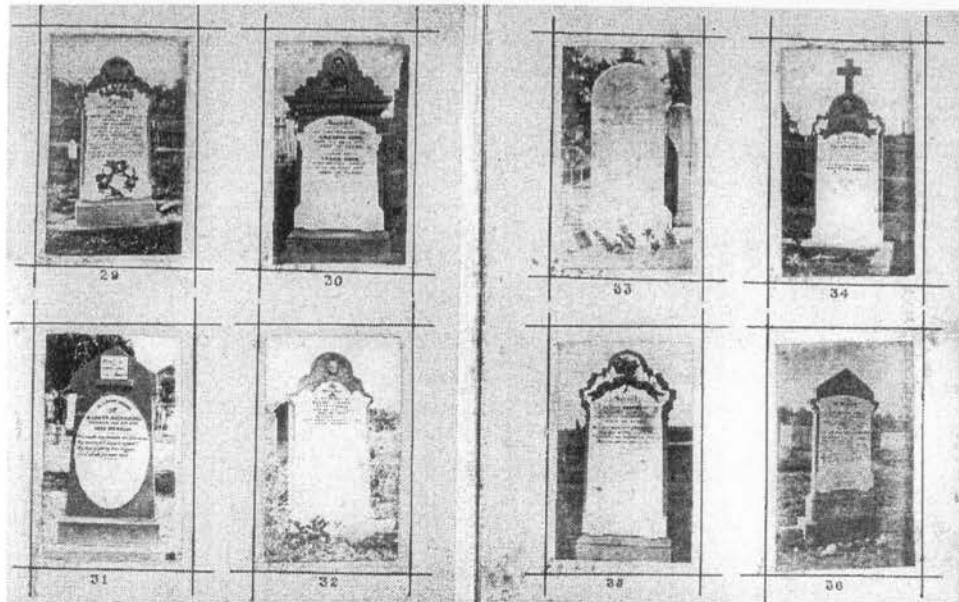


Figure B. Designs from Thomas Browne's photographic album of headstone designs. (ML MSS 4284/8(11).)



Figure A. Designs from *Frederick Arnold, Monumental Sculptor, Sydney*. Catalogue No. 3. (copyright), c.1920. (Private Collection, Ruth Keir)

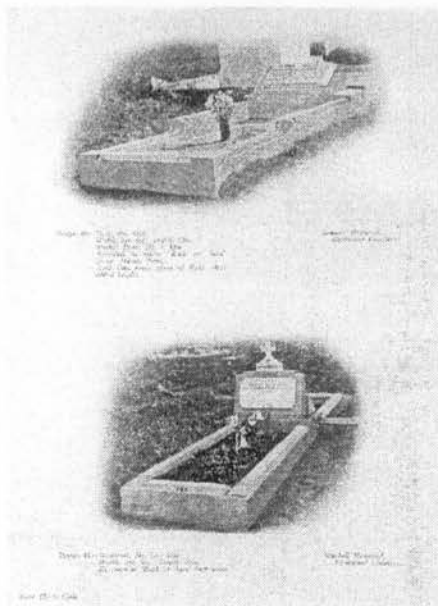


Figure B. F. Arnold & Sons Ltd, *Rock of Ages Memorials*, Catalogue Number 5 (copyright), c.1929. (Private Collection, Ruth Keir)

our memorial works in the cemeteries of this country' thereby showing how his monuments had 'stood the test of time'.⁹⁰ Many monumental masons also advertised that they could post a free sheet of designs to prospective customers.⁹¹ The development of such broadsheets in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century allowed large Sydney and regional monumental mason firms to further expand into rural markets. It also meant that the latest designs from Sydney and overseas were available for erection throughout the colony.

Monuments could also of course be ordered directly from monumental masons in London, thereby allowing colonists access to the latest English designs. For example, Dotteridge Brothers of London, Birmingham and Carrara, Italy advertised in *Wise's New South Wales Post Office Directory*. They claimed to be 'the best house in England for merchants and shippers'. Their monumental masonry department offered 'memorials in granite, marble, stone, metal, and wood; mural tablets, tomb railings, & c.'. ⁹² Other English monumental masonry firms and marble importers had either agents in the colonies representing the company and keeping stock in supply,⁹³ or branches of their company in the colony.⁹⁴ Henry Dunkley, a monumental mason with a stone and marble works opposite Abney Park Cemetery,

⁹⁰ F. Arnold Catalogue No. 3, p. 15.

⁹¹ Advertisement - 'Send for Photos and Designs. Post Free to any part of the Colonies', J. Hanson & Co., 229 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, *Sands' Directory*, 1888; Advertisement - 'Send for designs and prices, post free', H. Taylor & Son, Monumental Masons, 255 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, *Sands' Directory*, 1897; Advertisement - 'Send for designs, post free', J. Cunningham, Margaret & Clarence Streets, Sydney, *Australian Town & Country Journal*, 30 April, 1898; Advertisement - 'Designs with Prices forwarded to any part of the State at request', Edwin Andrews, Monumental Works, Rookwood, *Sands' Directory*, 1902; Advertisement - 'Designs and Estimates forwarded to any part of the States [sic] Free on Application', R. Clark, Monumental Mason, Railway Street, Rookwood, *Sands' Directory*, 1904.

⁹² Advertisement - Dotteridge Brothers, *Wise's New South Wales Post Office Directory*, 1886-87, London Advertisements, p. 37.

⁹³ E. Braby and Co., London was listed under Masons (Marble and Monumental) in the trade section of the *Sands' Directory* (1894) and advertised that W. Sheen at Tattersall's chambers, Hunter Street Sydney, was their agent. Goody, Cripps & Sons, Marble Quarry Owners & Importers, used Messrs Gibbs, Bright & Co. as their agents for Australia and New Zealand. *Wise's New South Wales Post Office Directory*, 1886-87, London Advertisements, p. 41.

Stoke Newington (London) had his memorials erected in 'various metropolitan cemeteries, all parts of England, & c., India, Australia, Africa, America, South Sea Islands, Egypt, and China'. His broadsheet advertisement in a guide to Abney Park Cemetery showing sixteen monument designs [plate 5.29 figure A] assured prospective customers that 'Every description of Monumental Work [can be] erected in any part of the Kingdom or securely packed for exportation'.⁹⁵ These designs are typical of the standard types of memorials erected in cemeteries across colonial New South Wales, providing further confirmation that colonial sepulchral design was largely based on British examples. By the early twentieth century Edwin Andrews, located at Rookwood Necropolis, advertised the 'Latest London Designs in Marble and Granite' [plate 5.29. figure B] - a further indication of the extent to which British trends continued to dominate the funerary industry.⁹⁶

Gravemaker costs - 'prices to suit all classes of purchasers'?

Both Job Hanson in Sydney and John Burns in Bathurst could provide the latest fashions with an eye to economy - 'the designs are the choicest, combined with prices to suit all classes of purchasers'. [plate 5.30 figures A & B] Each felt their show yards had a superlative range of monuments. Hanson claimed he had 'the largest and best stock in Australia to select from'. Burns was slightly more modest, claiming his was 'the largest and best stock in the Western District'.⁹⁷ Although their advertisements were almost identical, both in graphic design and wording, there is no indication that Burns was an agent for Hanson. Perhaps Burns was hoping to

⁹⁴ An Italian Marble Merchant had a branch in Carrara, Italy, London, and Sydney. *Wise's New South Wales Post Office Directory*, 1886-87, London Advertisements, p. 51.

⁹⁵ Rev. Thomas B. Barker, *Abney Park Cemetery: A Complete Descriptive Guide to Every Part of this Beautiful Depository of the Dead*, Houlston & Wright, London, 1869, Advertisements p. 2 and fold-out sheet. (BL).

⁹⁶ Advertisement - 'Edwin Andrews. Monumental Mason, Works and Showyard: Rookwod (only) 1869', *Sands' Directory*, 1913.

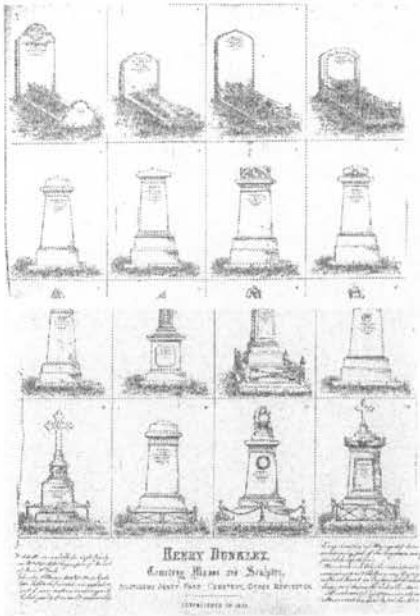
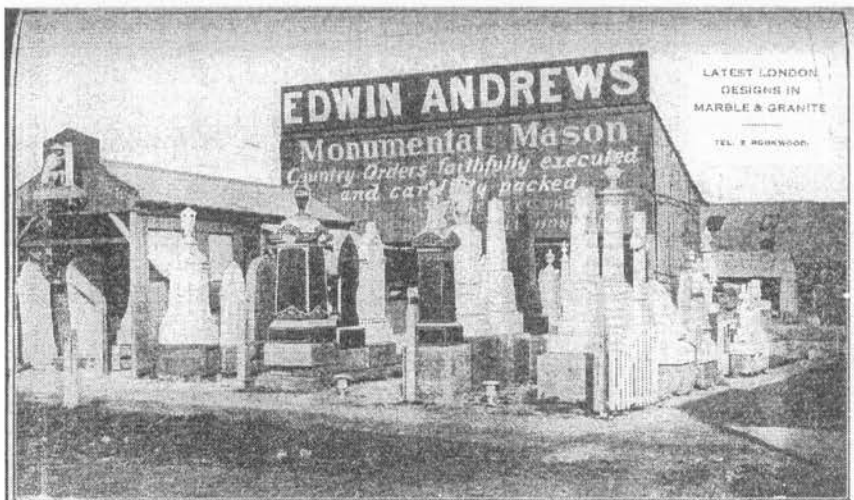


Figure A. Advertisement and fold-out sheet. - Henry Dunkley, Abney Park Cemetery, Stoke Newington (London).
 (In Rev. Thomas B. Barker, *Abney Park Cemetery: A Complete Descriptive Guide to Every Part of this Beautiful Depository of the Dead*, Houlston & Wright, London, 1869, p.2. BL)



WORKS AND SHOWYARD: ROOKWOOD (ONLY) 1869.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'Edwin Andrews. Monumental Mason, Works and Showyard: Rookwood (only) 1869'.
 (Sands' Directory, 1913.)

MONUMENTS & TOMBSTONES
 IN
MARBLE, GRANITE, OR STONE.
 THE LARGEST AND BEST STOCK IN AUSTRALIA TO SELECT FROM.
 THE DESIGNS ARE THE CHOICEST, COMBINED WITH
 PRICES TO SUIT ALL CLASSES OF PURCHASERS.
 The Only Prize for Monuments and Statues at Sydney
 Exhibition, 1879, was awarded to J. HANSON.
 Your inspection is respectfully solicited before purchasing else-
 where. Send for Designs and Photos, they are post free.
 Every variety of Tomb Railing at reasonable charges. Vases,
 Fountains, and Statues suitable for Gardens, at
J. HANSON'S,
MONUMENTAL WORKS,
 BENT & ELIZABETH STREET NORTH, SYDNEY.

Figure A. Advertisement - 'J. Hanson's Monumental Works'.
 (Illustrated Sydney News, 2 September 1882, p. 19.)

MONUMENTS & TOMBSTONES
 — IN —
Marble, Polished Granite, or Stone.
 The LARGEST and BEST stock in the Western District
 to select from.
 The DESIGNS are the CHOICEST, combined with
 PRICES TO SUIT ALL CLASSES OF PURCHASERS.
 Your inspection is respectfully solicited before pur-
 chasing elsewhere. Send for Designs and Photos; they
 are post free.
 Every variety of Tomb Railing at reasonable charges.
 Vases, Fountains, and Statues suitable for Gardens, at
Burns's Monumental Works,
 RUSSELL STREET, BATHURST.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'Burns's Monumental Works'.
 (Bathurst Post, 14 April 1883, p. 4.)

MONUMENTS & TOMBSTONES
 In Marble, Granite, or Freestone.
 Prices to Suit all Classes of Purchasers.

<p>The Best Variety and Largest Stock in Australia. — Prices— From £5 to £300 each. — Send for Photos and Designs. Post Free to any part of the Colonies.</p>		<p>Mural Tablets for Churches, Towns, &c. — TOMB RAILING of every description at Very Low Prices. — Inscriptions Cut in Granite, &c. and all kinds of Dials, Neatly Executed.</p>
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J. HANSON & Co.,
 229 ELIZABETH STREET,
 HYDE PARK,
SYDNEY.
 BRANCH WORKS AT ROOKWOOD.

Figure C. Advertisement - 'J. Hanson & Co., 299 Elizabeth Street, Sydney'.
 (Sands' Directory, 1888.)

emulate the success of Job Hanson, and believed that imitating his advertisements was a step in the right direction. Regardless of Burns' motives, what these two advertisements show is that by the 1880s it was not merely the upper classes which aspired to erect a monument to the deceased, but that 'all classes of purchasers' wished to perpetuate the memory of the dead. Other monumental masons were more discreet than Hanson and Burns in their advertising, offering 'First-class Workmanship at Lowest Prices'⁹⁸ and 'Prices as Low as compatible with Good Workmanship and Best Material'.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, these advertisements all point to the same social phenomenon. Gravemarkers had become a fashionable consumer item by the late nineteenth century.

So what was the average cost of a memorial? Job Hanson offered economy and choice at his yard, with prices ranging from £5 to £300.¹⁰⁰ [plate 5.30. figure C] But could 'all classes of purchasers' really afford to buy a headstone as Hanson and John Burns claimed? Government statistics on average wages of mechanics, farm labourers, and domestic servants for the period 1830-1889¹⁰¹ [See appendix 2] provide a useful base from which to compare cemetery memorial prices in the late nineteenth century. Between the 1870s and the 1890s the average daily wage for the building trades and mechanics was approximately 10s. per day. Based on a 6 day week, this translates to a wage of about £3 per week, or £155 per year.

⁹⁷ Advertisement - 'J. Hanson's Monumental Works', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 2 September 1882, p. 19; Advertisement - 'Burns's Monumental Works', *Bathurst Post*, 14 April 1883, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Advertisement - 'Doyle & Jukes, Monumental Masons, &c.', *Sands' Directory*, 1901.

⁹⁹ Advertisement - 'T. J. Andrews & Sons, Undertakers and Monumental Masons', *Sands' Directory*, 1898.

¹⁰⁰ Advertisement - 'J. Hanson & Co., 299 Elizabeth Street, Sydney', *Sands' Directory*, 1888.

¹⁰¹ T. A. Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1889-90*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1890, p. 525.

The cheapest form of memorial produced in the late nineteenth century was a cast iron grave marker. A large number of such markers were imported from Scotland - particularly from the Watson, Gow & Co.'s Etna Foundry in Glasgow.¹⁰² Indeed many of the cast iron markers identified in New South Wales bear the Etna signature, with design registration numbers. The most common of these were mass produced cast iron memorials with a blank panel upon which an inscription could be painted. These markers could be ordered through mail order catalogues and easily transported across large distances. For these reasons, iron grave markers are more commonly found in isolated rural areas, where both money and monumental masons were lacking. Lassetter & Co. catalogues offered a small range of iron grave markers aimed at the budget market. However, as their marketing line emphasised, economy did not lead to a concession in taste or style.

As in many cases Marble Headstones are too expensive, we can supply Iron Memorial Tablets of the latest designs. They can be supplied in light and graceful styles, quite impossible in any material but metal ... Iron Memorial Tablets can be supplied of tasteful designs, with names painted on in any style, at considerably less cost than stone.¹⁰³

'Considerably less cost' was perhaps an understatement. An iron grave marker in Lassetters' catalogue cost only 25 or 30 shillings, making it by far the cheapest form of mass produced grave marker available. The lettering for an inscription was additional - 4d per gold letter, 2d per black letter. This translates to approximately one week's wages for a tradesman in the late nineteenth century. The designs featured common funerary motifs such as the IHS monogram, cross, flowers and a squat weeping widow with urn. [plate 5.31. figures A & B] Three out of the four designs in Lassetters' catalogue have been identified in New South Wales' rural cemeteries. [plate 5.32. figures A to C]

¹⁰² Stella Jack, 'Cast-Iron Grave-Markers', in *In Memoriam: Cemeteries and Tombstone Art in New South Wales*, Mary Mackay et. al., Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1981, p. 22.

CHEAPSIDE, SYDNEY.

Iron Memorial Crosses, Balcony Railings, &c.

As in many cases Marble Headstones are too expensive, we can supply Iron Memorial Tablets of the latest designs. They can be supplied in light and graceful styles, quite impossible in any material but metal.

We have also the largest stock of Balcony Railings to select from.

Iron Memorial Tablets can be supplied of tasteful designs, with names painted on in any style, at one-fourth the cost of stone.



OB 288

MEMORIAL TABLET (OB 288).

Height above ground, 29 in.; height over all, 42 in.; width, 17 in. 5 1/2" each.



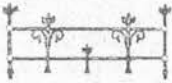
OB 289

MEMORIAL TABLET (OB 289).

Height above ground, 33 in.; height over all, 52 in.; width, 22 in. 30" each.

Grave Railings

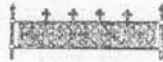
These we can make up specially to order, in any size required, of wrought and cast iron. They can be attached to fixed open slabs, brick or wood copings, &c., where any of these materials are not available, they are made to fit into the earth.



OB 332

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 332).

21 in. high. 2/3 per ft.



OB 331

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 331).

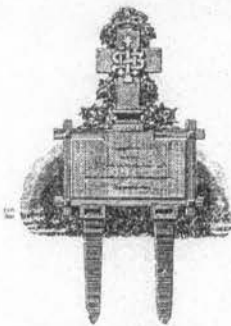
18 1/2 in. high. 2/3 per ft.

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Figure A. F. Lassetter & Co. Ltd, *Lassetters' Monthly Commercial Review* (a.k.a *Lassetters' General Catalogue*), Sydney, April 1906, p. 217.

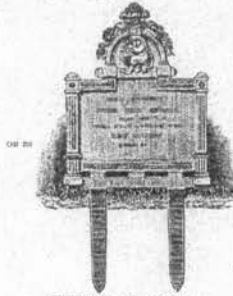
F. LASSETTER & CO., LIMITED,

Iron Memorial Crosses, Balcony Railings, &c.



MEMORIAL TABLET (OB 290).

Height above ground, 22 in.; height over all, 51 in.; width, 24 in. 24" each.



OB 291

MEMORIAL TABLET (OB 291).

Height above ground, 29 1/2 in.; height over all, 48 in.; width, 22 in. 23" each.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TABLETS.

This we can provide to suit all tastes. We warrant that our work should be written in gold letters and the remainder in black. Price for inscribing, 20/6 per letter; price for lettering in black, 2/6 per letter.

Grave Railings



OB 334

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 334).

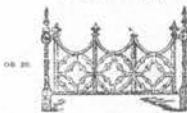
24 1/2 in. high. 4/- per ft.



OB 336

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 336).

17 1/2 in. high. 2/3 per ft.



OB 335

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 335).

18 in. high. 4/3 per ft.



OB 337

CAST-IRON RAILING (OB 337).

25 in. high. 4/3 per ft.

Chairs are not necessary with these Railings, they being so short.

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Figure B. F. Lassetter & Co. Ltd, *Lassetters' Monthly Commercial Review* (a.k.a *Lassetters' General Catalogue*), Sydney, April 1906, p. 218.



Figure A. Iron marker, Katoomba General Cemetery. This is the right-hand design in plate 5.31 (Figure A). (Private Collection, Ian Jack)

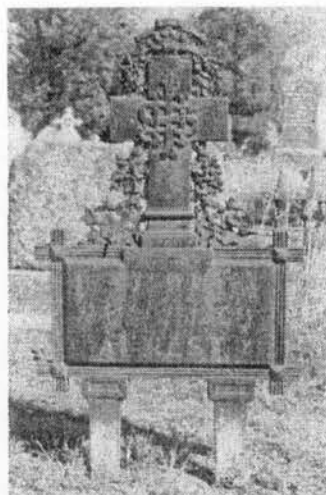


Figure B. Iron marker, Mudgee General Cemetery. This is the left-hand design in plate 5.31 (Figure B). (Private Collection, Ian Jack)



Figure C. Iron marker, Armidale General Cemetery. This is the right-hand design in plate 5.31 (Figure B). (Private Collection, Ian Jack)

Iron grave markers were also produced by local iron foundries such as J. R. Bubb & Sons, Sydney, C. N. Hanson in Mudgee, and N. S. Goddard, Phoenix Foundry, Uralla. Such locally produced markers are usually larger than the generic mail order catalogue designs and are similar in scale and design to stone stela. These markers have often been individually cast and included the inscription raised in the design, thereby making the inscription longer lasting than their generic painted counterparts. [plate 5.33 figure A] One highly individualised cast iron monument - a broken Corinthian column in the Independent Cemetery at Rookwood Necropolis- was to the infant children of foundry owner J. R. Bubb. [plate 5.33. figure B]

The majority of funerary monuments prior to 1870 however were made from sandstone (or freestone), the 'native' stone of the colony. There was a ready supply of such stone in Sydney with quarries located at Pyrmont, Bondi, Paddington, Clovelly, Randwick, Maroubra and Mosman.¹⁰⁴ Further afield high quality sandstone was also found at Ravensfield, near Maitland, where the quarrymaster was the father of a local mason - Thomas Browne. [plate 5.34 figure A] A small proportion of monumental masons also had their own sandstone quarries, a convenience which allowed them to keep their costs down.¹⁰⁵ [plate 5.34 figure B] Other masons were forced to find their stone elsewhere. James Turner, a

¹⁰³ F. Lassetter & Co. Ltd, *Lassetters' Monthly Commercial Review* (a.k.a *Lassetters' General Catalogue*), Sydney, April 1906, p. 217.

¹⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion of quarries see Katalin Rodé, 'Sandstone Quarries in Sydney', Thesis, Master in Heritage Conservation, University of Sydney, 1997.

¹⁰⁵ Donald McNab was reported as having his own sandstone quarry in 1888. (W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales*, Aldine Publishing Co., Sydney, 1888. Volume 2 - biographies. Donald McNab, Monumental Sculptor.) Frederick Arnold had a sandstone quarry at Cascade Street, Paddington (estab. 1915). (F. Arnold, catalogue no. 5, p. 5.)



Figure A. Iron marker to Amanda Mollon (d.1895), made by C N. Hanson, Mudgee. Mudgee General Cemetery. (National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)

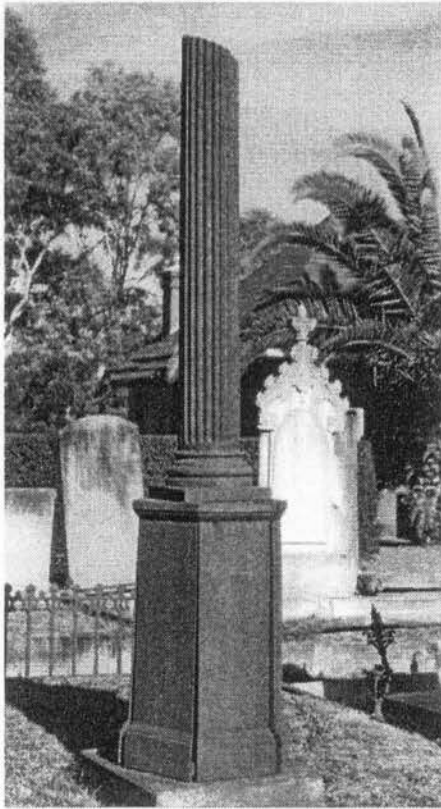
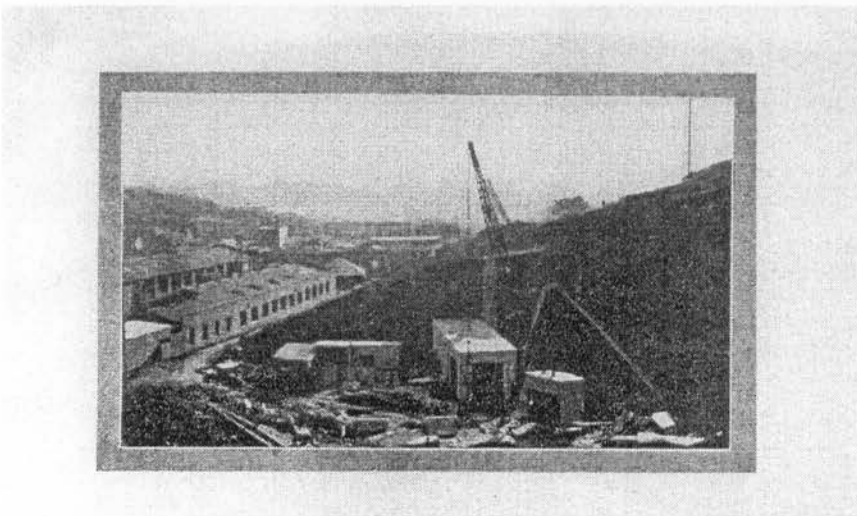


Figure B. Iron marker to J. R. Bubb's infant, Winifred Amy Bubb (d. 1879). Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection).



Figure A. Ravensfield Sandstone Quarry.
(R. T. Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, Technical Education Series, No. 20, Technological Museum, Sydney, 1915.)



Frederick Arnold's sandstone quarry at Cascade Street, Paddington (estab. 1915).
In F. Arnold & Sons Ltd, *Rock of Ages Memorials*, Catalogue Number 5
(copyright), c.1929.
(Private Collection, Ruth Keir)

mason based in Goulburn, sourced his sandstone from a range of quarries at Marulan, Bundanoon, Bankstown and Pymont.¹⁰⁶

The cheapest stone memorials which were available in the late nineteenth century ranged between £4 and £5. These were generally for plain sandstone headstones. Thus a basic freestone monument cost between four to five times more than a generic cast iron marker, and was the equivalent of one and a half to two weeks' wages for a mechanic. A sandstone stela with some simple decorative carving cost between £8 and £12, approximately four weeks' wages for a tradesman. These prices did not include the cost of a grave plot or tomb railing, nor funeral expenses.¹⁰⁷

Marble was more expensive than sandstone, but along with granite, gained rapid favour over the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The *Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales* (1888) noted in a biographical sketch on the Sydney monumental mason Taylor & Son, that 'until within a few years ago freestone was the principal material used, but now marble and granite are in good demand'.¹⁰⁸ The cheapest marble design on offer by Thomas Browne was £10 for a plain semicircular headstone with small cross surmount - double the cost of his cheapest sandstone design. The next cheapest design was a Gothic headstone with shoulders featuring three lilies at £14, followed by five designs at £16. The average

¹⁰⁶ W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales*, Aldine Publishing Co., Sydney, 1888. Volume 2 - biographies. The Goulburn Marble Works (James Turner).

¹⁰⁷ Advertisement - 'Headstones from £5'. Charles H. Demby, Monumental Mason, Letter Cutter and Stone Carver, 77 Liverpool Street, Sydney, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 9 August, 1879, p. 23; Advertisement - 'Prices - From £5 to £300 each'. J. Hanson & Co., 229 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, *Sands' Directory*, 1888; Thomas Browne, catalogue of designs and work, Box 8, Thomas Browne Pty Ltd, ML MSS 4284.

¹⁰⁸ W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales*, Aldine Publishing Co., Sydney, 1888. Volume 2, biographies - Taylor and Son, Monumental Masons, Elizabeth & Goulburn Streets.

price for a marble headstone in Browne's catalogue was £32, the equivalent of nearly 3 months wages for the average tradesman, and the most expensive monument illustrated in the catalogue was a marble figurative sculpture of an angel and cross on a rusticated base costing £70-10-0. The ubiquitous draped urn on pedestal with three step base - a common sight in cemeteries of the late Victorian period - cost £50-10-0, one third of a mechanic's annual wage.¹⁰⁹ Comparison of Browne's catalogue with a similar monument catalogue in Britain dating from 1870 confirms that marble headstones and monuments in general cost two to three times more than their freestone counterparts.¹¹⁰

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century marble was imported from Italy and America by both Sydney and regional monumental masons. Thomas Browne of Maitland appears to have used both the American *Vermont Marble Company Design Book* and the British Art Originality and Sculpture catalogue *Marble Memorials*.¹¹¹ James Turner (The Goulburn Marble Works) imported both Italian and American marble, while John Taylor (Rookwood, Sydney) imported exclusively Italian marble.¹¹² Those monumental masons who continued to produce most of their work in freestone during the late nineteenth century, still kept 'a fair stock of marble work' to satisfy the tastes of their

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Browne, catalogue of designs and work, Box 8, Thomas Browne Pty Ltd, ML MSS 4284.

¹¹⁰ Cox & Sons, *Illustrated Catalogue of Monuments, Tombs, Crosses, and Headstones in Granite, Marble, and Stone; Tomb Rails, Mural Tablets and Monumental Brasses, Bronzes, &c. &c.*, New Edition, 1870. Bodleian Library: John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera; Advertisements - Church Furnishings Box 1. Cox & Son (later Cox & Sons, then Cox Sons Buckley & Co) did not start out in the monumental masonry business. They were 'simply clerical tailors with a sharp eye for a growing market', breaking into the church furnishing market, and the associated sepulchral monument business. Cox & Son 'employed respected architects like William Burges to add intellectual weight to their catalogues'. Their catalogues may be seen as representative of the lower end in the scale of sepulchral designs in a highly commercialised and mass-produced marketplace. James Bettley, *Furnishing the Nineteenth Century Church*, exhibition brochure, National Art Library, 3 April - 25 June 2000.

¹¹¹ Thomas Browne Pty Ltd. ML MSS 4284 Box 10.

customers.¹¹³ It is hard to quantify the use of local marble for funerary monuments compared to European and American marble. Some monumental masons used both local and overseas marble. William Patten had a marble quarry on the Wollondilly River and exhibited his marble in the International Exhibition of London in 1862.¹¹⁴ Patten Bros. used both Italian and Australian marble, as well as importing materials from the United Kingdom and Belgium.¹¹⁵ The quality of local stone was promoted by the government through publications such as *Building and Ornamental Stones of New South Wales* (1908) and *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia* (1915).¹¹⁶

Marble appears to have become popular for a number of reasons. As noted earlier the associations of marble with the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome helped to define it as an enlightened and refined choice, while its use by the aristocracy in eighteenth-century English church memorials gave marble further prestige and status as a sepulchral memorial material. Marble was also more durable than sandstone, making it an appropriate choice for memorial art.¹¹⁷ Inscriptions could be incised and filled with 'imperishable' lead lettering thus improving the legibility and lifespan of the monument.¹¹⁸ Marble's white colour was

¹¹²W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales*, Aldine Publishing Co, Sydney, 1888. Volume 2, biographies - Goulburn, The Goulburn Marble Works; Sydney, Rookwood, John Taylor, Marble and Freestone Works.

¹¹³ Morrison, *Aldine Centennial History of NSW*, Volume 2, biographies - Sydney, Rookwood, Thomas Andrews and Sons, Stone and Marble Works.

¹¹⁴R. T. Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, Technical Education Series No. 19, Department of Public Instruction, Technical Education Branch, Technological Museum, Sydney, 1915, p. 14; Advertisement - Patten Bros, *Sands' Directory*, 1880.

¹¹⁵ Morrison, *Aldine Centennial History of NSW*, Volume 2, biographies - Sydney, The Australian and Italian Marble, Slate, and Stone Works. Stone imported from the United Kingdom was most likely slate and granite. Advertisement - 'Patten Bros., The Australian and Italian Marble Works', *Sands Directory*, 1880.

¹¹⁶R. T. Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of New South Wales*, Department of Public Instruction, Technical Education Branch, Technological Museum, Sydney, 1st ed. 1908, 2nd ed. 1909; Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, 1915.

¹¹⁷ Frederick Arnold, catalogue no. 3, p. 69.

¹¹⁸ Lead lettering was frequently marketed by monumental masons as being 'imperishable'. For example Advertisement - Doyle & Jukes, Monumental Masons, Waverley. *Sands' Directory*, 1901; Advertisement - R. Clark, Monumental Mason, Rookwood. *Sands' Directory*, 1904.

seen as particularly appropriate in the cemetery. Frederick Arnold's 1920 catalogue put voice to these feelings:

Harmony by contrast is always pleasing to the eye. Clear, white marble, glistening against the dull green of cemetery foliage, and in contrast with the dark brown of masonry, gives a quiet effect that cannot be excelled by any other material. ... Truly the carver's chisel gives breath to the story that marble would tell.¹¹⁹

Social differentiation could also be expressed by the use of marble. A marble monument was a more expensive monument - 'too expensive' according to Lassetters' catalogue¹²⁰ - and its choice implied greater wealth, taste and social status. This is illustrated not only in the comparative cost of memorials in marble and sandstone, but also in the composition of catalogues themselves. Thomas Browne had 45 marble designs on offer in the front of his album which he showed to prospective clients. [plate 5.35. figure A] If these proved too expensive, he had a range of another thirty headstones at the back of his album which were composed of a freestone headstone with marble inscription tablet. [plate 5.35. figure B] Such composite material designs were a compromise; it was a cheaper option than marble, more expensive than straight freestone but with the great advantage of long-term legibility offered by marble with lead lettering.¹²¹

The wider availability of granite for sepulchral memorials followed in the footsteps of marble. A variety of granite colours and types were available for funerary monuments by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A large quantity of this monumental granite was imported from Scotland, much to the dismay of government officials.¹²² Thomas Browne in c.1885 imported marble and granite 'direct ... from the Centres of Art in Italy and Scotland, also Swedish and

¹¹⁹ Frederick Arnold, catalogue no. 3, p. 55.

¹²⁰ F. Lassetter & Co. Ltd, *Lassetters' General Catalogue*, 1906, p. 217.

¹²¹ Thomas Browne, catalogue of designs and work. Thomas Browne Pty Ltd, ML MSS 4284 Box 8.

¹²² Baker, *Building and Ornamental Stones of Australia*, p. 18.

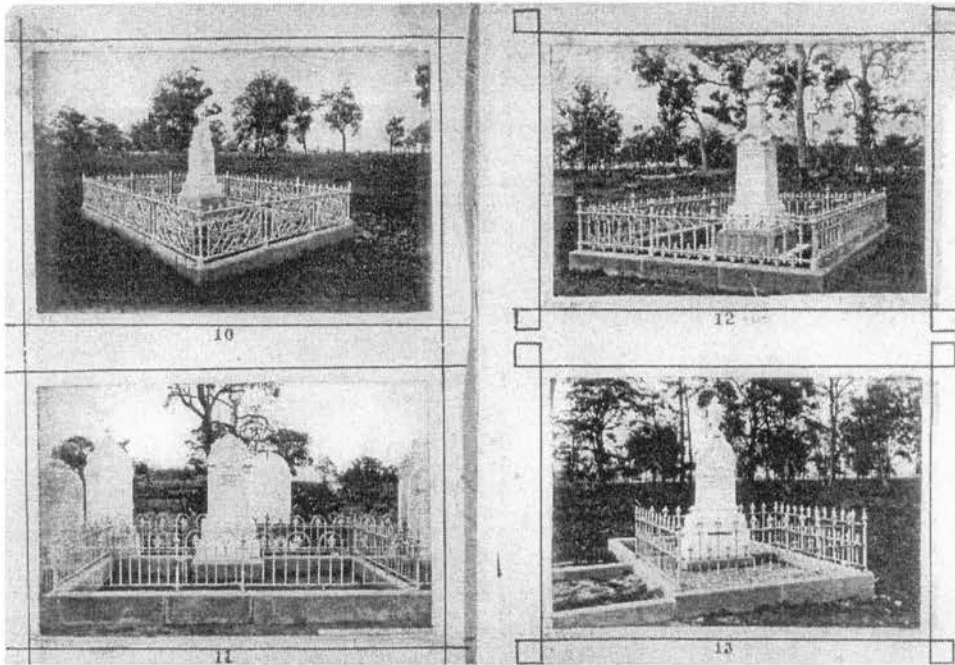


Figure A. Expensive marble monuments promoted in the front section of Thomas Browne's photographic album of headstone designs.
(ML MSS 4284/8(11).)

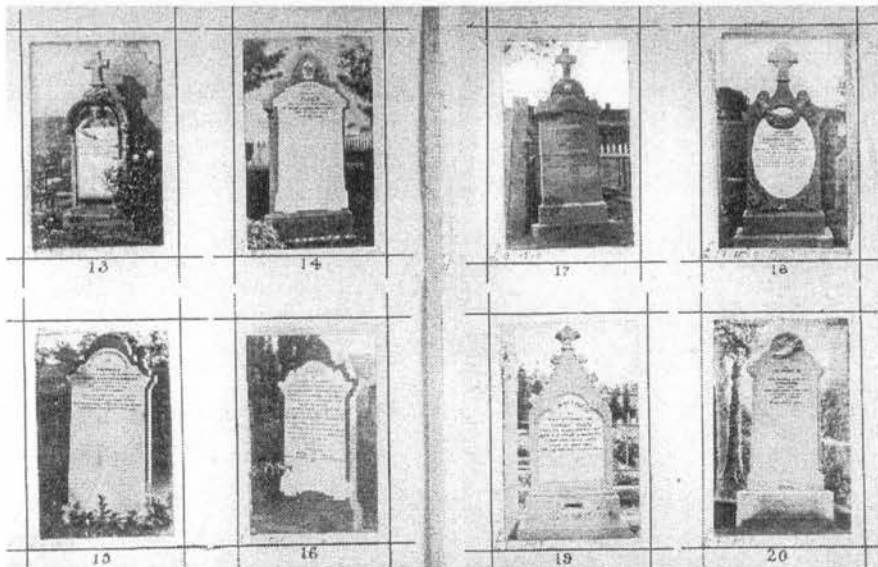


Figure B. Cheaper headstones of composite materials located in the rear section of Thomas Browne's photographic album of headstone designs.
(ML MSS 4284/8(11).)

