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# ‘Each in his narrow cell for ever laid’: Dunedin’s Southern Cemetery and its New Zealand Counterparts

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**N**ew Zealand cemeteries,<sup>1</sup> in international terms, are unusual in the fact that there are any historic burials or monuments at all. It tends to be only the countries of British and Irish settlement that burials are left undisturbed in perpetuity.<sup>2</sup> New Zealand follows the practice codified by the British Burial Acts of the 1850s that specified that once buried, ‘human remains could never again be disturbed except by special licence’.<sup>3</sup> This reversed the previous practice of re-using graves and became general in the period in which most of New Zealand’s surviving historic cemeteries were established. The concept of each individual being given a single grave or family plot had been established in the early decades of the nineteenth century, following the example of

the hugely influential Père-Lachaise in Paris. In earlier periods, only the graves of the wealthy had been given permanent markers or monuments, as a reader of Gray's *Elegy* will know. Family plots are often seen as an expression of the importance given to hereditary property ownership, and this extended further down the social scale into the middle classes in the nineteenth century than it had in previous generations.<sup>4</sup>

This article will examine in detail a representative example of this new type of cemetery and compare it with its counterparts elsewhere in New Zealand. The Southern Cemetery of Dunedin, founded in 1858 and in active use for a century, is a typical example of a modern, urban cemetery of the mid-nineteenth century, though it is unusual in surviving today in a comparatively unaltered state. The significance of denominational division within cemeteries is briefly examined first then we address whether the ethnic and religious pattern of settlement of New Zealand urban centres is discernable in differences among their cemeteries. The topography of cemeteries is also considered, then their siting, plantings, specialised structures, maintenance and their vulnerability to vandalism, 'improvement' or destruction. We conclude that the cemetery in both its well-tended, active state and in its latter-day condition conformed to notions of the picturesque then current; the 1960s and 1970s were the exception. Other aspects of the cemetery such as the nature and design of the memorials, funerals, undertaking and other funerary businesses are dealt with elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

The Southern Cemetery was typical in being established by a local authority rather than a religious denomination. It is also typical of its period in being divided into sections for differing denominations but intended to cater for all burials in its district.<sup>6</sup> Though it now appears to be a single entity, it is in reality a cluster of denominational cemeteries alongside a large non-denominational burial ground for those whose beliefs prevented their being buried in consecrated ground. Anglicans, Catholics and Jews each had their cemetery, alongside the largely Presbyterian general section. It is not the case, as Chris and Margaret Betteridge assert in their comprehensive study of the Southern Cemetery, that it 'is unusual in New Zealand' in being a general burial ground divided into denominational sections.<sup>7</sup> Some, though by no means all, cemeteries established later were not divided in this way. Dunedin's Northern Cemetery, for instance, was established as non-denominational, but the later Karori, Linwood and Waikumete

cemeteries, in Wellington, Christchurch and Auckland respectively, were segregated along denominational lines.

It is sometimes assumed that because prominent early personages are buried in the earlier urban cemeteries that these were intended for the upper levels of society only.<sup>8</sup> The lack of visible memorials to the obviously poor perhaps reinforces this impression. As with other early cemeteries, all those who died in the town and its immediate vicinity legally had to be buried in the cemetery. The Cemeteries Ordinance of 1856 set the limit at three miles from Dunedin; in 1882 the distance was increased to five miles.<sup>9</sup> This means the burials in the Southern Cemetery, until the establishment of its Northern counterpart in 1872, are necessarily representative of the population as a whole. Thereafter, the Anglican, Catholic and Jewish populations would still have had no option, as the Northern Cemetery was non-denominational.

The Southern Cemetery was laid out when Dunedin had been settled for just a decade and as it turned out only a few years before the economic boom generated by the discovery of gold inland in 1861. Few mid-nineteenth century New Zealand settlements apart from Dunedin were wealthy enough to be able to lay out large, deliberately picturesque cemeteries. Yet the Southern Cemetery is typical of its period in being set out on a hillside on the outskirts of the town but within easy reach of it. Unlike some urban cemeteries, however, it is not within particularly easy reach of the main hospital. Its strikingly unusual feature is the morgue, something more usually associated with a hospital or police station. The Southern Cemetery's mixture of formal and picturesque layout with informal plantings is again typical of the period. The design and layout of New Zealand cemeteries was usually directly influenced by British examples, and international developments were followed closely.<sup>10</sup> According to the leading historian of nineteenth-century New Zealand cemeteries, Stephen Deed, the Southern and Northern Cemeteries 'are the most obviously British influenced of our cemeteries.'<sup>11</sup>

The Southern Cemetery occupies a hillside with views of the harbour and ocean, its layout adapted to the existing topography. Despite some steep slopes in places, little change was made to the site apart from creating an access road and paths. Elsewhere, changes to the landscape are not uncommon, whether in British churchyards where centuries of interments have raised the ground level significantly, or in New Zealand such as at Linwood Cemetery in Christchurch, where part of the site was levelled.<sup>12</sup> Unlike British cemeteries, no boundary wall was built round the Southern Cemetery to improve security. One major reason for such walls was absent: the Otago University medical school, founded in 1875, did not generate a demand for fresh corpses for

dissection that might have led to grave robbery.<sup>13</sup> The security measures adopted in Britain before 1832 against ‘resurrection men’ were therefore unnecessary. Hedges and grave railings were necessary instead to keep off wandering domestic livestock. Unlike many cemeteries in New Zealand and elsewhere, there were no mortuary chapels or gatehouses at the Southern Cemetery. There was though, as was usual, a residence for the sexton. In common with many other cemeteries, this has been demolished.

The Southern Cemetery’s gradual decline into a period of relative neglect as it began to fill up and the immediate relations of those buried there themselves died off, is also a familiar story to be found in other comparable places. Vandalism in the second half of the twentieth century is another occurrence common to cemeteries of this period. What is perhaps untypical is the relative lack of officially-sponsored destruction in the form of removal of monuments or of conversion to a memorial park, or even a lawn cemetery, as has happened in many cases overseas and was recommended locally in the mid-1970s.<sup>14</sup> Both historic Dunedin cemeteries have escaped the destruction for road-building that badly mutilated the Symonds Street and Bolton Street Cemeteries in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>15</sup>

There are not many large mid-nineteenth urban cemeteries in New Zealand established at, or soon after, the settlement of the city. The Southern Cemetery in Dunedin is paralleled by the Barbadoes Street cemeteries in Christchurch, Bolton Street and Mount Street Cemeteries in Wellington and Symonds Street Cemetery in Auckland. Of these, the Dunedin example is the only one still largely intact. The Southern Cemetery is ‘largely intact’; its historic layout ‘remains largely intact’ and its integrity ‘remains high’ despite the removal of some broken monuments.<sup>16</sup>

The next phase of cemetery building is represented by Linwood, Karori and Waikumete Cemeteries in Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland respectively. They were intended as more commodious or remote sites when the original city burial grounds were full or otherwise thought no longer suitable for interments. In Dunedin, the Northern Cemetery of 1872 relieved some of the pressure on the Southern Cemetery, and later the former Eastern Necropolis at Anderson’s Bay of 1862 became the main burial ground.

