GODZONIA PROJECT

BY RACHAEL BRENTON-RULE, WED10AM TUTORIAL.

Part One: Sample Group Data.

1) SPIERLING

Tall upright headstone with arc top. Wooden paling fence around a single plot.

IN LOVING REMEMBERENCE OF
MAY LOUISE SPIERLING
BORN OCT 24 1881
DIED SEP 10 1884
ALSO
ALMA SOPHIA SPIERLING
BORN APRIL 10 1880
DIED SEP 17 1884

2) MORISON

Tall upright headstone with inverted checked arc top. Concrete curb on raised brick fence and decorative wrought iron railing around a double plot.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

HUGH MORISON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
16-AUG-1843 AGED 22 YEARS
ALSO
ANN TURNER WIFE OF HUGH MORISON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
11-JULY-1844 AGED 44 YEARS
ALSO
DONALD SMITH
WHO DEPARTED

8-JAN-1846 AGED 17 YEARS

ALSO

COLIN MORISON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
27-FEB-1859 AGED 22 YEARS

ALSO

HUGH MORISON BELOVED HUSBAND OF ANN TURNER
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
5-SEP-1872 AGED 88 YEARS
ALSO MARY MORISON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
25-JAN-1887 AGED 6 YEARS

3) GILLESPIE

Tall upright headstone with square shoulders and arc top and short upright footstone with square shoulders and arc top. Low concrete curb around a single plot.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF JANET GILLESPIE AGED 8 YEARS DIED MAY 30TH 1844

ALSO OF ANDREW HAGARTY GILLESPIE HER FATHER AGED 42
YEARS AND ANDREW HER BROTHER AGED 12 YEARS
DIED OF WOUNDS MURDEROUSLY INFLICTED BY REBEL
NATIVES EARLY IN THE EVENING OF APRIL 2ND ON THE BANKS
OF THE RIVER HUTT AND WERE LAID IN THIS GRAVE
TOGETHER APRIL 7TH 1846
THE SURVIVING WIDOW AND MOTHER ERECTS THIS
MEMORIAL

THE DAY OF THE LORD SO COMETH AS A THIEF
IN THE NIGHT. FOR WHEN MEN SHALL SAY
PEACE AND SAFETY. THEN SUDDEN DESTRUCTION COMETH,
Thessu.25

ALSO OF CHRISTY WIFE OF MR THOS STACK AND RELICT OF
THE ABOVE ANDREW GILLESPIE
WHO DIED SEP 20TH 1851 AGED 49 YEARS

Foot stone A.H.G. APRIL 7TH 1846

4) DAVIS

Tall upright cross on square plinth. Concrete curb and decorative wrought iron railing around a double plot.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF

JAMES

LOVED SON OF CAPT DAVIS

DIED FEBRUARY 2 1883 AGED 23

IN LOVING MEMORY OF MY DEAR DAUGHTER

MARGARET DAVIS

DIED OCTOBER 2 1889

5) KENNEDY

Very tall four-sided monumental form, topped with a draped broken column. Floral carvings including fleur-de-lis. Concrete curb and decorative wrought iron railing around a double plot.

THIS IS THE LORDS DOING IT IS MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES

SACRED TO THE DEARLY BELOVED MEMORY OF
JOHN MARK KENNEDY
WHO DIED 5TH JUNE 1885 AGED 28 YEARS
ALSO

OUR LITTLE SON BORN 20TH JUNE 1885

6) No monumental marker. Wooden paling fence around a single plot.

7) AMES

Medium upright headstone with triangle shoulders and secondary checked shoulder with triangle top and short upright footstone with triangle shoulders and top. Concrete curb and decorative wrought iron railings around a double plot.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF

JAMES AMES
WHO DIED OCT 17 1850 AGED 43
MARY ANN AMES
WHO DIED NOV 2 1857 AGED 70
ELIZABETH ATCHISON
WHO DIED JULY 15 1860 AGED 36
SARAH AMES
WHO DIED MARCH 21 1881 AGED 35
GEORGE ASHDOWN
WHO DIED OCT 16 1888 AGED 53
Footstone
JA 1850

8) MEECH

Tall upright headstone with arc top on plinth and short upright headstone with inverted arc shoulders and arc top. Low basic curbstone and a wooden post and chain fence around an extra-long double plot.