Labrador Granite'. By 1900 he had added America to his list of suppliers.¹²³ F. Arnold & Sons advertised five types of granite which were sourced both locally and overseas. Trachyte was sourced from Bowral, New South Wales; dark grey granite from Marulan, New South Wales; Balmoral red granite from Finland; and Emerald Pearl granite and Swedish Black (Bon Accord) granite from Sweden.¹²⁴ [plate 5.36. figure A] By the 1950s, F. Arnold had his own granite quarries at Anarel, Mudgee and Uralla in New South Wales, to complement his sandstone quarries in Paddington.¹²⁵ Country monumental masons exploited local stone using it for kerbing and plinths as well as for monuments. Joseph Zeigler was based in Moruya and serviced much of the south-east region of New South Wales. He utilised the local Moruya granite, having his own quarry on the northern side of the Moruya River.¹²⁶ Zeigler used this hard grey stone for plinths beneath his marble headstones rather than the more commonly used freestone.¹²⁷

Like marble, granite was more expensive than sandstone. A granite headstone or monument ranged in price from £16 to £67.¹²⁸ Granite was thus approximately four times more expensive than the average sandstone headstone. Again this is roughly comparable with prices in Britain.¹²⁹ The shift to more expensive monument materials, particularly marble and to a lesser extent granite, in the late nineteenth century is visually apparent when surveying cemeteries. It

¹²³ Hand-bill advertisement. c.1885. Slipped between October 1885 pages, Receipts/Expenditure Book 1878-1887. Thomas Browne Pty Ltd, ML MSS 4284 Box 3. Letterhead. c.1900s. Ravensfield Quarries Order Book 1906-1909, p.38. Thomas Browne Pty Ltd, ML MSS 4284 Box 3.

¹²⁴ F. Arnold & Sons, catalogue no. 5, p. 2.

¹²⁵ Contract Book 1956. F. Arnold and Sons ML MSS 3621/50.

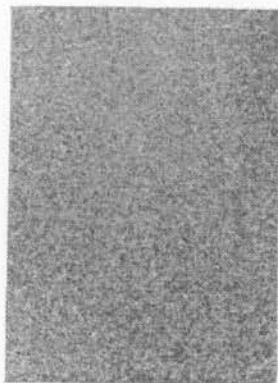
¹²⁶ This quarry was later co-opted by Dorman Long and Co. in 1924 for quarrying the granite used in the construction of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Christine Greig, *Not Forgotten - Memorials in Granite*, rev. ed., Helen (Nell) Greig, Moruya, 1998, p. 23; H. J. Gibbney, *Eurobodalla: History of the Moruya District*, Library of Australian History, in association with Eurobodalla Shire Council, Sydney, 1989, p. 171.

¹²⁷ See his monuments, for example, at Moruya Heads Cemetery (Toragy Point) and Moruya General Cemetery.

¹²⁸ F. Arnold Pty Ltd. Order books 1882, 1892 & 1902. ML MSS 3621/1 & 4.

COLOR SAMPLES OF GRANITES.

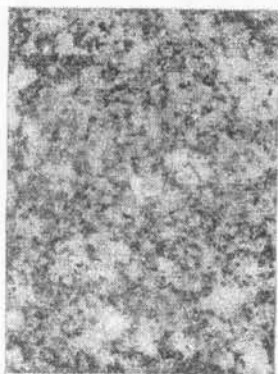
These color samples give some idea of the colour and graining of the four decorative stones as shown. Swedish black (Ban Accord) can also be supplied.



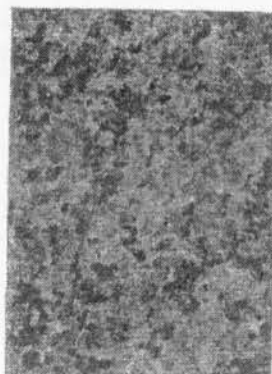
TRACHYTE.
(Bowral, N.S.W.)



EMERALD PEARL GRANITE.
(Sweden.)



DARK GREEN GRANITE.
(Maroubra, N.S.W.)



BALMORAL RED GRANITE.
(Finland.)

Any of the above colors can be supplied with any Granite design chosen.

Price List.

Figure A. Granites available from F. Arnold & Sons Ltd, *Rock of Ages Memorials*, Catalogue Number 5 (copyright), c.1929. (Private Collection, Ruth Keir)

becomes more obvious when the orders received by monumental masons are quantified into materials types.

Table 5.1. Number of gravemarkers ordered by material from F. Arnold in 1882, 1892, 1902. Source: F. Arnold Pty Ltd. Order Books for 1882, 1892, 1902. ML MSS 3621/ 1 & 4.

	Sandstone	Marble	Granite
1882	18	10	0
1892	18	31	6
1902	23	31	4

Table 5.1 illustrates how the number of sandstone memorials ordered remained static between 1882 and 1892 in comparison to a rapid increase in the number of granite and marble monuments. Marble remained popular into the twentieth century. However, the number of sandstone memorials surged again in 1902 reflecting the growing popularity for lower desk type monuments with kerbing and a simple scroll or plaque.¹³⁰ These figures are representative of broad changes in the choice of funerary monuments. In the late nineteenth century however, marble was clearly the material of choice.

While masons displayed monuments worth up to £300 in their yards, the average amount spent on a headstone was considerably less. The average client to Frederick Arnold's yard in 1882 spent £16 on a headstone and kerbing. In 1892 this had risen slightly to £21, but had declined back to £17 in 1902.¹³¹ Of course the cost

¹²⁹ Cox & Sons, *Illustrated Catalogue of Monuments*, 1870.

¹³⁰ These figures may also be skewed towards sandstone because the decision was made that unless it was otherwise specified, sandstone was the default material ordered. While this was clearly the case in 1882 and 1892, the order books became more difficult to categorise and interpret due to the increasing variety of monument and material combinations ordered, and also due to variations in how the orders were recorded. Nevertheless I feel that these figures are representative of broad changes in the choice of funerary monuments in the late nineteenth century.

¹³¹ F. Arnold Pty Ltd. ML MSS 3621/1. Item 1. Order, receipt and expenditure book 1879-1882. Item 8. Order, receipt and expenditure book 1892. ML MSS 3621/4. Order book 1901-1905. Orders for headstones were extracted and then the average computed. The figures do not include orders only for kerbing, since many cemeteries required plot purchasers to kerb their graves immediately.

of a monument was not the only expense. Lettering for a long inscription could cost extra. At the turn of the century, F. Arnold included 60 lead letters as part of the cost for a marble monument, but extra letters were two shillings per dozen.¹³² One also had to have a gravesite on which to place the monument. Grave plots ranged from 10 shillings to 18 pounds and there was an additional fee to actually erect a monument (if that were allowed at all).¹³³ As described in chapter four common graves, which were the cheapest type of grave, generally had restrictions that prohibited the erection of monuments. Prominent Sydney undertaker, James Curtis, commented in 1855,

Great numbers of persons complain that they cannot, on account of the high charge [at Camperdown Cemetery], get a grave to which they would be permitted to put a headstone, which is, of course, the wish of a great many; they can only get a common interment. I am of the opinion that, were it not for the prosperity of the labouring classes during the last three or four years, there would be more complaints.¹³⁴

This remark is revealing because it confirms that while a gravestone was a highly desirable element within colonial burial practices, not everyone in the lower classes could afford such expressions of mourning and remembrance. As I have shown, a comparison of prices with average wages of a tradesman confirms that even the purchase of a simple sandstone monument required a minimum of two weeks wages. No doubt this was out of the reach of many families. This analysis of gravemarker costs provides an important context for understanding the popularity of cemeteries in the late nineteenth century. The erection of a headstone, whilst a requisite part of a respectable burial, was for many unobtainable.

Including such figures would have obscured the amount spent on a headstone, by dragging the average down. The average was rounded to the nearest pound.

¹³² F. Arnold & Son. Order Book 1901-1905, pp. 108-9. ML MSS 3621/4.

¹³³ SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries in Sydney 1835-81: Rules and Regulations, Church of England Cemetery, The Necropolis. 7 August 1877, [5/7705].

Choice, style and fashion: the desire for a 'chaste' monument

The affordability of cemetery monuments was one factor that tempered the choice of gravemarkers. However, descriptions of 'chaste' monuments and a confluence in sepulchral designs chosen by individuals suggests that there were broader values that shaped the choice of funerary monuments, rather than simply economic factors. Susan Buckham argues that choice of gravestones in Victorian York 'is modified by culturally determined bounds of acceptability which are structured by factors such as gender, ethnicity and religious affiliation'.¹³⁵ This is certainly also true of cemetery monuments in New South Wales. The evidence presented thus far - from advertisements, pattern and order books and the cemeteries themselves - demonstrates the overriding influence of British funerary traditions in the colony as well as the important role played by fashion and popular taste. While the stylistic debate received some attention in Australian architectural journals of the nineteenth century, its impact on monumental design was minimal. Ironically this debate actually facilitated, rather than hampered, the range and choice of funerary monuments. Monumental masons continued to produce work in both the Gothic and Neoclassical styles, presumably in response to customer demands. However the moralistic overtones of the debate did result in increased monitoring of the cemetery by clergymen, cemetery trustees and managers who all attempted to control religious expression and restrain the perceived excesses of public taste.

¹³⁴ 'Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Management of Burial Grounds with Minutes of Evidence', *NSW Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings*, 1855, vol. 3, p.11.

¹³⁵ Susan Buckham, 'The Men that Worked for England They Have their graves at home': Consumerist issues within the production and purchase of gravestones in Victorian York', in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, ed. Sarah Tarlow & Susie West, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 212-213.

Despite such efforts however, diversity flourished and the ability of 'all classes of purchasers'¹³⁶ to choose their own monument became one of the major marketing tools used by monumental masons in the late nineteenth century. As noted previously monumental masons promoted their wares through advertisements in post office and commercial directories, church and popular daily newspapers, fliers and catalogues. They also directly canvassed for work inside cemeteries, much to the consternation of visitors and in spite of cemetery regulations banning the practice. Several correspondents to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1890 complained a visit to Rookwood Necropolis had been made 'intolerable' by the 'unfeeling and untimely practices' of masons touting for business. Cards were 'thrust' into the hands of visitors as they arrived and people were even approached while attending graves. These solicitations included photo albums of work and price lists for monuments, and 'inquiries made as to whether you will not give an order to the cheapest man for a monument, tombstone, railing, or kerbing'.¹³⁷

The masons' advertisements and catalogues further suggest that the stylistic debate, if anything, only encouraged them to offer a greater range of styles and thereby appeal to all tastes. John Bustard advertised in 1888 that he had '500 designs to choose from'¹³⁸ although it seems unlikely that the full range would have been available to view in his yard. Pattern books or catalogues would have been used to illustrate the many designs which could be imported or carved to order. Larger monumental masonry businesses could keep a higher quantity of headstones and

¹³⁶ Advertisement - J. Hanson's Monumental Works, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 2 September 1882, p. 19.

¹³⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 July 1890, 11 July 1890. Newsclippings in Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1). (Anglican Trustees Office, Rookwood Necropolis).

¹³⁸ Advertisement - 'John Bustard, contractor and importer of Marble and Granite Monuments', *Year Book of New South Wales, 1888*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1888, p. xvi.

monuments in stock. J. Hanson, for instance, advertised that he had '300 [designs] in stock to select from' at his yard on Elizabeth Street - all of which were 'very chaste and striking'.¹³⁹ [plate 5.37. figure A]

So what was meant by the word 'chaste' which was so often used to describe a funerary monument? It appears to have referred to a number of qualities: firstly that the monument was appropriate in style and scale, and elegant (and pure) in its embodiment of architectural style, and secondly, that it captured the emotional and religious feelings of the deceased and/or the mourner in a restrained yet inspirational manner. In essence a 'chaste' monument was a symbol of faith and taste. The term was first used to describe Classical tombs, but was later equally applied to Gothic monuments.¹⁴⁰ Whatever the underlying style, however, producing a 'chaste' monument was not easy and a number of clergymen and architects suggested the determination of style should not be left up to the monumental mason, since 'refined judgement [was] needed' to produce appropriate ornamentation.¹⁴¹ There is an implied judgement here, too, that the lower classes did not naturally possess such genteel qualities. Indeed much of the stylistic debate centred around the belief that the majority of funerary monuments to be found in churchyards and cemeteries, in other words the memorials of the general masses, were not 'chaste'.

¹³⁹ 'Mr Hanson's Monumental Works', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 6 September 1879, p. 6; Advertisement - J. Hanson & Co., Elizabeth Street North, Sydney, *Sands' Directory*, 1883.

¹⁴⁰ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 123; Bowdler, 'The Neoclassical Tomb', pp. 27-29; W. Hastings Kelke (rector of Drayton Beauchamp), *The Churchyard Manual. Intended Chiefly for Rural Districts, with designs for churchyard memorials kindly furnished by G. G. Scott, Esq., and W. Slater, Esq., Architects*, C. Cox, London, 1851, p. 31. (BL)

¹⁴¹ Kelke, *The Churchyard Manual*, p. 30; Arthur William Hakewill, architect, *Modern Tombs, Gleaned from the Public Cemeteries of London*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longman's, London, 1851, pp. 4-5. (BL).

Monuments and Tombstones

OF NEW AND CHOICE DESIGNS

IN

MARBLE AND POLISHED GRANITE,

TOMB RAILINGS.

300

In Stock to Select from.



Awarded FIRST PRIZE International Exhibition
for Monumental Work.

J. HANSON & CO.,

ELIZABETH STREET NORTH,

FACING AUSTRALIAN CLUB,

SYDNEY.

BRANCH WORKS - - - ROOKWOOD CEMETERY.

SEND FOR PHOTOS, WITH PRICE, POST FREE.

Figure A. Advertisement - J. Hanson & Co., Elizabeth Street North, Sydney.
(Sands' Directory, 1883.)

English architect D. A. Clarkson produced three volumes of gravestone designs with the aim of promoting more tasteful and appropriate designs.¹⁴² He was, according to reviewers, successful in this and his designs were described as being 'refined', 'chaste in character and pure in architectural attributes', while 'combining propriety and uniformity with correct taste and practical economy'.¹⁴³ Clarkson's designs are quite plain with little embellishment. The most ornate monuments are Gothic designs [plate 5.38 figure A] with crockets and pinnacles. Crosses were also central in his designs. His designs in volume two feature some classical motifs, such as the shell, broken column, and urn [plate 5.39 figure A]. Although using elements of Classical symbolism (that were condemned by advocates of the Gothic style) the rendering of these symbols by Clarkson is quite plain, even severe. By volume three, perhaps responding to criticism, Clarkson had reverted to plain Gothic designs. [plate 5.40 figure A]

In New South Wales, it appears 'chaste' was used more broadly. Job Hanson's 'very beautiful collection of monumental statuary in the show-yards' at Elizabeth Street were more varied in style than Clarkson's designs.

These consist of most artistic works in durable marble and granite, and in other stones usually adopted for such purposes. But the chief designs are in marble and granite, and many of these are very chaste and striking.¹⁴⁴

The accompanying picture in the *Illustrated Sydney News* [plate 5.41 figure A] shows obelisks, tall columns and pillars surmounted by draped urns, a pedestal and angel,

¹⁴² D. A. Clarkson, *New Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Mural Tablets, Crosses, Headstones and Ornamental Stone & Iron Work*, Atchley & Co., London, 1852. (BL); D. A. Clarkson, *The Second Volume of New Designs, containing head-stones, tombs, and monuments, in the Grecian, Italian and Gothic Styles*, Atchley & Co., London, 1858. (BL); D. A. Clarkson, *Christian Memorials: The Third Volume of New Designs for Crosses, Headstone, Tombs, etc.*, Atchley & Co., London, 1864-5. (BL).

¹⁴³ Quotes from reviews by the *Morning Herald*, *St James' Chronicle*, and the *Magazine of Science*, were published in the inside cover of the 4th monthly instalment of Clarkson's first volume. Clarkson, *New Designs for Monuments*, part 4.

¹⁴⁴ 'Mr. Hanson's Monumental Works', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 6th September, 1879, p. 6.

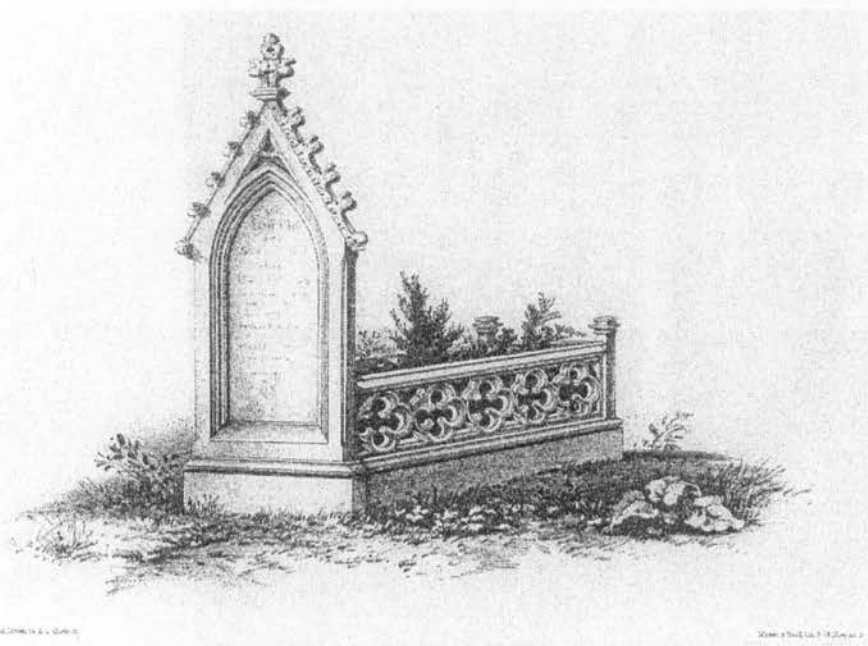


Figure A. Designs from D. A. Clarkson, *New Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Mural Tablets, Crosses, Headstones and Ornamental Stone & Iron Work*, Atchley & Co., London, 1852. (BL).

PLATE II.



Figure A. Designs from D. A. Clarkson, *The Second Volume of New Designs, containing head-stones, tombs, and monuments, in the Grecian, Italian and Gothic Styles*, Atchely & Co., London, 1858. (BL).



Figure A. Designs from D. A. Clarkson, *Christian Memorials: The Third Volume of New Designs for Crosses, Headstone, Tombs, etc.*, Atchley & Co., London, 1864-5. (BL).

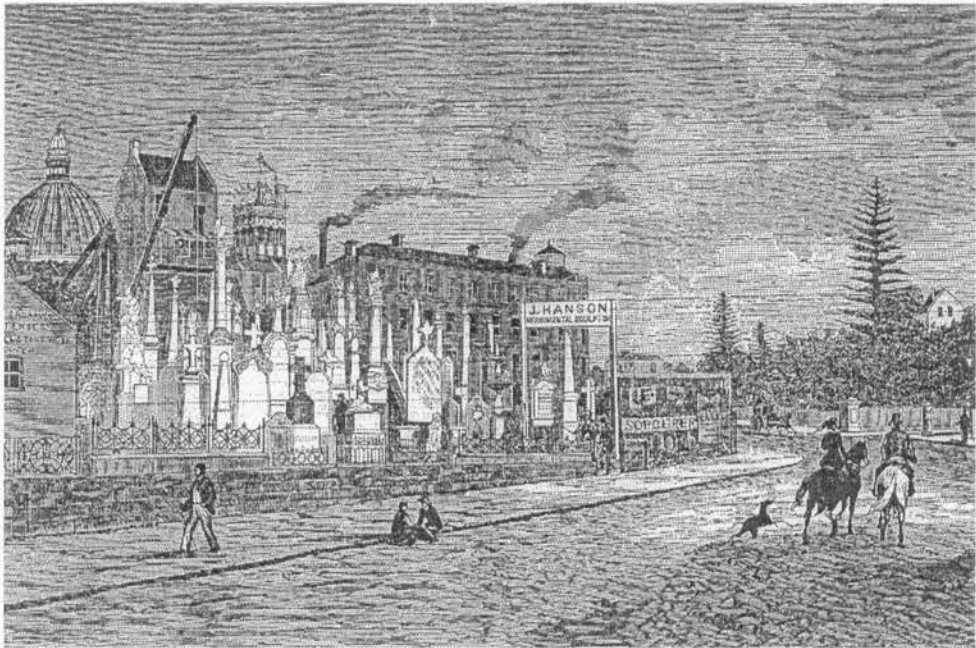


Figure A. 'Mr. Hanson's Monumental Works', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 6th September, 1879.

a pedestal with widow and cross, crosses, headstones and some figurative sculptures. Indeed there are very few examples of Gothic monuments visible, except perhaps for some tapering columns on the left of the picture which may have been based upon the concept of a market cross. The majority of monuments in Hanson's yard are clearly Neoclassical in style and this would seem to indicate that in the colony 'chasteness' was not confined to stylistically correct Gothic monuments, but was used more generically to describe refined, aesthetically pleasing monuments of various styles. The description in the *Illustrated Sydney News* also singles out the monuments executed in marble and granite as 'chaste'. As we have already seen the use of such expensive materials could significantly increase the desirability and social value of a monument. This pairing of status with 'chasteness' suggests that (at least in the public mind) the desire for a 'chaste' monument was often as much about displaying status, wealth and taste as it was about any higher moral purpose.

Clergymen, trustees, and cemetery managers however were anxious to ensure that monuments were 'chaste' and appropriate. Most cemetery regulations had clauses requiring all monument designs to be submitted for approval before work commenced. Despite this there were still remarkable variations amongst the different religious denominations as to what was deemed acceptable. The Unsectarian Burial Ground of the General Cemetery at Fernmount (formerly known as Weekes) on the New South Wales north coast was quite lenient about the designs and inscriptions of monuments. They could contain any religious emblem, or other symbol, and express whatever belief, opinions or aspirations the owners desired as

long as 'the same be decent and not offensive to the public feeling.'¹⁴⁵ The regulations for the Church of England cemetery at Camperdown were much stricter. The secretary was required to keep a register of monumental designs. The chaplain was to inspect this register regularly to identify and prohibit 'any memorial, emblem, or inscription proposed to be erected, of immoral, irreligious, or unbecoming character or tendency'.¹⁴⁶ In 1861 Bishop Polding requested Roman Catholic clergy keep 'some kind and discreet censorship over inscriptions, that they may suggest salutary thoughts and win a pious prayer for the departed from the casual passer by'.¹⁴⁷ To this end the Trustees at the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Rookwood Necropolis kept a register of inscriptions 'to ensure they are suitable'.¹⁴⁸

Unfortunately it appears that none of these monument registers has survived. Nevertheless from a close reading of the few cemetery trustees' minute books which still exist, it becomes apparent that censorship was a regular occurrence in the cemetery. There were clear standards which memorials and grave furniture had to meet. The regulations of the Church of England at Rookwood Necropolis are typical. The kerbing of all graves and vaults had to be 'of stone, clean cut, and rounded on top' to specific measurements (Regulation 4). Railings 'shall be of wrought iron with cast-iron standards, painted and subject to the Manager's approval' (Regulation 4). All tombs and monuments had to be placed on

¹⁴⁵ *NSW Government Gazette*, vol. 1 1910, Regulations for the Unsectarian Burial Ground at the General Cemetery of Fernmount (Weekes) pp. 182-183.

¹⁴⁶ 'Progress Report of Select Committee on the Camperdown and Randwick Cemeteries Bill, with minutes of evidence', JNSWLC, 1866, vol. 14 part 2: Rules and Regulations for the ecclesiastical government of the Cemetery at Camperdown, 12 July 1848. Addenda to J. R. Treeve's evidence. p. 60.

¹⁴⁷ The Pastoral Monition of John Bede, by Divine Grace and favor of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan, to the Very Reverend and Reverend the Clergy of the Archdiocese. 1 November 1861, in *The Eye of Faith: The Pastoral Letters of John Bede Polding*, eds. Gregory Haines, Sister Mary Gregory Forster, & F. Brophy, Lowden Publishing Co., Kilmore, Vic., 1977, pp. 280-281.

¹⁴⁸ 12 February 1895. Trustees Minutes. Roman Catholic Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis. Extracted by Carol Liston, *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*, 1993.

stone foundations (Regulation 12). All vaults had to be constructed of 'stone set in cement, or bricks of the best quality set and cased in the best Portland cement' (Regulation 3). And of course, 'a copy of every inscription and drawing of every tomb or monument must be approved by the Trustees previous to the erection'.¹⁴⁹ Roman Catholic trustees at Rookwood Necropolis could 'order the removal of any objectionable monument, tombstone, or inscription which may be placed thereon ... All monuments, tombstones and other erections in the said Cemetery shall be commenced and completed subject to the supervision of the Trustees or their officer - the plans and inscriptions having first received their approval.'¹⁵⁰

Although the regulations were quite specific they were consistently challenged. Some masons, to avoid problems and delays, submitted new designs for approval by the cemetery trustees prior to offering them to clients. Hanson & Lewis submitted one such design in 1885 to the Anglican Trustees at Rookwood. The headstone would consist of three stones. The plans were approved, and a double fee set due to the number of stones used in its erection.¹⁵¹ Not all tradesmen were so lucky. The same trustees decided 'not to entertain the matter' of McLean & Co.'s submission of new designs for iron surrounds to be introduced at Rookwood.¹⁵² It was not minuted why these designs were rejected. The Manager of the Church of England Cemetery at the Necropolis complained in 1875 that 'several applications had been made for the introduction of Kerbing, Railing and plans of

¹⁴⁹ Amended Rules and Regulations for the Church of England Cemetery, The Necropolis. 13 December 1877. SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries In Sydney 1835-81. [5/7705].

¹⁵⁰ Rules and Regulations for the Catholic Cemetery, Haslem's Creek, 1875. SRNSW: Attorney-General and Justice, Special Bundle; CGS 333, Establishment and Control of Public Cemeteries In Sydney 1835-81. [5/7705].

¹⁵¹ 6 October 1885. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894, (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

¹⁵² 13 January 1888. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894, (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

Vaults contrary to the "Rules and Regulations". He assured the Trustees that 'he had always rejected such applications as being contrary to Law and subversive to order and uniformity'. It was resolved to stifle such attempts, and any kerb or railing which proceeded against the regulations would be declared 'illegally introduced'.¹⁵³ Such structures could thereby be removed under the regulations. An attempt two years later by Mr Shepherd Smith to have railing variations approved was cautiously agreed to. However all alterations had to be approved on a case by case basis and all materials still had to be of wrought iron, excepting 'Spear Heads'.¹⁵⁴ The Church of England Trustees were loathe to deviate from regulations, even on compassionate grounds. A long term unemployed man was refused permission in 1895 to erect a wooden cross over his children's grave because it would 'create a precedent'.¹⁵⁵

The Presbyterian Trustees at Rookwood were equally cautious, but slightly more flexible. In 1902 Kent & Budden Architects sought permission to erect a mausoleum for Mr. John Paul out of cement. This was contrary to the regulations and the manager Mr Wood considered such a structure would clash with 'the character of the monuments in the vicinity of the proposed vault'. Mr Wood pointed out further,

that if this monument was erected in cement, great trouble might be anticipated with other people who might desire to erect small monuments and kerbing in cement, and who might quote this precedent, should it be formed. In the circumstances Mr Wood urged that the Trustees should not allow the monument to be erected in cement, but should insist upon the main portion of it being in stone.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ 19 October 1875. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis 1868-1894 (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

¹⁵⁴ 4 January 1877. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

¹⁵⁵ 19 April 1895. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis. Extracted by Carol Liston, *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*, 1993.

¹⁵⁶ 22 April 1902. Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1867-1917. (Ferguson Memorial Library.)

However, the trustees resolved that the 'special circumstances of the case' allowed them to make exception and the plans were approved.¹⁵⁷ The mausoleum was built and is a striking memorial in the Presbyterian cemetery. [plate 5.42 figure A] The decisions of cemetery trustees, in particular their refusal to entertain monuments which challenged the regulations, created precedents or 'subverted uniformity', illustrate how the desire to ensure 'chaste' and 'decent' monuments degenerated into a pedantic curtailing of designs and reflects the inherent conservatism of the religious bodies that controlled the cemetery trusts.

Each denomination had its own ideas about what was appropriate in the eyes of God. This reflected the theology and social composition of the various Churches, as well as the stylistic debate and trustees' ideas of 'taste' and 'uniformity'. Hence it is possible to discern distinctions in the design and inscriptions of monuments amongst the various religious groups. Roman Catholic doctrine tailored inscriptions, encouraging phrases such as 'Pray for the soul of...', 'Gloria in excelsis deo', 'Jesus have mercy on their soul' and 'requiescat in pace'. Attempts by the Church of England Trustees in Rookwood Necropolis to exclude such popish tendencies were not always successful. In 1877 the Church of England Trustees initially rejected Mrs Davenport's proposal for a family monument because the inscription was 'improper'. The Trustees asserted that in conjunction with the monument, the inscription represented 'Spiritism', and 'May he rest in peace' was a prayer for the dead. The Church of England Trustees clearly wanted no hint of popery amongst its monuments. So incensed was Mrs Davenport that she wrote to the Minister of Lands complaining about the rejection. The Attorney

¹⁵⁷ It is unclear what these special circumstances were; perhaps some leniency was given because firstly, it was architect designed, and secondly it was, after all, a large mausoleum and therefore was more difficult to use as a precedent for erecting small monuments and kerbing in cement.

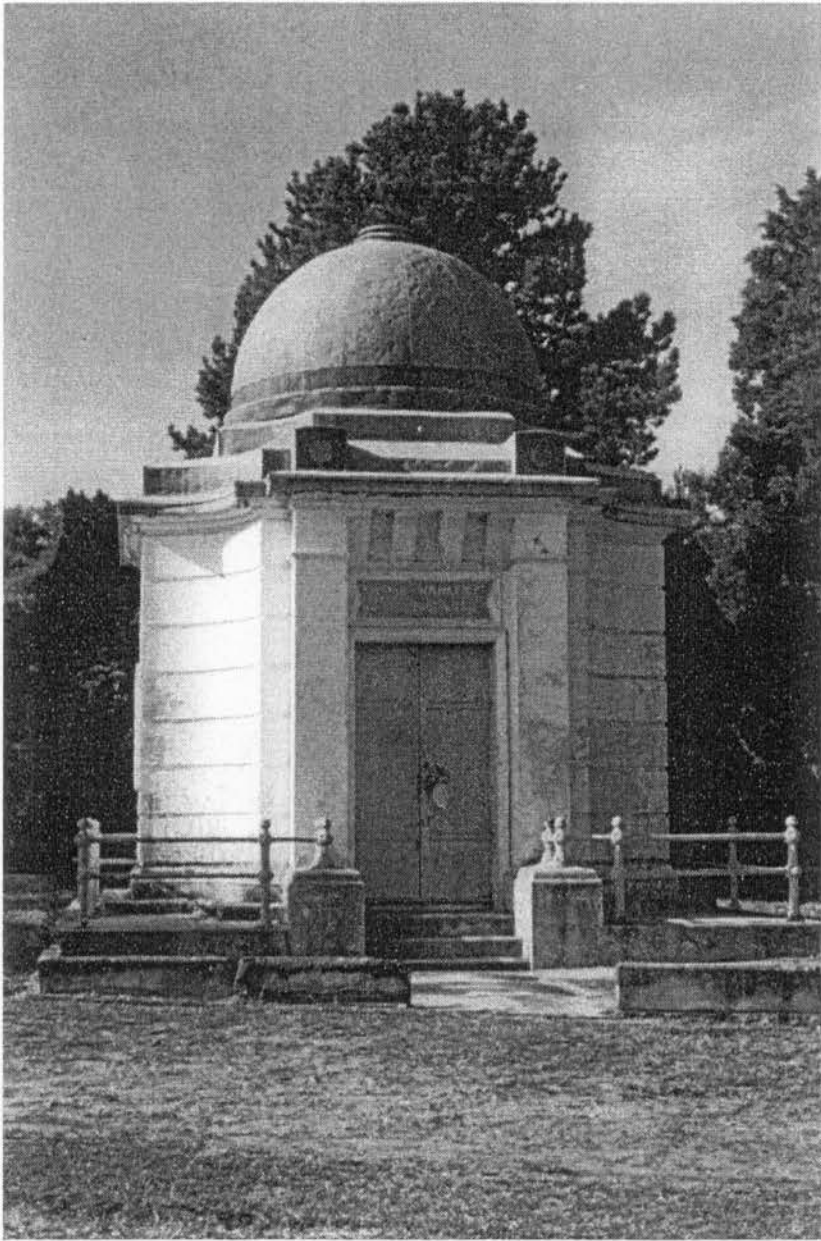


Figure A. The John Paul Vault, Presbyterian Cemetery, Rookwood
Necropolis.
(Author's Collection)

General advised the board of trustees that a ruling in 1838 concerning a tombstone inscription meant that the Trustees had to accept Mrs Davenport's inscription.¹⁵⁸

While they lost in their attempt at censorship with the Davenport monument, the Anglican Trustees remained vigilant. Blackman & Sulman Architects submitted a design for Mr. E. J. Sparke's vault in 1887. Before approving the design, the Trustees required more detailed information 'as to the character of the sculpture shown thereon'. One of the trustees inspected the model for the sculpture, 'and having described the same to the Trustees it was agreed that no objection appears to exist so far as the allegorical sculpture is concerned'.¹⁵⁹ The controversial allegorical sculpture was a frieze of cherubs.

The symbolism and motifs embellishing gravemarkers varied amongst the different religious denominations. It is possible to make some generalisations about the types of symbols favoured by different denominations from the 1850s to 1880s. These are summarised in Table 5.2.¹⁶⁰ Roman Catholic monuments up until the 1880s were predominantly Gothic designs, particularly Perpendicular Gothic. Seraphs and angels were common motifs. Crosses were utilised on the majority of memorials. If the cross was not the main design, it would either feature as a surmount to the monument, or be incised at the top of the inscription. The Celtic Cross in particular was favoured, reflecting the predominance of Irish immigrants amongst the Catholic denomination in the nineteenth century. The Crucifix was

¹⁵⁸ 18 & 20 September 1877. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894, (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

¹⁵⁹ 11 October 1887; 13 January 1888. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894, (vol. 1). (Anglican Office, Rookwood Necropolis.)

¹⁶⁰ The data for this analysis has been collected from National Trust of Australia (NSW) Cemetery Index Cards and Cemetery Photographic Collection, in particular focusing upon denominational cemeteries and churchyards. Denominational differences have also been identified by Mary Mackay, 'Architectural styles and funerary symbolism', p. 33.

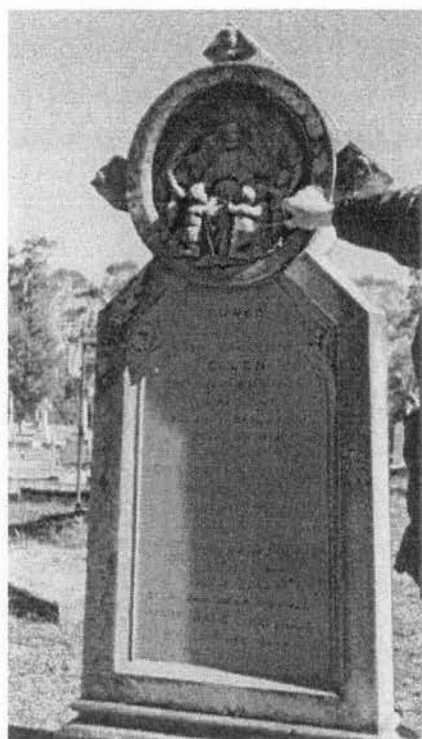


Figure A. Grave of Ellen Marshall (d. 1862), Branxton Catholic Cemetery.
(National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)



Figure B. Grave of Patrick Griffin (d. 1888), Morpeth Catholic Cemetery.
(National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)

another favoured form of the cross, again reflecting the theology and practices of Catholicism. Iconic representations of the Virgin Mary, Jesus, and the Saints were also prevalent. Occasionally a scene of judgement or groups of religious figures were shown. Two impressive scenes have been identified in the Hunter region. At Branxton Catholic Cemetery the grave of Ellen Marshall (d. 1862) show Jesus surrounded by children within a cross style headstone. [plate 5.43 figure A] Over twenty years later, a headstone carved by Thomas Browne of Maitland commemorating Patrick Griffin (d.1888) in Morpeth Catholic Cemetery featured St Patrick, St Francis, the Virgin Mary with two angels, and a crucifix. Such a religious scene by the late nineteenth century is rare, verging on 'old fashioned'. [plate 5.43 figure B] Shamrocks were common on Roman Catholic monuments, reflecting the high number of Irish Catholics in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century. The lyre was another symbol of Irish nationalism frequently used.

