Memorial Markings:
A study of the change over time to fonts at the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery

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Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.II 241
Andrews 2011 245
Declaration

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis is entirely my own work and contains no material written or published by others, except where references are cited in the text. The contribution of others to this research has been acknowledged.

Rebecca Andrews,

13th October 2011.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I have to thank my family; I feel that this year has been just as stressful for them as it has for me. I would particularly like to thank my Dad for printing off hundreds of pages of articles at work for me, my sister for taking my recalled library books back so that I would not get fined and my Mum for generally keeping me fed with clean clothes and slightly less insane than I would have otherwise gone.

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Abstract
This thesis analyses the changes in font styles used in the historical inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery. The changes to the fonts used at each site will be compared to the changes to fonts in other areas of society, such as printed typography and handwriting. The analysis of this change is considered to be important as the changes in font can be linked to the changes in social values, aesthetic tastes and technological development. Despite the topics potential to yield this information, studies of font change are rarely the main topic of a study. Font change is usually used as a tool for other research or is only a very small section of a larger analysis.

The methods used in this thesis are those which were first used on rock art assemblages, as change over time is an important topic of study in this area. These methods have since been used to study assemblages of historical inscriptions and graffiti. As the data from both sites had dates inscribed into the writing, a study of the change over time was possible with a reasonable degree of accuracy and ease. The data from the Manly Quarantine Station was collected from Wendy Thorp’s 1983 consultancy report cataloguing the inscriptions at the site. Only the inscriptions with dates which were legible to the decade were recorded, creating a sample of 164 inscriptions. The data from Rookwood Cemetery was collected for this study by a survey of the graveyard. A sample of ten gravestones from each decade between, and inclusive of, 1860 and 1970 was collected. The data from each site was then analysed individually. The results from each site were compared with each other and with the changes to the fonts in printed media and the preferred style of handwriting that was being taught over the same time period.

There were changes identified at both sites. The attributes of the fonts which showed change at both sites included the use of serifs and the technique for the creation of the inscriptions. Each of these changes was different at both sites. The capitalisation of the inscriptions as a whole did not change over time at either site.

The inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station had a positive correlation with both the changes to printed media and the changes to the methods and styles of handwriting which was being taught at schools. The inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery have not linked with the changed to printed media or handwriting educational practice, meaning that other influences on font change are present at the site.
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I. Introduction

Writing is an essential feature of modern society to the point where it is considered to be one of the ten attributes of a civilisation (Childe 1950). Writing is a common method of communication e.g. through letters, email and text, and also a way to store information for the future, be that in digital archives or tangible objects such as books or journals. The writing which will be the focus of this thesis will be two assemblages of inscriptions which are considered to be memorials. These assemblages are from the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery. Memorials often use writing to communicate the messages of commemoration that they display. The messages of the memorials can be varied and represented in different ways. However in the case of the memorials in this study which commemorate individuals and individual achievements, the writing is limited, but will usually include the names of the individual and the date of the event that is being commemorated (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The presence of the date on the memorials allow for the change over time to be analysed with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Studying the changes to the fonts, as will happen in this study, rather than the change to the content of the inscription is possible even if the two assemblages commemorate very different events, as is the case here. The changes to the fonts used at each site are linked to the changes in other areas of society.

Figure 1-1: Inscription from the Manly Quarantine Station (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.V. 1)
Sassoon has suggested the “handwriting of a population of any period is a reflection of educational thinking, but overall it is influenced and ultimately moulded by economic need, social habits and contemporary tastes” (Sassoon 1999:9). The influences on printed typography are arguably the same, especially if added to this list is technological change. It is possible that the font styles which are used in the inscriptions of the Manly Quarantine Station and on the gravestones of Rookwood Cemetery are influenced by the same forces. Font and handwriting are sensitive to the changes to the social values and technological development of the contemporary society. An individual’s handwriting is reflective of the time and methodology that they were educated with. The change to the style of font used at each site reflects the social values of the contemporary society. At the Manly Quarantine Station the need for rapid, but generally legible handwriting to keep up with the needs of industry and business is shown. The inscriptions from Rookwood suggest that there were different influences on the fonts used at the site.

The aim of this thesis to answer two main questions; 1) How do the scripts at each site change over time? and, 2) Can this change be linked to the changes to typography in other areas of society? This will be complete by determining the way that the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery change over the time that they were being created. The comparison of the inscriptions from the Quarantine Station with the gravestone inscriptions is intended to allow for more data which has absolute dates to be incorporated into the analysis. This will allow for a better understanding of how the scripts in stone carving have changed over time. Studying the changes to
the scripts which are used in the archaeological context is important as it has been a rare topic in the past. There have been a few studies which have utilised the change in style as a tool for other analysis (Mytum 1994; Mytum 2002; Fyfe 2010; Nash 2010), or have mentioned it very briefly (no more than a page) in a large work (Ludwig 1966; Burgess 1979; Farber 2003; Mytum 2004).