Left headstone:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF HENRY MEECH DIED MAY 8 1885 AGED 73 CHRISTOPHER MEECH DIED FEB 19 1878 AGED 35

MARY LOUISA BELOVED WIFE OF ALFRED ROBERT MEECH
DIED JAN 19 1880 AGED 29

Right headstone:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF FANNY MEECH BORN SEPTEMBER 24TH 1855 DIED OCT 29TH 1855

ALSO FRANCIS OLIVER MEECH BORN DEC 18 1857

DIED MARCH 24 1858 ALSO

MARY ANN

BELOVED WIFE OF HENRY MEECH AND MOTHER OF THE ABOVE CHILDREN DIED JUNE 13 1866 AGED 49 YEARS

9) SPENCER

Thick and tall upright headstone with full round shoulders and a round top on a plinth. Concrete cub around a single plot.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF EDMOND SPENCER WHO DIED JULY 9 1886 AGED 73

ANN

BELOVED WIFE OF THE ABOVE
WHO DIED APRIL 2 1913 AGED 89

JOHN AND ANNIE, CHILDREN OF THE ABOVE
EDITH PRINCE AND SUSAN MASLEN

GRANDCHILDREN

10) BALMER

Flat gravestone in three square parts on a solid concrete base, single plot.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN BALMER

OF THE BAND OF H.M.65TH REG

AGED 19 YEARS AND SIX MONTHS

HIS DEATH WAS CAUSED BY THE BITE OF A SHARK WHILE

BATHING IN LAMBTON HARBOR ON THE 22ND DAY OF JANUARY

1852

"Thou mourner! dry that thoughtless tear
And gaze no more apon the dead
Tis but a solitary bier!
No earthly spirit lingers there:

On wings of light to heavenly fled!"

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES OF THE BAND AS
A LAST TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO ONE WHO WAS MUCH
ESTEEMED BY THEM

ALSO

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS NEPHEW JOHN SPEAKMAN. SON OF WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH SPEAKMAN (illegible) 65TH REG WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JULY 14TH 1855 AGED 1 YEAR AND 11 MONTHS

11) HIGGIN

Tall upright headstone with a decorative arc top. Concrete curb with decorative wrought iron railing around a double plot.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
WALTER CHIPPENDALE HIGGIN
DIED 11 JANUARY 1878 AGED 20 YEARS

12)PARATA

Upright headstone with arc top. Concrete curb and decorative wrought iron railing around a single plot.

ANI PARATA

MATE KI POUEKE

MURAE 22ND 1875

13) No monumental marker. Wooden paling fence around a single plot.

14) STRIKE

Short upright headstone with inverted curve shoulders and pointed arc top. The path cuts over this plot.

IN MEMORY OF

EMMA LOUISE

WIFE OF C.A. STRIKE

WHO DIED DECEMBER 10 1883 AGED 36

15)MALCOLM

Short upright headstone with angled shoulders and round top.

Concrete curb and half a simple wrought iron railing around a single plot.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
FRED W^M MALCOLM
DIED OCT 4 1885 AGED 8 YEARS
"His Mother has a Lily Pall
Sat by him on his bed
And bending o'er him told a tale
As many a tear she shed
And oft she cried amidst her pain
My boy and I shall meet again"

16) STEVENSON

Two Headstones. Upright headstone with arc top, and tall upright headstone with decorative arc top. Concrete curb around a double plot.

Left.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF MY HUSBAND
ARTHUR HENRY STEVENSON
DIED NOV 27 1918 AGED 36 YEARS
Right:

JAMES JACKSON STEVENSON BORN IN CANADA FEB 23 1838 DIED IN WELLINGTON AUG 2 1886

I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH

ERECTED BY HIS LOVING WIFE

ARTHUR HENRY HUNTER

SON OF THE ABOVE

DIED 27 NOV 1918 AGED 36

MARY BELOVED WIFE OF JAMES JACKSON STEVENSON

DIED 7 OCT 1924 AGED 81

17)HILL

Tall upright headstone with decorative arc top. Solid concrete double plot.