Table 5.2. Styles and motifs 1850 - 1880 categorised by Christian denomination.

Church of England	Roman Catholic	Presbyterian	Methodist
Gothic	Gothic		
Classical / Greek		Classical/Greek	Classical/Greek
	German geometric		Little ornamentation
	seraphs		
angels	angels		
	cherubs		
	crucifixes		
	Celtic Cross		
shamrocks	shamrocks		
	Jesus		
	Virgin Mary		
	Saints		
	Lamb with cross		
Calvary cross	all forms of crosses		
wreaths	wreaths	wreaths	wreaths
open book	open book	open book	open book
	IHS monogram		
garlands	garlands		garlands
flowers	flowers		flowers
	crown		crown
	grapes		
passion flower	passion flower		
	Sacred heart		
	Irish harp		

Church of England	Roman Catholic	Presbyterian	Methodist
anchor	anchor	anchor	anchor
rose	rose	rose	rose
draped urns		draped urns	draped urns
weeping widow			
broken flower		broken flower	broken flower
columns		columns	
broken column			
Hand of God	Hand of God		Hand of God
obelisks		obelisks	
clasped hands		clasped hands	
doves	doves	doves	doves
ivy	ivy	ivy	ivy
		shell	shell
		thistle	
occupation/tools		occupation/tools	occupation/tools
hourglass		hourglass	
lilies			

Protestant memorials differed markedly in their style and ornamentation from the Roman Catholics during the 1850s to 1880s. The differences between Protestant sects is more subtle, but still discernible. The Gothic style and the cross were shunned as being too popish and iconographic for funerary monuments, although Gothic remained the most popular architectural style for churches.¹⁶¹ Classical (or Greek Revival / Italianate) style was the preferred choice for funerary monuments. The cross was occasionally used, but was usually incorporated into the headstone design. Angels and weeping widows could be found on Church of England headstones, but figurative sculpture, or even figurative bas-relief carving, was less popular amongst non-conformists such as the Presbyterians, Wesleyans and Independents. This reflects the doctrinal impact of the Reformation, when all forms of superstitious idolatry were condemned and all iconic images were destroyed. Indeed the Methodists (Wesleyans) were more subdued and humble in their choice of monuments than other Christian denominations, reflecting their theological position. Obelisks and pedestals with draped urns were popular large

¹⁶¹ J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: A History*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, Victoria, 1968, pp. 93-5, 123; Apperly et. al., *Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 78.

monuments, particularly with Church of England and Presbyterian adherents. Masonic symbols, not surprisingly given the Protestant background of the freemasons, were rarely seen on Roman Catholic graves but common amongst Church of England. Thistles were utilised to express a Scottish nationality amongst the Presbyterians. Representation of tools of trade was prevalent amongst - but not exclusive to - the Presbyterians and Methodists, perhaps reflecting a strong representation of artisans and tradespeople amongst these denominations.

Nineteenth century Jewish graves are particularly interesting in symbolic representation. They function as a foil to developments in monument design for Christian religious denominations. Up until the 1870s, many Jewish monuments exhibited a liberalism which was contrary to orthodox teaching. This teaching held that God should not be represented symbolically and that only a limited number of symbols of the Jewish faith were to be employed on headstones (these include - the blessing hands; the seven branched candlestick, or menorah; the Star of David; and the jug). As the Jewish faith became more firmly established in the latter half of the nineteenth century, symbolic representations on monuments became sparser. Thus while the general trend in the late nineteenth century was for highly ornate monuments, with many types of symbolism, the Jewish gravemarkers became simpler in their ornamentation.¹⁶²

Some symbols found currency amongst all denominations during this period. Flowers, garlands and wreaths were used both symbolically and decoratively. The Hand of God could be found across all religious groups, along

¹⁶² Mackay, 'Architectural styles and funerary symbolism', p. 42. See R. Brasch, *Even More Permanent Addresses: Even More Australians Down Under*, Collins, Sydney, 1989, pp. 340-342 for an explanation of Jewish symbolism. Although this book is aimed at a popular market, Brasch is a rabbi and provides a clear explanation of Jewish symbolism.

with the open book, dove, anchor and ivy. The popularity of these images reflects the common religious beliefs and associated symbols that crossed denominational and sectarian divisions - God, Bible (Book of Life), Holy Spirit (and/or peace), hope and faith (and/or remembrance).

By the late 1870s denominational distinctions were starting to disappear as fashion became more and more important in monument choice. The cross, for example, became popular across all denominations during the late nineteenth century, perhaps due to popular hymns like 'Rock of Ages' which proclaimed it as a symbol of salvation for all Christian denominations, and not simply the domain of the Roman Catholics. By the late nineteenth century, monumental masons were the 'one-stop shop' of funerary design. Few had any dealings with the clergy, and it seems probable that doctrinal design issues were rarely raised by clients. They simply chose a design from the catalogue. Despite the continued religious inspiration of some forms of funerary sculpture in the late nineteenth century the combined influences of fashion and 'respectability' outweighed doctrinal concerns. The period 1880 to 1900 saw an enormous variety of monuments and symbolism across all Christian denominations. The ideals that underlay the stylistic debate and the garden cemetery movement were being swamped by the popularity of the cemetery and the consumerist demand for 'fashionable' gravemarkers. Everyone wanted to raise a monument in remembrance of their loved ones and the emphasis of this period was on individual sentimental remembrance and respectability. Stylistically monuments became more conventionalised, especially in their shapes and use of symbolism. Designs became less architecturally correct, with a merging of the Neoclassical and Gothic styles. Symbolic motifs carved on the top half, or pediment of the monument, became the central focus of most gravemarkers and the

symbolism itself became subsumed in a self-conscious desire to keep up with the latest trends.

Many masons produced a hybrid style of monument, attempting to meet all tastes and doctrinal requirements of their clients. 'Mix and match' was the principle idea behind the ornamentation of headstones and pedestal monuments. Design elements from several patterns could be combined to produce the desired monument. Michael Lawler's (d. 1885) sandstone headstone [plate 5.44 figure A] produced by Hooworth & Davies, located at Rookwood and Sydney, is an amalgamation, shaped in a Gothic arch with stylised tracery and Celtic cross surmount, but with bastardised composite order pilasters featuring floral capitals, and also flowers in the cusps of the tracery and a rose on the Celtic cross. A similar Gothic hybrid was offered by Edwin Andrews at Rookwood. [plate 5.44 figure B] Such eclecticism was not unique to monumental masons in New South Wales. Frederick Burgess records similar cross-fertilisation of styles executed by the average monumental mason in England.¹⁶³

Multiple layers of symbolism came to be used as decoration. Urns were piled upon doves, wreaths, scrolls and disembodied hands on the pediments of headstones in an exuberant display of symbolism. Such bold combinations however contributed to a sense of allegorical and sensory overload and often diminished the impact of individual symbols. The meaning of the symbolism itself was probably less important than being seen to have all the correct motifs displayed on the headstone. The ideal of the sublime monument, chaste in design and taste, was, in reality, abandoned to the vicissitudes of fashion and overabundant displays of

¹⁶³ Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 124.

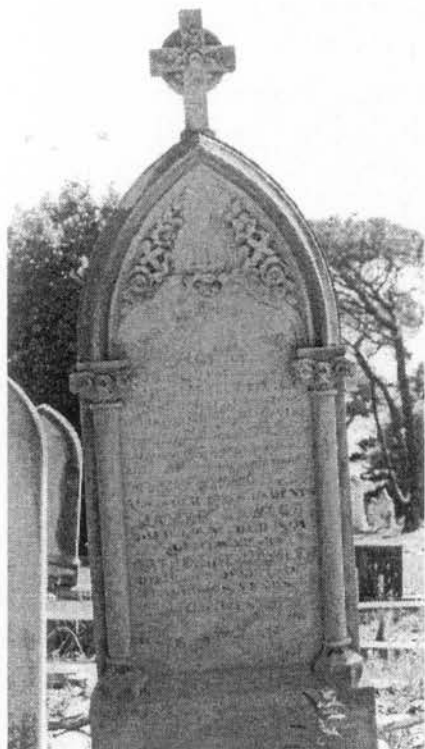


Figure A. Memorial to Michael Lawler (d. 1885) produced by Hooworth & Davies. (Author's Collection)

EDWIN ANDREWS, Monumental Works.

Has always a large and well-selected Stock of Granite and Marble **MONUMENTS and TOMBSTONES.**

Designs with Prices forwarded to any part of the State at request

Tomb Railings in Wrought and Cast Iron to any design. Kerbing Cramped with Galvanized Iron.

As there are other firms of the Same Surname, be careful to address correspondence

To **EDWIN ANDREWS,** OPPOSITE RAILWAY STATION, **Rookwood.**
TEL. 2, ROOKWOOD.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'Edwin Andrews, Monumental Works'. (Sands' Directory, 1902)

sentiment. The sheer number of symbols in use by the late nineteenth century meant that clients could strive for individuality in their design, but this did not amount to originality. Equally, while eclectic styles and symbols were a defining feature of funerary monuments in New South Wales, this did not translate into a discernible Australian style.¹⁶⁴

Despite this stylistic confluence, and the similar repertoire of many masons, some original designs were still produced. Usually however such originality took an established design as its starting point. One popular Neoclassical headstone design featured an open book with a garland underneath on the pediment. An urn wrapped in a garland of flowers surmounted the headstone, and a rose was carved at the base of the headstone beneath the inscription. Plate 5.45 (figure A) shows an example produced by T. Andrews & Sons in 1872. A famous variation on this design was executed by J. Bush to commemorate John Ross Logan, who was killed by a tram in 1890. [Plate 5.45 figure B] Instead of the open book which usually features above the flower garland, Bush has sculpted a tram. A Catholicised version of the same design, this time sculpted by J. Taylor of Rookwood, is shown in Plate 5.45 (figure C). A cross replaces the urn, a smaller cross the open book. The garland of flowers and rose remain constant. Such changes illustrate how symbolic motifs could be altered or added to a basic design. This was a relatively common practice amongst nineteenth-century monumental masons. Susan Buckham has demonstrated similar variations and customisations of pattern book designs in York Cemetery in northern England.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ For an example of the range of symbols that were current in the 1870s see the sketches that accompany the text in F. & M. A. Palliser, *Mottoes for Monuments, or epitaphs selected for study or application*, John Murray, London, 1872.

¹⁶⁵ Buckham, 'Consumerist issues', pp. 199-214.

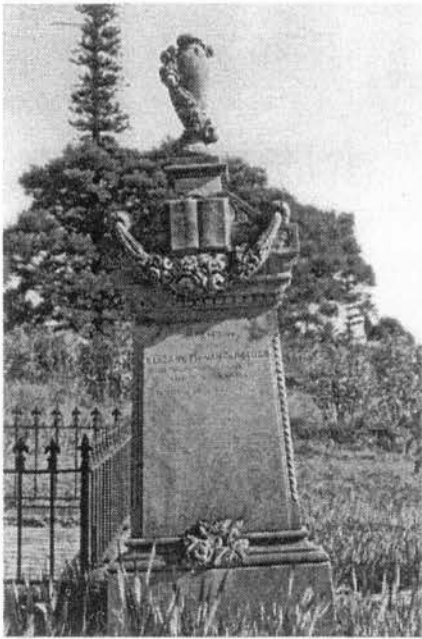


Figure A. Memorial to Elizabeth Van de Polder (d.1872), by T. Andrews & Sons. Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection).



Figure B. Memorial to John Ross Logan (d.1890), by J. H. Bush. Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Memorial to Daniel Herilhy (d. 1875), by J. Taylor, of Rookwood. Rookwood Necropolis. (Author's Collection)

The importation of marble in the late nineteenth century also had an impact on the design of headstones. Much of the marble was already worked into headstones or sculpture, and consequently marble monuments became increasingly conventionalised and repetitious as they were chosen out of catalogues. Three dimensional sculpture in particular became more readily available with the importation of marble. Weeping widows, allegorical female figures and angels were the chief form of representation on figurative marble funerary sculpture. The popularity of figurative cemetery art in the late nineteenth century may be attributed to a number of factors. These large imposing marble sculptures were a social statement - a marker of wealth, taste and respectability. Reassuringly for clients, particularly in rural areas, they could be easily ordered and promised a finely executed monument, regardless of the local mason's skill. Figurative funerary sculpture also became available in New South Wales at the same time that ideal sculpture was becoming more widely viewed at major public exhibitions and art galleries. Ideal sculpture 'consisted of three-dimensional figurative works, usually marble, life-sized or slightly smaller, portraying subjects drawn from literature, history, the Bible, or mythology'.¹⁶⁶ Both nineteenth century figurative funerary sculpture and ideal sculpture emphasised the intellectual and moral narratives inherent in their art. They were 'sermons in stone' steadfastly following the dictum 'art for morality's sake'.¹⁶⁷ The association of figurative funerary sculpture with ideal sculpture, and their references to ancient Greek statues, meant that such memorials were viewed as highly artistic. Moralistic funerary sculpture was appropriate for the late nineteenth century cemetery which ideally functioned as an out door art gallery, promoting quiet contemplation and uplifting public taste. The linking of

¹⁶⁶ Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1990, p.1.

¹⁶⁷ See Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*, pp. 30-45 for a discussion of the interpretation of ideal sculpture in the nineteenth century.

women, beauty and death through figurative funerary sculpture was particularly prevalent in the late nineteenth century. This association, which illustrates the cultural construction of gender, is explored further in chapter seven. The popularity of female figures in cemetery art both reflected and perpetuated the idealisation of passive femininity and the cemetery as a place for passive rational recreation.

Popular art and religious sentiment fused in the fashionable funerary sculpture of the late nineteenth century. The appreciation of figurative funerary sculpture was enhanced by the expanding bourgeois audience which could be reached through various forms of media. Pictures and sculptures idealising images of faith, death and women were reproduced in illustrated magazines, on lithographs. Many of these images drew inspiration from hymns or popular songs. James Kerr has shown an interesting merging of popular and high art in the 'Rock of Ages' design. [plate 5.46 figure A] This image found inspiration from Reverend Augustus Montague Toplady's hymn 'Rock of Ages' and was popularised through multiple reproductions of paintings by J. A. Oertel and Gustave Lenori.¹⁶⁸ It was quickly interpreted into monumental art and became a local and international phenomenon. Frederick Arnold claimed the 'Rock of Ages' as his trademark [plate 5.46 figure B] but it was equally promoted through catalogues in England and America.¹⁶⁹

While cemetery trustees and managers could censor inappropriate designs in an attempt to maintain 'taste' and 'order', they could do little to curb the

¹⁶⁸ James Kerr, 'Cemeteries - their value and conservation', *Australia In Trust: a selection of the best writings from 'Heritage Australia'*, Australian Council of National Trusts in association with William Collins Pty Ltd, Sydney, 1985, pp. 83-84.

¹⁶⁹ Kerr notes its presence in a marble catalogue from Vermont USA. See also design 10811, *Marble Memorials* by Art Originality & Sculpture [London], p. 156. Burgess suggests that the hymn



Figure A. Rock of Ages monument, by F. Arnold., Goulburn General Cemetery.
(National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)

Established
1879—[42 Years]—1921

F. ARNOLD
Monumental Sculptor
53 REGENT ST., SYDNEY

Stone Quarries: Paddington

Memorial Tablets and Honor Rolls
a Specialty.

Designs on Application.

Country Orders promptly attended to

Near Sydney Railway Station
Erskineville Tram passes Works
Within One Minute of Railway Square
Write for Catalogues and Prices
Tel. 232 Redfern.

“Rock of Ages.”



Trade Mark.

Figure B. Advertisement - 'F. Arnold, Monumental Sculptor'.
(Sands' Directory, 1921)

incessant replication of designs. The repetition of headstone designs and funerary motifs along rows of graves illustrates the sway held by fashion and the need for 'keeping up appearances'. A close study of late nineteenth century headstones, particularly in large cemeteries, indicates that headstone selection based upon monuments of surrounding grave plots was quite common. The mentality 'I'll have what he's having' assured class conscious purchasers that their memorial was appropriate and acceptable. The repetition of headstone designs across rows of graves was one manifestation of this desire to belong to the respectable class. In Rookwood Necropolis, there are whole rows of Doves dating from the 1890s and 1900s. The headstones are basically the same, despite being commissioned from different monumental masons. The doves, carved with varying levels of expertise, are all depicted in the same position. The repetition of such designs in localised areas of the cemetery suggests that by the end of the nineteenth century monuments were often chosen on the basis of passing inspiration from other nearby examples. This trend raises the question of the extent to which the general public actually understood the symbolism of the designs they chose. While the answer to this question will always remain speculative, it seems reasonable to suggest that much symbolism was chosen for reasons of taste and fashion rather than for any inherent meaning.

The Funeral Reform Movement

This devaluation of the cemetery ideal, combined with concern over the lengths to which people were going in pursuit of a respectable burial, led to the formation of the Funeral Reform Association in 1874.¹⁷⁰ The combined pressures of

inspired monuments more widely with women clinging to pillars, anchors and crags, as well as crosses. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, p. 187.

¹⁷⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p. 3.

fashion and respectability meant that many mourners committed themselves to extravagant funerals and elaborate monuments which they could ill afford. A correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* recounted the following story of hardship entailed by just such a 'respectable' burial.

A short time since a dairy man died in one of the suburbs of our city, leaving a wife and a family of young children in very impoverished circumstances. Their all consisted of a few cows, a milk cart, and a horse. The poor affectionate widow was desirous of having her lamented husband interred as respectably as her means would permit, and entreated some of her friends to make such arrangements as she thought fit under the circumstances. Her friends did not agree to her proposals, and suggested that if she left it in their hands everything would be satisfactory.

They then made what arrangement were deemed necessary to have the husband *respectably* interred, but instead of them being in accordance with the circumstances of the family, they made a gorgeous display of funeral absurdities involving considerable expense.

Within a few days after the funeral the undertaker's account was sent in, and the poor woman was obliged to sell the few cows, which were the only means of providing bread for herself and children.¹⁷¹

The Funeral Reform Association aimed to do 'away with the absurd pomp and ceremony connected with the funerals of ordinary folk' and 'to bring about a system of simple and decent burial of the dead'.¹⁷² Thomas Sutcliffe Mort was one of the founding members, and chairman of the association. He denounced the ornate trappings of death as mere fashion, bereft of any Christian sentimentality. 'Sorrow', he declared to the first meeting,

never wears his heart upon his sleeve, and the most tender of all sorrow finds its expression in solitude rather than in show. (Cheers) It was a mere question of fashion, and all they had to do was to unite together to try to break down this fashion. The majority of thinking men would agree that the sooner this fashion was broken down the better. (Cheers)¹⁷³

Mort's declaration of war at the public meeting was met with a rallying of cheers. Letters flowed to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in support of the principle, dismissing

¹⁷¹ Letter to the editor, by "Sympathy", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 March 1875, p. 3. Emphasis in original.

¹⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p. 3.

¹⁷³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p.3.

the 'ridiculous pomp and ceremonial abominations' of funerals as farcical and having 'altogether outgrown common sense and decency'.¹⁷⁴ The Association, which was formally established on 8 December 1874, pledged to 'do away with the unnecessary expense and display which now characterise our funeral and mourning customs'.¹⁷⁵

Great attention was paid by funeral reformers to the financial impact funeral and burial customs had upon their 'poorer' friends'. While it was acknowledged that the 'present farce' affected funerals of 'every grade of society',¹⁷⁶ it was the poor who were identified as being particularly at risk. Reformers argued the 'gorgeous display' of funerals by the wealthy exhibited a false sense of pride, and should be condemned 'because thereby many poor persons were influenced to imitate them, plunging themselves into debt merely to escape censure from their neighbours'.¹⁷⁷ At issue was what constituted a 'decent' funeral and an 'appropriate' burial. While a modest funeral was considered a 'disgrace' by society, reformers argued that current burial practices were based solely upon custom and fashion. To reformers such extravagances were unnecessary - an inappropriate 'emblem of...affection or respect for the departed'. They hoped to 'shield the widow and the orphan from burdens now senselessly imposed upon them by tyrant custom'.¹⁷⁸ Reformers conceded, however, that there was 'a great deal of superstitious prejudice' amongst the poor. As Rev. Canon Stephen warned, 'It was not among thoughtful and intelligent persons, such as were present at [the funeral reform] meeting, that they would find difficulty in securing support, but among the poor. There was an

¹⁷⁴ Letters to the Editor by "Esse Quam Videri", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1874, p. 3; 5 November 1874, p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1874, p. 1; 8 December 1874, p. 8.

¹⁷⁶ Letter to the Editor by "Esse Quam Videri", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1874, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 14 November 1874, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1874, p.8.

amount of prejudice and misapprehension, and he might say vulgar sentiment, to be overcome before they would succeed'.¹⁷⁹ Reformer's concerns about burial of the poor were not merely focused on funeral customs, but as was discussed in chapter 4, turned to the burial of paupers and the treatment of the corpse. This in turn was part of a wider social reform movement to cleanse the lower classes and instil in them middle class values.

It should not be assumed that support for funeral reform was unanimous. While much of the public appeared to support a reduction in the expense and ceremony of funerals, suggestions for reforming the practice of mourning were condemned as insensitive, an infringement of privacy and an attack on personal grief, virtue and morality.¹⁸⁰ Despite the support of religious ministers, parliamentarians, medical practitioners and society leaders - and the pledges of 500 signatories to adhere to the association's principles¹⁸¹ - the movement foundered with the death of Mort four years later. Nevertheless, Mort's burial and monument were, at his request, 'ordered in the simplest fashion' to reflect his belief in funerary reform.¹⁸² Prominent architect Edmund Blacket designed the cross sarcophagus for Mort's grave in the Bodalla estate cemetery. [Plate 5.47. Figure A] Blacket had already designed the slab vault for Mort's wife Theresa (d. 1869), and the Gothic headstone for his own wife Sarah (d. 1869), as well as several other headstones in St Jude's Anglican Churchyard, Randwick.¹⁸³ His designs were amongst the most

¹⁷⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Letter to the Editor by "W.K." (George Knox), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1874, p. 6; Letter to the Editor by George Martin, Waverley, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 1874, p. 5; Letter to the Editor by "W. H. R.", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 December 1874, p.3; Letter to the Editor by George Knox, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1874, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March 1875, p. 13.

¹⁸² J. H. Heaton, *Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time*, George Robertson, Sydney, 1879, p. 146.

¹⁸³ Joan Kerr, *Edmund T. Blacket, Architect Sydney*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney, 1983, pp. 63, 83. Sarah Blacket's monument originally marked her grave in the Balmain Cemetery



Figure A. T. S. Mort's grave, Bodalla Cemetery.
(National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)

restrained and elegant of the elite group of architecturally designed sepulchral monuments. While being striking, even imposing, they were not ornate or pretentious.

This debate surrounding funeral reform highlights the complex and interrelated nature of nineteenth-century attitudes toward religion, morality, taste, fashion and respectability. Funerary monuments and rituals, as tokens of memory, respect and love, were equally bound up in this complex equation. The funerary reform movement of the 1870s ultimately had little effect upon the designs of cemetery monuments in the late nineteenth century. Amongst the middle classes a marble headstone with some decorative carving was an important symbol of respectability and class identity. It did not matter what the design was, or the symbolic meaning of the carving, as long as it was acceptable and 'chaste'. By the early twentieth century, the loss of symbolic meaning was complete. Some monumental masons even published a list in their catalogues to explain to clients the symbolic associations of funerary motifs.¹⁸⁴ The nineteenth century desire for commemoration of the defunct loved one through a 'chaste' and appropriate cemetery monument led to the sepulchral memorials becoming a fashionable commodity, subject to stylistic trends and economic pressures. The abundance of choice led to the decline of individualism in monument design, and ultimately the standardisation of funerary monuments, based upon British and European trends. The garden cemetery ideal, with its vision of morally improving and uplifting

(a.k.a Elswick Cemetery) but was later moved to Camperdown Cemetery, Newtown when the Balmain Cemetery was converted into a park in the 1940s. See Morton Herman, *The Blackets: an era of Australian architecture*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1963, pp. 125, 196, 207. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1874, p. 3.

~~207.~~

¹⁸⁴ G. Maile & Son Ltd., *A Garden of Love and Remembrance* (catalogue), n.d. (c.1938). (Maile & Sons Ltd, Designers and Craftsmen, 367 Euston Road London). John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Advertisements - Church Furnishings Box 2.

monuments displayed in a picturesque setting, was (ironically) being threatened by its own success and the accompanying pressures of popular taste and fashion.

CHAPTER SIX

'ALL YE THAT COME MY GRAVE TO SEE...'¹

CEMETERY MONUMENTS, COMMEMORATION, MEMORY AND IDENTITY

When I am in a serious Humour, I very often walk by myself in Westminster-Abbey; where the Gloominess of the Place, and the Use to which it is applied, with the Solemnity of the Building and Condition of the People who lie in it, are apt to fill the Mind with a kind of Melancholy, or rather Thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable.

-- *The Spectator*, no.26, 30 March 1711.²

Nothing can be more instructive to a man of sensibility and feeling than a stroll through a graveyard, among the peaceful repositories of the dead. While gazing on the sad and silent mementoes of mortality, he learns how to appreciate his own condition, to realise the littleness and frailty of mankind.

-- William Chubb discussing Camperdown Cemetery, 1912.³

Written two hundred years apart - and neatly framing the rise and fall of the cemetery ideal - these two quotations encapsulate the values of memory and emulation which made cemetery visitation so popular in the nineteenth century. William Chubb in 1912 went on the muse that when contemplating the graves and their monuments, the cemetery visitor was 'reminded of Washington Irving's remark - "Thus man passes away, his name perished from record and recollection, his history is a tale that is told, and his very monument becomes a ruin".' Contemplation of one's mortality was a sobering thought, and one which ministers of religion believed would renew people's faith. But remembering one's mortality also raised questions about how one would be remembered. Sepulchral monuments

¹ Grave of George Mulhall, d. 25 June 1885, Barrenjoey Head Lighthouse.

² *The Spectator*, no. 26, 30 March 1711, quoted in David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, Yale University Press, London, 1995, p. 9.

³ William Chubb, *Jubilee Souvenir of the Municipality of Newtown, 1862-1912*, Newtown Municipal Council, Sydney, 1912, p. 133.

were an attempt by the living, often at the wishes of the dead, to ensure that the name of the deceased did not perish 'from record and recollection'. Their memory and social identity became enshrined in a cemetery monument, and their 'history' became 'a tale that is told'. But as Irving was well aware, even the social memory of the deceased passes away, and 'his very monument becomes a ruin'.

This chapter explores the relationship between memory and identity through the commemorative functions of cemetery monuments. John Gillis has argued that the relationship between memory and identity is an historical construct that can be traced through the commemorative process. 'Commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and in some instances, annihilation.'⁴ Commemoration is a practice that shapes memory: how we remember, what we remember and what we forget. Sepulchral memorials addressed two audiences: the private sphere of relatives and friends of the deceased, and the public sphere of cemetery visitors who perchance stopped to view their grave. The memory of the deceased, their personal remembrance and social identity, was constructed through the cemetery monument.

Typically historians have made a distinction between history and memory; these two forms of remembering the past have been characterised as oppositional. The dichotomy between history and memory can be related to other dichotomies such as the public and private sphere. History was the public record of the past,

⁴ John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1994, p. 5.

whereas memory was the personal recollection of the past.⁵ Pierre Nora is a strong proponent of the separation of history and memory. Nora argues that history is ideologically and institutionally driven as a reconstruction of the past, whereas memory is a living and evolving collective understanding of the past and the present by a particular group. He believes that history is suffocating memory, even destroying it.⁶ However, the relationship between memory and history is more complex and ambiguous. There is a tension between these two understandings of the past, but this is, as both David Lowenthal and Paula Hamilton suggest, an essential interdependence. Personal memory includes snippets of history, and history relies upon memories through oral histories and personal recollections such as diaries, and eyewitness accounts..⁷ This interdependence between memory and history is particularly true of the commemorative landscape of the cemetery where there are both private and public memories attached to the grave and the monument. The cemetery, and the rituals associated with it, is a fascinating site where memory and history collide, where the private and the public co-exist in the same space.

Cemetery monuments were an integral part of the commemorative landscape. The erection of a gravemarker gave surviving relatives, friends and the general public the opportunity to construct a private memory of, as well as a social identity for, the deceased. Through the epigraphic tradition and symbolic language

⁵ For a theoretical discussion of memory and history see Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, Columbia University Press, New York, 1992 (first published 1977); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, esp. ch. 5; Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, pp.97-113; Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds.), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994; Gillis, 'Memory and Identity'.

⁶ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*', *Representations*, no. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-25.

of sepulchral design, people shaped and placed in the public domain a statement of the deceased's identity: who they were, where they were from, what they did, what they were like. Australian cemeteries are filled with memorials which aim to perpetuate an individual's fame, or at least their name. The erection of a memorial is one way in which the community participated in history-making at a very basic level. The cemetery ideal valued funerary monuments for their ability to incite emulation, to educate the population in appropriate moral and religious values, and to cultivate aesthetic taste. In the newly settled colony, the cemetery became an important cultural institution in which the religious, moral and social order could be established and a person's identity could be defined. Nineteenth century gravestones often functioned on two levels as both a commemorative object and a moralising statement. In this sense, sepulchral monuments may be seen as markers of identity. But cemeteries are not simply about private memories and individual identity. Cemeteries are also sites which are central to the creation of public memory and public history, particularly through public or state funerals, funerary monuments, and annual commemorative services. By perpetuating the private memory of the deceased in a public monument, the community was contributing to the accumulation of a public or social memory.

The cemetery ideal created a space where personal grief and remembrance could be channelled into a physical site. The grave and the cemetery landscape encouraged mourning, remembrance, consolation and faith. Contemporary cemetery guides in Britain rejoiced in the comfort provided by the cemetery landscape.

⁷Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 213; Paula Hamilton, 'The Knife Edge: Debates about memory and history', in Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, *Memory and History in twentieth century Australia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, p. 12.

These new formed "gardens of graves" are productive of calm thought, the memory of the lost being there embalmed with a pure sentiment. It is here the mourner can again converse with those who are gone before, sorrow being hushed in the peculiar calm by which it is surrounded. The grave, with its green turf springing with flowers, presents no impenetrable barriers between us and those we mourn; for the grass and floweret, which in their season awaken to freshness, are but types of the immortality awaiting those beneath, of which they seem to bring us the assurance.⁸

The grave site itself became an intensely private space, where individuals were commemorated through gravestones. These monuments had an important function in both private and public memory. The grave marker became the focus for private mourning, allowing the perpetuation of the memory of the deceased and a connection between the living and the dead. To quote Strang, the Scottish cemetery reformer,

Where is it, indeed, that the heart is likely to be so feelingly moved, or the memory to be so powerfully roused, as at a parent's grave, or at a sister's tomb? A lock of hair may prove perhaps a sufficiently touching talisman of woe, but the simple floweret which annually blooms upon the grave, will lead the wailing heart to the anticipation of that joyful period when the inmate of the tomb, and his mourning successor, shall be united never again to part, and flourish together in permanent and unfading glory!⁹

The centrality of the grave to private mourning and memory is aptly summarised in the brief epitaph: 'Though lost to sight, to memory dear'.¹⁰ At the same time, any marked grave situated within a public cemetery self-consciously contributed to the social construction of the deceased. As such, mourning was both a public and private affair, and an important part of what Penny Russell terms the 'genteel performance'.¹¹ [plate 6.1 figure A]

⁸ T. P. Grinsted, *Norwood Cemetery: A Descriptive Sketch*, George Hill, London, 1857. (BL)

⁹ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguenis; with Osberuations [sic] on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture*, Takinson and Company, Glasgow, 1831, p. 27. (BL)

¹⁰ Grave of George Troth, d. 20 February 1896, Marsden General Cemetery. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

¹¹ Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 120.

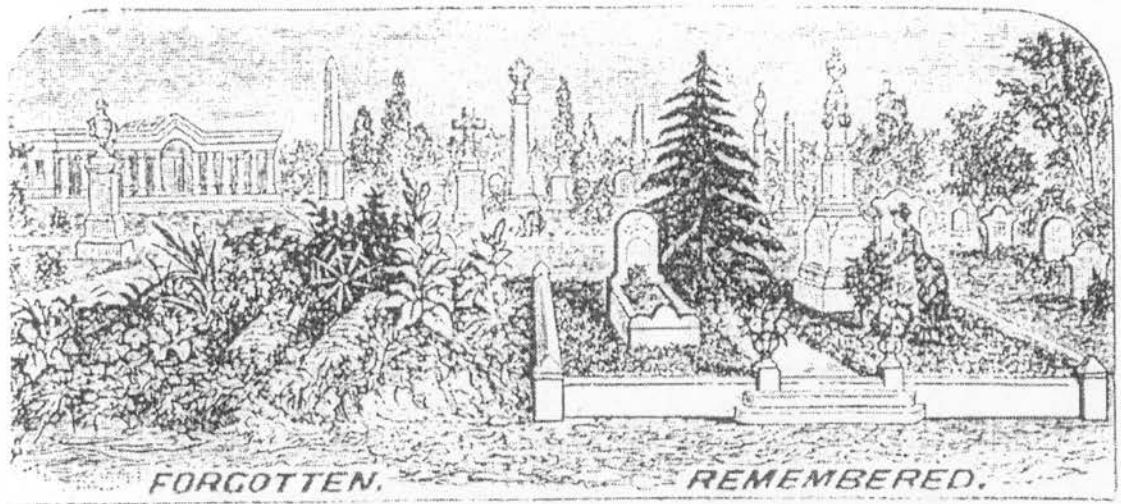


Figure A. Advertisement in *Sands & MacDougall's Directory*, Melbourne, 1890.
(Reproduced in Michael Cannon, 'Keeping Death at Bay', 1975, p. 130.)

The increasing availability of sepulchral monuments in the nineteenth century allowed for the creation of what Philippe Ariès described as the 'cult of the dead'.¹² Grave visitation was central to this cult. According to Pat Jalland, it was an 'important source of consolation and a vital part of the process of mourning.'¹³ Meditation by the tomb was considered uplifting and Romanticism popularised this association. Graves in the nineteenth century became private pilgrimage sites for families. As a site for relics and remembrance, there are some interesting parallels between graves and shrines.¹⁴ Visitation occurred on particular days and anniversaries, such as birthdays, deathdays, Mother's days; special rituals were performed, such as cleaning the grave and placing flowers. Pilgrimages to grave sites, and regular grave site maintenance, were an outward and public sign of faithfulness, respect and remembrance.

The inscription on the nineteenth century tomb, particularly the epitaph, was an integral part of the funerary monument that contributed to 'the social, and therefore historical, construction of the dead'.¹⁵ Due to limitations of space and traditions in funerary sculpture, by the mid-nineteenth century the inscription had become fairly standardised in its information and presentation. J. B. Robinson published in *Trade Secrets* (1862) examples of 'different methods of arranging an inscription'.¹⁶ Although Robinson experimented with various phrases for death and for commemorating the memory, the organisation of the information was

¹² Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991 [first published in English 1981], esp. pp. 508-513.

¹³ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 292. See also Pat Jalland, 'Victorian death and its decline, 1850-1918' in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter Jupp and Clare Gittings, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, pp. 245-247.

¹⁴ *The Illustrated Sydney News* referred to the poet Henry Kendall's memorial as a shrine. 7 January 1887, p. 11. Similarly the 1798 Commemorative Memorial in Waverley Cemetery was described as a shrine. *Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1900, p. 3.

¹⁵ Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1991, p. 1.

¹⁶ Joseph B. Robinson, sculptor, *Trade Secrets. A Collection of Practical Receipts for the use of Sculptors, Modellers, Stone Masons, Builders, Marble Masons, Polishers, & c., to which is added a*

standardised. One of the earliest collections of inscriptions in New South Wales transcribed verbatim and recording the decorative and spatial elements of the lettering is G. A. Foster's transcripts taken from the Devonshire Street Cemetery.¹⁷ A perusal of these notebooks (or indeed any comprehensive cemetery transcription in New South Wales) confirms that colonial inscriptions conformed with conventions established in Britain.

An inscription on a gravemarker generally began by invoking the role of memory as the chief function of the commemorative monument: 'Sacred to the Memory of', 'In Affectionate Remembrance of'. This led naturally to the recording of the deceased's name, and was frequently followed by a statement defining their relationship to the living: 'husband of', 'wife of', 'son of' and so on. These were important for creating a social identity. Another option was to state the occupation of the deceased. This was used to construct the public memory of the deceased, recording public offices, networks and social status. Death date and age generally came next, although sometimes the birth date was the prelude to the death date. Both birth and death dates were frequently used for infant deaths, to emphasise the shortness of life and, by implication, the grief of the parents. The locality of birth and death events were an optional extra - 'native of ...', 'born ____ in the county of' - and were often utilised in colonial New South Wales to establish social and genealogical relations with the 'mother country'. Sometimes the inscription noted who erected the monument. On one level this reflects the centrality of the commemorative effort for maintaining private memories. It was also a public statement about who paid for the monument, thereby creating a social identity for the living through celebrating the living's respect for the dead. Once all the

description of the various stones in the United Kingdom suitable for monumental purposes, &c., The Author, Derby, 1862, pp.13-16. (BL).

genealogical data had been presented, and all the social connections had been stated, the inscription then went on to construct a social identity for the deceased, often in an epigraphic verse. This was usually done by emphasising the virtues of the deceased or the importance of the commemorative process of remembering the deceased.