There are no major regional differences between these cemeteries. What regional character they display is the result of patterns of religious and ethnic settlement. The same range of styles of monuments and the inscriptions on them are found throughout the country. Anglicans

dominate in Canterbury, Marlborough and Taranaki, while Catholics are unusually numerous in Westland. Presbyterians outnumber both in the Southern Cemetery, Dunedin.<sup>17</sup> However, about a third of all burials there are Anglican.<sup>18</sup>

#### **DENOMINATIONALISM**

Cemeteries were often but not always divided along denominational lines from the beginnings of European settlement in New Zealand. There was never an established church, but nonetheless Protestants who were not members of the Church of England objected to burial in ground consecrated by an Anglican clergyman. A precedent existed for non-denominational burial grounds in the example of Bunhill Fields on the edge of the City of London. Early on at Wellington, the Bolton Street Cemetery was established as a general unconsecrated one so that non-Anglicans would not be not buried in consecrated ground. The city, laid out in 1840, had a separate Catholic cemetery from the start, so Bolton Street was intended mainly for Anglicans, Jews, Presbyterians and Methodists.<sup>19</sup> However, plans were soon made for allocating a separate section to Anglican burials.

Objections were raised because the proposed area included existing non-Anglican burials. Eventually the cemetery was divided into Church of England, Jewish and 'public' or non-denominational sections. A compromise was reached in 1849 whereby relations and friends of the dissenters already interred in the new Anglican section could be buried there also.<sup>20</sup> Wellington's new cemetery at Karori, from its establishment in 1890, was divided into Church of England, Catholic, Jewish and 'public' areas.<sup>21</sup> At Symonds Street in Auckland the Church of England cemetery originally had been used for all denominations indiscriminately. But in contrast to Wellington its later restriction and consecration do not seem to have been controversial. The area set aside until 1852 as the general section was eventually allotted to the Wesleyans exclusively in 1872.<sup>22</sup>

Founded a decade after Wellington as an Anglican settlement, Christchurch from the start saw the need to provide for other denominations. The Barbadoes Street site was planned as three distinct cemeteries. However, the proportions assigned to each denomination were markedly different. The Church of England cemetery was ten times larger than the Catholic and Dissenters' cemeteries combined.<sup>23</sup> The latter congregations grew at a greater rate than had been anticipated in the 1850s, so by the time the cemetery was closed in 1885 their sections were full whereas only about a quarter of the land set aside for the

Church of England cemetery had been used.<sup>24</sup> St Andrew's Presbyterian Church set up its own cemetery in Addington in 1858, initially called 'the Scotch Cemetery', in reaction to the 'exclusiveness' of the Barbadoes Street cemeteries. The dissenters' cemetery there was not confined to Presbyterians alone and had in fact been consecrated by the Anglican bishop. The new burial ground was part of a Rural Section outside the planned city, though a suburb began to develop after the railway was built in 1865. The burial ground soon became known as the 'Scotch Cemetery', though it was open to all, not just Presbyterians.<sup>25</sup> The Christchurch Jewish congregation had its own burial ground in another part of the city,<sup>26</sup> and from about 1890 a section of the Linwood Cemetery.<sup>27</sup>

The general section of the Southern Cemetery in Dunedin was administered by the city council.<sup>28</sup> The Church of England and Catholic sections of the cemetery were however run by their respective churches, which controlled the sale of plots and kept burial records. Unlike in other the other cities, there was no separate section for Wesleyans. Records for the Jewish section were kept by the congregation.<sup>29</sup> In Christchurch, the three Barbadoes Street cemeteries were similarly controlled by their respective churches. The Church of England was the legal owner of its cemetery, unlike the Catholic and Dissenting (Wesleyan) churches. Their sections were held in trust by the Provincial Government.<sup>30</sup> Each of the three denominations appointed boards of clergy and laymen to run the cemeteries.<sup>31</sup> Symonds Street in Auckland was also in reality five separate denominational cemeteries sited contiguously and not treated as a single entity until it was closed and redesignated a public reserve.<sup>32</sup>

The Dunedin experience differs from the other large settlements. First a non-denominational burial ground of 1846 at Arthur Street, it was replaced by a divided one in 1858, the Southern Cemetery, but then supplemented by a non-denominational one in 1872, the Northern Cemetery. A Presbyterian burial ground was established at Anderson's Bay around 1862, which became the Eastern Necropolis or Anderson's Bay Cemetery in 1867.<sup>33</sup>

The first burial in the Southern Cemetery was probably in the Church of England section. The Bishop of Christchurch, in whose diocese Dunedin lay before 1869, was granted land for the burial of Otago residents who were members of the 'United Church of England and Ireland in the Colony of New Zealand'.<sup>34</sup> The cemetery was authorised by the Provincial Government in November 1857, though the

earliest surviving headstone, possibly for a body moved from the Arthur Street Cemetery, dates from September.<sup>35</sup>

Denominational divisions were clearly evident to the users of cemeteries in the past, but they are much less so to modern visitors. The outer boundaries of cemeteries were generally hedged or fenced,<sup>36</sup> but the different denominational sections were not always physically divided from each other. The denominational sections of the Southern Cemetery had separate entrances, but only the Church of England section appears to have been hedged off, with a gate on its eastern side.<sup>37</sup> Some newspaper reports of funerals confirm that contemporaries regarded the various sections as separate cemeteries.<sup>38</sup> Physical separation was common elsewhere. At Bolton Street, for instance, the Anglican section was fenced off from the other parts of the cemetery.<sup>39</sup> At Barbadoes Street the cemeteries were formally separate. The Dissenters' and Catholic cemeteries were separated by a post-and-wire fence erected at some point between the 1870s and 1915.<sup>40</sup> The outer boundaries originally were marked with a gorse hedge.<sup>41</sup> The Presbyterian cemetery at Symonds Street once had a very ornate boundary wall with fine, pedimented gate posts, but this seems to have been exceptional.<sup>42</sup>

From the earliest stages, graves were fenced off if possible. Initially this was mainly to keep wandering livestock off the graves,<sup>43</sup> and the fences were typically wooden pickets painted white. Decay was already evident by the 1880s, though they were still not uncommon at the turn of the twentieth century. Picket fences rarely survive, though there are a few at Mount Street Cemetery.<sup>44</sup> Occasionally, wooden fences were still being erected later in the century. At Linwood for example posts made from totara, a now scarce native wood, to mark the corners of a burial plot survive from the 1880s.<sup>45</sup>

The rapid encroachment of residential areas rendered cemetery sites that had been planned as remote but easily accessible, too close to the settlement. Only ten years after they opened it was suggested in 1852 that the Symonds Street cemeteries in Auckland should have been sited further away.<sup>46</sup> By the 1860s the Barbadoes Street cemetery reserves which had been set out in 1850 were already closer to the built-up area of Christchurch than was thought desirable. This led to serious consideration of closing the cemeteries after only about twenty years' use. Residents nearby complained of the danger to health caused by miasma produced by burials. The Medical Officer of Health recommended in 1883 closing the cemeteries and planting quick-growing trees and shrubs to absorb moisture and noxious gases. As at the Southern Cemetery, after the closure of the Barbadoes Street

cemeteries burials of near relatives were still allowed. Burials continued in small numbers until 1959, and ashes were interred until the early 1970s.<sup>47</sup>

### SCALE

The scale of New Zealand cemeteries varies widely, even in the larger cities. Few of its nineteenth-century counterparts approach the scale of the Southern Cemetery, with 23,000 interments. The Northern Cemetery has over 17,000 burials.<sup>48</sup> Though once physically extensive, the Bolton Street Cemetery contained far fewer burials: approximately half the 8509 interments there were in the Church of England section and the remainder in the public section; only 44 Jewish burials are known.<sup>49</sup> The Barbadoes Street cemeteries combined are also considerably smaller than the Southern Cemetery. When closed in 1885, there had been 3693 Anglican burials, 638 Wesleyans and 640 Catholics.<sup>50</sup> Even the extensive Linwood Cemetery that replaced them has only about 6500 burials.<sup>51</sup> Only Waikumete, which continues in use, is now much larger, at about 70,000 burials.<sup>52</sup>