Rookwood Cemetery is considered to be a suitable site for comparison with the Manly Quarantine Station as both assemblages consist of inscriptions which have been created on a raw material of stone, with the additional benefit of the sites both having dates included in the inscriptions. The two sites are also comparable in time that the inscriptions have been made. The inscriptions at Manly were made between the 1830’s through to 1970’s and Rookwood was opened in the 1860’s and is still in use today. There are three decades where the inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station pre date any of those at Rookwood Cemetery, however this was unavoidable as other cemeteries in the Sydney area are either smaller, and thus of a much more limited date range, or have been destroyed due to redevelopment of the sites (in the case of the two earliest government cemeteries).

The inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station can be interpreted as memorials of the safe arrival of the people making the inscriptions in Australia. In many ways, the content of the inscriptions which were created at the Manly Quarantine Station have the same content as a typical memorial gravestone. For example, both sets of inscriptions often have the name and date of the person and the event which is being commemorated. In the case of the Rookwood assemblage, this is the name of the deceased and the date of death, whereas at Manly, the name and the date commemorate the arrival in Australia. Both also may have an image carved into or around the inscription.

1. Site Locations and Assemblages

   a) The Manly Quarantine Station

   The Quarantine Station is located on the south-western portion of the North Head, the most northern land mass of Sydney Harbour. It is centred on Quarantine Beach, the south-most beach in Spring Cove (Partners et. al. 1988:7) (Figure 1.3). The Quarantine Station is approximately 16 kilometres from the Sydney CBD and a five minutes drive outside of the Manly CBD. The Quarantine Station is currently located in the Sydney Harbour National Park (Thompson Berrill et.al. 2006:1). The Quarantine Station measures 27.53 hectares in area (Partners et. al. 1988:7). The history of the site is briefly outlined in Chapter 2. The assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station consists of the
164 inscriptions which had dates included in their creation, the reason for the selection for these artefacts is outlined in Chapter 4.

Figure 1-3: Map of the Manly Quarantine Station and Surrounding area

b) Rookwood Cemetery

The second site is Rookwood Cemetery which is located in Rookwood which is between the suburbs of Lidcombe, Strathfield and Greenacre in Western Sydney. It is fifteen kilometres west of the Sydney CBD (Figure 1.4). Rookwood Cemetery is the largest cemetery in the southern hemisphere (Weston 1989:9), currently being 283 hectares in area, a large amount of which has already been used (http://www.rookwood.nsw.gov.au/about.html). The cemetery has been in operation since the 1860’s and continues to be in use today. More information on the historical background of Rookwood Cemetery is located in Chapter 2. The assemblage from Rookwood comprises of 121 inscriptions which were recorded from the Catholic sections of the cemetery. An explanation of the methods for data collection and sampling strategy are explained in full in Chapter 4.

Figure 1-4: Map of Rookwood Cemetery and Surrounds
2. Terminology

Within this thesis, there are some terms which have no agreed meaning within the discipline of archaeology. The definitions of these terms, as they are used in this thesis will be outlined for the purposes of clarification.

a) Rock Art

Rock art, when defined in the literature is any man-made markings on rocks (McDonald 2006: Clegg 1993). However in reality, the definition is not as broad and all encompassing as it appears. As a general rule, only sites which have been made by Indigenous people or in prehistory will be studied as rock art. Other sites, such as European engravings Australia, are called graffiti or historical inscriptions. The definition of these will be discussed further below. Within this thesis, the term rock art is used in accordance with the previous literature; as man-made markings on rock in the prehistoric period, or by indigenous artists.

b) Graffiti

Graffiti is traditionally defined as the inscription of images and/or words onto a surface in a public place. It is usually associated with illegality and modernity. However studies of graffiti usually include a definition as pertaining directly to the study that is being carried out. Thus, there are many definitions of graffiti. These definitions have changed over time also. Originally graffiti was the artefacts which were scratched into the walls at Pompeii (D’Angelo 1976; Bartholome and Snyder 2004; Phillips 1999). However, graffiti has come to require some illegality, making this artefact class defined by the motivation for its creation. However in practise, any inscription which is not classed as rock art (as defined above), is named graffiti, although there is not always the element of illegality in the construction of the artefact. Due to the confusion over the exact definition of graffiti, the term will not be used for the assemblages in this thesis, except in the cases in Chapter 3 where the studies are classified as graffiti by the researchers.

c) Historical Inscription

Throughout this thesis, the collection of artefacts which will be studied will be referred to as historical inscriptions as opposed to engravings. Engraving implies that the artefacts are all carved into the rock, however there are a small number of artefacts which are not created by carving, rather they were painted exclusively. Inscription is a term which includes all written or carved words and designs (McArthur 2006:5). Historical inscription is also a term which is able to be used for both of the sites being studied in this thesis. Both rock art and graffiti could arguably be applied to the assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station; however neither of these terms would be appropriate for the assemblage from Rookwood Cemetery.
3. **Thesis Outline**

In Chapter 2 the background information for the sites analysed in this thesis will be provided. The historical background for both sites and the previous archaeology which has been conducted will be summarised. Chapter 3 will consist of an overview of the previous studies which have been completed on the topics of change in style overtime in rock art, historical inscriptions/graffiti, studies of memorials, specifically mortuary memorials, and studies where the lettering of the inscriptions has been mentioned. Chapter 4 will outline and explain all of the methods which were used in the thesis from sampling to analysis. Chapter 5 contains the results from the recording of each of the sites. Chapter 6 attempts to answer the research questions in detail, by both comparing the results from the sites to each other and to the changes to printed media and the handwriting styles which were taught in schools. Chapter 7 contains the conclusion of this thesis and some suggestions for future research inspired by this thesis.