Chosen, and occasionally even composed, by mourners, verse epitaphs provide important evidence of the hopes, beliefs and desires of mourners. The sentimentality of nineteenth century epitaphs has often been attributed to the commercialisation of the monumental masonry trade. Mary Mackay et.al. have argued that the majority of late nineteenth century Australian monuments and epitaphs were simply picked from a catalogue, with little imagination or personalisation being applied.¹⁸ However, this argument needs to be qualified. Yes, epitaphs were picked from books. But the range of epitaphs available to 'consumers' was so great, with volumes such as *Collectaneous Epitaphs* (1823) and *Mottoes for Monuments* (1872) providing several hundred from which to choose, that it is hard to believe relatives could not find something appropriate.¹⁹ Furthermore, epitaphs reflect many variations on a theme, which suggests people amended, chopped and changed epitaphs to suit their needs and to precisely express their feelings. It will be recalled that this mix and match approach to epitaphs was very similar to how many patrons settled upon monument designs in the nineteenth century.

¹⁷ Foster Collection. Devonshire Street Cemetery Epitaph Books. ML MSS B765-767.

¹⁸ Mary Mackay, Joan Kerr, James Kerr, Stella Jack, and Maisy Stapleton, *In Memoriam: Cemeteries and Tombstone Art in New South Wales*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney 1981, esp. pp. 23-24.

¹⁹ Rev. Morgan Williams, *Collectaneous Epitaphs; chiefly designed to assist surviving relations in fixing upon Suitable Inscriptions for the Tombs and Grave-Stones of Deceased Friends*, J. Evans, Carmarthen, 1823. (BL); F. Palliser and M. A. Palliser, *Mottoes for Monuments, or Epitaphs Selected for Study or Application*, John Murray, London, 1872. (SLNSW) See also F. W. F. Ward, *Tombstone Poetry and Scriptural Quotations for the use of monumental masons and associated trades*, G. Pulman & sons, London, 1895 (BL); Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs. A Select Collection of Epitaphs, preceded by an essay on epitaphs and other monumental inscriptions, with incidental observations on sepulchral antiquities*, H. G. Bohn, London, 1857. (SLNSW)

The following three epitaphs are all variations of the four line verse 'Weep not for me...' found on Australian monuments dating from 1825-1881. They are a versification of the scriptural assurance 'Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth' found in Luke 8:52.²⁰

Weep not for me my parents dear,
I am not dead, but sleeping here;
My end you know, my grave you see,
Prepare yourselves to follow me.²¹

Weep not my wife, my children dear
I am not dead but sleeping here.
My debt is paid, my grave you see,
Therefore prepare to follow me.²²

Weep not for me my parents dear
I am not dead but sleeping here
I was not yours but Christ's alone
Who loved me best and took me home.²³

This style of epitaph is an example of the *memento mori* attitude towards death, where the deaths of others are a reminder of humanity's mortal condition and function to spur faithfulness amongst the living. The *memento mori* tradition dates back to the seventeenth century in Britain.²⁴ Another common expression of this type was the 'As you are now, so once was I' epitaph.

Kind reader stop and cast an eye
As you are now, so once was I.
As I am now so must you be
Therefore prepare to follow me.²⁵

Variations of this epitaph can be found in many cemeteries across the state. While more popular in the first half of the nineteenth century, it continued to be used

²⁰ Palliser and Palliser, *Mottoes for Monuments*, p. 129.

²¹ Grave of Sophia Thurston, d. 23 June 1825, St Peter's Cemetery, Richmond. Quoted in Lionel Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a Vanishing Form of Folk Art*, John Ferguson, Sydney, 1980, p. 88.

²² Grave of James Ewen, d. 21 November 1881, General Cemetery, Armidale. Quoted in Gilbert, *Grave Look at History*, p. 88.

²³ Grave of Evarena Fletcher, d. 6 September 1875, Church Cemetery, Running Stream. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

²⁴ Ariès, *Hour of Our Death*, p. 461; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800*, Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991, pp. 9-12.

²⁵ Grave of John Wagstaff, d. 25 July 1862, St Jude's Church Cemetery, Randwick. Quoted in Gilbert, *Grave Look at History*, p. 88.

throughout that century.²⁶ In these *memento mori* epitaphs, the deceased speaks from the grave. Nigel Llewellyn argues that the use of 'I' in such a manner plays upon the multiple meanings of death and commemoration. It draws attention to both the physical body of the deceased and its location mouldering in the grave, as well as the 'social body' of the dead, sustained by memory and commemoration.²⁷ Another point should also be taken from the active first person voice of the deceased in the epitaph. It acknowledges and plays upon the social practice of grave visitation, particularly by relatives. The adaptation of this same *memento mori* warning occurred as late as 1885.

All ye that come my grave to see
 Prepare in time to follow me
 Repent at once without delay
 For I in haste was called away.²⁸

The epitaph boldly addresses 'All ye that come my grave to see', making this reference to graveside visitation and meditation overt.

Epitaphs often expressed the importance of the grave as a site of remembrance and consolation. In New South Wales, this association was expressed through funerary sculpture from the mid nineteenth century until at least the 1920s. Epitaphs found on gravestones during this period express a belief in the resurrection, heaven, and the centrality of personal memories to provide comfort to mourning relatives. It was these beliefs that underpinned the cemetery ideal and informed how the cemetery landscape was shaped, viewed, and used in the nineteenth century.

Beneath this Tomb his Ashes rest

²⁶ One of the earliest examples in Britain of this particular epitaph identified by the author dates from 1751 - Joseph Bain, d. 16 January 1751, Hastings, Sussex. Quoted in Fritz Spiegl (ed.), *A Small Book of Grave Humour*, Pan Books, London, 1971. This epitaph was still being promoted in epitaph books in the 1820s. See Rev. Morgan Williams, *Collectaneous Epitaphs*, pp. 9-10.

²⁷ Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p. 9.

²⁸ Grave of George Mulhall, d. 25 June 1885, Barrenjoey Head Lighthouse, NSW. Quoted in Gilbert, *Grave Look at History*, p. 87.

Whose memory fills the aching breast
 He sleeps unconscious of the tears that flow
 An off'ring to Heaven of a widow's woe²⁹

Thy grave, oh loved and sacred spot,
 Wherein thy ashes sleep
 Thy grave shall never be forgot
 By them that's left to weep.³⁰

Dearest Sister we have laid thee
 In the peaceful grave's embrace
 But thy memory will be cherished
 Till we see thy heavenly face.³¹

The voice is now silent the heart is now cold
 Where thy smile and thy welcome oft met us of old
 We miss thee we mourn thee in silence unseen
 And dwell on the memory of the joys that have been.³²

Not gone from memory not gone from
 love
 But gone to their Father's home above.³³

Sleep on my blessed creature in this tomb
 Let not my tears awake you
 I only wait until my turn
 And then I'll overtake you.³⁴

The two epitaphs on the left-hand side of the previous page encapsulate the integral relationship between sepulchral monuments and remembrance in nineteenth century mourning customs. The grave was cherished as a 'loved and sacred spot' where mourners could 'dwell on the memory of the joys that had been'. But as the first epitaph underlines, recollection by the relict was also painful, making grave visitation bitter-sweet. The two epitaphs on the right point to the importance of Christian beliefs in heaven and the resurrection to provide comfort for mourners. The tomb played an important part in this, perpetuating the memory of the deceased until the deceased and the mourners could be reunited - '...thy memory will be cherished,/Till we see thy heavenly face'. In a delicious reversal of roles from the 'Weep not for me...' genre, two of the epitaphs quoted have mourners

²⁹ Grave of Isaac Titterton Esq., d. 3 September 1852, Devonshire Street Cemetery, Sydney. Transcribed by A. G. Foster. Foster collection, ML MSS B765-767 (microfilm CY 1040, frame 0140-0141, no.16)

³⁰ Grave of James Symes d. 7 December 1883, St Luke's Churchyard, Wilton. Quoted in Gilbert, *Grave Look at History*, p. 79.

³¹ Grave of Barbara Jean Brown, d. 15 February 1909, Nyrang Creek General Cemetery. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

³² Grave of Hugh Arthur d. 26 December 1895, Private Cemetery on "Curra", Peak Hill. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

³³ Grave of Payne children, d. 1896 & 1903, Tinda General Cemetery, Tinda Tank. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

speaking to the deceased. The last epitaph is highly personal in its expression, poignantly reminding both the deceased and the reader that the widow's belief in the resurrection assures her of reunion with her loved one.

The centrality of the grave for personal memory is further illustrated in funeral ephemera. A memorial card would usually be distributed at the funeral, and bore the name and date of the deceased, along with an epitaph, and often details of the location of the grave. Decoration of the card featured popular funerary symbolism, such as angels, weeping widows, flowers, doves and ivy, and standard representations of the tomb as a sarcophagus, broken column, or pedestal and draped urn.³⁵ The custom of distributing amongst relatives a photograph of the tomb developed in the late nineteenth century.³⁶ [plate 6.2 figure A] The photograph was a personal memento of the grave site, and no doubt assisted the mourning process of relatives and friends living vast distances from the grave site. This practice also occurred in England.³⁷ It is unclear whether tomb photographs were an alternative to memorial cards, or whether they supplemented them. Photographs of the tomb would be distributed some time after the funeral, since the monument was usually erected between six months and two years after the death. Itinerant photographers in the nineteenth century advertised tomb photography as a specialty.³⁸ And later this custom was catered for by monumental masons, who could provide a number of photographs as part of the execution of an order for a

³⁴ Grave of Edward Smith, d.10 November 1823, Devonshire Street Cemetery, Sydney. Transcribed by A. G. Foster. Foster collection, ML MSS B765-767 (microfilm CY 1040, frame 0175, no. 228)

³⁵ Several Australian mourning cards are catalogued in Rowena Clark, *Hatches, Matches and Dispatches: Christening, Bridal and Mourning Fashions*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1987, p. 120. The Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, has a small collection of in memoriam cards catalogued in its manuscripts. For English examples see plates 7 & 9 in John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, Studio Vista, London, 1971.

³⁶ A copy of a framed tombstone photograph complete with newspaper clippings of the death notices is held in the Dempsey family papers, together with papers of the Tilney, Yates and Robinson families. ML MSS 6677. William Yates (d. 1859) and Sarah Yates (d. 1865). I would like to thank Antoinette Buchannan for pointing this photograph out to me.

³⁷ Jalland, 'Victorian death and its decline', p. 247.



Figure A. Tomb photography. This photograph was produced by W. Smith, Tain, c.1885. (Author's collection)

memorial.³⁹ Memorial cards and tomb photography illustrate the important association between the grave and the private memory of the deceased.

Familial associations and virtues were also invoked in epitaphs and served as a reminder of the loss that had been sustained.

A beautiful memory left behind
Of our dear mother, true and kind,
We have lost, and heaven has gained,
One of the best this world contained.⁴⁰

In a calm and silent grave he is sleeping,
A loved one dearest and best,
Hushed be all sorrow and weeping,
Father is only at Rest.⁴¹

A favourite way to extol the virtues of the deceased was the couplet 'A loving mother, a wife most dear'. Rhyming couplets were particularly easy to place together to form a four line epitaph. Four variations of this epitaph dating from 1871 to 1895 are shown below.

A loving mother true and kind
She proved to be in heart and mind
A tender parent too as well
While she on earth with us did dwell.⁴²

A tender mother Wife most dear
A faithful friend lies buried here
Free from malice, free from pride
So she lived and so she died⁴³

A wife so kind a mother dear
Her body does lie buried here
The loss is great we sustained
And hope in heaven to meet again.⁴⁴

A loving husband a father dear
Whose body that was lies buried here.⁴⁵

³⁸ Joan Kerr, 'The Artist, the Hero, and Death', in Eileen Chanin (ed.), *Death: Insights on Life*, Joint Committee of Necropolis Trustees, Sydney, 1996, p. 26.

³⁹ See for example F. Arnold Pty Ltd, Order Book 1901-1905. ML MSS 3621/4.

⁴⁰ Grave of Harriet Eliza Johnson, d. 9 September 1921, Church of England Cemetery No. 1, Rookwood Necropolis, Sydney, author's field notes.

⁴¹ Grave of Jacob Thomson, d. 6 May 1902, Moruya Heads Cemetery, Moruya Heads, author's field notes.

⁴² Grave of Elizabeth Swan, d. 24 July 1895, Cadow Private Cemetery, Condobolin. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

⁴³ Grave of Caroline Baker, d. 25 July 1871, Private Cemetery on "Monivae", Dungaree. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

⁴⁴ Grave of Sarah Draper, d. 25 January 1873, Brisbane Valley Catholic Cemetery, Foleys Creek via Oberon. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

⁴⁵ Grave of Josiah Baldwin, d. 14 October 1892, Isabella General Cemetery. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

The forgiving (or forgetful) nature of such epitaphs was widely acknowledged by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social and architectural commentators.⁴⁶ Epitaphs were criticised and satirised for being untruthful and clichéd in their flattery of the virtuous dead.

... this “sacred to the memory” - of no matter who, however black and well known a sinner, startles those who think that nothing can be sacred to men, but only to God and God’s worship: their fulsomeness and utter want of truth while praising the departed, outdo anything of that kind in the pagan world itself, so that “to lie like an epitaph” has grown into a saying; nay, downright pagan instead of Christian sentiments may be sometimes found inscribed on them.⁴⁷

Given the saying ‘to lie like an epitaph’ was current by 1852, the pithy riddle published by the *Bulletin* in 1885 would have been instantly understood by its colonial readership:

Why is the cavern tombstone here,
 Whose storied grandeur mocks,
 Why is it like the dust below,
 And why a paradox?”
 Swift to the cynic’s captious tongue,
 The twofold answer flies,
 Because, ‘tis lying rot, and then
 Because it *stands and lies*.⁴⁸

Praiseworthy epitaphs that abounded in the nineteenth century were, as Mary Mackay suggests, symptomatic of the increasing commercialisation of the funerary trade. But these epitaphs also reflect the role of the funerary monument in creating a public memory and identity for the deceased, that also reinforced the social order and convention for showing ‘respect’ by not ‘speaking-ill’ of the dead. It also no doubt reflects the fact that people wish to remember the good things about friends, lovers and relations, rather than dwell upon unhappy or hurtful memories.

‘Gone but not forgotten’ was another popular sentiment expressed on many memorials, emphasising the grave as a central site of remembrance. The first

⁴⁶ Francis Edward Paget in his *Tract Upon Tomb-Stones; or, suggestions for the consideration of persons intending to set up that kind of monument to the memory of deceased friends*, published in 1843, was the first of a long line of gentlemen, architects and clergymen to critique necrotecture and condemn the inappropriateness of many funerary monuments. (BL)

⁴⁷ Rock’s *Church of Our Fathers* (1852), III, part i, 82. Quoted in Katharine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840*, B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1946, p. 138.

⁴⁸ *Bulletin*, 11 July 1885, p. 11.

epitaph on the left consists of two verses, with the narrative moving from loss to remembrance. The second verse of this epitaph is similar to the epitaph on the right. The epitaph on the right, however, substitutes the line about memory with an appreciative comment about the father's wisdom, thus allowing 'gave' to rhyme with 'grave' in the final line.

Dearest mother you have left us,
We can see your face no more.
You have left this world of sorrow,
For that bright and shining shore.

You are gone but not forgotten,
Never shall your memory fade;
Sweetest thought will ever linger,
Around the spot where you are laid.⁴⁹

He is gone but not forgotten
Nor the good advice he gave
Sweetest thoughts shall ever linger
Around our darling fathers grave.⁵⁰

Such mix and match epitaphs were the cheapest way to personalise memorials, hence their popularity. Although epitaphs may have used a conventional language, they conjured evocative memories for individuals about the deceased and their relations with the living.⁵¹

This public expression of private sentiments was however seen as potentially disruptive and damaging by officials. Female relatives were discouraged from attending burial services because it was felt they would be unable to control their emotions.⁵² Inscriptions were also thought to be potentially dangerous - in their grief, families might express their overwhelming sense of loss which was contrary to Christian belief; alternatively in trying to encapsulate the character of the deceased, families might express sentiments which undermined the sacredness

⁴⁹ Grave of Sarah Wyatt, d. 28 December 1899, Moruya Heads Cemetery, Moruya Heads, author's field notes.

⁵⁰ Grave of Hugh Swan, d. 24 December 1907, Cadow Private Cemetery, Condobolin. National Trust of Australia (NSW) Classification Card.

⁵¹ Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1993, pp. 209-210.

and solemnity of the grave. Several English clergymen tried to overcome these problems by publishing guidebooks for appropriate epitaphs and monuments.⁵³ One such parish minister argued 'brevity and plainness' were essential for epitaphs, 'it being intended to present useful lessons, easily remembered by all who may read them in passing by'.⁵⁴ In New South Wales both the colonial Government and denominational trustees attempted to curb the individualistic tendencies of inscriptions and sanitise 'offensive' epitaphs.⁵⁵ In 1847 the NSW Attorney-General warned:

It was a well-known fact that [improper] inscriptions were sometimes placed on tombs. In the town of Liverpool he remembered seeing in a burial ground the following inscription:-

Underneath this stone lies Margaret Greg,
Who never had issue, save one in her leg;
This woman withal was so wondrous cunning,
Whilst she stood still on one leg, the other kept running.

He did not think that such epitaphs were suited to the place of burial for the dead, or the sentiments such cemeteries were intended to inspire.⁵⁶

As was discussed in chapter 5, many cemetery regulations allowed trustees to censor irreligious or objectionable monuments and inscriptions.

Despite such urgings, large and imposing monuments were still favoured by the elite, the nouveau riche, and social aspirants. Grand funerals and impressive monuments were particularly significant in colonial New South Wales where there was greater opportunity to forge an identity, and climb the social ladder. The *Sydney Morning Herald* observed in 1862, 'At the early stages of colonisation a

⁵² See Russell, *Wish of Distinction*, and Robert Nicol, 'Aspects of Death and Burial in the Colony of South Australia 1836-1901', PhD, Department of History, University of Sydney, January 1986, pp. 79-81.

⁵³ For example, Rev. Nash Stephenson, *A Selection of Texts For Tombstones; with a few Epitaphs*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1865 (BL); Rev. William Henney, *An Entire New and Improved Edition of Moral and Interesting Epitaphs, and remarkable monumental inscriptions; with miscellaneous poems, &c. &c.*, 6th ed., William Henney, Hammersmith, 1828. (BL).

⁵⁴ A Parish Minister, *Verses for Grave-Stones, In Church-Yards*, 2nd ed., James Hodson, Cambridge, 1814. (BL)

⁵⁵ NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 1847, p. 2.

⁵⁶ 'NSW Parliament', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 1847, p. 2.

funeral draws universal attendance, and long the habit of extensive attendance continues.⁵⁷ Families could manufacture an identity that would hopefully survive permanently, long beyond gossip and reputation.

Samuel Henry Harris, a Jewish emancipist, celebrated his good fortune, amassed from land speculation, through his funerary monument.⁵⁸ The domed canopy of Harris' memorial was a distinctive monument during the early years in Rookwood Necropolis, Sydney. [plate 6.3 figure A] It was designed by B. Levi, and executed by the accomplished monumental masons, Donaldson & Davies. It is an extravagant - and expensive - sandstone monument of classical proportions featuring intricate decorative carving. The pedestal, with granite inscription panel, and urn, is enclosed beneath a dome and four Corinthian columns. The base of the monument details a range of symbolic motifs: lions (indicating strength, courage, fortitude and majesty), urns (representing death/mortality), shells (representing pilgrimage, faithfulness and devotion), and scrolls (a symbol of life or time, and eternity, but may also in the Jewish context refer to the Torah).⁵⁹ The design of the canopied tomb drew upon the tradition of commemorative structures, pointing to the design of medieval and renaissance tombs commemorating prominent individuals and hence the social nuances of rank and position therein;⁶⁰ while the

⁵⁷ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1862, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Samuel Henry Harris d. 28 September 1867 aged 53 years. Information concerning Harris' convict origins and source of wealth from the late Judith Hunter and Helen Woodward, Friends of Rookwood.

⁵⁹ Funerary sculpture in the nineteenth century employed a vast range of symbolic language, the subtleties of which are frequently lost upon twentieth century observers. The most comprehensive discussion of funerary symbolism is Arnold Whittick, *Symbols, Signs and their meaning*, Leonard Hill Books Ltd, London, 1960, an expanded discourse on the significance of symbols throughout society, based upon an earlier compilation called *Symbols for Designers: A handbook on the application of symbols and symbolism to design for the use of architects, sculptors, ecclesiastical and memorial designers, commercial artists and students of symbolism*, Crosby Lockwood & Son, London, 1935.

⁶⁰ See for example James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An introduction to some of the buildings, monuments, and settings of funerary architecture in the Western European tradition*, 2nd ed., B.T. Batsford, London, 1993; Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991; and Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, SPCK, London, 1979 (first published 1963).



Figure A. Monument to Samuel Henry Harris (d. 1867), Jewish Cemetery No.1, Rookwood Necropolis.
(Author's Collection)



Figure B. Monument to Robert Hancock (d.1876), Church of England Cemetery No.1, Rookwood Necropolis.
(Author's Collection)

symbolic carvings summarised Harris' character, which was also forcefully articulated through his inscription. Harris' lengthy epitaph extolled his success, despite his ongoing illness. His was a 'life of honorable industry, crowned with success'; 'His joy [was] in the happiness of his wife and children', and he died 'with his last yearning for his family, his last trust in God'. From viewing this monument it is impossible to identify Harris' convict origins.⁶¹

Robert Hancock similarly understood the benefits of an impressive monument. An air of respectability and even good looks could be attributed to someone after death. [plate 6.3 figure B] This impressive sandstone figure, clothed in breeches and cloak and accompanied by man's best friend, gives no suggestion of the disreputable society with which Robert Hancock was associated. He was a fraudster, a womaniser and an owner of notorious hotels. Ironically this monument does not even portray a realistic representation of Robert Hancock. The monument was apparently a commissioned sculpture of Hancock's father executed by Charles Abrahams.⁶² Hancock certainly isn't who he appears to be!

The size of a monument and its position within the cemetery were integral to the commemorative function of a funerary memorial. As well as being a marker of status or wealth, a large, impressive monument attracted the attention of visitors and perpetuated the fame and memory of the deceased. The position of the vault and memorial to Sir Robert Duff, who died in 1895 while holding the office of Governor, was particularly chosen by his widow in Waverley Cemetery before she returned to England. The vault was located at the end of an avenue, overlooking the

⁶¹ Grave located in Jewish Cemetery No. 1, Rookwood Necropolis, Sydney, author's field notes.

⁶² *Illustrated Sydney News*, 11 July 1889, pp. 6-7; Frank Clune, *Saga Of Sydney: The Birth, Growth and Maturity of the Mother City of Australia*, The Author, Sydney, 1961, pp. 224-226; Shirley

ocean. The large marble Celtic cross, executed by local sculptors Ross & Bowman, was, according to the *Sydney Mail*, similar in design 'to many seen in the cemetery at Iona, a small island of the Hebrides, called *Reilig Oiran* - "the burial place of kings".⁶³ Lady Duff no doubt deliberately chose this design for its ancient and prestigious associations. The monument weighed about 12 tons and was 38 feet high. The *Sydney Mail* was suitably impressed, declaring, 'The dimensions of the monument and its elevated position in the graveyard make it one of the most conspicuous in the cemetery.'⁶³ [plate 6.4 figures A & B]

Some families went beyond having their name carved on monuments in their search for public remembrance. After purchasing an entire row of grave plots to house the family dynasty, Mr. Mark Spence applied in 1876 to the Anglican trustees of Rookwood Necropolis for permission to cut the phrase 'Spence's Avenue' into the kerbing that enclosed his grave sites. This was the equivalent of asking for a street to be named after his family and the request was rejected by the trustees as being contrary to the rules and regulations.⁶⁴ Specific reasons were not recorded in the trustees' minute book, but no doubt the proposal was viewed as challenging the 'order and uniformity' the trustees wished to maintain in the cemetery landscape.⁶⁵ Cemetery trustees did, however, capitalise upon the value attached to prominent grave sites. As we saw earlier in chapter 3, the cemetery landscape was usually divided into different classes of grave sites, with price dependent on their position.


Fitzgerald & Hilary Golder, *Pyrmont and Ultimo*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1994, p. 36; Kerr, 'The Artist, the Hero, and Death', p. 28.

⁶³ *Sydney Mail*, 2 May 1896, p. 918.

⁶⁴ 4 January 1876. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1).

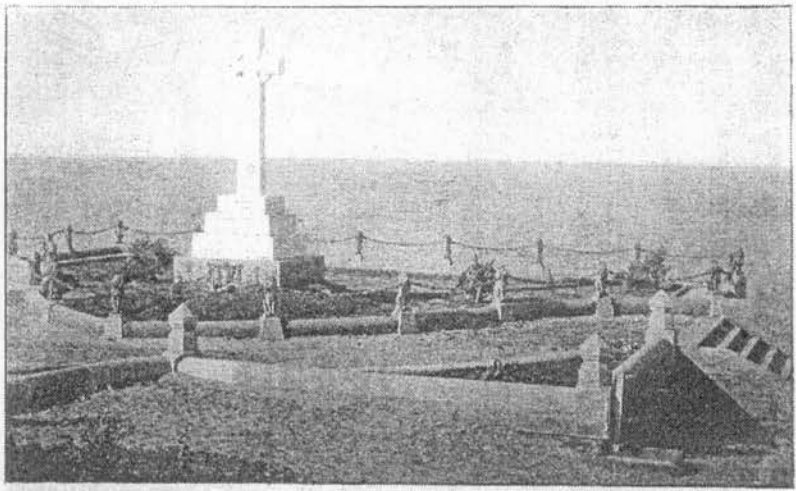
⁶⁵ 19 October 1875. Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1).

Also,
Contractors for the Middle Head Disaster Memorial,
Major-General Richardson Memorial,
and Memorial to the Hon. C. A. Goodchap.

BY  AUTHORITY.

ROSS & BOWMAN,
Opposite Cemetery Gates,
Waverley, SYDNEY. Monumental Sculptors,

Work sent to all parts of the Colony



MEMORIAL TO SIR ROBERT DUFF, DESIGNED AND ERECTED BY ROSS & BOWMAN.

Figure A. Monument to Sir Robert Duff.
(Advertisement - Ross & Bowman, *Sands' Directory*, 1898)



Figure B. Monument to Sir Robert Duff (centre), Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)

Some cemeteries also became acclaimed for the famous people buried in their grounds. These cemeteries became desirable places to be buried, and fashionable places to visit. St. John's Cemetery at Parramatta was favoured over All Saint's at Parramatta, to the extent that burials from Government institutions were later banned from St John's to allow more burials from the upper classes.⁶⁶ The popularity of St. John's Cemetery amongst the higher social ranks was no doubt enhanced by the fact that two Governors' wives - Lady Mary Fitzroy and Elizabeth Jane Bourke - were buried there. Waverley Cemetery throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attracted the famous and wealthy due to its picturesque location by the sea in the eastern suburbs of Sydney.⁶⁷ Likewise, the nearby Randwick Cemetery (St Jude's Cemetery) was recognised in the nineteenth century as 'a very fashionable place to be buried in'. Its fashionable status was attributed to the fact that 'in this cemetery a great number of our illustrious dead are buried', or, as another politician bluntly stated, because 'a number of the vault holders are wealthy people'.⁶⁸ Fashionable cemeteries were not a phenomenon confined to the status-conscious colonies. The Cemetery of Père-Lachaise in Paris became wildly popular after the remains of the famous lovers Héloïse and Abélard were relocated to the cemetery. Similarly, Kensal Green Cemetery in London received the royal seal of approval when the Duke of Sussex was interred in the cemetery in 1843, rather than the traditional royal burial place of St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Judith Dunn, personal communication, March 1998.

⁶⁷ *Town and Country Journal*, 4 December 1886, p. 1174; *Murray's Illustrated Pocket Guide to Sydney*, A. Kier Murray, Paddington, n.d., p. 50.

⁶⁸ *NSWPD.*, 1894-95, 'Randwick Cemetery Bill', LA. Mr Gould, described Randwick Cemetery as 'fashionable' with 'wealthy' vault holders, 2 May 1895, p. 5875. Mr V. Parkes identified the 'illustrious dead' in Randwick Cemetery, 7 May 1895, p. 5931.

⁶⁹ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p. 154; *A Guide to The General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green, Hammersmith and Fulham Amenity Trust*, London, n.d. [c.1995], n.p.; *The Royal Mausoleum, Frogmore*, 3rd ed., H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, 1991, p. 3.

So far I have illustrated how individuals or families have utilised their monuments to create an identity, to mark their achievements or to ensure the perpetuation of the family name. This process of commemoration took on another layer of significance and meaning at a public level, when prominent citizens, valued for their status, wealth, or contribution to society, were mourned and remembered by the public and the government. Funerary monuments and commemorative services for these individuals were not simply about creating a social identity, but also forging a collective sense of shared history and nationhood and encouraging the emulation of prized values and deeds.

The cemetery ideal encouraged the erection of funerary monuments for display in the public sphere, to benefit the public. According to architectural historian Richard Etlin,

The same mental outlook that revelled in symbolic, temple-like spaces consecrated to high ideals also believed that public honours and commemorative monuments were powerful spurs to exemplary behaviour. ... The cult of statues to great men and women, which spread throughout the West in the nineteenth century, and which acquired such a significant place within the city at least until World War I, had its origins in the Enlightenment space of emulation.⁷⁰

Commemoration of the dead was seen in the nineteenth century as an indicator or litmus test of a nation's civilisation. These values were constantly reiterated by statesmen, philosophers and writers. For example, William Godwin wrote at the start of the 19th century that 'monuments to the dead were as important to a nation as were libraries.'⁷¹ The cemetery ideal valued funerary monuments for their ability to incite emulation, to educate the population in appropriate moral and religious values, to cultivate aesthetic taste, and to encourage a sense of collective memory and identity. This belief that monuments formed a part of public memory and the

⁷⁰ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, pp. 24-25.

⁷¹ Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 1993, p. 340.

nation's collective identity reaches to the heart of the original meaning of the word heritage - an inheritance, a physical, intellectual or spiritual legacy.⁷²

The funeral and commemoration of William Charles Wentworth clearly demonstrates the historical associations between commemoration, social memory and national identity. Wentworth was accorded the first 'State funeral' in colonial New South Wales. Born in Sydney in 1793, William Charles Wentworth was 'one of the firstborn of the first generation of natives'.⁷³ He had a distinguished public career, fighting for representative government in the colony, and subsequently became a Member of Parliament in the Assembly. It was in this capacity, 'as the foremost champion of freedom in the day, a true leader of the people, [that] he won his chief glory'.⁷⁴ According to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'his eloquence was vehement and his invective terrible'.⁷⁵ The patriotic *Empire* reminded readers of Wentworth's contributions in 'early manhood' to the 'exploration of the interior' and, through his studies at Cambridge University, for proving to the British that the colony was producing worthy young men. Wentworth was later instrumental in founding the University of Sydney, seen as an important step in the development of the colony of New South Wales.⁷⁶ Wentworth died in England on 20 March 1872, and his remains were, at his own behest, shipped back to Australia for burial, a fitting final gesture by the Australian 'patriot'.

The colonial government unanimously voted for a State funeral and appointed three commissioners to make all necessary arrangements for this

⁷² Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds.), *A Heritage Handbook*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1991, p.1.

⁷³ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Editorial, *Empire*, 6 May 1873, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1873, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Editorial, *Empire*, 6 May 1873, p. 2.

important public display of gratitude and respect. This was a momentous occasion for the colony. It not only paid tribute to a prominent 'native' Australian through various eulogies, ceremonies and public displays, but also helped to create and present an image of the colony as virtuous, civilised, a fine young nation. The significance of the first public funeral was not lost on the commissioners, who published a book detailing the origin and progress of all the arrangements.⁷⁷ The funeral was covered extensively in the colonial press, allowing some insight into how the ceremony was viewed and how the general public responded to this significant national event.

The funeral itself took place on Tuesday 6 May 1873, the day being declared a public holiday by the Governor. It was, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a 'deeply impressive' and a fine 'spectacle'.⁷⁸ In their detailed descriptions of the 'pageant', contemporary newspapers captured the excitement generated by the unprecedented large-scale display of pomp and ceremony. The order of the funeral cortege and its route to the vault on the Wentworth family estate at Vaucluse were published in local newspapers to encourage public participation and viewing.⁷⁹ By 10am, one hour before the start of the memorial service, 'thousands of well dressed citizens were making to the various points of the city to view the funeral cortege',⁸⁰ and soon 'every possible point of vantage was taken possession of'. 'The footpaths were literally blocked with people'.⁸¹ 'Men and boys were perched on the most out-of-the-way places - on the top of drinking fountains, gateposts, verandahs, and roofs. Scores of heads were bursting through the open windows of every house in

⁷⁷ *Public Funeral of the late William Charles Wentworth. Tuesday, 6th May, 1873*. Government Printer, Sydney, 1873. (ML).

⁷⁸ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Public notification of Procession order and other arrangements, *Empire*, 5 May 1873, p. 1.

⁸⁰ *Empire*, 7 May 1873, pp. 2-3.

⁸¹ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 May 1873, p. 3.

the vicinity, and long rows of legs dangled from every parapet.⁸² It was estimated that between 50,000 and 70,000 Sydneysiders had come to view the procession.⁸³ [figure 6.5 figure A] The streets were 'alive with excitement', however 'the noisy hum of conversation was immediately stilled upon the approach of the procession.'⁸⁴ The funeral cortege was 'exceedingly long',⁸⁵ so long in fact that 'when the first portion [of the funeral cortege] had reached the toll-bar at Rushcutter's Bay, the last of the carriages had not left George Street', a distance of approximately three kilometres.⁸⁶ The procession finally reached Vacluse at around 2 o'clock, by which time 'the patience of the beholders was well-nigh exhausted'.⁸⁷ There was some criticism of laughter, talking and pipe-smoking amongst the Volunteer Force during the procession, such behaviour being condemned as contrary to 'those feelings of quiet solemnity which such an occasion should inspire'.⁸⁸ However, overall there was general agreement that despite the large crowd and the lengthy procession, the behaviour of the spectators was decorous and orderly.⁸⁹

The newspapers unanimously agreed that the State funeral was a fitting tribute for Wentworth, 'the great Australian patriot', and that it was an important and defining moment in the development of the nation's collective memory and identity. The *Illustrated Sydney News* described a public funeral as the finest honour that could be bestowed upon an individual, and linked it positively with the perpetuation of the memory of the dead, 'that undying memory which seems to

⁸² *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 June 1873, p. 3.

⁸³ *Empire*, 7 May 1873, pp. 2-3; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 May 1873, p. 3.

⁸⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 5.

⁸⁵ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 4.

⁸⁶ *Empire*, 7 May 1873, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 May 1873, p. 3.

⁸⁹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 4.; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 May 1873, p. 3.

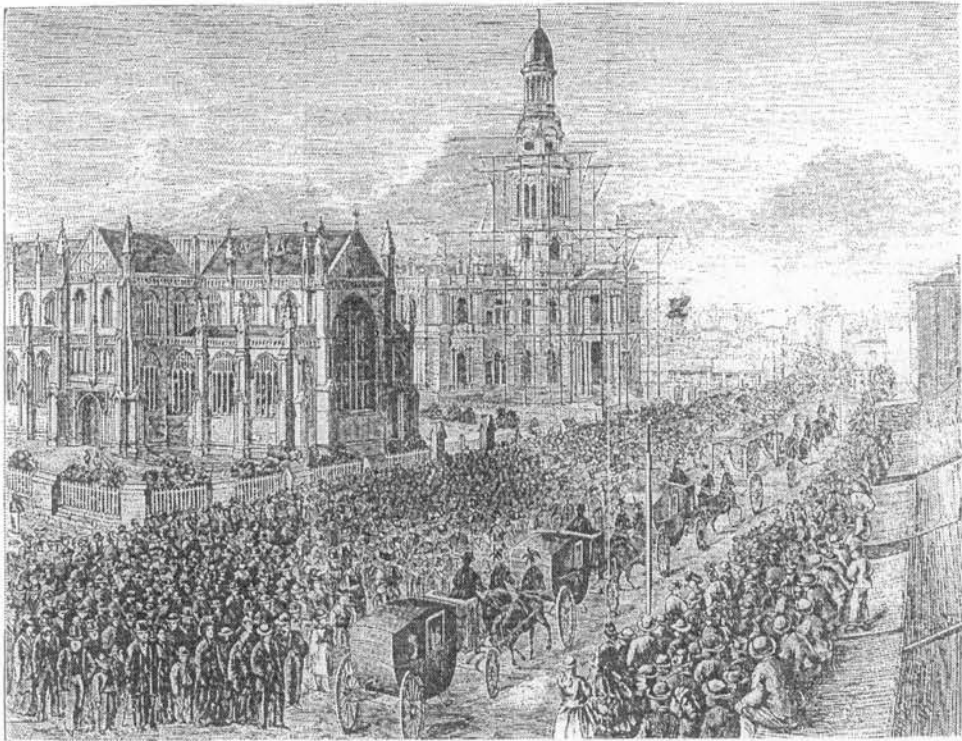


Figure A. 'The Funeral of the Late Mr. W. C. Wentworth' - 'every possible point of vantage was taken possession of'.
(*Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 June 1873.)