There were always far more burials than memorials in nineteenth-century cemeteries, not least because the cost of even a simple gravestone was beyond the means of the poor. Over the years, many memorials have been removed. The Southern Cemetery contained 1134 memorials in 1978-80, which named 3450 individuals.<sup>53</sup> Even this rate of one memorial to twenty burials exceeds that of Barbadoes Street in Christchurch. By 1981 there were fewer than 30 headstones left for the 780 interments in the Dissenters' cemetery.<sup>54</sup> At the Mount Street Cemetery in Wellington the survival rate is much higher. Of possibly about 1150 burials, 200 gravestones remain, marking the burials of 320 individuals. The great majority are stone, the many wooden crosses still evident at the turn of the twentieth century having long gone.<sup>55</sup> This is, however, a slightly lower survival rate than had been the case in the Symonds Street Catholic cemetery. When two thirds of it was destroyed for motorway building in 1964, it was discovered that the 400 headstones marked 2000 burials.<sup>56</sup> The survival rate of monuments at Addington, at least until the earthquakes of 2010-11, was probably closer to that of its near-contemporary Southern Cemetery, Dunedin, helped in recent years by the attention given to the graves of locally- and nationally-famous figures such as Kate Sheppard.<sup>57</sup>

There is no conspicuous area of unmarked graves in the Southern Cemetery, which gives the misleading impression to the modern eye that all burials have a memorial. Elsewhere, areas of unmarked burial plots

give a clearer picture of the nature of burials. At Linwood for instance, an area was set aside for the burial of suicides and stillborn children. This was most likely unconsecrated and used for Catholic burials.<sup>58</sup> The Church of England cemetery at Barbadoes Street included a multiple-burial plot which holds about fifty burials, including drowned or otherwise unidentified bodies.<sup>59</sup> At the Southern Cemetery a large rectangular plot in the 'free ground' in the general area was assigned to paupers' burials. As with burials of prisoners, these were likely to be unmarked.<sup>60</sup> Seventy-four Maori prisoners from the war in Taranaki convicted of high treason and sentenced to hard labour were held in Dunedin in 1869-72. Eighteen died during this time and all but one are thought to be buried in the Southern Cemetery. Twelve are probably in unmarked graves in the 'free ground' in the general section, while the remaining five are buried in the Catholic section.<sup>61</sup> A small area for non-Christian Chinese burials was assigned in the general section after the four main sections had been laid out.<sup>62</sup>

#### TOPOGRAPHY

Generally, the earlier the cemetery the more centrally positioned it is. Symonds Street Cemetery was at first on the edge of Auckland but is now very central, as are the two early Wellington cemeteries. Sites were reserved in 1840 for a general burial ground at Bolton Street and a Catholic cemetery at Mount Street. Both were adjacent to the planned settlement, at the northern, Thorndon, and southern, Te Aro, end respectively. Later cemeteries were placed to avoid close proximity to housing or planned urban expansion. In Dunedin, the Northern and Southern Cemeteries were positioned, as in Wellington, at opposite ends of the town belt, though initially at some distance from residential areas. Similarly, the Barbadoes Street cemeteries were in the north-east corner of the planned Christchurch settlement of 1850, on the edge of the town belt and, initially at least, at some distance from the nearest houses. The site for Karori was selected in 1890 as being rural land equidistant from the two ends of Wellington, Thorndon and Te Aro.<sup>63</sup> This necessitated the construction of a new road, and the Karori Tunnel and the Kelburn cable car route were built only in the course of the following decade.<sup>64</sup>

Given the topography of the cities, unsurprisingly, only the Christchurch cemeteries were not laid out on hills. Rather, the Barbados Street site was on a 'high [sic] ridge overlooking the Avon',<sup>65</sup> described elsewhere as a 'gentle eminence'.<sup>66</sup> However, it was thought to have a 'pleasing aspect' with river views. The ground however was clay, swampy and poorly drained, 'full of springs'.<sup>67</sup> Elsewhere, sites on

hillsides or at least rolling land were typical. This was in part because the land was not suitable for other uses such as housing or farming, such as Grafton Gully, the site of the Symonds Street cemeteries.<sup>68</sup>

Accessibility was generally not a problem for the earlier cemeteries, which were within easy walking distance of the built-up areas.<sup>69</sup> A tram route passing near the Southern Cemetery was built in 1880 and an extension along the Main South Road in 1905. But there was no Dunedin equivalent of the tramway specifically built to provide access to Linwood Cemetery from central Christchurch in 1884. A special hearse carriage was built in order to make funerals more affordable. It could carry four bodies but was never used as it was considered 'insensitive'.<sup>70</sup>

Waikumete Cemetery, nine and a half miles from Auckland, is the major cemetery furthest from the population it serves. It reflects the thinking that led to the establishment of the large necropoleis Brookwood near Woking in Surrey in 1854 and Rookwood in 1879, linked by railway to London and Sydney respectively, with dedicated stations and rolling stock. The site at Waikumete was chosen in 1878 in part because it bordered a planned railway line (completed in 1880) as well as the Great North Road. The railway facilities were however rather more basic than its Australian or British counterparts.<sup>71</sup>

Cemetery sites were also chosen in part for their picturesque setting, though attitudes changed over time. The suburb of Wilton gradually encroached on the Karori Cemetery, which led to trees being planted in 1927 to screen the cemetery from view. The cemetery's immediate neighbour until the late 1960s was a large rubbish dump, the Wilton Tip.<sup>72</sup> The site of the Church of England cemetery at Symonds Street was generally thought more attractive than the other denominations' sections across the gully. It was 'in a most beautiful situation' with a 'grand outlook over sea and land'<sup>73</sup> but is now blighted by the proximity of an urban motorway.

The site of the first Dunedin burial ground overlooking the junction of Arthur Street, York Place and Rattray Street gave a particularly fine view of the city and harbour, and was used well into the twentieth century as a viewpoint for photographers. Far more photographs survive of the view over the Arthur Street cemetery than from the Southern Cemetery. The site of the latter though was already well established as a picturesque viewpoint, as is shown by Edward Immyns Abbot's watercolour *Dunedin from Little Paisley* of 1849.<sup>74</sup> Four families of weavers from Paisley who had arrived in April 1848 had built houses on the land which later became the cemetery. One of these settlers, John Barr, became the first sexton. His eldest son William (d1887) is reputed



Figure 1 The Southern Cemetery, Dunedin, looking north towards the city, the jetties and wharves projecting into the inner harbour, c.1868. The main south road rounds the corner of the rocky outcrop in the middle distance. The hedged enclosure is the Church of England cemetery. Hocken Collections / Uare Taoka o Hakena, Otago University, Dunedin, c/n E6824/38, J. Tensfield, 'Dunedin from the South, Cemetery'

to be buried in the Southern Cemetery on the site of their cottage under what had been the hearthstone.<sup>75</sup> Despite the expansion of the city and the reclamation of the head of the harbour, the view remains relatively unspoiled and since the main route to the south no longer follows South Road, the cemetery is relatively undisturbed by the noise of passing traffic.<sup>76</sup> Although the cemetery was visible from the main approach to Dunedin from the south, the hillside to the cemetery's north means that it could not easily be seen in its entirety from the main part of the settlement itself. This differs from many similar cemeteries in Britain which were set on hillsides partly in order that they could be seen from the cities they served.