IN LOVING REMEMBERENCE

JOSEPH HILL

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

MAY 21 1884 AGED 23 YEARS

BE YE ALSO READY

ALSO OF

FRANCIS

THE BELOVED WIFE OF WILLIAM HILL WHO DEPARTED THIS

LIFE

JULY 30 1898 AGED 61 YEARS
A PATIENT SUFFERER GONE TO REST
ALSO

WILLIAM HILL

DIED MARCH 6 1900 AGED 62 YEARS

18) LEDGER

Flat shield shaped gravestone on granite rock plinth. Low solid concrete covered plot approximately three wide and double length.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF

SARAH-JANE

WIFE OF R.S. LEDGER

DIED 11TH MARCH 1883 IN HER 39TH YEAR

FRANK STANLEY LEDGER

SON OF ABOVE

DIED 16TH OCT 1925 AGED 55

JOHN LOUIS HICKSON LEDGER

BELOVED HUSBAND OF JEAN LEDGER

AND SON OF ABOVE

DIED 11TH FEB 1935 AGED 71

JANE GORDON LEDGERWOOD LEDGER

BELOVED WIFE OF J.L.H. LEDGER

DIED FEB 22ND 1961 AGED 80

19) LEDGER

Upright broken cross on a three leveled plinth. Low solid concrete covered plot three wide.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
RICHARD SPETIMUS LEDGER
DIED 22ND JUNE 1896 AGED 63 YEARS
ADA EVELYN
DAUGHTER OF THE ABOVE
DIED 23RD MAY 1870 AGED 5 YEARS

20) TE MATOHA

Short upright headstone with round shoulders and round top. Concrete curb around single plot.

TAMATI TE MATOHA
I MATE KI PIPITEA
I TE 8 O HANUERE 1876
ONA TAU E 80

21) MOFFITT

Very tall upright cross with decorative angel/floral wreath figure on tall four side plinth and a decorative book at the base. Concrete curb and decorative wrought iron railing around a single plot.

SIMPLY TO THE CROSS I CLING

IN LOVING REMEMBERENCE OF MY BELOVED FATHER

JOHN LINDESAY MOFFITT

ELDEST SON OF THE LATE DR C.H. MOFFITT

DIED JANUARY 9TH 1907 AGED 71 YEARS

ALSO

OF MY BELOVED MOTHER
SUSANNAH EVELYN PRIDEAUX MOFFITT
RELICT OF THE ABOVE
DIED JUNE 15 1915 AGED 81 YEARS

I will turn their mourning into joy. And will comfort them. And make them rejoice from their sorrow. Jeremiah. Xxx1. 15

ALSO

CHARLES HENRY MOFFITT M.D. DIED OCT 10^{TH} 1865 AGED 52 YEARS ALSO

SYDNEY AND ADELAIDE MOFFITT
WHO DIED IN INFANCY

Book slab:

IN MEMORY OF HENRY
DIED AT AUCKLAND 14TH NOV 1915
GUNNER VIVIAN MIDDLETON
BURIED AT SEA 5TH SEPT 1918 AGED 20

22) MILLS

Flat gravestone on raised plinth. Raised concrete curb and concrete around double plot.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF ELIZABETH SOPHIA MILLS DIED MARCH 15TH 1856 AGED 59 YEARS

ALSO

CHARLES MILLS 29TH JULY 1862 AGED 59 YEARS

CHARLES EDWARD VENNELL

17TH MARCH 1865 AGED 2 YEARS AND 9 MONTHS

ELLEN MARY VENNELL

9TH MAY 1865 AGED 7 YEARS

GRANDCHILDREN OF THE ABOVE

PRICILLA MILLS 20TH JUNE 1895

ELIZABETH MARY VENNELL 8TH FEB 1918

EDWARD BOLTON BRISTOW

SON IN LAW OF THE ABOVE

DIED 29TH NOVEMBER 1943 AGED 86 YEARS

ALSO

EDITH MARY BRISTOW BELOVED WIFE OF THE ABOVE DIED 15TH MAY 1945 AGED 77 YEARS

23) CARR

Tall upright headstone with gothic arc top. Concrete curb and wooden post and chain fence around single plot.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
FRANCIS HENRY
BELOVED HUSBAND OF MARY ANN CARR
BORN AT MANCHESTER FEB 5 1846
DIED AT WELLINGTON JULY 14 1887
HIS END WAS PEACE