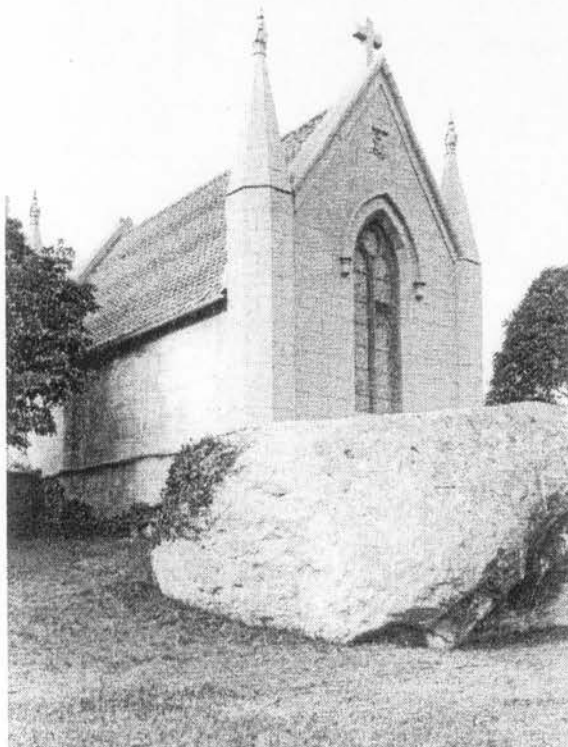


Figure B. Wentworth Mausoleum, Vacluse.
(Government Printing Office Collection, SLNSW)

grow greener with the lapse of years'.⁹⁰ The large crowds, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, were interested not simply in the 'spectacle', but truly wished to pay homage to Wentworth. The *Herald* was hopeful the funeral 'may not be without its influence in stimulating to higher aims and more unselfish labours'.⁹¹ The *Empire* also believed that Wentworth's State funeral would inspire emulation amongst the next generation of young Australians.

The solemn pageantry of a public funeral, attesting a nation's grateful remembrance of worthy deeds, ought to inspire youth with a generous and patriotic enthusiasm ... Viewed in this light a public funeral becomes something more than a mere spectacular display of a nation's gratitude, for it appears to be an incentive to noble deeds, and tends to exert a healthy moral influence over the rising generation.⁹²

Sir James Martin, in the conclusion to his funeral oration by the vault at Vacluse, agreed. He predicted Wentworth's mausoleum would be a 'lasting and conspicuous memorial' where future generations would come to learn of his deeds and 'catch perchance, some inspiration from his tomb'. [plate 6.5 figure B] It is worthwhile presenting the conclusion to Sir Martin's oration in full, as he articulated a particularly Australian understanding of the landscape and the role that it played in the collective identity of the nation.

Like "the Spartan borne upon his shield", he has been brought back dead to receive that solemn but significant recognition which proclaims that the ashes of a patriot are being carried to their last home. We have no Westminster Abbey in which to place the bones of our illustrious dead; but here, under the bright Australian sky, and by the shores of the broad and blue Pacific, in a corner of one of Nature's loveliest landscapes we are about to lay his remains, where it was his own wish that they should repose. No fitter burial-place could be found for him. Undistinguished by those royal honours, which he merited more than any of the Australians who have received them, this monument will be a lasting and conspicuous memorial, visible to all who enter and to all who leave our port, of one on whom the people have conferred the greatest honour in their power to bestow. Hereafter, in the not far distant future, when these colonies shall be the abode of many millions, living under English law and speaking the English tongue - when the education of their sons shall be more widely diffused and their intellect more fully developed - the best and the ablest of them all may gather lessons from the life of William Charles Wentworth, and catch perchance, some inspiration from his tomb.⁹³

⁹⁰ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 May 1873, p. 3.

⁹¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 4.

⁹² *Empire*, 7 May 1873, pp. 2-3.

⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1873, p. 5. Martin's oration was also reproduced in the *Empire* and the *Illustrated Sydney News*.

While Martin implied that a national state house like Westminster Abbey would have been an appropriate place to bury the bones of Australia's illustrious dead, his acceptance of the Australian landscape as an equally suitable resting place foreshadows the decline of the ideal of emulation and the large-scale national commemorative edifices that supported it. This shift in commemorative practice is highlighted further in the epilogue to this thesis. Descriptions of the 'bright Australian sky', and the 'blue Pacific' ocean were, as we shall see, repeated in descriptions of the unveiling of many funeral monuments at Waverley Cemetery, and such descriptions still resonate today. For Australians, landscape and memory became entwined in their expression of national identity, and Wentworth's mausoleum was just one early manifestation.

Given the success of the first State funeral, it is perhaps surprising, and certainly ironic, to remember that eighteenth months later the first manoeuvres to form a Funeral Reform Association were underway. However, the movement had little impact upon large public demonstrations of gratitude to the colony's 'illustrious dead'. But what was meant by 'illustrious'? And who was deemed important enough to receive a public funeral or monument raised by public subscription? Public commemoration was a contentious issue in the nineteenth century, charged with social and political meanings, as the memorial to poet Henry Kendall in Waverley Cemetery shows. Here an identity was created for the poet through his memorial in a deliberate attempt to redefine the collective memory of the colony.

Kendall had died on August 1st 1882, in poverty and a drunkard. His tumultuous personal life betrayed the success and poetic recognition he had achieved. His works included writing the words for the Sydney International Exhibition opening cantata and several volumes of poetry. Obituaries described the 'lyre set in his soul'⁹⁴, and lamented the fact that his death 'deprive[d] Australia of its sweetest singer'.⁹⁵ Eulogistic parallels may be seen between the Harris epitaph quoted earlier and positive references to Kendall's memory. The 'terribly pathetic story of his life'⁹⁶ was downplayed and any negative reference to his character saw him painted as a Romantic poetic genius grappling with inner demons.

Mr. Kendall's career was chequered and gloomy and overshadowed by great troubles, of which he may have been partly the victim and partly the creator, but the few who gained an insight into his inner life knew that he often went out into the wilderness and wrestled terribly with his temper in a mental and physical struggle, of which, happily, few know the terrors.⁹⁷

From the tenor of the public obituaries, Kendall seems an ideal candidate for a State funeral. But he was not awarded this honour. In contrast, his funeral was a modest affair with only the poet's closest friends in attendance.⁹⁸ The *Bulletin* remarked, 'one or two papers ask how it was that so many attended the funeral of a rich publican, and a few that of a poor poet. The reason lay in this - one conquered by liquor, the other was by liquor conquered. The world still worships the golden calf.'⁹⁹ This sardonic comment on Kendall's funeral illustrates the fickleness of public memory and commemoration. Society preferred to remember the wealthy rather than the poor, the hero rather than the wastrel.

The movement to raise funds for a more substantial memorial to Kendall however was underway within two weeks of him being buried. The *Sydney Mail*

⁹⁴ *Sydney Mail*, 5 August 1882, p. 227.

⁹⁵ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 2 September 1882, p. 9.

⁹⁶ *Sydney Mail*, 5 August 1882, p. 227.

⁹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 August 1882, p. 3.

saw the death of Kendall as an excellent opportunity to establish the country's literary merit. Just as Wentworth was a fine colonial statesman, Kendall was a gifted colonial poet, worthy of commemoration and celebration.

In an exceptional degree Henry Kendall had both the gift of inspiration and the gift of speech. He had the poetic faculty, and he cultivated it with assiduous care. For this reason it behoves us to follow his example and to respect his memory. Australia wants poets as well as politicians; and the death of Henry Kendall has furnished a fitting occasion for an emphatic enunciation of this wholesome truth.¹⁰⁰

Not everyone was as enthusiastic about the memorial effort. *The Bulletin* scoffed that after three years only £125 had been raised, most of which had come from 'foreigners'. [plate 6.6 figure A] 'Let Kendall, say we, continue to rest by the sea, in a grave decorated with sardine boxes and surmounted by a wooden cross with a tin label. The poet's best monument is his poetry. If *that* doesn't remind the world that he once lived, then let all that belongs to the poet fade and perish utterly.'¹⁰¹

Despite the *Bulletin's* scorn, the monument was unveiled four years after Kendall's death by Governor of the day, Lord Carrington. [plate 6.6 figure B] In reporting its unveiling, journalists emphasised the importance of remembrance as an expression of gratitude or atonement for past wrongs. Large crowds attended the ceremony, which we might note, was in striking contrast to the small attendance at his funeral.¹⁰² The new identity for Kendall as the admired poet was finally complete. He had a choice location 'high above the cliffs, looking far away out on the placid surface of the blue Pacific', a large and impressive Italian marble monument rising '25 feet above the adjacent pathway', and an inscription vouching

⁹⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 1882, p. 5; *Bulletin*, 12 August 1882, p. 5.

⁹⁹ *Bulletin*, 12 August 1882, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Sydney Mail*, 26 August, 1882, p. 352.

¹⁰¹ *Bulletin*, 8 May 1886, p. 5. Picture: 'That Kendall Statue', *Bulletin*, 20 December 1884, p. 5.

¹⁰² *The Bulletin* commented several times on the lack of people who attended Kendall's funeral. See for example 12 August 1882, p. 5; 8 May 1886, p. 5.



Figure A. 'That Kendall Statue'. (*Bulletin*, 20 December 1884.)

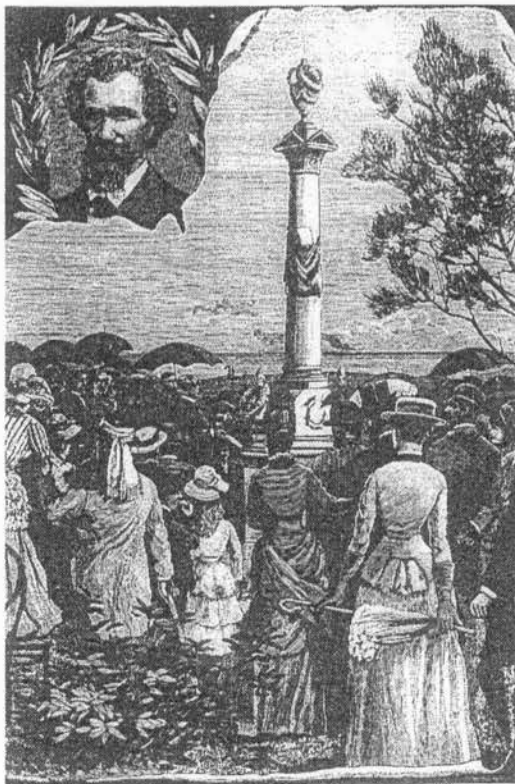


Figure B. The unveiling of Henry Kendall's monument, Waverley Cemetery. (*Illustrated Sydney News*, 24 December 1886, p. 20)



Figure A. 'Monument to Kendall (the Poet), in the Waverley Cemetery'.
(*Town & Country Journal*, 4 December 1886)

for his many friends who 'loved and admired him'.¹⁰³ [plate 6.7 figure A] The poet chosen to summarise the people's feelings was not Kendall himself but Shelley, and the words themselves were ironically appropriate for an alcoholic:

Awake him not! Surely he takes his fill
Of deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill.¹⁰⁴

The *Illustrated Sydney News* commented, 'The changes that characterised his life have followed his body to the tomb'.¹⁰⁵ If Kendall had known how his image had been transformed by 'friends' after his death he may not have rested so easily. The monument and its unveiling was as much a public ceremony which drew attention to the philanthropic deeds of the city's movers and shakers, as it was a personal remembrance of Kendall himself. As the *Town and Country Journal* happily recorded, 'It will be remembered of the present generation that it did not leave unhonored the last resting place of its favourite poet'.¹⁰⁶ There is possibly no clearer statement of how public memory and history are entwined in funerary monuments.

Funerary monuments could also make political statements. The Irish monument, also to be found in Waverley Cemetery, was erected to commemorate the Irish Rebellion of 1798. The '98 Commemorative Committee had originally approached the Roman Catholic trustees at Rookwood Necropolis, seeking a site 'to erect a monument to the heroes of '98', but came away empty handed.¹⁰⁷ It is unclear why the trustees fobbed off the '98 Commemorative Committee; perhaps it was too political an issue for them to embrace. Whatever the concern, no such problems

¹⁰³ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 7 January 1887, p. 11; *Town and Country Journal*, 4 December 1886, p. 1174.

¹⁰⁴ Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'Adonais - An elegy on the death of John Keats, author of *Endymion*, *Hyperion*, etc.', Part VII, lines 62-63, (1821), in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 3rd ed., W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1970.

¹⁰⁵ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 7 January 1887, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ *Town and Country Journal*, 4 December 1886, p. 1174.

¹⁰⁷ 7 March 1898, Roman Catholic Trustees' Minute Book, in Carol Liston, 'Extracts from the Minutes of the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Independent Cemetery Trusts and List of

were found at Waverley. The foundation stone was laid in 1898 at the Centenary of the Irish Easter Uprising and the remains of Michael Dwyer, the 'Wicklow Chief' who was a prominent leader of the Rebellion, and also the remains of his wife, were transferred to the vault at this time. This event was preceded by a two and a quarter hour funerary procession from St. Mary's Cathedral to Waverley Cemetery, which was attended by over 4000 demonstrators, and witnessed by 'tens of thousands' more along the streets.¹⁰⁸ [plate 6.8 figure A] It was an 'immense gathering' that took organisers by surprise. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that although the Commemoration Committee had made arrangements to deal with a large concourse of spectators in the cemetery, 'few expected such a monster demonstration, and the result was an unfortunate scrimmage for a sight of the proceedings at the graveside'.¹⁰⁹ The vault was located prominently in the cemetery near the Pacific Ocean, where, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'the stillness of the sea lent a touch of natural solemnity to the proceedings'.¹¹⁰ The ceremony and speeches lasted till dusk. Jostling aside, organisers commended the large crowd of spectators for the 'orderly and decorous behaviour' which they believed 'reflected credit on themselves and on the people of Sydney'.¹¹¹

The memorial, designed by architects Sheerin and Hennessy, was unveiled two years later on 16 April 1900 in front of 'many hundreds of ladies and gentlemen'.¹¹² [plate 6.8 figure B] Public remembrance is the central motif of the monument. Beneath the Celtic cross the words 'Remember 98' are carved, in the

Documentary Sources', Appendix 23, *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*, volume 6, Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993.

¹⁰⁸ *Sydney Mail*, 28 May 1898, p. 1135; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1898, p. 3; *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1898, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1898, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1898, p. 3.

¹¹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1898, p. 3.

¹¹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 1900, p. 7.

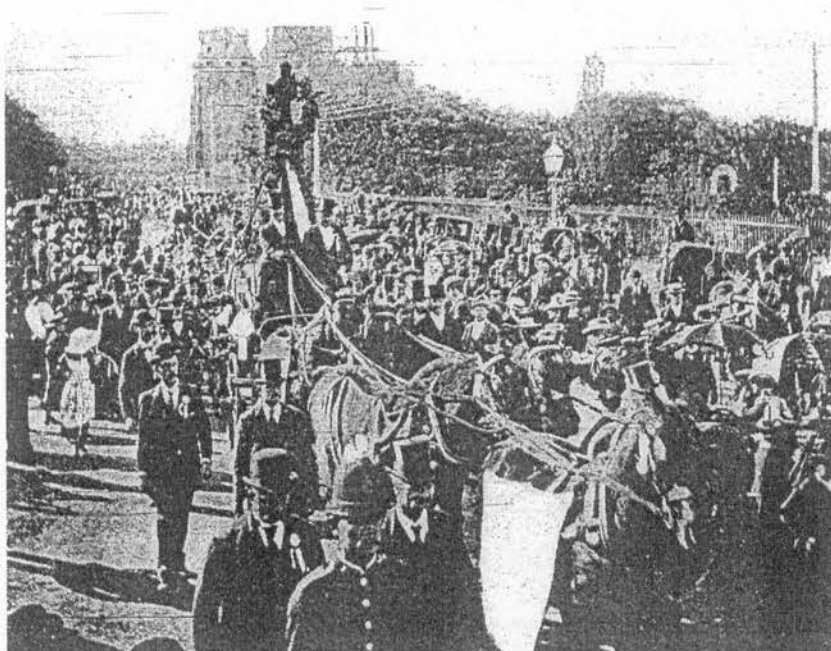


Figure A. '98 Procession - The Hearse on College Street leaving St Mary's Cathedral.
(*Sydney Mail*, 28 May 1898, p. 1135)

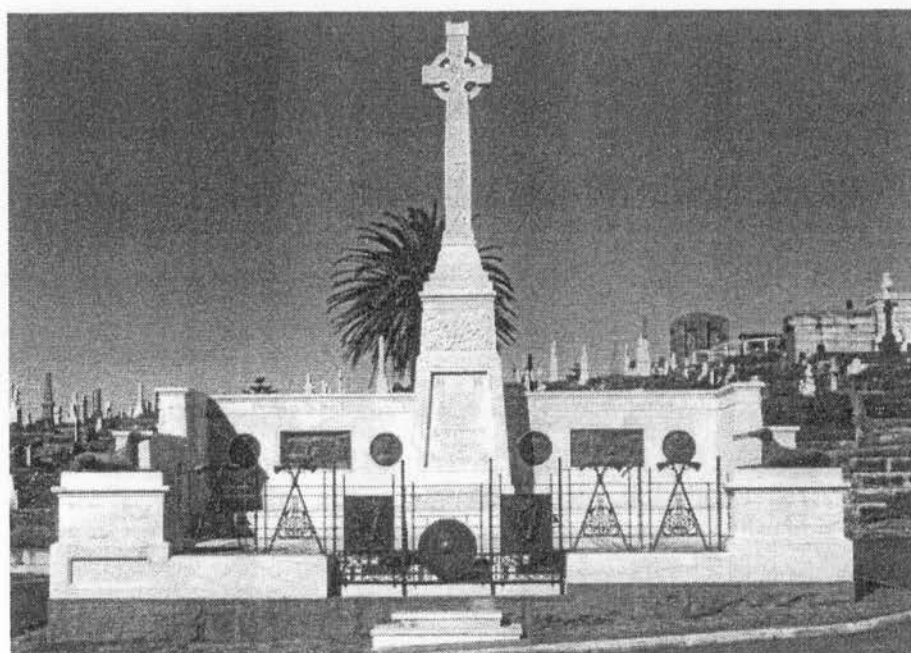


Figure B. The '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)



Figure A. Remember '98 motif - detail from the '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery
(Author's Collection)

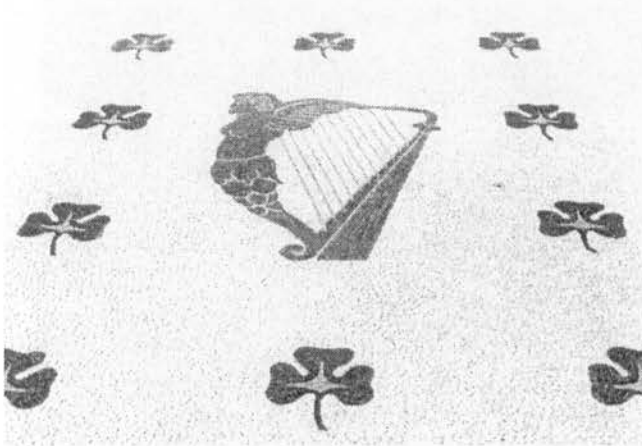


Figure B. Irish harp - detail of the mosaic tile floor from the '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)



Figure C. Irish Wolfhound - detail from the '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)

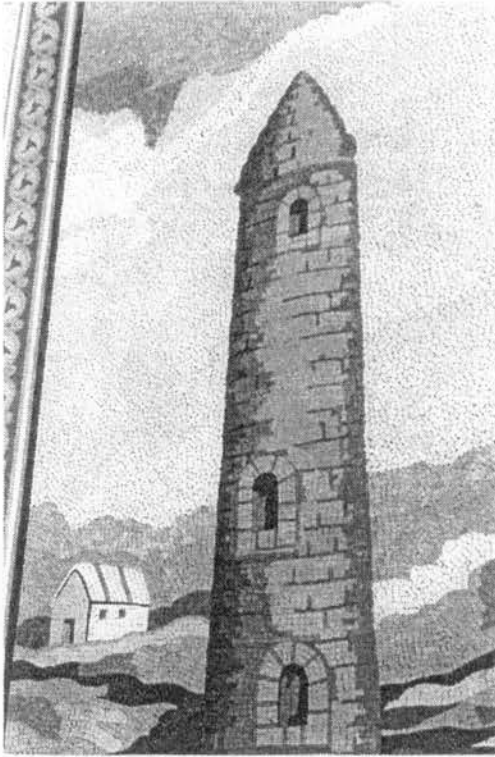


Figure A. Round Tower - detail of mosaic tile floor from the '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)



Figure B. Irish harp gate - detail from the '98 Commemorative Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(Author's Collection)

form of a monogram intertwined with laurel and shamrocks. [plate 6.9 figure A] The main inscription further emphasised the importance of public memory and commemoration. 'Erected by the Irish People and Sympathisers in Australasia. In Loving Memory of all who Dared and Suffered for Ireland in 1798.' Beneath the Irish wolfhounds which flank the monument, readers are exhorted not to forget the republican cause. The monument resonates with nationalistic symbolism: the Celtic cross and other Celtic interweavings, shamrocks, Irish harps, Irish wolfhounds, and the Round Tower. [plate 6.9 figures B & C; plate 6.10 figures A & B] Such patriotic symbols were to be fused in the public memory with the republican cause. The chair of the '98 Commemorative Committee Dr C. W. MacCarthy, who unveiled the monument, reminded the crowd of the important role of the monument in defining public memory. The memorial was both a sign of the public's admiration and a site of memory, pilgrimage and patriotism. As well as defining the Irish identity in the colony, and keeping alive the quest for Irish unity, MacCarthy argued it would be an important monument for the Australian nation. '[I]t would stand here in this young country, the birth of whose nationality they had recently witnessed [at Federation], as an object lesson to young Australians in the sublime virtue of patriotism.'¹¹³ The Irish Monument has remained a source of community strength, particularly for Irish Catholics, for one hundred years and regular commemorative services are still held at the monument.¹¹⁴

War memorials are one of the successful commemorative efforts which fuse private and public mourning; memory and public history. The complexity of applying the dichotomy of public/private to funerary sculpture can also be seen in personal monuments to World War One soldiers, an area of history which has been

¹¹³ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1900, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ *Southern Courier*, 28 April 1998, p. 15; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April 1998, p. 10.

overlooked until comparatively recently.¹¹⁵ These private monuments were not erected by the community or the government, but by the individual families who mourned the loss of their sons. They were erected by parents and siblings in the local cemetery on the family plot. It is not the unknown soldier who is mourned, but the known soldier. Regardless of whether their remains were returned to Australia, hundreds of family monuments privately lamented the death of their soldier. Looking at these monuments one gets a sense of the subdued pride which families felt - ranks and battalions are noted, the fatal battle recorded. But also the sense of isolation, particularly in rural regions, is intensely expressed through the inscriptions.

Away in a foreign land, beneath a lonely sod
Lies a hero brave, Resting at Peace with God.¹¹⁶

Individually and collectively these private war memorials present a very different and more personalised view of the loss and grief experienced as a result of war, and suggest that private sentiment was not always attached to the public war memorials.

Cemetery monuments occupy a commemorative space that facilitated the creation of both private and public memories. The construction of the cemetery in the nineteenth century as both a private space for mourning and a public space for emulation and passive recreation defined the dual commemorative functions of the cemetery. The erection of funerary monuments in the nineteenth century was a self-conscious endeavour to construct a social identity for posterity. This was a

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of public war memorials see Ken Inglis, 'Men, Women and War Memorials: Anzac Australia', *Daedalus*, vol. 116 no. 4, 1987, pp. 35-59; and 'Entombing unknown soldiers: from London and Paris to Baghdad', *History and Memory*, Fall/Winter, vol. 5, 1993, pp. 7-31. See also Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, Berg, Oxford, 1998; K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne University Press (Miegunyah Press), Melbourne, 1998.

particularly symbolic action in the new colony, where social identity and status needed to be defined, and a sense of heritage and collective identity needed to be forged. As people reinforced their private memories through individual commemoration, they were also engaging in a public dialogue recording their identities, status, attitudes and beliefs for both present and future generations.

¹¹⁶ Pte George Bowman, d. 22 August 1915, Waverley Cemetery, Sydney, author's field notes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

'A PLACE OF FESTIVE OR PENSIVE RESORT':

PASSIVE RECREATION IN CEMETERIES

The cemetery ideal constructed the cemetery as both a private and public space. As we have seen in previous chapters the cemetery was a place where individuals and families mourned. It was also a place that the broader community visited to pay their respects to public figures and to partake in passive recreation, wandering amongst the monuments and enjoying the 'sublime' landscape. This chapter considers this use of the cemetery as a public space utilised for passive recreation. It also further explores the relationship between public and private space in the cemetery and the impact of this relationship on the cemetery's use. While recognising the cemetery as a social and cultural document, architectural historians and cultural historians have yet to perform a gendered spatial analysis of the cemetery. This is an attempt to begin this process. I shall argue that more than any other public space, the nineteenth century cemetery reflects the gendered response to death, or more particularly the gendered representation of death and femininity by the living. The cemetery was a product of nineteenth century urbanisation and reflected many of the ideals of the period. As we have seen throughout this thesis, the nineteenth-century cemetery was seen to have both private and public functions - including disposal, consolation, and education. In keeping with this educative role, and to encourage emulation, they needed to be attractive landscapes that people would be interested in visiting. In this regard, cemetery landscapes may be viewed alongside public parks as providing similar recreational functions. Mourning practices, memorial designs and the landscape design of the cemetery

were products of cultural assumptions connecting gender and death - particularly idealised passive femininity, nature and death and the demarcation of public/private sphere. The association between femininity, mourning and death contributed towards defining the cemetery as a more feminine public space, one that provided an acceptable arena for the recreation of women. In this regard, the cemetery can be seen as the feminine counterpoint to the masculine space of the public garden or park.

Upon learning of the purchase of land for the large new necropolis at Haslem's Creek in 1862, the *Sydney Morning Herald* encouraged the trustees to create a pleasant cemetery landscape for the recreational benefit of the city's population.

It will be highly gratifying to the public "if the house appointed for all living" shall be adorned with some care and in good taste. If the depth of graves be properly regulated, and everything noxious be obviated, there is no reason why the intended burial ground should not be a place of festive or pensive resort as in many other countries - whither the inhabitants of the city should often betake themselves to visit some sacred spot and revive the tender impressions which time does not efface, though happily it abates all unavailing sorrow.¹

The *Herald* went on to contrast the 'sombre associations of a neglected churchyard' with the landscaped garden cemetery. A neatly ornamented cemetery that illustrated good taste in its design and plantings was integral to creating a didactic landscape that improved the morals of the people. While mourning and remembrance were of course important activities in the cemetery, the *Herald* also believed that the cemetery could be 'a place of festive or pensive resort' for the residents of Sydney, since 'an occasional stroll through the avenues of the well-kept cemetery will afford instruction with out depression'. Rookwood Necropolis, with 200 acres divided amongst the main religious denominations, provided ample space for the construction of a suitably sublime landscape. Following the opening of the

¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1862, p. 4.

railway link to the Necropolis, it indeed became one of the favourite weekend destinations for Sydneysiders.

Promenading in the cemetery became a popular pastime and, as one parliamentarian commented,

Some persons derive a melancholy pleasure from visiting the last resting-place of their friends. Visit, for instance, the cemetery at Haslem's Creek, or a cemetery in any suburb, and there you will find instances of the feeling which is shown for the dead.²

The general consensus in the colonies, in keeping with the cemetery ideal, was that the 'melancholy pleasure' of cemetery landscapes provided moral and artistic edification. The *Mercury* in Tasmania argued that a well-sited cemetery 'by the use of a little judicious embellishment, might be converted into a very pretty retreat, where the living might take a melancholy pleasure in wandering among the abodes of the dead'.³ The importance of cemeteries for the moral improvement of the people was also a key argument invoked against the introduction of cremation. 'If cremation were adopted', argued one politician, 'where would be such opportunities as are now afforded in church-yards for the enjoyment and improvement of people who choose to wander there?'⁴ Mr Piddington, MLC, during continued debate on cremation, elaborated his point further. 'The cemetery at Rookwood is a credit to the country, and a place a visit to which would be profitable to many persons'.⁵

This recreational use of the cemetery was not simply an Australian phenomenon. As the *Sydney Morning Herald* suggested, visiting cemeteries for

² *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', L.C., 7 July 1886, Mr Dodds, p. 3126.

³ *The Mercury*, 22 May 1871, quoted in Stefan Petrow, 'God's Neglected Acres: Cemeteries in Tasmania 1803-1992', *Public History Review*, vol. 2, 1993, p. 150.

⁴ *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', L.C., 24 June 1886, Mr Piddington, p. 2933.

⁵ *NSWPD*, 1885-86, 'Cremation Bill', L.C., 29 July 1886, Mr Piddington, p. 3672.

recreational purposes occurred in Britain, Europe and America in the late nineteenth century. The observation of Englishman Henry Arthur Bright while travelling in America sums up the situation. 'Cemeteries here are all the "rage"; people lounge in them and use them (as their tastes are inclined) for walking, making love, weeping, sentimentalising, and every thing in short.'⁶ The popularity of garden and rural cemeteries for passive recreation led to the publication of guidebooks in Britain and America. These guidebooks led the casual visitor around the cemetery, highlighting picturesque aspects of the landscape, pointing out tasteful monuments and famous burials, and encouraging appropriate meditative thoughts.⁷ In America, rural cemeteries filled a niche for passive recreation that demonstrated the need for public parks and led to the emergence of the landscape architecture profession.⁸ In New South Wales, where there were already some public parks, the cemetery became an alternative public space for recreation.

Despite the popularity of Rookwood Necropolis and other large metropolitan cemeteries, specific cemetery guidebooks have yet to be identified in New South Wales.⁹ Nevertheless, the general tourist and visitor guidebooks for Sydney did discuss Rookwood Necropolis as a major public institution and a tourist site worthy of visitation. Most tourist guidebooks addressed Rookwood Necropolis

⁶ Quoted in Blanche Linden-Ward, 'Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth Century Rural Cemeteries', in *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of an American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989, p. 305.

⁷ See for example Linden-Ward, 'Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds', pp. 293-328; Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984. Further examples from guidebooks are given in chapter 1.

⁸ David Schuyler, 'The Didactic Landscape: Rural Cemeteries', chapter 3 in *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986, pp. 37-56.

⁹ Two interstate guides have been identified. One for a new cemetery in Melbourne, Victoria - *Views of the Necropolis Spring Vale*, General Metropolitan Cemetery Trust, Spring Vale, Established 28 February 1901; and one for a new cemetery in Brisbane, Queensland - Dr E. W. H. Fowles, *The Brisbane General Cemetery: Handbook of Public Information*, Cemetery Trustees, Brisbane, 1924.

as the principal cemetery in Sydney, noting the cemetery's location and size, and providing information on the cost and number of funeral trains for the convenience of visitors.¹⁰ Some guidebooks also provided information about other cemeteries in Sydney.¹¹ Collectively, these guidebooks provide evidence of the importance of cemeteries as a cultural institution. Their descriptions of the landscape and directives to visit cemeteries affirm that cemeteries were popular public spaces used for passive recreation.

The landscape of Rookwood Necropolis was described as 'neat', 'tasteful' and 'handsome'. *Fuller's Sydney Hand-Book* (1879) favourably compared Rookwood Necropolis with prominent international garden cemeteries, declaring the Necropolis 'is daily becoming more and more worthy to compare with Kensal Green and Père-Lachaise'.¹² Given the colonists' awareness of the cemetery ideal and the popularity of these 'model' cemeteries in Britain and France, this was no doubt considered high praise and would have encouraged visitors to go and view the cemetery for themselves. In 1884 *The Railway Guide of NSW (for the use of tourists, excursionists, and others)* admired the funerary architecture and landscaping of Rookwood Necropolis.

The grounds have been laid out with great taste, and present to the passing traveller a cheery picture, taking away the melancholy thoughts that would arise in viewing the city of the dead were it not relieved by tasteful parterres and shrubs and handsome mausoleums. The buildings connected with this cemetery are really handsome edifices - the Mortuary House, or Station, at the end of the siding on the

Both of these small booklets were promotional publications rather than guides to cemetery monuments, however they do promote the cemetery ideal and encourage visitation by the public.

¹⁰ Turner & Henderson, *Visitor's Handy Guide to Sydney*, Booksellers & Stationers Co., Sydney, n.d. [c.1870s], p. 10; Lee & Ross, *Handbook to the City of Sydney and Street Directory*, 1881, p. 24; *Dymock's Illustrated Guide to Sydney, comprising description of the city and its institutions, with which is incorporated The Tourists' Handbook, and description of the Resources of New South Wales*, 18th ed., Dymock's, Sydney, 1897, p. 75.

¹¹ *Murray's Illustrated Pocket Guide to Sydney*, A. Keir Murray, Paddington, n.d., pp. 48 & 50; James Webb, *Guide to the City of Sydney and Pleasure Resorts of New South Wales*, The States Publishing Co., Sydney, [1905], pp. 123-24.

¹² *Fuller's Sydney Hand-Book (A Reliable Guide to Sydney and Suburbs)*, C. E. Fuller, Sydney, 1897, p. 90.

ground particularly so. The Jewish Burial-ground adjoins that appropriated to all the various denominations of Christians, who here sleep peacefully together.¹³

Likewise, but more succinctly, *The Metropolitan Handbook of Sydney* (1897) remarked '[t]his City of the Dead is divided into sections, and the place is well and carefully laid out with walks and ornamental trees and shrubs.'¹⁴ The Necropolis' landscape was seen to provide a visually pleasing environment dismissing the terrors of death and, by implication, elevating visitors' thoughts towards solemn but pleasurable contemplation of mortality. The Necropolis was still highly regarded in the 1920's. *Wilson's Authentic Director* identified the Necropolis as the largest cemetery in the state. 'The grounds, which are always kept in good order, contain many fine avenues of trees. Fares by funeral train, two of which leave the Mortuary Station daily, are: 1st return, 2/-; 2nd, 1/-.'¹⁵

Sunday, being the Sabbath, was seen as a particularly appropriate day for visiting the cemetery. For a 'Sunday In Sydney' the visitor's guide *Fuller's Sydney Hand-Book* (1879) suggested that 'The Cemeteries deserve a visit, specially the one at Rookwood.'¹⁶ *Pfahlert's Hotel Visitors' Guide, or, How to Spend a Week in Sydney* (1879) encouraged visitors to join the locals for a Sunday stroll in the cemetery.

To some people the Cemeteries are objects of interest, and it is no uncommon thing to see crowds thronging the Necropolis at Haslem's Creek, and the other "Gardens of the Dead", which are so well taken care of, in the vicinity of the metropolis.¹⁷

Large 'thronging' crowds were a common sight at cemeteries on the weekends. Oral histories confirm that a Sunday visit to Rookwood for tending graves and

¹³ *The Railway Guide of New South Wales (for the use of tourists, excursionists, and others)*, 2nd ed., Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, p. 27.

¹⁴ Tattersall's Hotel and Adams' Cafe, *The Metropolitan Handbook of Sydney. A Visitors' Guide to the Various Health and Pleasure Resorts, Within Easy Reach*, Edward Lee & Co., Sydney, 1897, p. 60.

¹⁵ *Wilson's Authentic Director, Sydney and Suburbs*, Wilson & Co., Sydney, 1920, p. 305.

¹⁶ *Fuller's Sydney Hand-Book (A Reliable Guide to Sydney and Suburbs)*, C. E. Fuller, Sydney, 1879, p. 74.

¹⁷ T. Curran, *Pfahlert's Hotel Visitors' Guide, or, How to Spend a Week in Sydney*, Gibbs, Shallard & Co., Sydney, 1879, p. 64.

picnicking in the grounds was a regular event for women from The Rocks in the inner city. Sometimes this ritual occurred as frequently as once a fortnight.¹⁸ In Brisbane, Toowong Cemetery became 'a place of great resort on Sunday afternoons' both for grieving relatives and 'casual visitors who admire the chaste monuments already erected and view the beauties of nature that environ this spot'.¹⁹ Similarly the superintendent of West Terrace Cemetery in Adelaide claimed that the cemetery was 'a favourite resort of the citizens of Adelaide who, accompanied by their families, frequent the ground on a Sunday afternoon in great numbers ... I should think it does not fall short of from 200 to 300.'²⁰

Special events at cemeteries also attracted large crowds. In April 1890 the *Freeman's Journal* reported the blessing of the Roman Catholic mortuary chapel at Rookwood Necropolis 'attracted a large number of visitors on Sunday afternoon'. The journal continued,

The day being fine, a good opportunity was afforded the visitors of inspecting the 'model cemetery'; and it is not too much to say that the appearance of the Catholic division in particular gave very great satisfaction - the neatness, good order, and taste on all sides impressing the visitors most favourably. It would be difficult to imagine a cemetery more tastefully planned or more carefully kept.²¹

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the unveiling of monuments raised by public subscription (such as the Henry Kendall monument) were popular occasions. Anniversary days were also important events. The '98 Commemorative Memorial (Irish Monument) at Waverley was centred on an anniversary day, celebrating the Irish Easter Uprising in 1798. Mother's Day, the second Sunday in May, was an

¹⁸ Grace Karskens, *Inside The Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1999, p. 182.