Where flat sites were available, the layout of cemeteries often follows a rectilinear arrangement. The first extension to the Church of England cemetery at Barbadoes Street of 1864-69, for example, set out the burial plots in long parallel rows. The centre was occupied by a planted area, to which serpentine paths led, forming an almond shape in the central area.<sup>77</sup> A similar serpentine path in the original section of the cemetery later had to be straightened.<sup>78</sup> Both Addington and the later

Linwood Cemetery, like the city it served, are on a grid pattern.<sup>79</sup> Elsewhere, as at Mount Street, the hilly topography dictated meandering paths.<sup>80</sup> The Southern Cemetery has a mixture of both; rectilinear where the topography allows it and serpentine on slopes. Part of the Catholic section is laid out as a series of concentric rings centred on the bishops' tomb. The layout is remarkably unaltered from what is known of the original plans. Comparison of the surviving plans of 1872 and 1919 suggests, however, that some paths were changed and some burials took place in spaces originally designated as paths.<sup>81</sup>

### **PLANTING**

Much thought was given to the planting of decorative and symbolic trees, shrubs and flowers, which were freighted with meaning. Initially, cemetery plantings typically followed the established practice of sombre, dark-coloured species. The symbolism was widely known, such as the association of evergreens with the resurrection, or conifers with death, as unlike other trees they die as soon as they are cut. Yews, characteristic of the Southern Cemetery, have for centuries had a close association with churchyards. In Britain and Europe they sometimes predated the church itself, and symbolised everlasting life:<sup>82</sup> some believed their roots found their way into the mouths of the dead. Cypresses had been important in ancient Roman funeral practices, while weeping willows anthropomorphically appear to be grief-stricken.<sup>83</sup> Trees such as eucalyptus, poplars, maples, planes and elms that were believed to filter out miasmas were also favoured for cemeteries. Many flowers were planted on graves by mourners. These included lilies, roses, violets, camellias, periwinkles and various bulbs. Ivy was also planted to symbolise immortality and friendship.<sup>84</sup>

Weeping willows were planted in the Church of England cemetery in Barbadoes Street early on, and had reached a significant size by 1863.<sup>85</sup> By then, photographs indicate the cemetery was planted with Italian Cypresses, Irish yews, laurels, elms, blue gums, oaks, sycamores and Douglas firs.<sup>86</sup> Several surviving trees at Barbadoes Street probably date from the 1850 and 1860s.<sup>87</sup> There are no comparable survivals at the Southern Cemetery, Dunedin.<sup>88</sup> The oldest tree in the Mount Street Cemetery probably dates from the 1930s or 1940s: as late as 1940 there were no substantial trees there, though thick scrub had developed.<sup>89</sup> The Symonds Street cemeteries similarly were for many decades comparatively bare. They had been compared unfavourably with Barbadoes Street as early as 1864.<sup>90</sup> Oaks were planted around one of the earliest graves in the Anglican section, that of Governor Hobson (d1842),

and their presumed descendants are now large specimens. Symonds Street was planted with weeping willows, poplars and in the 1870s with the then-fashionable Californian radiata pines. These latter were all felled at some stage after 1900. A photograph of about 1880 shows no mature trees.<sup>91</sup> Linwood Cemetery, Christchurch, laid out in the 1880s, was originally planted mainly with pines, cypresses and yews. Today, however, only four trees are known to date from before 1900.<sup>92</sup>



Figure 2 The Southern Cemetery, Dunedin, looking north towards the city, the inner harbour to the right, c.1900. Hocken Collections / Uare Taoka o Hakena, Otago University, Dunedin, c/n E6869/15, Guy Morris, 'Dunedin: Southern Cemetery'

The Little Paisley site of the Southern Cemetery was originally largely covered with flax, which was burnt off to clear the site.<sup>93</sup> Some must have re-grown, as there were complaints in the 1860s of rotting, burnt flax in the Catholic section, the result of a recent accidental fire.<sup>94</sup> Photographs provide some evidence of the changes to plantings in the Southern Cemetery. Several mature trees are evident in a photograph of about 1880<sup>95</sup> and by about a decade later several large cabbage trees had appeared.<sup>96</sup> These were used to symbolise immortality.<sup>97</sup> Some vegetation continued to be removed, the sexton being criticised in 1868 for removing shrubs.<sup>98</sup> However, by the early 1960s the hillside was bare. E.D. Moyle recorded in 1976 that 'there used to be a lot more trees in the

cemetery but an earlier Sexton cut them out because they were in the way of his mowing.<sup>99</sup>

A view eastwards from the Campbell family monument taken in 1963 confirms this, showing a completely bare graveyard. There are no trees or shrubs to be seen apart from what appear to be two pines and a Monterey cypress near the morgue.<sup>100</sup> A similar view from more than a decade later shows an almost equally bare landscape.<sup>101</sup> By the mid-1970s there were several large specimens of Eucalyptus and a stand of oaks near the morgue. As Moyle noted, 'Apart from these plantings there [was] virtually no shelter'.<sup>102</sup> To remedy this, a selection of deciduous trees was planted on about 150 graves in the mid-1970s.<sup>103</sup> For many years pupils from the Hebrew school planted trees on Tu'Shvat (Arbor Day) in the Jewish section but this practice was discontinued in recent times.<sup>104</sup>

#### THE PICTURESQUE

The modern cemeteries of Britain and Europe were, and in some cases still are, considered among the sights of their cities. The picturesque future site of the Southern Cemetery was depicted in Edward Immy's well-known watercolour '*Dunedin from Little Paisley*' of 1849, a romanticised view from the hill down to the harbour in the distance.<sup>105</sup> Few photographers, however, followed Abbot's example. It could be inferred from the relative scarcity of photographs of the Southern Cemetery that it was not, even in its prime, considered one of the picturesque attractions of Dunedin. Early guidebooks add weight to this impression. Neither Alexander Bathgate's *Picturesque Dunedin* of 1890 nor the Edwardian guides for visitors to Dunedin mention the cemetery.<sup>106</sup> The few surviving nineteenth-century photographs of the cemetery typically show the view over the cemetery towards the harbour and peninsula<sup>107</sup> or towards the ocean beyond the South Dunedin flat.<sup>108</sup> Occasionally, the cemetery appears at the edge of a photograph of events at the Oval sports ground which lies below it on the flat, as for instance with the review of imperial troops held in February 1901.<sup>109</sup>

A few photographs have the cemetery as the principal subject. J. Tensfield's view of about 1868 looking north-eastwards shows it in open countryside with only two small houses nearby.<sup>110</sup> There are already dozens of new memorials, several of them surrounded by white wooden picket fences. A few graves are surrounded by iron railings, Dunedin foundries being the first in the country able to offer decorative railings. The Anglican section is already hedged.<sup>111</sup> Another, later, photograph specifically of the cemetery shows the Anglican and General sections

from the north across open ground covered with what appear to be daisies.<sup>112</sup> This shows that by about 1880 the cemetery was hedged along its upper, Eglinton Road boundary<sup>113</sup> in addition to the hedge that surrounded the Anglican section. Several trees were by this stage mature, and there were, naturally, many more monuments. The wooden fences evident in the earlier view were now gone. This is confirmed by a photograph of about ten years later, in which several iron railings can be seen. By this time, several large cabbage trees had grown which were not to be seen in the earlier views, though they may not have been deliberate plantings.<sup>114</sup>