ALSO

MARY ANN

BELOVED WIFE OF THE ABOVE BORN MANCHESTER DEC 5 1856 DIED WELLINGTON JULY 9 1920

"PEACE PERFECT PEACE"

Part Two: Extracting Data

There are 23 individuated plots in the sample area. (fig 1)
 Two are unmarked but fenced.

The 21 marked graves commemorate 70 named individuals. 37 are male names and 33 are female names.

- 2) 16 youths under the age of 18 are commemorated here.Half are boys and half are girls.
- 3) The oldest females commemorated here are Ann Spencer who died aged 89, Mary Stevenson aged 81 and Susannah Evelyn Prideaux Moffitt, aged 81 years.

 The oldest males are Hugh Merison the bushand of Ann Turner.

The oldest males are Hugh Morison the husband of Ann Turner, who lived to 88 years and Edward Bolton Bristow aged 86. Tamati Te Matoha lived to 80 years.

4) The youngest people commemorated is 'Our Little Son' from the Kennedy memorial who did not survive beyond his birthdate of June 20th 1885.

Fanny Meech, born September 24th 1855, died on October 29th aged one month and her brother Francis, born two years later, survived only 3 months.

Sydney and Adelaide Moffitt "died in infancy".

5) 61 people have specified ages in the sample group of 70, a total of 2,403 years between them.

The average age is 39 years.

6) The earliest death recorded is roughly 180 years ago, Hugh Morison, 16th August 1843, followed by Janet Gillespie who died May 30th 1844.

Ann Turner died July 11th 1844, aged 44 years.

The latest recorded death was 60 years ago, Jane Gordon Ledgerwood Ledger, wife of J.L.H Ledger, who died February 22nd 1961.

Edward Bolton Bristow and his wife Edith Mary passed in the mid 1940's.

Mary Ann Carr died July 9th 1920.

Gunner Vivian Middleton died September 5th 1918.

7) Religion is evident on 13 of the 21 memorials. This evidence takes shape in visual imagery using symbols associated with Christianity such as the cross, and in textual form embedded in the inscription. Six of the epitaphs appear to be from the Christian Bible, but only the Gillespie inscription confirms this with the chapter reference. The word 'Sacred' appears 7 times in the phrase "Sacred to the Memory of" but 8 times the phrase reads "In Loving Memory of", evidently an even mix between religious and secular language is being used.

Occupations memorialized include a Bandsman of HM 65th Regiment, a WW1 Gunner who is buried at sea, Dr C.H. Moffitt M.D., and a Captain Davis.

Three mention their birthplace, one in Canada and two from Manchester.

Two memorials are for Maori and both inscriptions are in Te Reo.

- 8) No markers commemorate achievement or high office, but two markers commemorate cause of death. (fig 2 and fig 3)

 Andrew Hagarty Gillespie and his son Andrew were murdered at Hutt River on the evening of April 2nd 1846.

 Bandsman John Balmer died from the result of a shark bite while swimming in Lambton Harbor, January 22nd 1852.
- 9) The inscriptions for Ani Parata and Tamati Te Matoha are written in Te Reo Maori.

These isolated Maori burials occurred six months apart in 1875-76, a narrow span considering the cemetery is active for 180 years between 1843 to 1961.

10) Symbolic representations

Two Upright Crosses on a plinth (one broken).

A "Broken Column" or, a half/broken obelisk form, draped in a fringed fabric.

Spencer monument has the 'Handshake Motif' (fig 4). Shield.

Winged Angel and garland of flowers on an upright Cross (fig 5). An open book rests on the base of the monument.