¹⁹ *The Queenslander*, 8 July 1876, quoted in Georgy McCall, 'The Brisbane General Cemetery: the Accidental Cemetery', *Images of the Urban: Conference Proceedings*, ed. Lynette Finch & Chris McConville, Sunshine Coast University College & International Australian Studies Association, Maroochydore, 1997, p. 51.

²⁰ Quoted in Robert Nicol, *Cemeteries of South Australia: a heritage study*, for Department of Environment and Planning, Adelaide, 1988, p. 177.

important event at Rookwood Necropolis, particularly in the early twentieth century. Special services were performed in the chapels to cater for the large crowds.²² Alby Duncan, a monumental mason who grew up in the Lidcombe area, recalls large crowds attending Mother's Day at the Necropolis.

My Dad used to have to put wooden rails around our lawn on Mother's Day to protect the grass because otherwise it would have been trampled down to nothing. There was that many people. It was just like the centre of the city - going backwards and forwards here from Lidcombe [Railway] Station to the cemetery. That was when I was a kid, yeah.²³

Chinese grave sweeping festivals which were observed at Rookwood were also popular occasions, both for the Chinese community, and as a spectacle for local residents, especially the children who were attracted by the food offerings left on the graves and the fire crackers.²⁴ Cemetery visitation was clearly popular and the cemetery functioned both as a sacred site for mourning and memory and as a secular site of recreation, full of spectacle and visual interest.

The popularity of cemeteries for passive recreation in Sydney is further supported from Trustees' minutes and reports, which document the development of facilities for visitors. From its inception, the Necropolis was designed to cater for a large number of funeral parties and visitors. The mortuary station was situated in the centre of Rookwood and remained 'open at all times to visitors to the necropolis, giving them shelter and rest with the refreshment of a draught of water.'²⁵ The General Secretary of the Necropolis, saw facilities as essential for the comfort of visitors, and wrote to the colonial Government in 1887 seeking approval for their construction.

²¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 April, 1890. (National Trust of Australia (NSW) Archives: Rookwood Necropolis - file.)

²² Mothers' Day Order of Service, Church of England Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis, 9 May 1937. (Anglican Trustees Office, Rookwood Necropolis).

²³ Alby Duncan, 8/7/1994. Rookwood Necropolis Oral Histories. (JCNT)

²⁴ *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers' Advocate*, 19 April 1927, p. 5.

In large cemeteries, such as Rookwood, which is visited by thousands of people, the trustees should be empowered to provide a supply of fresh water, places of shelter, and sanitary accommodation for visitors. Many persons who go to the cemeteries to attend graves remain for a considerable time, and are in the habit of taking luncheon on the ground, and it seems desirable that suitable places should be provided for the purpose.²⁶

By the early twentieth century, tea rooms had been built in Rookwood Necropolis to cater to the weekend crowds. [plate 7.1 figure A] Merv Manning, who grew up in Lidcombe, recalls how in the 1930s his parents would meet up with their friends and have afternoon tea at the tea rooms near the No. 4 Mortuary Station at Rookwood.²⁷

It is difficult to determine the social demographics or indeed the exact numbers of people visiting cemeteries in the late nineteenth century. The immense popularity of rural cemeteries in America placed the cemetery landscapes under threat, both physically from damage and overuse and philosophically from the values, attitudes and behaviours of visitors. Blanche Linden-Ward documents how these cemeteries became pleasure resorts for all classes rather than tranquil asylums for the gentility.²⁸ Descriptions of ‘thronging crowds’ and ‘thousands of people’ at Rookwood Necropolis suggest that there were indeed large numbers of visitors. The social demographics are even more difficult to ascertain. Camperdown Cemetery was described as a ‘favourite promenade for young people’ on Sundays.²⁹ Picturesque garden cemeteries were also favoured by courting couples. A nineteenth century Valentines card suggested Boroondara General Cemetery in

²⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1870, p. 376.

²⁶ ‘The Necropolis, Rookwood’, *JNSWLC.*, 1887-88, vol. 43 part 4: Letter of the General Secretary to the Necropolis to the Acting Under Secretary of Justice, 3 December 1887. Letter No. 62, pp. 20-22.

²⁷ Merv Manning, 28/6/1994. Rookwood Necropolis Oral Histories. (Joint Committee of Necropolis Trustees). Merv’s father was the manager for the Jewish cemetery for many years.

²⁸ Linden-Ward, ‘Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds’, pp. 317-318.

²⁹ Letter to the editor by ‘Pere La Chaise’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 1866, p. 5.



Figure A. Tea Rooms, Rookwood Necropolis. c.1930s.
(Anglican Trustees, Rookwood Necropolis).

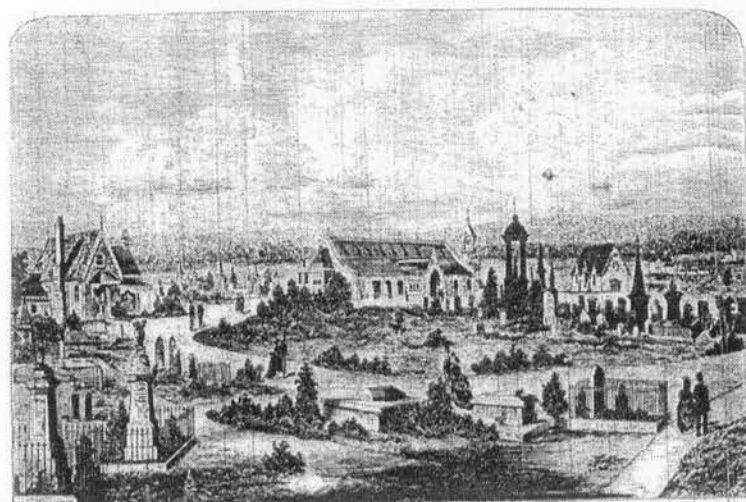


Figure B. Genteel cemetery visitors promenading in The Necropolis, Haslem's Creek.
(*Illustrated Sydney News*, 29 May 1875.)



Figure C. Cemetery visitors viewing Governor Duff's Memorial, Waverley Cemetery.
(*Sydney Mail*, 2 May 1896).

Melbourne as a rendez-vous for two lovers.³⁰ Illustrations of cemeteries in the nineteenth century provide an idealised picture of cemetery visitors. The detailed etching of Rookwood Necropolis that was published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* and *Town and Country Journal* showed well-dressed couples exuding gentility and politeness wandering along the paths, appreciating the didactic cemetery landscape. [plate 7.1 figure B] A sketch of the Governor Duff Memorial in Waverley Cemetery dating from 1896 confirms the presence of couples, as well as women and children in Australian cemeteries. [plate 7.1 figure C] Although it is stylised in its presentation - with the monument being framed by two pairs of admirers, and then another set further apart - the predominance of women in the picture points to the idealised users of cemeteries, if not the reality of visitor composition.

Nineteenth century cemeteries should be considered alongside public parks as a civic space and a recreational space. The interest taken in the planning and location of cemeteries, along with their listing in guide books under 'Public Institutions', suggests that cemeteries were viewed as an important part of the public sphere. The accepted educative role of cemeteries in informing the taste of the public in aesthetics and art, which underlined the cemetery ideal, was entwined in the construction of the cemetery as a public space. The similarities and subtle differences between the public park and cemetery both in social values and function are indicative of a gendered demarcation of public space.

The city was a predominantly male space in the nineteenth century. The cultural values used to define and regulate public space (the street, the park, the hotel, public institutions) and private space (the domestic sphere, the home, certain

³⁰ Juanita Green & Joy Stewart, *Boroondara: A Place of Shade*, Kew Historical Society, Trustees of

church activities) meant that there were different spaces that were viewed as being appropriate for men and women, and these were reflected to the various provisions made for each sex in the city.³¹ Ian Hoskins has shown in his cultural history of parks and gardens in Sydney how public parks were regulated by bourgeois middle class values to include and exclude certain portions of the population. He argues that the provision of park space in Sydney in the late 19th century was linked with civic education and the definition of citizenry. The public park while promising access for all was a gendered and classed space which defined citizenry as masculine and respectable.³² Sarah Schmidt, in looking at parks in turn-of-the-century Montreal, has similarly found that public parks were inscribed with values of 'capitalism, patriarchy, female propriety, domestic harmony, and bourgeois (hetero)sexual morality.'³³ The vagabond, the larrikin, the loiterer -- these inherently male figures were feared and despised and vigorous attempts made by respectable park trustees to exclude them from public parks in the nineteenth century. Rules and regulations governed promenading, the genteel's manner of seeing, and being seen, in public. A respectable woman would not be seen wandering the streets aimlessly or unaccompanied. Although women could visit public parks and gardens, they were best seen in pairs or in the company of a gentleman.³⁴

Boroondara General Cemetery, Melbourne, 1980, p.3.

³¹ Ian Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen: Cultural Politics in the Parks and Gardens of Sydney, 1880-1930', PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, March 1996, p. 58; Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life: The Itinerary of Our Days*, Australian Scholarly / Arcadia and Museum Victoria, Kew, Victoria, 1998, pp. 58-62.

³² Ian Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen'.

³³ Sarah Schmidt, "'Private' Acts in 'Public' Spaces: Parks in Turn-of-the-Century Montreal, in *Power, Place and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*, eds. T. Myers, K. Boyer, M-A. Pontanen and S. Watt, Montreal History Group, Montreal, 1998, p. 129.

³⁴ Lionel Gilbert, *Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney, A History 1816-1985*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1986; Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen', esp. ch. 1; Schmidt, "'Private' Acts in 'Public' Spaces"; Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne University Press, 1994, esp. ch. 2.

This gendered division of public recreational space is made quite explicit in the following description of Hyde Park by a citizen petitioning the government to retain the Old Sydney Burial Ground (now disappeared under Sydney's Town Hall) as a public space. Mr Whiting complained that

The ground called Hyde Park, and that portion of it facing Elizabeth Street, is entirely taken up by youths and adults playing cricket and other masculine games; thereby preventing children and ladies from benefiting by this reserve.³⁵

Mr Whiting's solution to retain the Old Sydney Burial Ground for women and children suggests that cemeteries were viewed as an appropriate place for women. A popular American advice book for mothers, first published in 1831, similarly encouraged mothers to take their children for walks in the cemetery, since it was a suitable place to 'draw attention to God's good works'. 'So important do I consider cheerful association with death, that I wish to see our graveyards laid out with walks and trees, and beautiful shrubs, and places of promenade'.³⁶ Such advice was common in America, and supports the view here in Australia of the appropriateness of the cemetery as a recreation site for women and children.

The provision of sanitary accommodation for men and women is a telling factor in the use of cemeteries, particularly when compared with public parks and gardens. It demonstrates that large numbers of women, as well as men, visited the cemetery. The mortuary station at Rookwood Necropolis included 'a waiting room and ladies' retiring-room, with lavatories and other conveniences'.³⁷ The Presbyterian trustees erected in c.1886-87 a ladies 'rest' or 'waiting room', which, as one contemporary newspaper remarked 'is very convenient for visitors, and an

³⁵ 'St Andrew's Cathedral Close Bill - Petition G. R. Whiting', *NSWLAV&P*, 1867-68, vol. 4, p.949.

³⁶ Lydia Maria Child, *Advice to Mothers*, Carter and Hendee, Boston, 1831, quoted in Barbara Rotundo, 'Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 14 no. 3, p. 260.

³⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1870, p. 376.

ornament to the ground.³⁸ By 1902, the 'ladies waiting room' had been supplemented by several 'other out-houses'.³⁹ The Anglican trustees also accommodated women visitors. The summer rest house in plate 7.2 (figure A) was 'for ladies only' and possibly included a lavatory, as suggested by the hand towels hanging over a tree branch to the left of the photograph. The plans of a brick rest house [plate 7.2 figure B], dated 1905, shows earth closets for both men and women, in addition to a lavatory for women. In 1907 the Anglican Trustees resolved to build a 'shelter shed, ladies lavatory and retiring rooms' in section 5, the cost of the ladies lavatory being recorded as 95 pounds the following year.⁴⁰ Public parks were not nearly as advanced in catering for women. In 1897 the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney, J. H. Maiden, reported that the new latrines for gentlemen in the Domain were in constant use (1540 men used the public convenience on a 'quiet Sunday') but that no such facility existed for women, 'and surely in these days of granting justice to the other sex, it is only necessary to point out that latrines for women and children ... are an imperative necessity'.⁴¹ Maiden sincerely believed that 'the provision of water-closets and urinals in public parks is a matter of absolute necessity'. And yet, in 1902 -- 34 years after the Necropolis had its first ladies' restroom -- Maiden admitted that the Botanic Gardens was the only public park that provided 'special accommodation for women and children'.⁴² The nearby Domain didn't provide sanitary accommodation for women until 1910.⁴³ And the

³⁸ *The Echo*, 11 December 1890, pp. 2-3; 18 May 1886 & 6 September 1887, Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1867-1917. (Ferguson Memorial Library).

³⁹ 22 April 1902. Presbyterian Trustees' Minute Book, 1867-1917. Ferguson Memorial Library.

⁴⁰ 11 October 1907, 16 October 1908. Anglican Cemetery, Rookwood Trustees' Minute Books, 1868-1939, in Carol Liston, 'Extracts from the Minutes of the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Independent Cemetery Trusts and List of Documentary Sources', Appendix 23, *Rookwood Necropolis Plan of Management*, volume 6, Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1993.

⁴¹ J. H. Maiden. 'Report for 1896-97'. Quoted in Gilbert, *The Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney*, p. 118.

⁴² J. H. Maiden, 'The Parks of Sydney: some of the problems of control and management', *Journal of the Royal Society of NSW*, vol. 36, 1902, p. 33.

⁴³ Ian Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen', p. 58.

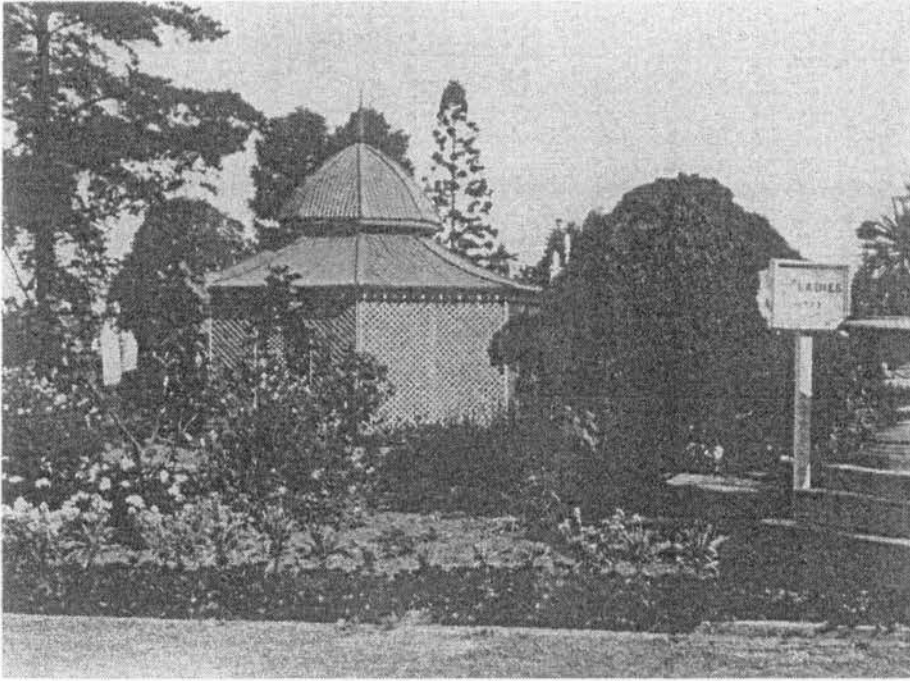


Figure A. Ladies' Only Rest House, Church of England Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis. (Anglican Trustees, Rookwood Necropolis).

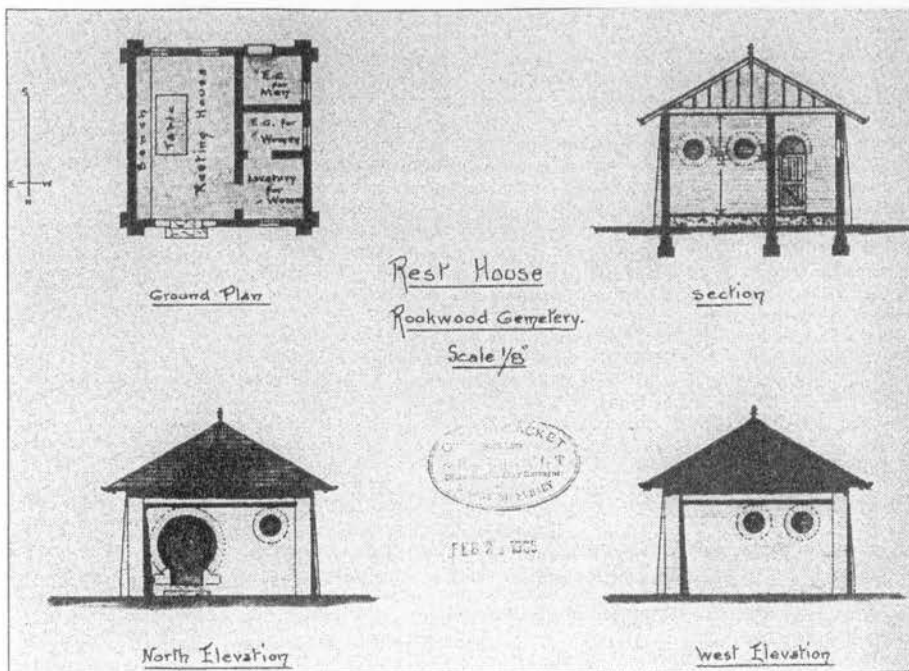


Figure B. Brick Rest House, Church of England Cemetery, Rookwood Necropolis, 1905. (Reproduced in *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, p. 32).

first female public conveniences on the city streets did not arrive until the 1900s.⁴⁴ In this respect, the cemetery was a public space which catered for the presence of women in a way that the public street or public park did not always do. The favourable provision of toilets in cemeteries for women is evidence for the use of the cemetery by women for mourning and recreation. The comparatively early provision of public toilets may have been a practical response to cemeteries' locations outside the town. Perhaps no other facilities were conveniently available nearby. It could indicate that more women utilised the cemetery landscape as a recreational space compared to public parks, although photographs of the Botanic Gardens suggest this interpretation is unlikely.⁴⁵ Alternatively, the provision of public conveniences for women may indicate that cemeteries were viewed as an acceptable public space for the recreation of women.

Some interesting parallels develop between the public park and the public cemetery. The public park and the public cemetery were supposedly democratic in their access, but both were defined and regulated by the ideals of the bourgeoisie, which focused upon notions of respectability. Class, status and wealth were graphically demonstrated in the cemetery through hierarchy of burial plot position and ornate monumental sculpture, and also through mourning practices. In their function as a civilising space through the didactic landscape, the public park and the cemetery were also similar. While there were a lot more memorials in the

⁴⁴ Sydney Municipal Council first built male underground public conveniences in 1900. Some time between 1900 and 1905 the first women's underground public convenience was built, since it is recorded that in 1906 the Council made extensive alterations to the ladies' convenience in Parker Street. In September 1910, Sydney Municipal Council entered into a contract 'for the erection of the first Ladies' Convenience to be erected above ground by the Council, the site being fixed in Hyde Park on the south-eastern corner of Park and Elizabeth Streets'. Municipal Council of Sydney, *Vade Mecum*, 1916, pp. 168-175.

⁴⁵ See for example photographs published in Gilbert, *The Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney*; Edwin Wilson, *The Wishing Tree: A Guide to Memorial Trees, Statues and Fountains in the Royal Botanic*

cemetery, both parks and cemeteries featured sculptures to commemorate people and to excite intellectual contemplation. One interesting difference was the relative subjects of the monuments. Obviously funerary sculpture reflected more upon mortality and religious themes. This is hardly surprising. But the figurative sculpture in parks and cemeteries were remarkably different. Realistic male figurative sculptures dominated public parks. When female figures were represented in public parks, they were almost without exception classical figures such as Diana, or allegorical figures embodying abstract ideals or pursuits; thereby contrasting strongly with the 'great men' sculptures which tended to be realistic representations of political or historical men.⁴⁶ The public sculptures added to Sydney's Centennial Park in its first decade graphically illustrate this contrast. Female forms were sculpted representing the four seasons, as well as 'Fine Arts', 'Commerce', 'Industry', and 'Architecture', 'Charity' and 'Diana'. Whereas men were represented by American and British politicians and historical figures, such as Thomas Jefferson and William Gladstone.⁴⁷ In stark contrast to public parks, cemeteries hosted a profusion of what art historian Joan Kerr described as 'noble, virtuous, entirely imaginary women in classical dress'.⁴⁸

The contrast between male and female subjects for sculpture in public parks and gardens, and the proliferation of female figurative sculpture in cemeteries, illustrates the gendered division of public life and also public space. Men dominated public life socially and politically and this is reflected in the representation of prominent male leaders in park statuary. In public life women

Gardens, Domain and Centennial Park, Sydney, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, in association with the Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, 1992.

⁴⁶ See for example the listing of statues, past and present, in Wilson, *The Wishing Tree*.

⁴⁷ Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen', pp. 119-120.

⁴⁸ Joan Kerr, 'The Artist, the Hero, & Death', in *Death: Insights on Life*, ed. Eileen Chanin, Joint Committee of Necropolis Trustees, Sydney, 1996, pp. 25-26.

were viewed as passive items to be gazed upon, they did not participate actively in the public sphere. Women were to be a civilising influence with their morals and beauty. Admittedly the British monarch Queen Victoria was depicted in public statuary, however her femininity was rarely, if ever, emphasised. Instead, a strong, severe looking monarch was represented. Female allegorical figures in public spaces, especially parks and cemeteries, offered a more acceptable view of femininity and illustrated a Victorian association between the ideals of femininity and nature, passivity and virtue, classical beauty and moral uplift.⁴⁹

Tongue in cheek, Joan Kerr speculates that allegorical female figures 'were the only respectable nineteenth-century women allowed to hang about our parks and streets'.⁵⁰ This idea warrants further investigation. Firstly, it suggests that the public parks and streets were neither physically safe nor socially or morally appropriate spaces for respectable women. Second, it brings to the foreground the differences in subject for male and female figurative sculpture.

The cemetery was an appropriate recreational space for women because it was a safer environment, both physically and morally, in comparison to public parks and streets. As the quotation about cricket in Hyde Park points out, public parks were often dominated by masculine games. But they were also the site of other 'unspeakable' masculine threats. [plate 7.3 figure A] These illustrations of Sydney's Hyde Park (1882) show the many activities which took place in Sydney's parks in the nineteenth century. Of particular interest is picture No. 4 'A Hyde Park solicitor'. The journal commented 'The enjoyments of the Park are, however, occasionally interrupted by the presence of undesirable visitors, who either

⁴⁹ Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen', pp. 119-120.

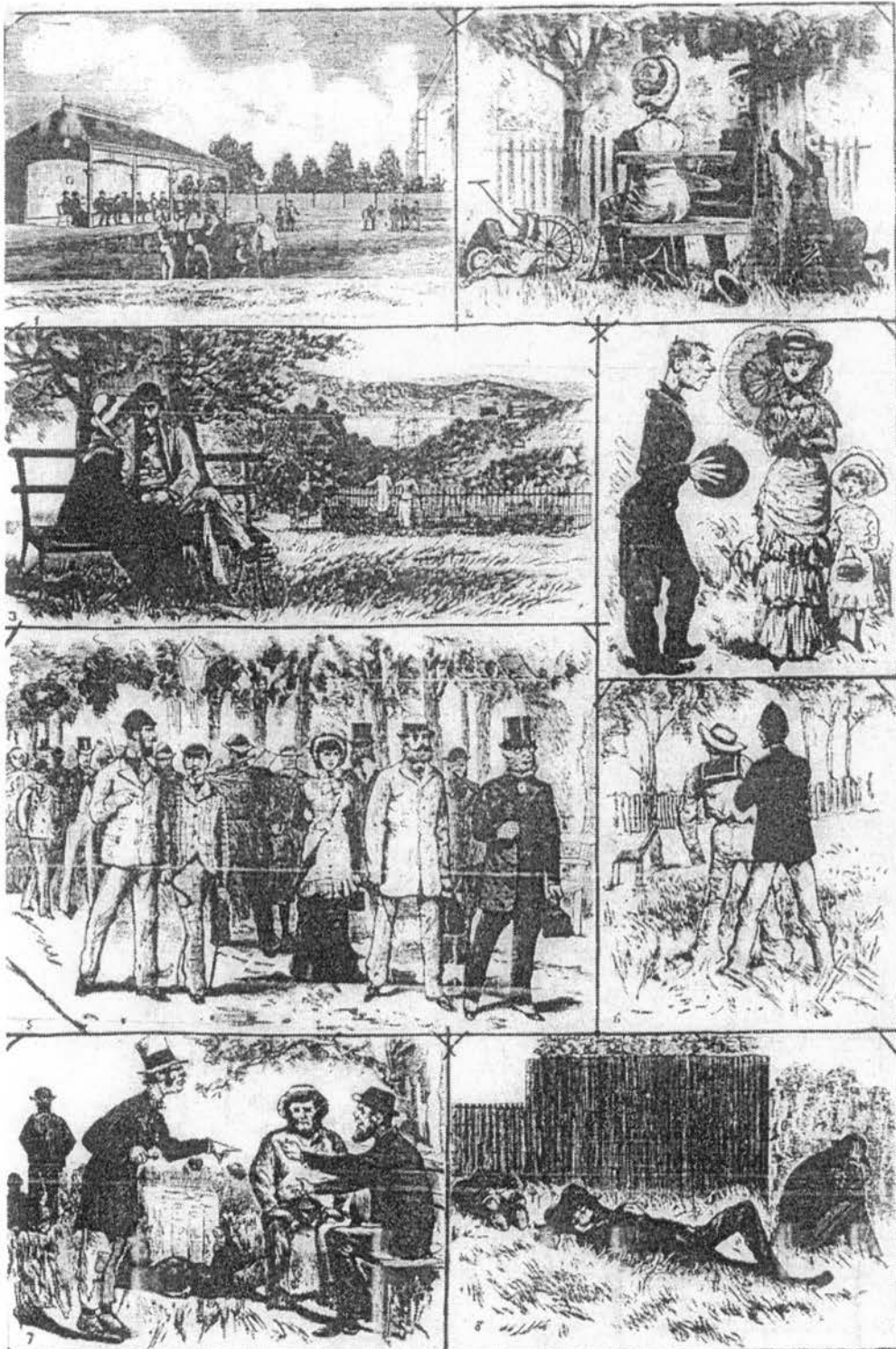


Figure A. Hyde Park in 1882: 'Sydney Park Life and Character'.

1. Sydney Bowling Green, Cook Park
2. Light and Heavy Infantry
3. Delicate Attention
4. A Hyde Park Solicitor
5. Nine O'Clock, A.M.
6. Peace and War
7. Hyde Park Politicians
8. Out of the Argument

(*Illustrated Sydney News*, 8 July 1882.)

monopolise the seats or pester respectable frequenters with their unwelcome importunities.⁵¹ Things had not improved in the early twentieth century, since Sydney's Centennial Park Superintendent reported in 1918 he had to clear away dense undergrowth as it was the 'lurking place for undesirable people, such as "two-up" players and the wretches who molest women & children.'⁵² Clearly larrikins, drunks and other undesirables who loafed in public gardens were a real (as well as imagined) threat to women's purity and safety.⁵³

Cemeteries, it appears, were not as dangerous for women and children. But like the public park, people promoting their wares & services approached visitors, despite such actions being forbidden in cemetery regulations.⁵⁴ Although cemetery regulations attempted to create a tranquil and contemplative cemetery environment, the regulations were not always adhered to or enforced. Unused portions of cemetery land, which was often left scrubby and uncleared, were also used at times for illegal gambling, such as two-up and the racing of dogs. However, such behaviour appears to have been rare and isolated, having little impact on the tranquil nature of the cemetery landscape, generally occurring under the cover of darkness.⁵⁵

Joan Kerr's observation about the gender of figurative sculpture in cemeteries and public parks also highlights another reason why cemeteries were a

⁵⁰ Kerr, 'The Artist, the Hero, & Death', pp. 25-26.

⁵¹ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 8 July 1882, pp. 3 & 8.

⁵² Superintendent Dawes, 1918, quoted in Paul Ashton and Kate Blackmore, *Centennial Park: A History*, NSW University Press, Kensington, 1988, p. 119.

⁵³ Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, pp. 110-111; Hoskins, 'Cultivating the Citizen', esp. ch.1; Gilbert, *Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney*, pp. 96, 108-9, 122.

⁵⁴ Letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 July 1890. Newsclipping in Anglican Trustees' Minute Book, Rookwood Necropolis, 1868-1894 (vol. 1). (Anglican Trustees Office, Rookwood Necropolis).

⁵⁵ Les Hayes (8/7/1994) and Les Holloway (8/7/1994), Rookwood Necropolis Oral Histories (JCNT).

socially appropriate place for respectable women. The maintenance of women's purity and moral fibre was a key concern of middle class men. Public parks potentially harboured moral threats for women (and children) in the guise of nude art. The Director of the Sydney Botanical Gardens declared 'There should be nothing in any public park to wound the susceptibilities of any citizen. A man should be able to pass through a park without seeing anything that will bring a blush to the cheek of his wife, his daughter, his sweetheart or any other woman or child.'⁵⁶ Nude statuary in public parks could embarrass a respectable woman, and the Director admitted that a couple of monuments had been called into question for their moral standards. Similar problems were encountered in parks in Melbourne. A clergyman complained about the addition of nude statues in Fitzroy Gardens in 1867 - 'since these nude figures had been set up, his daughter could not possibly go that way into Melbourne.'⁵⁷

The cemetery, as a didactic landscape, posed no such threat. The cemetery's monuments and statuary were morally more appropriate, 'chaste' and 'tasteful' in design. Cemetery art rarely included nude statues that might offend women's sensibilities. The controversy surrounding the statue of Robert Hancock at Rookwood Necropolis illustrates the importance placed upon chaste and tasteful monuments in the cemetery. As noted earlier Robert Hancock was a hotelier in mid-nineteenth century Sydney, who died in 1876. The statue above his tomb showed a respectable gentleman, however there were a number of complaints about the size of the bulge in his trousers. The traditional story amongst local monumental masons was that the Trustees had the offending bulge removed to maintain a sense

⁵⁶ Maiden, 'The Parks of Sydney', p. 41.

⁵⁷ Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 152.



Figure A. The 'Battle of the Bulge' - detail of Robert Hancock's monument.
(Inset below: full view of the statue.) (Author's Collection)



of decency.⁵⁸ [plate 7.4 figure A] The 'Battle of the Bulge' illustrates how monuments were potentially censored so as not to offend women's sensibilities. In contrast to the Hancock statue, the majority of funerary statuary promoted an idealised femininity based upon virtues such as faith and hope, and the genteel performance of mourning.

The predominance of female figures in Australian cemeteries is widely acknowledged by historians, but has rarely been analysed.⁵⁹ Utilised from the 1850s, by the 1870s the depiction of the female figure had become conventionalised. Angels pointing heavenward, dropping flowers, contemplatively thinking, leaning on the cross, and grasping the last trumpet were all common types. Allegorical women of hope (with anchor), grief (with wreath), and faith (with cross) were popular figures, and their representation was at times inseparable from the widow leaning on the cross, grasping onto the cross, dropping flowers or mournfully gazing downwards. All these figures conformed to a basic stereotype or artistic convention. Typically these figures - regardless of whether they were angels or allegorical figures - featured long flowing gowns, either draped in the classical style, or a nightgown with details at the neckline. Their hair was long, at least shoulder length, and slightly wavy; while their feet (if shown) were invariably bare. Frequently they were depicted with downcast gaze - even when pointing heavenwards. [plate 7.5 figure A; plate 7.6 figures A-D; plate 7.7 figures A-D] The

⁵⁸ Correspondence to Terry Christie, 1986, 1987. Auburn Municipal Council Library. Local Studies Collection - Lidcombe Branch. Local History Vertical File - Rookwood Cemetery.

⁵⁹ See for example Lionel Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a Vanishing Form of Folk Art*, John Ferguson, Sydney, 1980; Mary Mackay, Joan Kerr, James Kerr, Stella Jack & Maisy Stapleton, *In Memoriam: Cemeteries and Tombstone Art in New South Wales*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney, 1981; Siobhan Lavelle and Richard Mackay, 'Burial Grounds: Kitsch Memorials or Serious Undertakings?', in *Archaeology and Colonisation: Australia in the World Context*, ed. Judy Birmingham, Damaris Bairstow and Andrew Wilson, The Australian Society for Historical Archaeology Incorporated, Sydney, 1988, pp. 173-185; Mary Mackay, 'Architectural Styles and Funerary Symbolism', in *The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis*, ed. David A. Weston

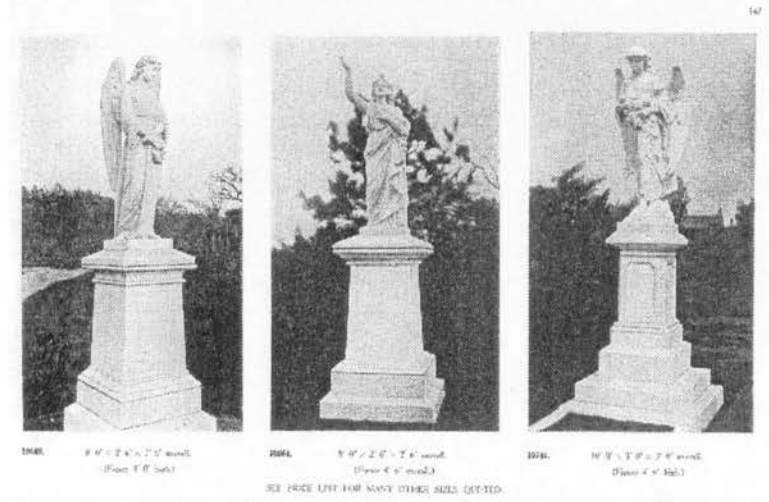
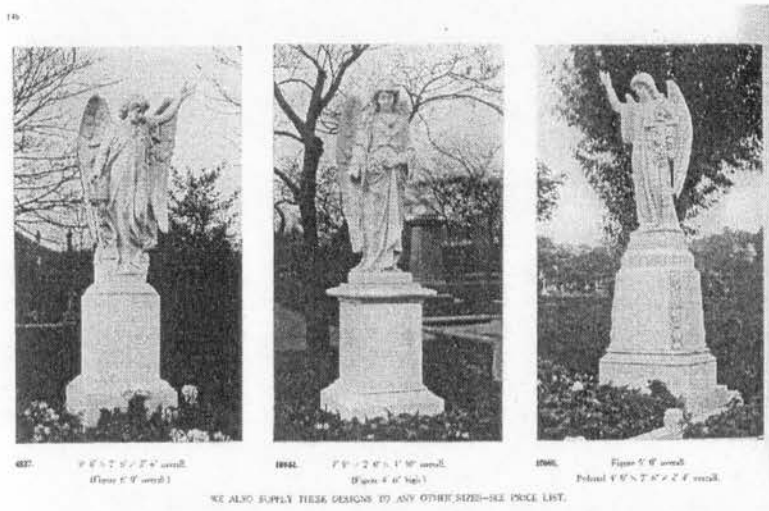
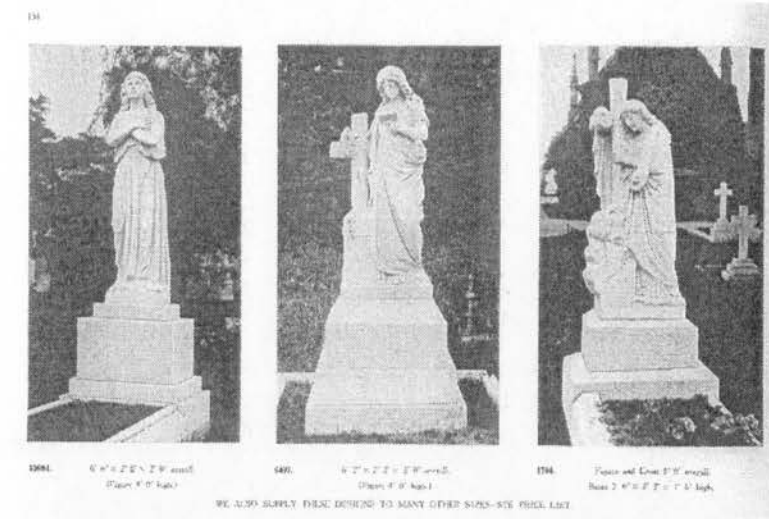


Figure A. Examples of allegorical female figures and angels from a monumental mason's catalogue - Art Originality & Sculpture, *Marble Memorials*, [London], c.1920s. (Private Collection, Gordon Brown).