Figure 3 The Southern Cemetery, Dunedin, looking south over the South Dunedin suburbs towards the sea, cabbage trees in the foreground, c.1890. Hocken Collections/Uare Taoka o Hakena, Otago University, Dunedin, c/n 2815/29, Burton Brothers, 'The Flat-Dunedin'

#### **NEGLECT AND VANDALISM**

By the second half of the twentieth century, few new burials took place and relations or descendants were unwilling or unable to maintain the decaying monuments. Neglect and vandalism, in the sense of wilful destruction of monuments or desecration of graves, came to be associated with old cemeteries. In the nineteenth century in contrast, 'vandalism' typically meant the theft of flowers from graves.<sup>115</sup> The first

known instance of deliberate damage to graves was the smearing of 'some sticky substance like tar' over the Hebrew inscriptions on three tombstones in the Jewish section of the Southern Cemetery in 1900.<sup>116</sup> For the nineteenth century, the argument from silence has some validity as instances of destruction were taken very seriously and reported for other comparable cemeteries. In February 1890 an unidentified person fired a gun at a headstone in the Northern Cemetery, 'completely spoiling the stone.'<sup>117</sup> Five years earlier at the Symonds Street Cemetery in Auckland a 'most disgraceful outrage was committed'. Nine tombstones were knocked over or broken on two separate occasions, the damage showing 'that considerable force must have been used by the dastardly scoundrel who perpetrated so vile an outrage against the feelings of the friends of the dead.'<sup>118</sup> The feelings of the bereaved were also the main concern of those who complained of the theft of flowers from graves and sometimes plants that had been planted in memory of the deceased. This 'desecrating the graves of the "blessed dead"' was considered a 'scandalous practice'.<sup>119</sup> Worse was to come. After the Symonds Street cemeteries were closed and their care entrusted to the City Council, there were reports in 1909 of opened vaults and broken coffins.<sup>120</sup>

Illicit activity within cemeteries could also occasionally include clandestine burials. In the 1880s the Presbyterian Deacon's Court which administered the Addington Cemetery was concerned about illegal burials, particularly of infants. This was probably in order to avoid paying fees, the result of local poverty.<sup>121</sup>

Nothing that took place in the new Dunedin cemeteries was thought comparable to the neglected state of the old Arthur Street burial-ground. By 1872 the wooden grave fences were destroyed, iron railings damaged, head-boards broken 'and the whole place reduced to such a state of ruin and desolation as to be a disgrace to a civilized community.'<sup>122</sup> Even cemeteries still in constant use were seen to become scruffy. There were complaints in the 1860s and 1870s about the neglected, dilapidated and overgrown state of the Symonds Street cemeteries.<sup>123</sup> By the 1920s it was observed that Dunedin's Southern Cemetery was looking neglected in comparison to its Northern counterpart. Some paths were untidy and its general appearance was thought less pleasing. There were by then fewer families taking a personal interest in the upkeep of graves, and the City Corporation's Reserves Department was responsible for maintaining only the general section.<sup>124</sup> Few families made arrangements with the council for maintenance in perpetuity, not least because of the cost: £25 in 1902, rising to £50 in 1948.<sup>125</sup> By 1947, the cemetery was reported to be

in 'a shocking condition', overgrown with wild daisies and other weeds.<sup>126</sup>

By the mid-1970s many ornate cast-iron railings had been removed from the Southern Cemetery and in some cases had been used by monumental masons to reinforce other graves.<sup>127</sup> A 'considerable amount' of cast and wrought ironwork was removed in this period by the council and either sold or dumped.<sup>128</sup> By 1978, however, Ngaire Ockwell recorded 'that the cemetery is now well kept overall.'<sup>129</sup> In Christchurch, once the Barbados Street Catholic and Dissenters' cemeteries were closed and under the responsibility of the City Council, minimal maintenance meant they quickly became neglected and overgrown.<sup>130</sup> Vandalism in the Church of England cemetery in first half of the twentieth century was largely prevented by the presence of a resident sexton but the other two sections had no protection and only minimal maintenance.<sup>131</sup> Vandalism became a particular problem in the period 1960-90. Headstones were pushed over, broken, defaced or removed, while iron railings were taken away.<sup>132</sup> In October 1955 alone, 21 headstones were pushed over and four damaged. In June 1961, 42 more were pushed over and 26 broken.<sup>133</sup> In Wellington, once Karori was largely supplanted by a new cemetery in 1965, its graves increasingly were vandalised in the 1970s and 1980s. Fifty headstones in the Chinese section, for instance, were damaged in February 1988.<sup>134</sup> At Dunedin's Southern Cemetery, twenty marble headstones were smashed in February 2006.<sup>135</sup> Not all of this damage was carried out for the mere thrill of destruction, but in some cases the removal of delicate ornamentation such as angels, doves or crosses was thought to have been for the sake of souvenirs.<sup>136</sup>

The living had become a problem as well as the dead. From the 1960s, the Barbadoes Street Cemetery grounds were used as 'temporary accommodation by transients.'<sup>137</sup> By the end of the 1960s, Mount Street Cemetery in Wellington had 'become the home of large numbers of... drug addicts.'<sup>138</sup> Yet this was not as new a phenomenon as it seemed at the time. Symonds Street Cemetery, Auckland, had as early as 1909 a reputation for being the haunt of the city's vagrants.<sup>139</sup>

While unofficial vandalism damaged historic cemeteries piecemeal, official destruction was more methodical and on an altogether greater scale. The Christchurch City Council added the Church of England cemetery to its existing responsibility for the other Barbadoes Street cemeteries in 1948. Two years later it proposed removing damaged headstones, together with curbs and railings, and levelling the site. It was to be planted with grass and ornamental trees, and part was to become a children's playground. This scheme was not carried out. The

Council had taken over the management of the neglected Addington Cemetery in 1947 and immediately proposed removing all the memorials and using the land as a park or children's playground: this was not done.<sup>140</sup> The *Burials and Cremations Act* of 1964 allowed councils to clear old cemeteries by removing neglected memorials, and two years later similar plans were revived for clearing the Barbadoes Street cemeteries. These too were not put into practice.<sup>141</sup> An even more radical plan was suggested for Dunedin's Southern Cemetery in 1976. The horticulturalist E.D. Moyle wrote: 'Once the cemetery has been closed I would like to see the bulldozer level the area out and then it should be sown down in grass. In my opinion, most of the graves are not worth keeping either from an aesthetic or horticultural point of view... To continue to maintain this cemetery does not warrant the expense'.<sup>142</sup>

Even without wholesale destruction, the character of historic cemeteries could rapidly be altered. The previously distinct characters of the three adjacent cemeteries in Barbadoes Street were largely lost under council management in the 1950s, so that by 1969-70 when the boundary hedges, internal fences and separate entrances were removed, the false impression was given that Barbados Street cut through a single cemetery. This opening-up of the cemeteries was intended to counter vandalism and other anti-social behaviour.<sup>143</sup>

Those areas of Symonds Street cemetery that had escaped obliteration by the building of motorways in the 1960s lost large numbers of cast-iron railings and monumental elements in officially-sponsored 'tidying-up' in the subsequent decade.<sup>144</sup> At Karori, chemical spraying in the late 1960s to remove weeds had left the cemetery unattractively stark and led to soil erosion. So it was proposed in 1972 that the gravestones be removed and trees planted.<sup>145</sup> A similar programme of spraying the Southern Cemetery in Dunedin in the first half of the 1970s also killed much recent planting in addition to the spring bulbs for which the cemetery was once famous. The denuded soil soon began to crack and erode, and junipers were planted on one bank in an attempt to arrest this. The City Council's Parks and Reserves Department planted a large number of specimen trees in the mid-1970s, 'which will, it [was] hoped[,] take away the starkness'.<sup>146</sup>