11) Artistic representations (fig 6)

There are at least three visible makers marks on the stones; Helyer, Hickmott & Son, and Miller.

Most of the stones are flat and plain, all include cut or applied text, and the font is generally in capital letters. The decorative script and carved terminal rosettes of the Higgin memorial are an example of the craftsman's art. (fig 7) They are designed to be viewed from the front side. The two footstones, however, face back into the plot toward the facing headstone. Three monuments are flat to the ground including one which has the shape of a shield placed atop a granite rock. The four-sided Kennedy monument has cornices and carved rosettes at each corner and four carved fleur-di-lis. (fig 8).

Most of the plots in the sample area have been demarked with a concrete curb and some have concrete forming a cap over the whole section. Cast and wrought iron railings are used to create a barrier and provide visual appeal.

12) Variation in sizes

Fred William Malcolm, aged 8, has a single plot 1.8m long and a memorial stone 77cm tall.

Emma Louise Strike has an 85cm stone, but a path runs over the plot.

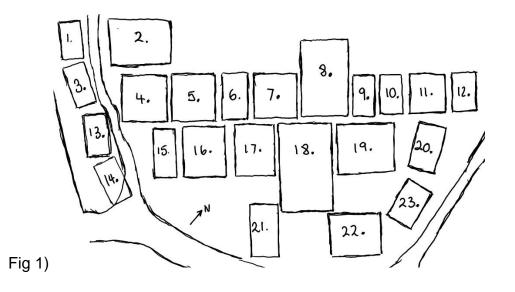
The average stone is 1.5m high and 2.5m long.

The Kennedy monument, counting the base, is the tallest at 5m and Moffitt is 2m.

Ledger is 5m long and easily twice the length of the average plot length. Connected by family to the Ledger plot next to it, they combine to cover 3x the area of any other Family.

13) Familial relationships are commonly referred to across the selected sample group. The most common is 'Wife' which appears 13 times and 'Son' which appears 7 times. By comparison, 'Husband' is recorded 4 times. There are two references to 'Relict' used in the context of a wife who has since remarried.

The cemetery is located between the Central Business District and the Residential areas of the City. The ground is uneven, sloping and grass-covered and several large trees provide shelter. The layout of the graves is reasonably ordered although access between them is difficult where they are closely grouped.





JANET GILLES PIE aged 8 years died May 30th 1844. Also of ANDREW HAGARTY

GILLESPIEherFather Aged 42 years and ANDREW her Brother Aged 12 years died of wounds murder ously inflicted by rebel Natives early in the Evening of April laid in this Grave together April 7. 1846.

The surviving Widow and Mother erects

The day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in safety then sudden destruction cometh it here.

Also of CHRISTY Wife of
MITHOS STACK
(and reliof of the above And rew Gillespie
Who died Sep-20"1851 Aged 49 Years

Fig 2)

SBORGD OF MORD

JOHN BALMER
OF THE BAND OF H. M. 65 TREG
AGED 19 YEARS AND G MONTH
HIS DEATH WAS CAUSED BY
THE BITE OF A SHARK WHEN
BATHING IN LAMBTON HARBOR
ON THE 22 DAY OF JANUARY.
1852.

Thou mourner! dry that thoughtless tear And gaze no more upon the dead Tis but a solutary -bier!

No earthly spirit lingers there on wings of light to Hearen tis fled!

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES, OF THE BANDAS A LAST TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO ONE WHO

Was Much Esteemed by ≈Them ≈

ALSO. TO THE MEMORY OF HIS
NEPHEW JOHN. SE AKTMAK. SON
OF WE'S Elizabeth Speakman
SERW HIM 65 REC WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE JULY
14 1855 Aced 1 year AND
6 MONTHS

Fig 3)

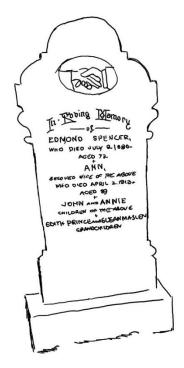


Fig 4)