Figure A. Monument, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1882. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Monument, Rookwood Necropolis, erected c.1902. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Monument, Gore Hill Cemetery, erected c.1912. (Author's Collection)



Figure D. Monument, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1918. (Author's Collection)

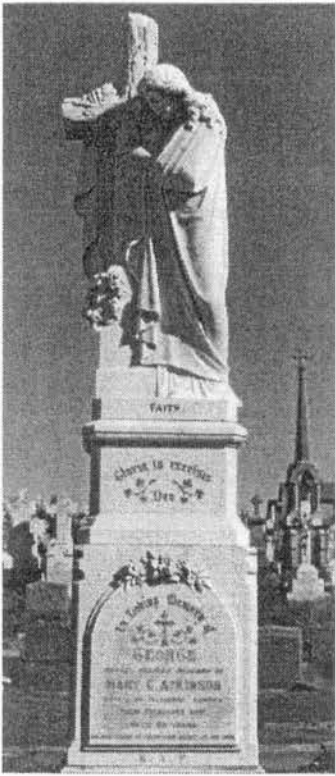


Figure A. Monument, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1901. (Author's Collection)



Figure B. Monument, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1899. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Monument, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1912. (Author's Collection)

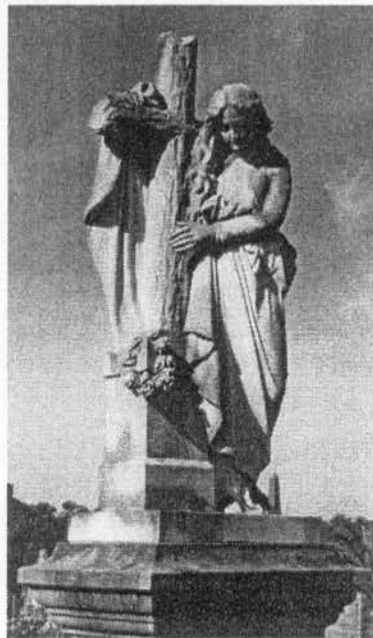


Figure D. Monument, Rookwood Necropolis, erected c.1890. (Author's Collection)

stylistic shift in angelic representation from small naive renderings to large sculpted marble angels in flowing gowns is indicative of the development of the monumental masonry industry, the importation of marble sculpture, and the growing sway of fashion upon the tastes of funerary sculpture. But funerary monuments were also bound up in the social rituals marking death and its relationship to life. As we shall see, cultural definitions of femininity and womanhood inextricably linked to the representations of angels and mourners. The origins and traditions of such memorial sculptures are complex, drawing upon architectural, artistic and literary conventions and interpreting these traditions within contemporary cultural values. The representation of death through the female form drew upon several different traditions, conventions and themes; but the extensive (and almost exclusive) use of the female form suggests a gendered interpretation of death which linked idealised passive femininity, nature and death.

Archangels and angels were described in the Bible in masculine terms and were traditionally depicted as masculine or at least asexual. However by the nineteenth century, the female figure was the 'accepted emblem' for angels in funerary sculpture.⁶⁰ W. R. Churchouse, writing in 1879 about the cemetery at Norfolk Island, confirms that the features of angels were conventionalised as feminine by this period.

I am not aware that there is any more an authorized rule for regulating the pastime of the angels; than there is for any arbitrary restriction to the dressing of the fair sex,

(ed.), Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1989, pp. 30-42; Joan Kerr, 'The Artist, the Hero, & Death', in *Death: Insights on Life*, ed. Eileen Chanin, Joint Committee of Necropolis Trustees, 1996, pp. 24-31.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth E. Goldsmith, *Sacred Symbols in Art*, 2nd ed., The Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1912, pp. 81-85, 281-284; Arnold Whittick, *Symbols for Designers: A Handbook on the Application of Symbols and Symbolism to Design for the Use of Architects, Sculptors, Ecclesiastical and Memorial Designers, Commercial Artists and Students of Symbolism*, Crosby Lockwood & Son, London, 1935, p. 150; Nicholas Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1977, p. 106; Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*, Vintage, London, 1985, p. 20; Mackay, 'Architectural styles & funeral symbolism', p. 36.

but I believe it is usually admitted that the correct angelic full-dress is a flowing bed-gown, with the back hair let down.⁶¹

Churchouse compares angels to the 'fair sex', implying that in the late nineteenth century angels were typically represented in a feminine manner and interpreted as female. Arnold Whittick in his treatise *Symbols for Designers* published in 1935, traces the tradition of female angels back to the Middle Ages and early Italian painters, such as Fra Angelico, Giotto and Duccio.⁶² Angels in memorial art, according to Whittick, usually functioned as a guardian angel to conduct the soul of the departed to heaven, or as a 'consoler or mourner sent from heaven.' Whittick identifies a link between passive femininity and gender in the representation of angels as 'gentle, docile women'. He suggests that the popularity for depicting angels as feminine rather than masculine was a deliberate artistic ploy to emphasise the 'kind, pure, and gentle qualities' of angels.⁶³ Idealised femininity encapsulated these values and thus in sculptural terms the female figure was the best way to convey these qualities.

Marina Warner notes two aspects which have dictated the gendered image of abstract concepts. First, linguistic gender has played an important role in defining abstract concepts. Warner notes that in Greek and Latin (and their derivative languages) almost without exception, the abstract nouns of virtue, of knowledge, of spirituality, Faith, Hope and Charity, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, the Seven Liberal Arts of the medieval scholastic curriculum, and Wisdom are all feminine in grammatical gender.⁶⁴ Thus even if the virtues are valued as masculine qualities, the representation of them will be conceived in

⁶¹ W. R. Churchouse, 'Rambles in the South Pacific. IV - Norfolk Island Ruins', *Sydney Mail*, 3 May, 1879, p. 692.

⁶² Whittick, *Symbols for Designers*, pp. 148 & 151.

⁶³ Whittick, *Symbols for Designers*, p. 150.

⁶⁴ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, p. 64.

female terms. Second, classical myth was an important source for allegorical female form. Warner argues that Athena was the most influential Greek goddess in defining the representation of virtues during the classical revival of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁵ Greek and Roman sculpture was revered in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as the most artistic and sublime form of sculpture. The personification of virtues in cemetery monuments is clearly related to this tradition.

Idealised sculpture, which flourished between 1830 and 1880, was marble figurative sculpture that portrayed subjects from literature, history, the Bible or mythology. Joy S. Kasson has shown that such sculpture in the United States of America idealised women as 'passive, submissive, vulnerable'.⁶⁶ This didactic form of sculpture usually had an underlying narrative and encouraged an intellectual and emotional response from the viewer. One particular theme within ideal sculpture was that of the victimised woman. Whether captured, powerless or dead, the female figure was represented as vulnerable, passive yet resigned. 'These representations of women sprang from and spoke to the deeply embedded assumptions about gender shared by makers, buyers, and viewers of sculpture.'⁶⁷ Kasson shows an affinity between ideal sculpture and memorial sculpture in the nineteenth-century fascination with death. At a time of anxiety about religion and the family, women were central in both forms of sculpture for representing the tension between separation and reunion; despair, faith and love.⁶⁸ Feminised death became an important subject in art and literature.

⁶⁵ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, p. 87.

⁶⁶ Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990, p. 4.

This association between women and death was bound up in aesthetics and Romanticism. The role aesthetics played in the representation of death through the female body further illustrates a gendered response to death. Edgar Allan Poe declared in his essay 'The Philosophy of Composition' (1846), 'the death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world'.⁶⁹ Here in the literature of the Victorian period we can begin to see a representation of Philippe Ariès' concept of 'beautiful death'; as death becomes associated with femininity, nature and beauty.⁷⁰ In Victorian literature the image of death as peaceful sleep was reinforced through images of the beautiful dead woman and nature. The poem 'Dream Land' by Christina G. Rossetti is typical of the genre.

Where sunless rivers weep
 Their waves into the deep,
 She sleeps a charmèd sleep:
 Awake her not.
 Led by a single star,
 She came from very far
 To seek where shadows are
 Her pleasant lot.

She left the rosy morn,
 She left the fields of corn,
 For twilight cold and lorn
 And water springs.
 Through sleep, as through a veil,
 She sees the sky look pale,
 And hears the nightingale
 That sadly sings.

Rest, rest, a perfect rest
 Shed over brow and breast;
 Her face is toward the west,
 The purple land.
 She cannot see the grain
 Ripening on hill and plain;
 She cannot feel the rain
 Upon her hand.

Rest, rest, for evermore

⁶⁷ Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*, esp. ch. 5.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*, Routledge, New York, 1992, p. 59.

⁷⁰ Karl S. Guthke, *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

Upon a mossy shore;
 Rest, rest at the heart's core
 Till time shall cease:
 Sleep that not pain shall wake,
 Night that no morn shall break
 Till joy shall overtake
 Her perfect peace.⁷¹

It is worthwhile noting that the majority of poems in the pocket-sized leatherbound volume from which 'Dream Land' was selected dealt in some way with death. The portable nature of this little book meant that readers could carry the poems in a pocket or handbag and readily read and contemplate upon the melancholy pleasure of death. The association between beauty, nature and death led some Romantic poets to express a yearning for death, most famously Shelley when describing Keats' grave in the Protestant cemetery in Rome: 'The cemetery is an open space among the ruins, covered in winter with violets and daisies. It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.'⁷² Though not explicitly sexualised, death was eroticised.

The mid- to late-nineteenth century artistic and literary movements of the Pre-Raphaelites, Aestheticism, Symbolism and Decadence often focused upon the dead beautiful woman, an object of fascination, both fearful and unobtainable. Gothic horror and eroticism went hand-in-hand, death and love fused.⁷³ This imagery of the female figure and death (and also the female figure as Death personified) - an artistic phenomenon across Europe in the late nineteenth century - is particularly significant in the English language, which has no grammatical gender and which traditionally represented Death as male, such as the Grim Reaper and in

⁷¹ *Selected Poems of Christina G. Rossetti*, W. P. Nimmo, Hay & Mitchell, Edinburgh, n.d.

⁷² Shelley, preface to *Adonais*, quoted in Guthke, *The Gender of Death*, p. 159.

⁷³ Guthke, *The Gender of Death*, esp. ch. 5; Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body*; Carol Christ, 'Painting the Dead: Portraiture and Necrophilia in Victorian Art and Poetry', in *Death and Representation*, ed. Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1993, pp. 133-151; Rudolph Binion, *Love Beyond Death: The Anatomy of a Myth in the Arts*, New York University Press, New York, 1993.

skeletal form in the Dances of Death.⁷⁴ Poets such as Edgar Allan Poe, Alfred Tennyson and Pre-Raphaelite artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti, reflected upon death through the feminine form in a way that 'suggest[ed] the desire and fear both of looking at a forbidden sexual object and of appropriating its life.'⁷⁵

In part three of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, Samuel Taylor Coleridge uses the collusion between death and the female body to represent Life-in-Death, and contrasts her with Death. The Mariner and his shipmates, becalmed on their ship and totally dehydrated, are being punished for the death of the albatross. The sudden and mystifying approach of a ship brings 'a flash of joy' followed by horror.

Alas! (thought I, and my heart beat loud)
How fast she nears and nears!
Are those *her* sails that glance in the Sun,
Like restless gossameres?

Are those *her* ribs through which the Sun
Did peer, as through a grate?
And is that Woman all her crew?
Is that a DEATH? and are there two?
Is DEATH that woman's mate?

Her lips were red, *her* looks were free,
Her locks were yellow as gold:
Her skin was as white as leprosy,
The Nightmare LIFE-IN-DEATH was she,
Who thicks man's blood with cold.

The naked hulk alongside came,
And the twain were casting dice;
'The game is done! I've won! I've won!'
Quoth she, and whistles thrice.⁷⁶

Coleridge describes Life-in-Death as having a fascinating appeal, both beautiful and repulsive. Karl Guthke cites this as an example of the merging of two dominant female death images: the *femme fatale* and the angel of death. Eroticised figures of women were quite common in European cemeteries, as is evidenced by

⁷⁴ Guthke, *The Gender of Death*, p. 188.

⁷⁵ Christ, 'Painting the Dead', p. 150.

photographic essays by David Robinson.⁷⁷ In Australia such erotic sculpture linking women and death is less common. One striking example is the angel of death in Waverley Cemetery [plate 7.8 figure A].

Why does this confluence between women and death occur in the nineteenth century? Marina Warner argues the ability of the female body for symbolic representation throughout history lies in the demarcation of the woman and her body as Other. Women were always defined as passive in opposition to men, the makers of society and culture. Dichotomies central to western thought reflect this: male/female, culture/nature, public/private.⁷⁸ In the past ten years feminists have used psychoanalysis and structuralism to further explain the association between women and death, Eros and Thanatos. Representations of women and death have been analysed and deconstructed to reveal how imagery of the beautiful feminine corpse is an extremely potent representation of what is itself a repressed cultural image - death.⁷⁹ Perhaps for the social historian, what is more significant is that death is revealed through the female body at a time when femininity itself is being re-defined by the male middle class. The representation of female figures in the cemetery as passive, genteel weeping widows, or allegorical figures representing the virtues provided an idealisation of femininity.

The 'weeping widow' was a popular motif throughout the nineteenth century. While she came in a variety of poses, the most common sculptural rendering was a female figure languishing over or embracing an urn, which was

⁷⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', Part III lines 181-198, (1798), in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 3rd ed., W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1970.

⁷⁷ David Robinson, *Beautiful Death: Art of the Cemetery*, Penguin Studio, London, 1996.

⁷⁸ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, pp. 292-3, 324.

⁷⁹ Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body*, pp. 66, 70-71; Christ, 'Painting the Dead', pp. 133-151; Guthke, *The Gender of Death*, pp. 189-191.



Figure A. 'Angel of Death', Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1913.
(Author's Collection)

used to figuratively represent the grave or relics of the deceased. Frederick Burgess uses the medieval term 'weeper' to describe this imagery, however I have adopted the term 'weeping widow' as it more clearly identifies the gendered nature of this imagery.⁸⁰ The following verse was featured upon a monument with a weeping widow motif in 1844 -one of the earliest examples of such a motif in New South Wales - and illustrates the focus of the grave as a site of remembrance by the widow:

When blooming man is snatched away
From all he holds most dear
The widow weeps for him she loves
And silent sheds a tear.⁸¹

As the meaning of the motif became more widely established, the explanatory verse was omitted. Plate 7.9 (figures A-D) shows a range of 'weeping widows'. The weeping widow was a common motif in English neo-classical art in the mid-eighteenth century, and drew upon the English sepulchral tradition of kneeling figures.⁸² Kneeling effigies were intended to display a pious or devotional attitude.⁸³ The idealisation of women in funerary monuments is one of the major shifts in English sepulchral memorials identified by Nicholas Penny during the period 1780-1840. Penny draws attention to the idealised features of the weeping widow motif. Sometimes these figures were particular representations of women as a widow or female relative; however often the same figures also served, or could be mistaken for, personifications of virtue. Such figures were notable for their devotional attitude and their idealisation of mourning. In addition, it was the spirits of women

⁸⁰ Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, SPCK, London, 1963, pp. 186-7.

⁸¹ Headstone to Daniel Driscoll d. 4 April 1844 now located at Botany Pioneer Cemetery, *In Memoriam*, p. 19. The same verse was utilised by monumental mason E. Dummett for C. Johnson's memorial, d. 24 September 1848. A. G. Foster Collection. Devonshire Street Cemetery Epitaph Books. (ML MSS B765-767).

⁸² Mary Mackay, 'Architectural Styles and Funerary Symbolism', p. 36; Katharine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840*, B. T. Batsford, London, 1946, pp. 54-55; Mackay et al., *In Memoriam*, p. 19; Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, pp. 186-7; Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, pp. 66-73.



Figure A. Weeping Widow motif, Camperdown Cemetery, carved c.1860's. (Author's Collection)

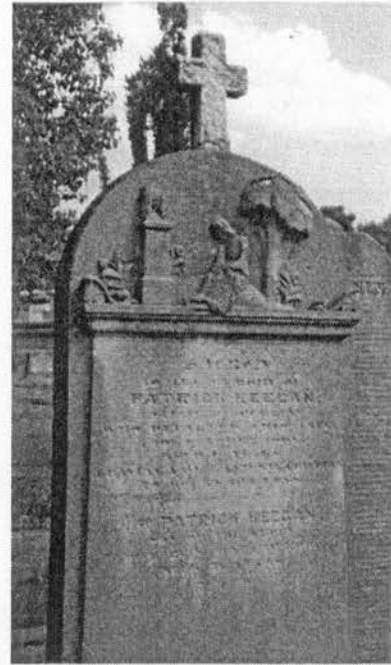


Figure B. Weeping Widow motif, Rookwood Necropolis (ex-Devonshire Street), carved c.1866. (Author's Collection)



Figure C. Weeping Widow motif, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1919. (Author's Collection)



Figure D. Weeping Widow motif, Eden General Cemetery, erected c.1864. (National Trust (NSW) Photographic Collection)



Figure A. Johnston Vault, Waverley Cemetery, erected c.1890's.
(Author's Collection)



Figure B. Barnet monument, Rookwood Necropolis, erected c.1904. A medallion portraying
Barnet's wife is on the reverse of the monument.
(Author's Collection)



Figure A. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Portrait of Col. Richard Mansergh St George*, c. 1796. (Reproduced in Roger Bowdler, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: The Necoclassical Tomb 1760-1840', in *Soane and Death: The Tombs and Monuments of Sir John Soane*, ed. Giles Waterfield, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1996.)



Figure B. Eduard Ratti, *Youth in Mourning at the Grave*, 1836. (Reproduced in Hans-Kurt Boehlke, 'On the Present State of Sepulchral Culture', *Anthos*, vol. 4, 1990)

who were now shown ascending to heaven, lifted aloft by guardian angels. Penny postulates that these changes in convention 'reflect a new, or at least a newly focussed, attitude to women' where they are idealised as the 'guardian angel' of domestic life and the private sphere.⁸⁴

While the female figure dominated figurative funerary sculpture, it would be wrong to think the cemetery was bereft of male figures. Sometimes angels were depicted with more masculine or asexual features, such as the angel atop the Johnston vault at Waverley. [plate 7.10 figure A] There were also examples of sculptural realism, such as the Robert Hancock statue which was discussed earlier, and the medallions of James Barnett and his wife. [plate 7.10 figure B] Men were occasionally shown mourning beside the grave in art. (I have only come across two paintings of men: one dating from c.1796 and one from 1836. [plate 7.11 figures A & B]) It was far more common to see women mourning over the grave. Similarly a small number of male versions of the bas-relief 'weeping widow' have been identified. A mourning husband and child feature on the 1839 grave of Jane Pearson in the Old Cemetery at East Perth⁸⁵, and a 1865 headstone in Goulburn displays a widower leaning over his wife's pedestal and urn.⁸⁶ These motifs, however, are exceptions and stand in stark contrast to the hundreds of weeping widows in cemeteries across New South Wales. It is hard to determine if the weeping widow (or widower) was intentionally representing the mourning partner. The number of weeping widows placed on female as well as male graves suggests it was not necessarily the marital partner. Perhaps these were meant to represent other female relatives; or perhaps female figures had become so standardised and idealised as

⁸³ Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, p. 66.

⁸⁴ Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England*, esp. ch. 4.

⁸⁵ Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History*, p. 53.

symbols of passivity and mourning that it was irrelevant whether they were placed on male or female graves.

The central role of women in mourning ritual helps to explain the predominance of the female mourning figure on cemetery monuments. Women participated in the social rituals of mourning at a couple of levels -- both actively in the private sphere and passively within the public sphere. Women were responsible for the care and preparation of the corpse and for the principal expressions of mourning, particularly through their dress and participation in society (the public sphere). Women were predominant in the production of consolation literature. They also produced and featured in ephemeral mourning tokens such as embroidery samplers and genre paintings which were intended for domestic consumption.⁸⁷

Mourning dress was the costume of grief. The external signs of grief were displayed upon women for the public (and inherently male) gaze.⁸⁸ The mourning widow was idealised by men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in portraits and on funerary monuments. When considering a portrait of the Dowager Countess of Exeter in mourning, Jonathan Richardson the elder wrote:

There is such a Benignity, such a Gentile [sic], Becoming Behaviour, such a Decent Sorrow, and Resignation Express'd here, that a Man must be very Insensible that is not the better for considering it. The Mourning Habit excites Serious Thoughts, which may produce Good Effects.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Mackay et.al., *In Memoriam*, p. 20.

⁸⁷ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1981, pp. 450-454; Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*, pp. 104-106; Ann Douglass, 'Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880', in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania, 1975, pp. 49-68.

⁸⁸ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, Studio Vista, London, 1971, p. 63. For examples of Australian mourning clothes see Rowena Clark, *Hatches, Matches and Dispatches: Christening, Bridal and Mourning Fashions*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1987.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Nicholas Penny, *Mourning: the Arts and the Living*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981, p. 54.

Nicholas Penny suggests that given such admiration, it is no coincidence that the burden of mourning rested with women.⁹⁰

Etiquette books in Britain and Australia stipulated the appropriate length of mourning and the correct type of mourning clothes. There appears to have been some variation in the expression and length of mourning in Australia. Widows were in full mourning anywhere from two to four years, whereas widowers usually endured full mourning for only half that period.⁹¹ *Australian Etiquette: Rules and usages of the best society*, published in 1885, stated,

The deepest mourning is that worn by a widow for her husband. It is worn for two years, sometimes longer. Widow's mourning for the first year consists of solid black woollen goods, collar and cuffs of folded untrimmed crape, a simple crape bonnet, and a long, thick, black crape veil. The second year, silk trimmed with crape, black lace collar and cuffs, and a shorter veil may be worn, and in the last six months gray, violet and white are permitted. A widow should wear the hair perfectly plain if she does not wear a cap.⁹²

The reader is then instructed on the appropriate lengths of mourning for parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, nephews and nieces. Almost as an afterthought, *Australian Etiquette* remarked,

In Australia heavy stuffs for mourning dress is going out of fashion, as unsuitable to the climate, whilst many gentlemen simply wear a black band on the left arm and on the hat.⁹³

This comment suggests that some mourning practices were adapted in colonial Australia to suit local conditions. The adoption by men of the black armband (one of the recommendations by the Funeral Reform Movement) suggests that the reform movement was by 1885 beginning to have an impact upon the external signs of grief and mourning.

⁹⁰ Penny, *Mourning*, p. 55.

⁹¹ Andrew Lemon, 'Introduction', in Rowena Clark, *Hatches, Matches and Dispatches: Christening, Bridal and Mourning Fashions*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1987, p. 15.

⁹² *Australian Etiquette, or the rules and usages of the best society in the Australasian colonies, together with their sports, pastimes, games, and amusements*, People's Publishing Company, Melbourne, 1885, pp. 361-2. Facsimile reprint, J.M. Dent, 1980.

⁹³ *Australian Etiquette*, p. 363.

Only women in the middle and upper classes had the time and the money to indulge in this 'finely developed sensitivity to grief' and thus mourning dress became a sign of gentility and respectability, part of the 'genteel performance'.⁹⁴ George Eliot understood the intricacies and difficulties of feminine mourning culture and satirised it mercilessly in her novel *The Mill on the Floss* (1860).

"Sophy," said Mrs Glegg, unable any longer to contain her spirit of rational remonstrance - "Sophy, I wonder at you fretting and injuring your health about people as don't belong to you ..."

Mrs Pullet was silent, having to finish her crying, and rather flattered than indignant at being upbraided for crying too much. It was not everybody who could afford to cry so much about their neighbours who had left them nothing; but Mrs Pullet had married a gentleman farmer, and had the leisure and money to carry her crying and everything else to the highest pitch of respectability.⁹⁵

Australian Etiquette counselled, '[w]here there is profound grief, no rules are needed, but where the sorrow is not so great, there is need of observance of fixed periods for wearing mourning.'⁹⁶ Social convention and notions of respectability influenced the adoption of mourning dress. It weighed heavily on families who were duty bound to wear mourning for relatives they barely knew. Politician Henry Parkes (who later became Premier and has been remembered in history as the 'Father of Federation') received news of his brother's death by letter from his sister Sarah in Birmingham in 1858. He mused about George, trying to conjure up the scant memories he had of his older brother whom he had left behind in England. Facing financial difficulties, and having to borrow money for life's necessities such as bread and cheese, Parkes realised that the death of his brother would place an extra strain on their precarious existence. Five days after receiving news of his brother's death, Parkes confessed to his diary, 'At the present time have not the

⁹⁴ Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, pp. 120.

⁹⁵ George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, 1860, quoted in Esther Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1994, p. 230.

means to purchase the mourning apparel for wife and children for George's death. Think over the future somewhat gloomily.' On Sunday Parkes noted briefly, 'Family stay away from church because we have not mourning.' Parkes somehow managed to procure the necessary garments for his family to appear in society. The following week Parkes notes, almost as an afterthought, that they attended church.⁹⁷ Parkes' predicament underlines the importance of mourning fashions as a costume of gentility and respectability. He could not afford mourning for his wife and children (note that he did not include himself in this category) so they could not be seen in society. At the other extreme, Charles Dickens and other Victorian novelists often caricatured widows with their excessive mourning dresses, which, as Pat Jalland notes, enhances 'the impression that widows were motivated more often by social emulation, convention, and vanity than genuine sorrow.'⁹⁸ While the adoption of mourning garb may not have always been sincere, what is particularly interesting in the current discussion is the stark contrast between the formal requirements for women and men. It suggests a socially controlled distinction between women and men and their respective responses and relationships to death.

The expression of grief and mourning by women while maintaining the mask of gentility was an extremely fine line, and could be easily misinterpreted as hypocrisy. This tension according to Russell, 'expressed many of the paradoxes of genteel femininity'.⁹⁹ The display of grief was a social necessity, and yet to collapse into uncontrollable sobs, shrieks or faints was not considered genteel behaviour. Nevertheless, such involuntary behaviour suggested a sincere grief and depth of

⁹⁶ *Australian Etiquette*, p. 360.

⁹⁷ 22 November 1858, 27 November 1858, 28 November 1858. Sir Henry Parkes Diary, 1858-1859. ML MSS A1011. I'd like to thank Hilary Golder for pointing this reference out to me.

⁹⁸ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 301.

⁹⁹ Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 125.

mourning which expressed the emotions of 'an ideal, loving, loyal feminine heart.'¹⁰⁰ The negotiation of the tightrope of genteel femininity was part of the performance of grief.

Pat Jalland suggests that the 'elaborate and uncomfortable' mourning clothes for women served to differentiate them from their peers and signified their demotion in the social hierarchy.¹⁰¹ Certainly in economic terms this was often true. The death of a husband meant the loss of economic security, companionship and social status. While receiving comfort from their Christian faith in the belief of a heavenly reunion, and consolation from friends and family, the widow faced an uncertain future with little or no prospect for remarriage. By contrast, men remained in public life and could seek consolation not through mourning, but through business and re-marriage.¹⁰² However as Penny Russell has illustrated, mourning dress more generally functioned as a marker of status and was an essential part of the 'genteel performance'. The complex mourning rituals for women may also be interpreted as socially defining women in relation to the private sphere. Mourning weeds visually and physically separated women from the delights and diversions of society, placing them firmly within the private sphere, by defining their social identity through familial ties and domesticity. When women breached these conventions, they were often subjected to gossip and ridicule. Popular culture often depicted widows as being 'notoriously disloyal to the memories of their dead husbands, and often dangerously predatory upon unsuspecting males'.¹⁰³ This representation of the widow in popular culture belies Jalland's evidence that in reality the prospect of remarriage for widows was

¹⁰⁰ Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 249.

¹⁰² Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, esp. ch. 11 & 12.

virtually non-existent (unless they were extremely young, pretty and wealthy).¹⁰⁴ Women were meant to passively accept their subordination to men and God. By placing women in the domesticated private sphere in regards to death and mourning, the artistic and social conventions were reinforcing and supporting the social definition of a public and private sphere. The cemetery, as a site of consolation, civilisation and recreation, was one public space in which the private sphere transgressed societal norms.

The role of women - or lack of it - in the actual funeral ceremony demonstrates the differentiation of women, placing them in the private sphere. The cemetery was deemed to be an inappropriate public space for a woman during the funeral ceremony. Burial was a public, male ritual. As historian Penny Russell notes,

Death simultaneously occupied the public and private worlds, but there was often a powerfully symbolic moment when women yielded up control of a beloved body to a male-dominated public world. ... Women's social responsibility, as friends or family, was not to pay tribute to the dead by following them to the grave, but to remain with the bereaved women, to provide protection and comfort.¹⁰⁵

Domestic duties aside, the construction of feminine hysteria was another reason why women were excluded from funeral proceedings. Women were marked as fragile creatures unable to contain their emotions, and best confined to the private sphere. Thus while the cemetery was an acceptable recreational and mourning site for women, it was not an appropriate public space for women during the funeral ceremony. The differences between the male and female participation in the funeral are an important distinction in this death ritual. These differences illustrate a gendered response to the social rituals surrounding death that reflect social demarcation of the public and private spheres.

¹⁰³ Penny, *Mourning*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 253.

From this analysis it would appear that when considered within the social context, the proliferation of representations of the female figure in nineteenth century cemeteries point to a gendered representation of death, a construction of idealised femininity that reflected and reinforced the social order of nineteenth century Australia and women's position within that society. The emphasis of feminine grief, mourning and consolation in figurative funerary sculpture reflected, and also promoted to the viewer, the feminine role in mourning practices. Since mourning was a part of the genteel performance, cemetery monuments may be seen as reflecting and promoting the feminine 'sensitivity to grief'. The subject of the statuary in the cemetery helped to define femininity and associate it with death, and at the same time made the cemetery an appropriate place for women's passive recreation. The juxtaposition of femininity and death in the cemetery created a public space where the boundaries between the masculine public sphere and the feminine private sphere merged. Consequently, the cemetery was constructed as a more passive, feminine environment - the counterpoint of the public park. If one accepts Hoskins' thesis that the public parks were involved in the definition of a masculine citizen, what are the implications for women whose equivalent public space is the cemetery? Women are associated with the dead, not the living. Through representations of death and the regulation of their interaction with the masculine public sphere, women are excluded from the notion of citizenry. The linking of women and death through the gendered spatial demarcation of the cemetery is indicative of a general trend in the nineteenth century to control women by defining femininity in relation to the domesticated private sphere.

¹⁰⁵ Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 123.

EPILOGUE:

HENRY PARKES' STATE HOUSE AND THE DEMISE OF THE CEMETERY IDEAL

*Bard and patriots, martyrs, sages
And the noble of all ages,
Whose deeds crowd History's pages,
And Time's great volume make.¹*

In 1888 the colony of New South Wales celebrated the centenary of British colonisation. This was as an auspicious occasion for the colony, a chance to display and record for posterity the progress of the nation. Members of Parliament began arguing about how best to mark the event in 1886. Sir Patrick Jennings, Premier from February 1886 to January 1887, planned modest celebrations in keeping with the colony's budgetary constraints, and included an extended public holiday, some pageantry, but no grand gestures. The New South Wales Governor, Lord Carrington, suggested the dedication of a public park would be a suitable legacy of the celebrations. This idea was taken up by engineer Frederick Franklin, who presented his plans to the Government in December 1886 to transform Lachlan Swamps into a 'magnificent People's Park'. The commanding site, he believed, had the potential to include an appropriate Centennial memorial building. Jennings was unimpressed. However, it did catch the eye of another politician, Sir Henry Parkes.²

Sir Henry Parkes replaced Jennings as Premier in early 1887 and proceeded to scrap all previous plans for the Centennial celebrations in favour of Franklin's proposition for a People's Park. Sir Henry Parkes introduced his Centennial

¹ Quoted by *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 11 August 1888, p. 112 when describing the Mausoleum of the proposed State House.

² Graeme Davison, 'Centennial Celebrations', in *Australians 1888*, ed. Graeme Davison, J. W. McCarty, and Ailsa McLeary, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Association, Sydney, 1987, pp. 1-29.

Celebrations Bill into the New South Wales Parliament in June 1887. His proposal was to convert Lachlan Swamp into a 'Centennial Park' and build a 'State House' on an elevated position within it. The State House was to be a commemorative building, a 'national palace'³, with four distinct functions. It would feature a Great Hall (designated The Phillip Hall) for special national events and services; a Museum (The Carrington Institute) to house colonial and Aboriginal relics; a Gallery exhibiting portraits of Governors and other honourable persons; and a Public Mausoleum to house the remains of public worthies. The State House, Parkes declared, 'would fittingly mark the epoch of our reaching our first century of life.'⁴

The proposed State House was framed within a strong Western European tradition of national memorial buildings that commemorated life through death. Architects in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw Neoclassical architecture as creating a sense of magnificence and space which in commemorative structures inspired emulation. The proposed State House was placed within this historical context. It was seen as an appropriate and legitimate way to define and celebrate the colony's sense of nationhood.

The building proposed by the Government [claimed Mr Melville] would be of a lasting character, and would be in keeping with the actions of other nations in marking important epochs of history. We had the example of older countries, who had erected national monuments of this description. America, England, France, Germany, and other countries had raised monuments of a national character.⁵

The commemorative functions of the State House aimed to celebrate and define the 'true national life' of Australia. The State House would uplift the people of Australia and inspire patriotism, 'promoting the noblest type of all education, the education of the soul of citizenship to a high plane of civic and national duties'.

³ *NSW Parliamentary Debates*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', Legislative Assembly, 30 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2449.

⁴ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2453.

⁵ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 4 July 1887, Mr Melville, p. 2510.

Parkes claimed, 'this country never can become a great country unless the sentiment of the people is elevated, and acquires a robust vigour'.⁶ Parliamentary supporters of the scheme suggested it would be a 'shrine'⁷ and 'the cradle of Australian liberty'.⁸ Sir Henry Parkes compared it to the 'noble example' of Westminster Abbey. 'I can conceive of nothing more deserving the purest and loftiest aspirations of a true people.'⁹ Indeed Parkes predicted it would become 'the holy place of New South Wales', and of Australasia.¹⁰

The Premier announced a public architectural competition for the design of the State House. The brief required the building be designed in the 'classic and Corinthian' style of architecture, and be 'monumental in design and execution'. This was in keeping with examples of international Neoclassical commemorative buildings. Despite the grand design aspirations, the cost of the building was to be limited to £150,000, a small sum for such a building. A premium would be awarded to the best three designs.¹¹ Forty-six designs were submitted, with the judges believing 18 were meritorious. Only one of the entrants managed to keep his design to £150,000, and with unspectacular results. Consequently, the Board made recommendations without reference to estimated costs.¹² The stipulation that the style must be Neoclassical meant there was little variety or originality in the designs submitted. In accordance with the architectural style, the designs all featured

⁶ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2451.

⁷ *NSWPD*, 1887-1888, 'Centenary Celebration Act, - Amendment Bill (No. 2)', LA, 21 February 1888, Mr Hawken, p. 2683.

⁸ *NSWPD*, 1887-1888, 'Centenary Celebration Act - Amendment Bill (No. 2)', LA, 21 February 1888, Mr Wise, p. 2692.

⁹ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary of the Colony', LA, 27 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2326.

¹⁰ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 4 July 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2530.

¹¹ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 13 August 1887, p. 220.

¹² 'Report of Board on Competitive Designs for the State House', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, 1887-1888, vol. 8, pp. 1279-1280.

central domes, imposing colonnades, pediments and porticoes.¹³ John Kirkpatrick, Esq., of Sydney, (*Rei Publicae Domus*) was awarded the First Premium Design.¹⁴ In reviewing the designs, the *Australasian Builder & Contractor's News* preferred the more richly ornamented building of the Second Premium Design by H. M. Robinson.¹⁵ [plate 8.1 figures A & B]

The State House, however, did not capture the imagination of the nation. It was dubbed 'Parkes Hodge-Podge' by one contemporary journal.¹⁶ It was vigorously opposed by politicians, architects and the general community. Many believed it would become 'a white elephant of an exaggerated type'.¹⁷ The plans for the State House, both in design and cost, had clearly been pulled together quickly, and their implementation not fully considered. The proposed uses were already addressed by other institutions. Some critics suggested a more utilitarian monument, such as Houses of Parliament, a Palace of Justice, or a College, would better serve the community. The money set aside for the project was paltry, and this 'very apparent meanness of expenditure' galled architects, builders and the general public. If it was going to be built, argued some, it should be done properly.¹⁸

The public mausoleum was singled out for particular criticism. [plate 8.2 figure A] It was dismissed as a morbid and inappropriate way to commemorate the centenary. Mr O'Sullivan, M.L.A. rejected it as 'out of harmony' with the centennial celebrations.

¹³ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 10, 17 & 24 December 1887.

¹⁴ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 7 July 1888, pp. 8 & 17.

¹⁵ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 17 December 1887, p. 509; *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 12 May 1888, p. 306.

¹⁶ *Australasian Builder & Contractor's News*, 10 December 1887, p. 493.

¹⁷ Letter to the Editor by "Exoniensis", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 August 1887, p. 4.

¹⁸ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 20 August 1887, p. 233; *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 3 December 1887, p. 475.