Successive programs of maintenance and clearing have meant ironically that the best-preserved graves in some historic cemeteries are those that are relatively inaccessible or invisible. At Mount Street, the Brady plot, covered in vegetation, retains its original picket fence in good condition which is a great rarity.<sup>147</sup>



Figure 4 The present state of the grave of Moses Wilson Gray, a district judge of the Otago goldfields and formerly a member of the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, where he was a prominent land reform campaigner. He died at Lawrence in Central Otago but was buried in the Southern Cemetery in 1875. Dunedin City Council, Cemeteries Search:

[http://www.dunedin.govt.nz/facilities/cemeteries/cemeteries\\_search](http://www.dunedin.govt.nz/facilities/cemeteries/cemeteries_search)

### STRUCTURES

Historic cemeteries typically were accompanied by a range of specialised structures, including mortuary chapels, sextons' cottages and sometimes even lychgates. The most famous today is perhaps the Chapel of St George of the Church of England section of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery. Designed by Benjamin Mountfort in 1856, it was completed in the 1860s and demolished in 1955. The cemetery landscape was dominated by the mortuary chapel, to which a carriage drive led from a lychgate in Barbadoes Street.<sup>148</sup> The steeply-gabled building had stained glass windows and is now best known for being portrayed in William Sutton's painting 'Nor'-wester in the Cemetery' of 1950. There were no comparable structures in the Catholic or Dissenters' sections.<sup>149</sup>

The Church of England's mortuary chapel at Bolton Street Cemetery, built in 1866 to the designs of Frederick Thatcher, has survived attempts to destroy it. It was much plainer than its Christchurch counterpart and incorporated some materials from the first Anglican church, St Paul's. It was rarely used after the cemetery closed in 1892 and had become

decrepit and vandalised by the early 1920s. Demolition began in 1924 but was halted by the intervention of the Early Settlers' and Historical Association. By 1928 it was repaired and reported to be in excellent condition. Vandalism resumed in the 1960s and the chapel was finally destroyed in the course of motorway building in 1969.<sup>150</sup> The Church of England cemetery at Symonds Street also had a mortuary chapel, built in 1866, but no longer extant. A Jewish memorial chapel and mortuary survives that was erected in 1954.<sup>151</sup>

Sextons' cottages similarly do not often survive. The position of sexton in New Zealand cemeteries does not necessarily imply an ecclesiastical connection, though Anglican sextons were sometimes also vergers of a local parish. Other sextons were simply cemetery caretakers.<sup>152</sup> Sexton's cottages were a common feature of virtually all substantial cemeteries, though their survival is patchy. The Church of England section of the Southern Cemetery had its own sexton who was provided with a small cottage within the grounds near the entrance. It had been demolished by 1947. Another small sexton's cottage was to its west and this survived until about 1987.<sup>153</sup> A sexton's cottage was built for the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch, in 1871. It was replaced by another house in the 1920s, which, unlike its equivalent in the Southern Cemetery, is still extant.<sup>154</sup> Karori Cemetery had an 'elegant villa' of 1891 for the sexton which was replaced in the 1950s.<sup>155</sup>

Shelters for mourners were never common, though one was provided at Karori in 1891 which is still extant. Though never intended as such, it soon became known as the mortuary chapel. Since it was near the Jewish section it was used largely by the Hebrew congregation and became known informally as the Jewish chapel. The congregation took responsibility for its maintenance in the 1950s and saved it from destruction in the 1960s.<sup>156</sup>

The unique feature of the Southern Cemetery, Dunedin, is the adjoining public morgue. It is the only one here or in Australia known to be located so close to a cemetery.<sup>157</sup> The city morgue was originally in the grounds of the public hospital, a not unusual arrangement. It was withdrawn from public service as a result of the behaviour of the crowds who came to view the bodies of victims of the Octagon fire of September 1869. For many years thereafter Dunedin had no public morgue. Corpses were instead taken to the nearest public house, but this led to complaints from the Licensed Victuallers' Association, not least because the landlords were not remunerated. A new morgue was built in the public hospital grounds in 1884, but the Association continued into the 1890s,

together with the Department of Justice, to press the City Corporation to build a public morgue.<sup>158</sup>

Epidemics and an outbreak of bubonic plague in 1900 prompted the council into action. The site next to the Southern Cemetery was chosen as it was spare ground at a convenient distance from the city, not because of any connection to the cemetery or for the convenience of burials.<sup>159</sup> In the initial period, however, the cemetery's sexton helped at the morgue.<sup>160</sup> The architectural firm of Lawson & Salmond were appointed in June 1902 and the building was handed over a year later. The brick morgue is in Tudor style with a crenelated parapet. It remained in use as a morgue until 1949 and in 1953 was converted into a maintenance depot for the southern town belt and cemetery maintenance gangs with a garage for a tractor.<sup>161</sup> Latterly it has been leased for the storage of surf lifesaving equipment. The roof cladding was replaced in 2000 and the original ridge ventilators removed.<sup>162</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

The recent rash of detailed historical studies has for the first time made possible a reasonably comprehensive and confident comparative appraisal of the features that distinguish historic New Zealand urban cemeteries. It shows that relatively few of the first phase of cemeteries survive in easily recognisable form and that the survival of structures is even less common. Their location on the edge of the original settlements meant early cemeteries became surrounded by urban growth, sometimes within their first few decades. Denominational division, contrary to a widespread assumption that it was uncommon in New Zealand, was a requirement from the first in most historic cemeteries. The loss of visible boundaries has brought with it the modern public perception that denominational segregation was unusual in the past. The common assumption that the great majority of burials are marked by a tombstone or monument is reinforced by the apparent completeness of historic cemeteries. The prominence given to the graves of the famous, and of spectacular monuments to those who are now less well known, obscures the fact that a large proportion of those buried in these cemeteries never had any memorial.

Cemeteries were intended as places of public resort, their layout and planting designed to create a melancholy but fashionable place of quiet contemplation and recreation. This sometimes backfired. The 'shady nooks' at Symonds Street Cemetery also afforded opportunities for 'spooning couples' in the 1880s.<sup>163</sup> Picturesqueness was a driving force in nineteenth-century cemetery design and it is tempting to imagine that

the present-day Southern Cemetery is the culmination of this way of thinking. Topographically, it is a classic example of a site chosen for its views and situation on the outskirts of a planned city. Though the cemetery now has the appearance of a well-wooded park, this is the result of extensive planting in the 1970s and bears little relation to the cemetery's appearance for most of its existence. The present-day desire to restore monuments clashes with the consequences of this planting. Many trees were planted on graves and their roots now disturb the railings and tombstones. The concept of the contemplative, picturesque cemetery is, however, sufficiently flexible to encompass both the well-tended park-like Victorian cemetery and the arrested decay of the present day, the result of neglect, vandalism, 'improvement' and, latterly, restoration. Despite this, the Southern Cemetery stands as a representative example of a modern cemetery of the mid-nineteenth century in an unusually unaltered state. What would surprise Victorian time travellers would be less its physical appearance than the fact that they would probably find themselves completely alone.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The cultural history of death came to life in the 1970s, prompted in large part by the translation of Philippe Ariès' influential books, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident*, translated as *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present*, Baltimore, [1974], his *Homme devant le mort*, translated as *The hour of our death*, London, 1981 and his *Images de l'homme devant la mort*, translated as *Images of man and death*, Cambridge, Mass, 1985. The architectural historian James Stevens Curl opened up the topic for a wider, non-academic audience with *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, [Newton Abbot, 1972]; he published a substantially revised and expanded second edition in 2000. The ground-breaking New Zealand study of an individual historic cemetery was prompted by its subject's imminent destruction: Margaret H. Alington, *Unquiet Earth: A History of the Bolton Street Cemetery*, Wellington, 1978. This was a pioneering work even in international terms, but in the short term led to no comparable studies for other New Zealand cemeteries. The first major comparative analysis was Stephen Deed's unpublished thesis 'Unearthly Landscapes: The Development of the Cemetery in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', MA thesis, Otago University, 2004. In the course of the last fifteen years a great deal of detailed historical research has been carried out for conservation reports on cemeteries, most of them commissioned by local councils. This article takes advantage of the large body of information for comparative analysis that is provided by these reports.