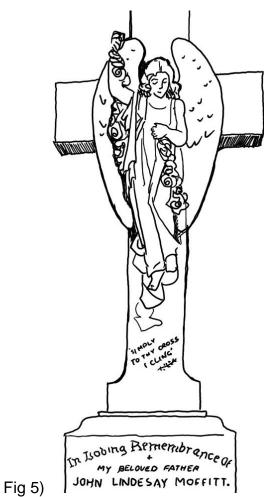


Fig 6)

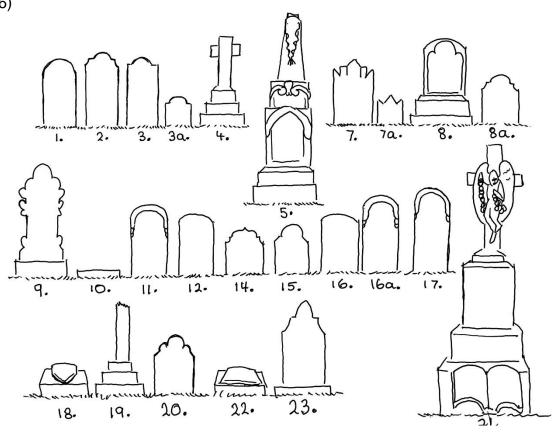




Fig 7)



Fig 8)

Part Three: Basic Interpretation

The funerary monuments can tell us some details about the society and people who created them. The information given in the form of inscriptions includes names, dates of birth and death, interpersonal relationships, and spiritual belief in the afterlife. The material form of these monuments gives us some idea of the people who commission them, also of those who produce them.

The average life span was 39 years, so although most people lived to adulthood, an early death was not uncommon. Some families lose multiple children. Male and female are of equal numbers. Children, even the very young, are remembered alongside the elderly, showing that they were equally valued. Attention is often paid to marital status and value was placed on the Husband-Wife relationship, although children and in-laws are also represented in the text.

The two markers in Te Reo Maori are anomalies in multiple ways, not only are these two people using a different language from the main group, but they do not have any extended family. The Gillespie inscription (Fig 2) refers to "Rebel Natives" so possibly these two people are somehow related to the people referred to there? Perhaps they were 'friendly' rather than 'rebel' and therefore somewhat more entitled to a pakeha style burial. Was the presence of a military force in the 1850's to calm such insurgencies, or was there a wider threat to the safety of society?

Only The two Maori inscriptions and Walter Chippendale Higgin from the Pakeha group has no mention of family, in all other instances a family relationship exists within the inscription. Even the tablet commissioned by the military "comrades" of John Balmer (Fig 3) includes a second burial three years later of John's namesake toddler nephew, they would never have met in life, but are remembered together as family. It is also evident that Johns' sister was married to one of his Bandsman comrades of the HM 65th Regiment, so even among the military we can see family. The errors on this section of the tablet may indicate that the young family were unable to afford a professional engraving, but it was clearly very meaningful for them to add the infants name to his big Uncle Johns' inscription, nonetheless.

Several trades were employed in the production of funerary monuments. There is great skill used in the making of wrought iron decoration and the process would require a blacksmiths workshop and a supply of metals, wood, tools, and labour. Later examples here are cast, rather than wrought, so again, the society appears to progress towards better technology. Brickwork required a kiln and labourers, as well as the skill behind brick laying and the concrete curbs would have been cast by concrete produced locally or imported. All needed transportation, which may have involved horses, which need stables and hay. The material evidence of these monuments suggests a society which was well organised and reasonably self-sufficient.

The earliest headstones have been tended well to have survived 180 years, which indicates the value the society placed on these memorials. Gradual changes in style and quality of the monuments occur through the years. This is most evident in the type of stone used, with marble and granite replacing sandstone and inlaid lead lettering replacing carved text. An example of a

trend occurring in design, the 1878 Higgin (Fig 7), 1884 Hill and 1886

Stevenson headstones all employ the same arc topped design, although the terminal rosette carvings are unique to each one. The winged angel and garland on the Moffitt marker (Fig 5) are elegantly made from white marble and a totally unique design among the headstones. Its' inscription is from the grandson of a man who was a Medical Doctor, perhaps this was an esteemed occupation for this society and reflected well on the extended family.