Figure A. The First Premium Design in the State House Architectural Competition by John Kirkpatrick (*Rei Publicae Domus*).
(*Australasian Builder and Contractors' News*, 7 July 1888)



Figure B. Second Premium Design in the State House Architectural Competition by H. M. Robinson (*Esto Perpetua*).
(*Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 12 May 1888)

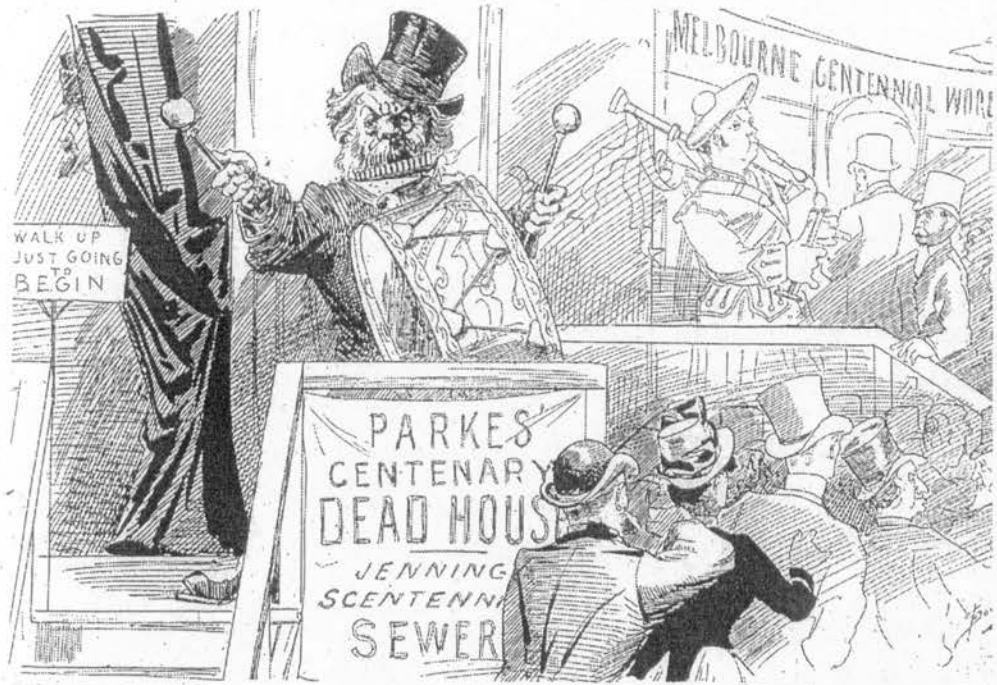


Figure A. Parkes' Dead House. (*Tribune*, 1 July 1887)

It seems to me a fantastic idea to celebrate the centenary by the erection of a dead-house. On this joyous occasion, when we are supposed to glow with fervour and patriotism, we are asked to begin by laying the foundation of what is in reality a dead-house. This is altogether out of harmony with the festivity we should indulge in.¹⁹

Another Parliamentarian Mr Dibbs condemned the scheme as ridiculous and 'gloomy'.

The fourteen days' blind stone drunk proposed by [the former premier] Sir Patrick Jennings is now capped by the idea of providing a huge mausoleum for decayed mortality, in connection with a grand centennial hall and public park. It is too gloomy an affair for a centennial celebration. Let the greatness of our departed patriots live in our memories, but do not let us desecrate that beautiful spot by converting it into a cemetery.²⁰

The *Sydney Morning Herald* found it 'difficult to imagine that the Premier is serious in making such a proposal';²¹ while the *Daily Telegraph* thought the State House would be ridiculed and 'expose us [NSW] to inextinguishable laughter'.²² Mr Ewing (politician) declared, 'The folly of the idea was recognised when we reflected that we had no illustrious dead to bury in the building.'²³ However, *The Tribune* cynically believed there would be no shortage of statesmen dying to be buried amongst our great men.²⁴ In the heat of the debate, Parkes himself was accused by the Opposition leader of preparing a place for himself.²⁵

By the late nineteenth century funerary and cultural practices surrounding death and commemoration were highly developed in New South Wales. As has been shown, the cemetery ideal had been rapidly adopted and developed by the colonial Government in New South Wales. As well as offering sanitary benefits, the cemetery ideal created a didactic landscape that was a sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum; a sign of civic progress, taste, and civilisation. The

¹⁹ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Mr O'Sullivan, p. 2468.

²⁰ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary of the Colony', LA, 27 June 1887, Mr Dibbs, p. 2328.

²¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1887, p. 6.

²² Editorial, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 June 1887, p. 4.

²³ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centennial Celebration Bill', LA, 4 July 1887, Mr Ewing, p. 2521.

²⁴ *The Tribune*, 1 July 1887, p. 16.

establishment of large public cemeteries by the government allowed for the private and public commemoration of individuals through the erection of substantial funerary monuments and the genteel performance of mourning. In the newly settled colony, the cemetery through its landscape, monuments and memories became an important cultural institution in which the social order could be established and a person's identity defined. The first state funeral, performed in May 1873 to commemorate the life of William Charles Wentworth, encapsulated the centrality of the funeral and monument for creating a public memory and a public history, as well as private memories. The nineteenth century cemetery was simultaneously a sacred space, a commemorative space, a moral space, a recreational space, and a gendered space. By 1888 the culture of death and mourning was at its Victorian peak. Indeed, expressions of mourning had reached such extravagant levels that a Funeral Reform Movement had been established by T. S. Mort in Sydney. The vehement opposition expressed towards the mausoleum is therefore surprising, and at first glance contradictory, particularly when there was a strong tradition for commemorative nationalistic mausolea in Britain and Western Europe. How can such a negative reaction against the State House be explained?

As a young colony founded on British/European traditions, Australia was in a difficult position when defining its national identity. Graeme Davison in his commentary on the 1888 Centennial Celebrations noted the quandary which faced Australian politicians and celebration organisers:

The centennial celebrations called for a spontaneous demonstration of Australian sentiment, clothed in forms that were distinctively Australian. But almost the only

²⁵ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary of the Colony', *LA*, 27 June 1887, Mr Dibbs, p. 2326 & Mr Melville, p. 2335.

tunes and steps Australians knew were those they had learned from the mother country or copied from other new nations.²⁶

The proposed State House as devised by Parkes was a fascinating amalgamation of nineteenth century ideas articulating what defined a nation. It was an attempt to construct a commemorative building that fused death, memory and history; a traditional monumental enterprise drawing upon the examples of the 'old countries'.

We are not like the old countries of the world, where every square acre of land is hallowed by some great deed of the past, where a sentiment of reverence pervades society from the humblest to the highest - where every child is taught to reverence the great and good, and the hoary sage. We have to make all that, and I hold this proposal will be an important step in creating the sentiment of public national reverence in the minds of our youth.²⁷

The historical narrative of nationhood was to be constructed in the State House through speeches and celebrations, archives and artefacts, paintings, statues, and relics. It was an attempt to focus Australian nationalism and create a symbolic representation of Australian identity and history.

Most parliamentarians and newspaper correspondents agreed that the centennial celebrations called for some form of monumental edifice. But there was virtually no agreement on what type of monument was appropriate. Supporters of the scheme argued that Australia should have a national commemorative monument as a mark of civilization and progress.²⁸ But opponents argued that Australia was too young a country to need a State House, nor were there men worthy of memorialisation.²⁹ The State House symbolised for some politicians 'a mere relic of an old aristocratic idea' that was irrelevant to Australians and was

²⁶ Graeme Davison, 'Centennial Celebrations', in *Australians 1888*, ed. Graeme Davison, J.W. McCarty & Ailsa McLeary, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, p. 2.

²⁷ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Mr Kethel, p. 2468.

²⁸ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary of the Colony', LA, 27 June 1887, Mr Haynes, p. 2336; *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, p. 2450.

²⁹ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary of the Colony', LA, 27 June 1887, Mr O'Sullivan, p. 2335; *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Mr O'Sullivan, p. 2469.

opposed to their 'democratic instinct'.³⁰ The rejection of aristocratic symbols in favour of distinctive Australian gestures was one reason for opposition to the State House. However for much of the community the idea of the State House was unpalatable simply because it was such a deliberate and forced attempt to create an historical tradition by fusing public memory and death through a commemorative building. As one perceptive correspondent to the *Herald* stated, 'we cannot manufacture a Westminster Abbey'.³¹

Sir Henry Parkes believed he was 'reflect[ing] the national sentiments of the country' when it came to the public funerals and burial of eminent persons.³² However opposition to the State House and ridicule of its public mausoleum provision suggests that many Australians did not view the commemoration of death or emulation as central to forming and defining public memory and the national identity. Commemoration of the dead to celebrate Australia's centennial was deemed to be 'gloomy' and 'out of harmony'. The State House was declared to be useless, 'a mere fad, from which no corresponding benefit can possibly be derived.'³³ And this, I believe, signals that a shift in attitudes towards death and commemoration had begun. Opposition to the State House may well have been influenced by the Funeral Reform Movement of the late nineteenth century. Expensive monuments and lavish funerals were unnecessary according to funeral reform advocates. Questions concerning expense and ornamentation of the State House may have reflected a level of unease at the Government sanctioning pompous public funerals through the existence of the State House. The Enlightenment and Romantic values that created the cemetery ideal and led to the

³⁰ *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Mr O'Sullivan, p. 2469.

³¹ Letter to the Editor by "Eastern Australia", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 1887, p. 4.

³² *NSWPD*, 1887, 'Centenary Celebration Bill', LA, 30 June 1887, Sir Henry Parkes, pp. 2452-2453.

establishment of cemeteries were also losing their appeal. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was at the forefront, condemning the idea that the public mausoleum would provide uplifting moral sentiments for the community:

We are not an impressionable people and it is to be doubted whether any effect such as that produced in the imaginative and fervid mind of the Premier would be produced by rearing a stately pile in the Lachlan Swamps.³⁴

While memorials were still relevant at an individual level in the commemoration of death in local cemeteries, there was less enthusiasm to define the national identity through the deaths of great men. The State House, with its public mausoleum and commemoration of great men, was 'too poetical and romantic for modern uses'.³⁵

The State House issue had a quiet resolution on the eve of the centennial year. On Thursday 22 December 1887, late in the evening, Parkes conceded to Parliament that the State House would not go ahead. On one level, the public condemnation and rejection of the State House was a reaction to an ill-conceived vision that could never be achieved under the paltry sum apportioned in the budget. The Premier himself was widely condemned for his 'blundering obstinacy in regard to this pet dead house scheme of his' and this contributed to the State House's demise.³⁶ But the public debates over the proposed mausoleum also highlight that attitudes towards death, commemoration and nationhood were slowly shifting. The rejection of the State House may be seen as an early manifestation of the decline of the Enlightenment view of death and commemoration, and the start of the movement away from the overt celebration of death. The State House did not become the national shrine, and consequently the symbolic significance of the cemetery subtly shifted. The role of funerary sculpture

³³ *NSWPD*, 1887-1888, 'Centenary Celebration Act - Amendment Bill (No. 2)', LA, 21 February 1888, Mr Fletcher, p. 2672.

³⁴ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1887, p. 6.

³⁵ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 November 1889, p. 6.

in defining public memory was beginning to be questioned. The era of the cemetery ideal was coming to an end.

³⁶ *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News*, 25 February 1888, p. 102.

Appendix 1. Country Monumental Masons

This table illustrates the development of monumental mason industry in country New South Wales, following patterns of settlement by comparing population statistics of country municipalities in 1896 with the number of monumental masons in country New South Wales in 1895.

Sources: *Wise's New South Wales Post Office Commercial Directory, 1895*; T.A. Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1896-97*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1897.

Country Municipalities	Population	Monumental Masons	Country Municipalities	Population	Monumental Masons
Aberdeen	720		Lithgow	3,500	
Adamstown	2180		Liverpool	3,200	
Albury	5,650	Greenfield	Maclean	950	
Armidale	4,700	A. J. Clarke	Maitland, East	3,000	
Auburn	2,400		Maitland, West	7,600	Brackley Brothers
Ballina	1,350		Merewether	4,420	
Balranald	720		Mittagong	1,100	
Bankstown	1,000		Moama	860	
Bathurst	9,200	John Burns; Thompson's Monumental Works	Molong	1,200	John Cotter
Bega	2,300		Moree	1,700	
Berry	2,300		Morpeth	1,100	George Arthur
Bingara	800		Moruya	1,000	Joseph & Rudolph Zeigler
Blayney	1,200	Charles Davis	Moss Vale	1,500	
Bombala	1,020		Mudgee	2,500	Thomas Lonsdale; John Sullivan
Bourke	3,400		Mulgoa	500	
Bowral	2,100	Dunwoodie & Co.	Murrumburrah	1,500	
Braidwood	1,500		Murrurundi	1,150	
Broken Hill	18,580		Musclebrook	1,500	
Broughton Vale	400		Narrabri	2,450	M. W. Hardy
Burrowa	750	James Cranston	Narrabri, West	750	
Cabramatta and Canley Vale	950		Narrandera	2,000	
Camden	1,700	George Cleveland	Newcastle	14,800	George P. Lock
Campbelltown	2,400		Nowra	2,150	
Carcoar	650		Nyngan	1,200	
Carrington	2,120		Orange	3,600	James Davis; John McMurtrie, jnr; Walter Murray
Casino	2,300		Orange, East	2,250	
Castlereagh	1,400		Parkes	3,200	
Cobar	2,000		Parramatta	12,500	

Country Municipalities	Population	Monumental Masons	Country Municipalities	Population	Monumental Masons
Condobolin	850		Peak Hill	1,100	
Cooma	2,000		Penrith	4,570	
Coonamble	1,100		Picton	1,130	
Cootamundra	2,920		Plattsburg	3,300	
Coraki	650		Port Macquarie	980	
Cowra	1,750	John Matthews	Prospect and Sherwood	2,550	
Cudal	600		Queanbeyan	1,200	
Cudgegong	2,300		Quirindi	1,250	
Deniliquin	2,930		Raymond	900	
Dubbo	3,450	Craig & Taylor	Terrace		
Dundas	900		Richmond	1,370	
Dungog	1,100		Rookwood	2,350	
Ermington and Rydalmere	640		Scone	1,200	
Forbes	3,700	Alex McPhee	Shellharbour	1,650	
Gerrigong	750		Shoalhaven, South	920	
Glen Innes	3,200		Silverton	550	
Gosford	650		Singleton	2,000	William H. Bartrop; George & John Trunley
Goulburn	12,300	Walter J. Furber; James Turner	Singleton, South	800	
Grafton	4,600		Smithfield and Fairfield	1,500	
Grafton, South	1,400		St Mary's	2,000	
Granville	4,800		Stockton	2,220	
Grenfell	720		Tamworth	5,400	George Branson
Greta	1,280		Taree	730	
Gulgong	2,000		Temora	1,800	
Gundagai	1,000		Tenterfield	2,500	
Gunnedah	1,200		Tumut	1,300	
Hamilton	5,200		Ulladulla	1,370	
Hay	3,250		Ulmarra	1,400	
Hill End	910		Uralla	610	
Hillston	750		Wagga Wagga	4,600	C. Baumer
Illawarra, Central	3,300		Walcha	1,500	
Illawarra, North	2,400		Wallendbeen	1,500	
Ingleburn	550		Wallsend	3,670	
Inverell	3,250		Waratah	2,530	
Jamberoo	1,340		Warren	1,330	
Jerilderie	790		Wellington	1,520	
Junee	2,200		Wentworth	720	
Katoomba	1,500		Wickham	5,650	
Kempsey	1,960		Wilcannia	1,040	
Kiama	2,300		Windsor	2,200	George Robertson
Lambton	3,500		Wingham	570	
Lambton, New	1,570		Wollongong	3,100	J. Hendry
Lismore	3,300	Michael Jones	Yass	1,700	
			Young	3,000	Henry H. Dickson

Appendix 2. Average Wages 1830 - 1889

Source: T. A. Coghlan, *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1889-90*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1890, p. 525.

Average Wages paid during each year since 1830.

Year.	Building Trades, Mechanics.	Farm and other labourers, provided with food and lodging.	Female servants, provided with food and lodging.	Year.	Building Trades, Mechanics.	Farm and other labourers, provided with food and lodging.	Female servants, provided with food and lodging.
	Per day. s. d.	Per annum. £ s. d.	Per annum. £ s. d.		Per day. s. d.	Per annum. £ s. d.	Per annum. £ s. d.
1830	6 6	.....	.....	1863	9 10	32 10 0	25 0 0
1833	6 6	18 0 0	12 0 0	1864	9 4	29 0 0	25 0 0
1836	7 0	.....	.....	1865	9 4	29 0 0	23 0 0
1839	7 3	.....	.....	1866	9 4	29 0 0	23 0 0
1840	8 3	.....	.....	1867	9 4	29 0 0	23 0 0
1841	8 9	.....	.....	1868	9 4	29 0 0	23 0 0
1842	8 3	22 0 0	14 0 0	1869	8 6	31 10 0	26 0 0
1843	6 0	22 0 0	12 0 0	1870	9 6	32 10 0	28 0 0
1844	4 0	15 0 0	12 0 0	1871	9 9	28 0 0	23 0 0
1845	4 0	18 0 0	16 0 0	1872	10 9	32 10 0	26 0 0
1846	5 2	20 0 0	16 0 0	1873	10 0	32 10 0	28 0 0
1847	5 6	23 0 0	18 0 0	1874	10 3	32 10 0	28 0 0
1848	5 3	21 0 0	16 0 0	1875	10 3	32 10 0	32 0 0
1849	4 9	17 10 0	12 0 0	1876	10 3	32 10 0	32 0 0
1850	4 6	17 10 0	13 10 0	1877	10 6	40 0 0	32 0 0
1851	6 9	20 0 0	16 0 0	1878	10 6	40 0 0	32 0 0
1852	9 0	27 10 0	17 0 0	1879	10 6	37 10 0	32 0 0
1853	14 3	28 10 0	18 0 0	1880	10 0	37 10 0	32 0 0
1854	17 3	31 10 0	27 10 0	1881	10 0	37 10 0	35 0 0
1855	16 0	35 0 0	23 0 0	1882	11 0	46 0 0	35 0 0
1856	13 0	35 0 0	22 0 0	1883	11 0	46 0 0	35 0 0
1857	13 0	35 0 0	22 10 0	1884	11 0	46 0 0	35 0 0
1858	10 6	40 0 0	25 0 0	1885	11 0	46 0 0	35 0 0
1859	10 0	35 0 0	22 10 0	1886	10 0	46 0 0	35 0 0
1860	10 3	35 0 0	21 10 0	1887	10 0	46 0 0	34 0 0
1861	10 6	35 0 0	22 10 0	1888	10 0	46 0 0	34 0 0
1862	10 9	35 0 0	25 0 0	1889	10 0	46 0 0	34 0 0

Appendix 3. Chronology of Cemeteries

This appendix provides a chronological list of cemeteries discussed in the text arranged by establishment date.

Information about establishment dates was drawn from National Trust of Australia (NSW) Cemetery Index and Classification Cards; Keith A. Johnson and Malcolm R. Sainty, *Sydney Burial Ground 1819-1901*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 2001; NSW Department of Lands Parish Maps; SRNSW: Surveyor General, CGS 13874, Catalogue of plans of land for churches, schools and cemeteries, [4/6187]; State Records - Guide to Surveyor General Select List Maps - Supplement; and 'Religious Endowments (Further Return Relative To)', *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings*, 1859-60, vol. 3, pp. 723-736.

Locality	Cemetery Name	Date
Parramatta	St John's Anglican Cemetery	1790
Sydney	George Street Burial Ground (Old Sydney Burial Ground)	1792
Windsor	St Matthews Anglican Cemetery	1810
Castlereagh	General Cemetery	1814
Richmond	St Peters Anglican Cemetery	1814
Wilberforce	St Johns Anglican Cemetery	1814
Liverpool	St Lukes Anglican Cemetery	1818
Sydney	Devonshire Street Cemetery	1820
Parramatta	St Patrick's Catholic Cemetery	1824
Ryde	St Anne's Anglican Cemetery	1826
Pitt Town	St James Anglican Cemetery	1829
North Head	Quarantine Station Cemetery	1832 c.
Parramatta	All Saints Anglican Cemetery	1832
Camden	General Cemetery	1837
Bungonia	General Cemetery	1838
Gladesville	Tarban Creek Hospital Cemetery	1838 c.
St Peters	Anglican Cemetery	1838
Mulgoa	St Thomas' Anglican Cemetery	1839
Branxton	Catholic Cemetery	1840 c.
Moyne Farm	Grant Cemetery	1840 c.
Berrima	General Cemetery	1841
Braidwood	General Cemetery	1843
North Sydney	St Thomas' Cemetery	1845
Boorowa	Cemetery	1846
Burraborang	Cemetery	1847
Queanbeyan	Old General Cemetery	1847
Dungog	General Cemetery	1848
Bungendore	General Cemetery	1849
Denman	Merton Cemetery	1849
Newtown	Camperdown Cemetery	1849
Armidale	General Cemetery	1850
Baulkham Hills	Pearce Family Graves	1850
Cooma	General Cemetery	1850

Locality	Cemetery Name	Date
Upper Mangrove Creek	General Cemetery	1850
Whiporie	Olive Family Cemetery	1850 c.
Carcoar	General Cemetery	1851
Wagga Wagga	General Cemetery	1852
Orange	General Cemetery	1853
Tumut	General Cemetery	1854
Randwick	St Jude's Anglican Cemetery	1855
Uralla	Old Cemetery	1856
Foleys Creek (via Oberon)	Brisbane Valley Catholic Cemetery	1857
Eden	General Cemetery	1859
Molong	Private Cemetery on "Westwood"	1859
Running Stream	Anglican Cemetery	1859
Condobolin	Cadow Cemetery	1860
Ulladulla	Old Cemetery	1860 c.
Towamba	1 st General Cemetery	1861
Gerringong	General Cemetery	1863
Moruya	General Cemetery	1863
Petersham	Roman Catholic Cemetery	1863
Milton	Methodist Cemetery	1864 c.
Balgowlah (Manly)	General Cemetery	1865
Rylstone	Private Cemetery on "Olinda"	1865
Dungaree	Private Cemetery on "Monivae"	1866
Marsden	General Cemetery	1866
Moruya Heads	Cemetery	1867
Nerrigundah	Old Cemetery	1867
Bathurst	General Cemetery	1868
Leichhardt	Balmain Cemetery	1868
Morpeth	Catholic Cemetery	1868
Rookwood (Haslem's Creek)	Rookwood Necropolis	1868
Bulli	General Cemetery	1869 c.
Cudal	General Cemetery	1870
Gulgong	General Cemetery	1873
Isabella	General Cemetery	1875
St Leonards	Gore Hill Cemetery	1875
Condobolin	General Cemetery	1877
Newcastle	Sandgate Cemetery	1877
Waverley	General Cemetery	1877
Bodalla	Bodalla Estate Cemetery	1878
Nambucca Heads	Cemetery	1880
Little Bay	Little Bay (Prince Henry) Hospital Cemetery	1881
Katoomba	General Cemetery	1884
Mudgee	General Cemetery	1884
Forbes	General Cemetery	1885
Nyrang Creek	General Cemetery	1886
Springwood	General Cemetery	1886
Towamba	2 nd General Cemetery	1886
Botany	General Cemetery	1888

Locality	Cemetery Name	Date
Collarenebri	General Cemetery	1888
Randwick	General Cemetery	1888
Yarrabandai	Edols Family Cemetery	1888
Glen Morrison	General Cemetery	1893
Ulladulla	Sandridge General Cemetery	1893
Aberdeen	General Cemetery	1894
Catherine Bay	General Cemetery	1894
Grong Grong (Riverina)	General Cemetery	1894
Peak Hill	Private Cemetery on "Curra"	1894
Tinda Tank	Tinda Cemetery	1894
Jamberoo	General Cemetery	1895
Narooma	General Cemetery	1895
Sutherland	Woronora Cemetery	1895
Fernmount (Weekes)	General Cemetery	1896
Goulburn	Kenmore Hospital Cemetery	1897 c.
Kiama	General Cemetery	1898
Bimbi	General Cemetery	1899
Gooloogong	Lone Grave on "Glenleigh"	1901
Tilba Tilba	General Cemetery	1901
Goulburn	General Cemetery	1904
Ballina (North)	General Cemetery	1905
Cadia	General Cemetery	1909
Garrawarra	Garrawarra Hospital Cemetery	1909
Burren Junction	General Cemetery	1910
Nyngan	General Cemetery	1914

Appendix 4. Maps Illustrating Cemetery Locations

This series of maps illustrates the locations of cemeteries in New South Wales discussed in the text.

Central Sydney

Map: "Hunt & Stevens' Map of the City of Sydney." 1868.
(City of Sydney Archives)

1. Old George Street Burial Ground
2. Devonshire Street Cemetery

Both of these cemeteries are located on part two of the map.

HUNT & STEVENS

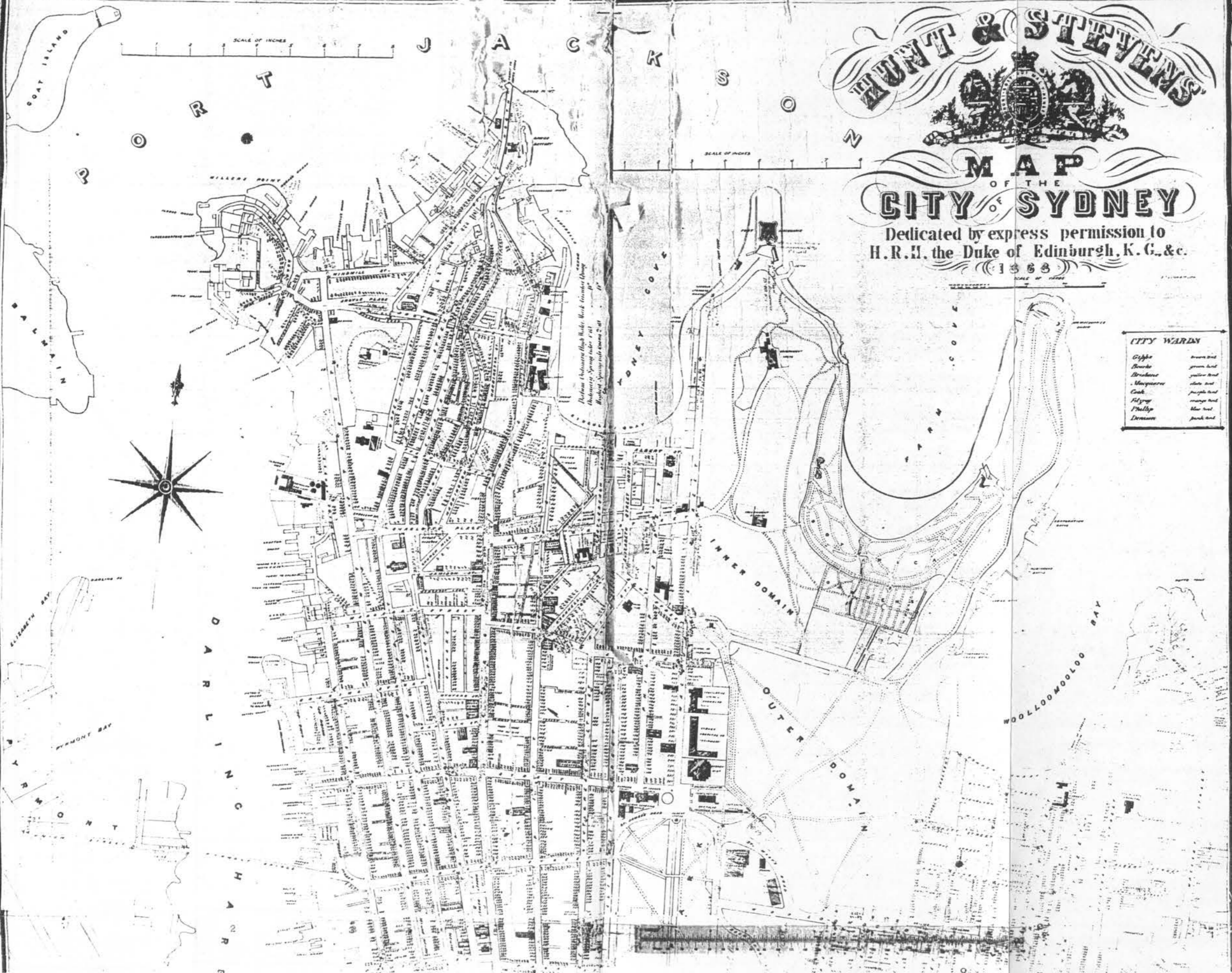


MAP OF THE CITY OF SYDNEY

Dedicated by express permission to
H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, K.G. &c.
(1863)

CITY WARDS

Gipps	brown tint
Brooke	green tint
Brookman	yellow tint
Macquarie	blue tint
Cook	purple tint
Fitzroy	orange tint
Phillip	blue tint
Darling	pink tint





BLACK MATTELOPP
C L E B E

H
A
R
B
O
U
R

DARLINGTON

REDFERN

STRAWBERRY HILLS
PADDOCK

MOORE PARK

MILITARY BARRACKS

COMPILED & DRAWN
BY A. H. H. H. H. H.
1912

SCALE OF FEET

400 ACRES AVAILABLE FOR PUBLIC RECREATION - LOW GROUP WITH
MAYOR OF SYDNEY

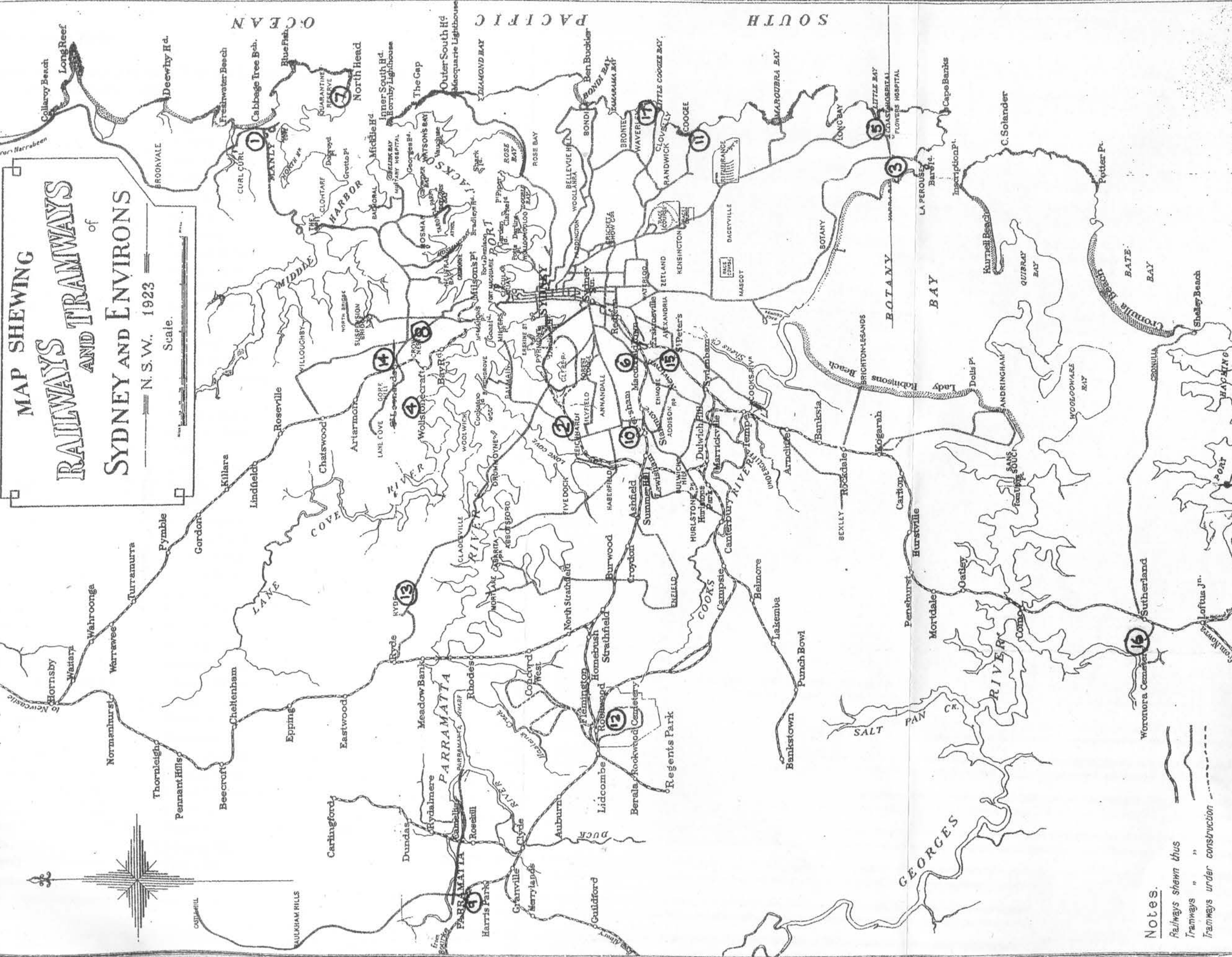
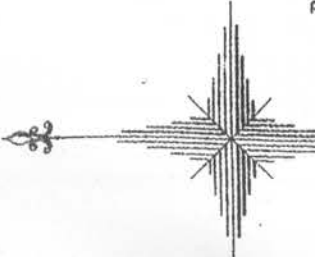
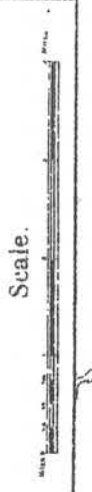
Sydney Suburbs

Map: "Map Shewing Railways and Tramways of Sydney and Environs, NSW 1923".
(in Paul Ashton and Duncan Waterson, *Sydney Takes Shape: A History in Maps*, Hema Maps, Brisbane, 2000, p.53.)

1. Balgowlah (Manly)
2. Balmain
3. Botany
4. Gladesville
5. Little Bay
6. Newtown
7. North Head
8. North Sydney
9. Parramatta
10. Petersham
11. Randwick
12. Rookwood (Haslem's Creek)
13. Ryde
14. St Leonards
15. St Peters
16. Sutherland
17. Waverley

MAP SHEWING RAILWAYS AND TRAMWAYS of SYDNEY AND ENVIRONS

N. S. W., 1923



Notes.

- Railways shewn thus
- Tramways " "
- Tramways under construction

Country New South Wales

Map: Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Tourism Regions, New South Wales - 1998", Commonwealth of Australia, 1988.

Location	Region
1. Aberdeen	Hunter
2. Armidale	New England
3. Ballina (North)	Northern Rivers
4. Bathurst	Central West
5. Baulkham Hills	Sydney
6. Berrima	Illawarra
7. Bimbi	Central West
8. Bodalla	South Coast
9. Boorowa	Capital Country
10. Braidwood	South Coast
11. Branxton	Hunter
12. Bulli	Illawarra
13. Bungendore	Capital Country
14. Bungonia	Capital Country
15. Burragorang	Sydney
16. Burren Junction	New England
17. Cadia	Central West
18. Camden	Sydney
19. Carcoar	Central West
20. Castlereagh	Sydney
21. Catherine Bay	Hunter
22. Collarenebri	New England
23. Condobolin	Central West
24. Cooma	Snowy Mountains
25. Cudal	Central West
26. Denman	Hunter
27. Dungaree	Central West
28. Dungog	Hunter
29. Eden	South Coast
30. Fernmount (Weekes)	Holiday Coast
31. Foleys Creek (via Oberon)	Central West
32. Forbes	Central West
33. Garrawarra	Illawarra
34. Gerringong	Illawarra
35. Glen Morrison	New England
36. Gooloogong	Central West
37. Goulburn	Capital Country
38. Grong Grong	Riverina
39. Gulgong	Hunter / Central West border
40. Isabella	Central West
41. Jamberoo	Illawarra
42. Katoomba	Blue Mountains
43. Kiama	Illawarra

Location	Region
44. Liverpool	Sydney
45. Marsden	Central West
46. Milton	Illawarra
47. Molong	Central West
48. Morpeth	Hunter
49. Moruya	South Coast
50. Moruya Heads	South Coast
51. Moyne Farm (Lithgow)	Central West
52. Mudgee	Central West
53. Mulgoa	Sydney
54. Nambucca Heads	Holiday Coast
55. Narooma	South Coast
56. Nerrigundah	South Coast
57. Newcastle	Hunter
58. Nyngan	Outback
59. Nyrang Creek	Central West
60. Orange	Central West
61. Peak Hill	Central West
62. Pitt Town	Sydney
63. Queanbeyan	Capital Country
64. Richmond	Sydney
65. Running Stream	Central West
66. Rylstone	Central West
67. Springwood	Blue Mountains
68. Tilba Tilba	South Coast
69. Tinda Tank	Central West
70. Towamba	South Coast
71. Tumut	Riverina
72. Ulladulla	South Coast
73. Upper Mangrove Creek	Central Coast
74. Uralla	New England
75. Wagga Wagga	Riverina
76. Whiporie	Northern Rivers
77. Wilberforce	Sydney
78. Windsor	Sydney
79. Yarrabandai	Central West



Tourism Region Murray



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Forbes - General Cemetery;

Goulburn (North) - General Cemetery;

Isabella - General Cemetery;

Liverpool - Apex Park (former burial ground);

Marsden - General Cemetery;

Molong - Private Cemetery on "Westwood";

Nerrigundah - Old Cemetery;

Newcastle - Sandgate Cemetery;

Nyrang Creek - General Cemetery;

Peak Hill - Private Cemetery on "Curra";

Pitt Town - St James Anglican Cemetery;

Richmond - St Peter's Church of England Cemetery;
 Running Stream - Church Cemetery;
 Sutherland - Woronora Cemetery;
 Tinda Tank - Tinda General Cemetery;
 Towamba - Cemetery Group: old cemetery and general cemetery;
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