<sup>2</sup> In most Continental European countries, plots are leased for set periods rather than owned outright. If the lease is not renewed, the remains are removed and either reburied elsewhere or the bones placed in an ossuary, and the grave re-used. Old cemeteries therefore remain in constant use and are well funded and maintained, but very old memorials are rare. Burial in perpetuity is the preserve of the very wealthy. Jewish cemeteries are the main exception as religious law forbids the disturbance of human remains: see Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West*, London, 2003, pp54; 171–3.

<sup>3</sup> Worpole, p169.

<sup>4</sup> Deed, p30.

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- <sup>5</sup> Alexander Trapeznik and Austin Gee, 'Laying the Victorians to Rest: Funerals, Memorials and the Funeral Business in Nineteenth-Century Dunedin', *Australian Economic History Review* (forthcoming).
- <sup>6</sup> As too were the new British cemeteries of the 1850s and 1860s: Deed, p72.
- <sup>7</sup> Chris and Margaret Betteridge, *Final Draft: Conservation Management Plan for the Northern & Southern Cemeteries, Dunedin, New Zealand, 25 December 2004*. Revised Final Draft, Randwick, NSW, 2004, pp106; 119.
- <sup>8</sup> LA4 Landscape Architects and Planners, *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, Auckland, 1996, p22
- <sup>9</sup> [Ngairie Ockwell], 'Brief Look at the History of Dunedin Cemeteries' [typescript: n.p., n.d.], pp1-2.
- <sup>10</sup> Deed, pp105-6.
- <sup>11</sup> *ibid*, p121.
- <sup>12</sup> Worpole, p170; Robyn Burgess, Ian Bowman, Jenny May and David McKenzie, *Conservation Plan Linwood Cemetery: Draft for Comment*, Christchurch, 2005, p40.
- <sup>13</sup> See Dorothy Page, *Anatomy of a Medical School: A History of Medicine at the University of Otago 1875-2000*, Dunedin, 2008.
- <sup>14</sup> E.D. Moyle, 'Horticultural Aspects of Cemeteries and Crematoria in New Zealand', National Diploma of Horticulture dissertation, 1976, pp31-32.
- <sup>15</sup> The encroachment of roads on the Bolton Street Cemetery began in the 1880s, but the massive destruction came with the building of an urban motorway: see Alington, pp155-75.
- <sup>16</sup> Betteridge, p108; see also the Statement of Significance, pp117-19.
- <sup>17</sup> Deed, pp734.
- <sup>18</sup> Betteridge, p43.
- <sup>19</sup> Alington, p10.
- <sup>20</sup> *ibid*, pp15-34.
- <sup>21</sup> Greig et al, p15.
- <sup>22</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p10.
- <sup>23</sup> Ian Bowman, John Wilson, Louise Beaumont and Katharine Wilson, *Conservation Plan: Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch July 2009*, [Christchurch], 2009, p23.
- <sup>24</sup> *ibid*, p23.
- <sup>25</sup> Robyn Burgess, David McKenzie and Jenny May, *Conservation Plan for Addington Cemetery: Draft Version 2*, Christchurch, 2005, pp6-10.
- <sup>26</sup> This first Jewish cemetery was in Hereford Street.
- <sup>27</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, p15.
- <sup>28</sup> This includes the Chinese area, though it is largely Presbyterian.
- <sup>29</sup> Ockwell, p3.
- <sup>30</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp24-5.
- <sup>31</sup> *ibid*, p25.
- <sup>32</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, pp1; 8-9.
- <sup>33</sup> Ockwell, p4.
- <sup>34</sup> *ibid*, p2.
- <sup>35</sup> *ibid*.
- <sup>36</sup> The Southern Cemetery was 'fenced with a split [rail?] fence' in 1857 (Betteridge, p40). By 1908 the eastern boundary of the cemetery had a wooden picket fence: see *Otago Witness* 16 September 1908. At Barbados Street, hawthorn and gorse boundary hedges were used both for privacy and to keep out livestock: see Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp62-3.
- <sup>37</sup> This hedge dated from 1862 at the earliest, as in January that year the Church of England Cemetery Committee asked the Town Board to alter the road line so that their portion of the cemetery could be fenced off: *Otago Daily Times*, 18 January 1862, p7.
- <sup>38</sup> James Copeland was buried in the 'Church of England Cemetery' according to the *Otago Daily Times*, 17 November 1875, p3. This was the Anglican section of the Southern Cemetery (Block 8P, Plot 20).
- <sup>39</sup> Alington, pp37-9.

- <sup>40</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p29.
- <sup>41</sup> Letter to *The Press*, 9 August 1870, p3, quoted in Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p53.
- <sup>42</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p14.
- <sup>43</sup> Deed, pp99-100.
- <sup>44</sup> Ian Bowman, *Conservation Plan: Mount Street Cemetery, Wellington*, [Wellington], 2008, pp16-17.
- <sup>45</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, p44.
- <sup>46</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p17.
- <sup>47</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp31-2; 34.
- <sup>48</sup> Betteridge, p37.
- <sup>49</sup> Alington, p275.
- <sup>50</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p32.
- <sup>51</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, p39.
- <sup>52</sup> Auckland City Council, 'Waikumete Cemetery', <http://www.waitakere.govt.nz/cnlser/cm/index.asp>
- <sup>53</sup> Betteridge, p48.
- <sup>54</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p35.
- <sup>55</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, pp14; 17; The Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington, 'Mount Street Cemetery', <http://www.mountstreetcemetery.org.nz/>.
- <sup>56</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p21.
- <sup>57</sup> Burgess, McKenzie and May, *Addington Cemetery*, pp44-5.
- <sup>58</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, pp39; 46.
- <sup>59</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p61.
- <sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, pp43-4.
- <sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, pp65; 86; see also D. Harold, *Maori Prisoners of War in Dunedin 1869-1872: deaths and burials and survivors*, Dunedin, 2000.
- <sup>62</sup> Betteridge, pp42, 65.
- <sup>63</sup> Greig et al, p12.
- <sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, pp12; 15.
- <sup>65</sup> *The Press*, 25 October 1862, p8, quoted in Bowman et al., *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p59.
- <sup>66</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p59.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.
- <sup>68</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p9.
- <sup>69</sup> Deed, pp94-5.
- <sup>70</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, pp12-14.
- <sup>71</sup> Waitakere City Council Works and Services Committee, *Waikumete Cemetery Conservation and Reserve Management Plan*, Auckland, 2001, pp15-16.
- <sup>72</sup> Greig et al, p26.
- <sup>73</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p12.
- <sup>74</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, 14, 414.
- <sup>75</sup> *Otago Witness*, 1 September 1909, p53; Block 136, Plot 16; Betteridge, p38 n6 states six weavers without giving the number of families; Betteridge, p63 says John Barr was Dunedin's first gaoler, but this is generally thought to have been Henry Monson.
- <sup>76</sup> Except during the formerly annual street races, which included the section of South Road that passes the cemetery in its circuit; the north-eastern slope near the morgue was a popular spot among spectators.
- <sup>77</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p57.
- <sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, p59.
- <sup>79</sup> Burgess, McKenzie and May, *Addington Cemetery*, pp7; 37; Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, p10.
- <sup>80</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, p27.
- <sup>81</sup> Betteridge, pp44-5.
- <sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p118.