The repeated use of Biblical texts indicates this society was actively of a Christian faith, but this is not expressed across the sample group as consistently as family relationships. Overall, the evidence here suggests that family was of primary value to these early New Zealanders.

Part Four: Conclusion

This sample group provided a fairly accurate localised picture of Anglican New Zealand society, as it was in urban Wellington from 1844-1961.

We see the clear evidence here of the lack of religious and spiritual diversity which was common in New Zealand burial grounds in the early colonial period when areas within the cemetery were designated for different faith denominations. This sample area is from a section devoted to "Church of England, so the King James version of the Bible is the reference for the religious epitaphs, although "Simply to the Cross I Cling" is a line from a popular hymn and the Balmer inscription "Thou Mourner! Dry that Thoughtless Tear..." is from a poem published in a popular London magazine in 1821. This suggests the society was religious but not strictly fundamental.

Marital status is as notable in society as it was in this sample of funerary inscriptions and we know that in New Zealand, even today, a woman's status is increased if she is married and her children legitimate. The inscriptions served well to reveal the value of marital status and family relationships.

The quality of the monument may not always be reflective of their social standing, but in some examples extra money has been spent to purchase a monument which stands out, because it is more decorative. The most decorative monument in this sample group was for the family of a Medical Doctor, but one example is not enough to prove it was a typical for a higher income to lead to a better quality of monument.

¹ J.B. "To A Mourner". *The New Monthly and literary Journal*. Volume 2, 1821. Henry Colburn&Co, London, 1821. pp 16.

The two Maori burials are problematic because they simply do not include enough information and are unusual for not having whanau listed on the inscription. We can test the funerary evidence using Ani Parata as a case study. Using the online newspapers past website, we can find her obituary notice, where she is described as "that liberal-minded, hospitable, and kindly disposed woman" who was "descended from ancestors of high birth-not indeed chiefs of the whole Island, but among our own people". The notice tells us that many people, including both Maori and Pakeha, attended her burial at the gravesite so she was clearly a peacemaker.² This reassures us she was not among enemies, and reminds us how valuable a resource written material is when it comes to reimagining a long dead society and the individuals in it.

More examples of evidence supporting the funerary inscriptions comes from findagrave.com where we can further explore the nature of family and military relationships by finding the ancestral family tree of John Balmer:

John Balmer's Father, also John, was born in County Armagh, Northern Ireland and served as a private in the 65th Regiment, for 20 years and 150 days. He was ordered to retire on pension following a Regimental surgeons report in 1853, which read "worn out and impaired constitution, the result of long service" exactly one year following the tragic death of his son, not long before the birth of his grandchild, John Speakman.³ We can only imagine his terrible sadness at also losing that Grandchild, so soon after losing his son and his job. This supports the funerary inscription evidence, that the military

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² Waka Maori Volume 2, Issue 15. 3 August 1875. pp 178. Newspaperspast.com

³ Findagrave.com/memorial/2137921/JohnBalmer

supported men and their families, all generations together, within the unit.

Family ancestral information adds much to our understanding of colonial

New Zealand society.

Sadly, this cemetery does have hints that not everybody could equally afford or have access to being memorialised after death. There are unmarked graves here and at face value it would be difficult to guess why they are like that. A lack of single-female graves, the exception being Ani Parata, suggests some people are missing because they could not afford, or did not have anyone to memorialise them after they died. We know that some people used wood instead of stone because it was cheaper, but they disintegrate quickly and leave no trace. We also know that in New Zealand society, a woman needed male authority as a source of income and protection, single destitute females without family or friend, or similarly men who are prisoners or geriatrics, will not be buried with memorials, because it would fall to the state to bury them. Those people are in unmarked, possibly even communal graves, elsewhere. Being able to research through church records, hospital and prison records, digitalised newspapers, and other historical avenues, would add crucial evidence to identifying these people which the funerary evidence cannot, because it lacks material and textual evidence equally for all members of the society.