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- <sup>83</sup> Moyle, p2.
- <sup>84</sup> Deed, p123.
- <sup>85</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp53; 55; cuttings from the weeping willow at Napoleon's tomb at St Helena had earlier been planted in the L'Aube Hill cemetery at Akaroa: Deed, p113 n12.
- <sup>86</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp55-6.
- <sup>87</sup> *ibid*, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp65; 68.
- <sup>88</sup> Betteridge, Appendix I, pp39-41, lists the species of trees to be found in there in 2004.
- <sup>89</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, p34.
- <sup>90</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p13.
- <sup>91</sup> *ibid*, pp13; 15; 33.
- <sup>92</sup> Burgess et al, *Linwood Cemetery*, pp41-2.
- <sup>93</sup> Betteridge, p40.
- <sup>94</sup> *ibid*, pp44-5.
- <sup>95</sup> Also shown in an undated Burton Brothers photograph at Te Papa, C.011209.
- <sup>96</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections c/n 2815/29, Burton Bros, 'The Flat, Dunedin', c1890.
- <sup>97</sup> Deed, p66.
- <sup>98</sup> Betteridge, p45, Citing the Town Clerk's correspondence.
- <sup>99</sup> Moyle, p28.
- <sup>100</sup> Bernard Lunn, Head Prefect of Otago Boys' High School, laying a wreath, in *Evening Star*, 3 August 1963, p2; Rory Sweetman, *History of Otago Boys High School, 1863-2013*, Dunedin, forthcoming, 2013.
- <sup>101</sup> Moyle, p21 fig14, photograph c1976.
- <sup>102</sup> *ibid*, p22.
- <sup>103</sup> Betteridge, p48; Moyle, p28, fig24: a photograph showing some of these recent plantings.
- <sup>104</sup> *ibid*, p48.
- <sup>105</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, 14,414.
- <sup>106</sup> Alex. Bathgate (ed), *Picturesque Dunedin: or, Dunedin and its Neighbourhood in 1890*, Dunedin, 1890; William Henry Fahey, *Beautiful Dunedin, its environs and the cold lakes of Otago: a memento from Maoriland*, Dunedin, 1906; *Beautiful Dunedin and Surroundings Illustrated: containing 52 views*, Dunedin, c1910.
- <sup>107</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, c/n E6869/15, Guy Morris, 'Dunedin: Southern Cemetery', nd.
- <sup>108</sup> Auckland Libraries Heritage Images 4-7297, James D. Richardson, 'Looking south east over St Kilda, Dunedin', nd; Te Papa C.012431, Muir and Moodie, Dunedin from South Cemetery, nd; Hocken Pictorial Collections c/n 2815/29, Burton Bros, 'The Flat, Dunedin', c1890.
- <sup>109</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, c/n F165/16, Dunedin Oval, February 1901: the Southern Cemetery is visible in the right foreground.
- <sup>110</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, c/n E6824/38, J. Tensfield, 'Dunedin from the South, Cemetery', c1868.
- <sup>111</sup> Betteridge, p93.
- <sup>112</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections, c/n E2906/33, Southern Cemetery, c1880.
- <sup>113</sup> Also shown in an undated Burton Brothers photograph at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, C.011209.
- <sup>114</sup> Hocken Pictorial Collections c/n 2815/29, Burton Bros, 'The Flat, Dunedin', c1890.
- <sup>115</sup> *Otago Witness*, 24 October 1874, p15 and 19 September 1900, p52; Flowers and shrubs were stolen from the Barbadoes Street cemeteries in the 1870s. See also Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p35.
- <sup>116</sup> *Otago Witness*, 19 September 1900, p52.
- <sup>117</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 10 February 1890, p2.
- <sup>118</sup> *Auckland Star*, 15 October 1885, p2.
- <sup>119</sup> John W. Paulin, 'Vandalism in the Cemeteries', 21 March, in *Otago Daily Times*, 22 March 1887, p4.
- <sup>120</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p20.

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- <sup>121</sup> Burgess, McKenzie and May, *Addington Cemetery*, p17.  
<sup>122</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 16 February 1872, p3.  
<sup>123</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p18.  
<sup>124</sup> Betteridge, p. 47, citing the *Otago Daily Times* 10 February 1925.  
<sup>125</sup> *ibid*, pp47-8.  
<sup>126</sup> *ibid*, p47, citing *Evening Star*, 12 March 1947.  
<sup>127</sup> Moyle, p25.  
<sup>128</sup> Betteridge, p49.  
<sup>129</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p49.  
<sup>130</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp69-70.  
<sup>131</sup> *ibid*, p35.  
<sup>132</sup> *ibid*.  
<sup>133</sup> *ibid*.  
<sup>134</sup> Greig et al, p27.  
<sup>135</sup> Stewart Harvey, Historic Cemeteries Conservation Trust of New Zealand Annual Report for the year ended 31 March 2006: [www.cemeteries.org.nz/cemeteries\\_annualreports06.htm](http://www.cemeteries.org.nz/cemeteries_annualreports06.htm).  
<sup>136</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, p22.  
<sup>137</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p35.  
<sup>138</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, p21.  
<sup>139</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p2.  
<sup>140</sup> Burgess, McKenzie and May, *Addington Cemetery*, pp17-18.  
<sup>141</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p36.  
<sup>142</sup> Moyle, pp31-2.  
<sup>143</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, pp70-1.  
<sup>144</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p25.  
<sup>145</sup> Greig et al, p26.  
<sup>146</sup> Moyle, pp28-31, which includes year-by-year details of the spraying programme. Figure 25 on p30 shows a bank after spraying with weedkiller.  
<sup>147</sup> Bowman, *Mount Street Cemetery*, p17.  
<sup>148</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p59.  
<sup>149</sup> *ibid*, pp29-30.  
<sup>150</sup> Alington, pp176-86.  
<sup>151</sup> *Symonds Street Cemetery Conservation Plan*, p20.  
<sup>152</sup> Alington, p227.  
<sup>153</sup> Betteridge, pp53-55; A photograph of c1976 is in Moyle, p25, figure 20.  
<sup>154</sup> Bowman et al, *Barbadoes Street Cemetery, Christchurch*, p30.  
<sup>155</sup> Greig et al, p15, illustrated on p18.  
<sup>156</sup> *ibid*, p15, illustrated on p85.  
<sup>157</sup> Betteridge, pp51; 119; illustrated on p52 (Hocken Collections S4-116i).  
<sup>158</sup> Pamela Wood, *Dirt: Filth and Decay in a New World Arcadia*, 2005, p217; Betteridge, p50.  
<sup>159</sup> Betteridge, p50.  
<sup>160</sup> Moyle, p26.  
<sup>161</sup> Betteridge, p51.  
<sup>162</sup> *ibid*.  
<sup>163</sup> Deed, pp86; 98-99.