4. **Summary**

The study of the changes to the fonts in the archaeological record is an uncommon topic for study. Font change however is an important topic as it shows the changes to social values, aesthetic tastes, social practices and technology. This study focuses on the font changes from the memorial inscriptions from the sites of the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery then links them to the changes in font style in other areas of society, allowing for an understanding of a topic which has had very limited study completed on it in the past.
II. Site Background
This chapter provides some background information for the sites analysed in this thesis. The history of each site will be outlined, in order to provide a context for the study. The previous archaeology which has been conducted on each site will also be summarised.

1. Site Histories

a) The Manly Quarantine Station

The Development of Quarantine
The management of infectious diseases throughout history has often involved spatial segregation (Bashford 2006:1). Isolation has been used as a method of controlling infectious diseases from as early as the mid fourteenth century when the Bubonic Plague was spreading through Europe. The examples of the use of isolation were rare, however an excellent example can be found in the city of Lombardy. In 1374, people who contracted the Bubonic Plague, or were in contact with someone who was sick were obliged to leave the city, and not to return until they were showing no signs of the illness. The attendees of the sick were required to remain isolated for at least ten days after the death of the sick. Travellers from plague struck areas were also not allowed to travel through the country (Welch 1969:8-9).

The first recorded maritime quarantine was at the Island of Santa Maria Nazareth in Venice, built in 1403. It aimed to keep the citizens of the area plague free by restricting the movements of travellers until it was determined that they were healthy. This type of quarantine measure was adopted by other governments, however, they lacked the knowledge of how diseases spread and were incubated; thus, the duration of quarantine was somewhat arbitrary (Welch 1969:10-12). With the increase in knowledge about the transmission and incubation periods of different diseases, quarantine practises have been refined and thus the duration of the quarantine came to match each disease.

Within Australia, quarantine, in particular maritime quarantine has been an important part of disease management. This was due to the isolation of the continent as a whole, and also the belief that Australia was a ‘virgin’ ground, i.e. that there was an absence of disease on the continent as it was ‘untouched’ by people (Bashford 2004:116). Until air travel was introduced, Australia was relatively protected from incoming diseases simply because of the huge distance between the ports that the ships were leaving from and the ports they were arriving in. By the time that the most ships reached Australian waters from an infected port, the incubation time for the disease would have
been completed, as such, there would have been either a sick person on board, or no-one on the ship would have been carrying the disease. When air travel became more common and thus a shortening of the time between the infected areas and Australia, compulsory vaccination was suggested as a method of dealing with the growing lack of isolation that Australia was experiencing (Bashford 2004:133).

After World War Two, vaccinations and antibiotics were more widely available. As a result the focus of public health was able to shift from the prevention and curing of infectious diseases to the prevention and management of chronic conditions (Bashford 2004:2).

(2) The Manly Quarantine Station
The current site of the Quarantine Station was established in 1837 (Foley 1995:9). The area was first used for quarantine in 1828 when the convict ship, Bussorah Merchant was anchored in the bay. Prior to the area being made officially into a quarantine station, ships would be quarantined by being docked in uninhabited areas until it was confirmed that all the people on board were healthy (Foley 1995:10).

The Manly Quarantine Station was originally split into two areas - the healthy and the hospital/sick grounds. These were very clearly separated by a high fence (Bashford 2004:48). Later, there were more divisions created in the interns of the quarantine station. These were based on the social structure of the time, including sex, race, marital status and class. At the time, Chinese people were considered to be inherently diseased and were thus not permitted to mix with the people in the ‘healthy’ ground, even when there was no evidence of them having any communicable disease (Bashford 2004:49). In 1853 the sick were quarantined on board a hospital ship and former ‘sick ground’ was converted into an area for the single women to inhabit. At the time there were also more buildings built and verandas were added to the buildings on the healthy ground (Foley 1995:57). By 1876 there was separate accommodation for the healthy first class passengers (Foley 65). In 1902 an Asiatic dorm was erected, prior to this they were expected to sleep in tents away from the people of European heritage (Foley 1995:84).

Whilst the Manly Quarantine Station was mostly used as a maritime quarantine station, there have been times when it has been used to prevent the spread of disease by confining people from Sydney within it. This occurred during the 1881 smallpox epidemic, again during the 1900 bubonic plague outbreak and the 1913 smallpox outbreak (Foley 1995:11, 70). This restriction of the freedom of movement of the people of Sydney in order to prevent the spread of disease was allowed due to the Infectious Diseases Act New South Wales (1881) being passed. It was modelled on the English 1832 Act which prevented the spread of cholera in England (Bashford 2004:39). Other places of isolation
were also set up at this time, including the Sanatory Camp at Little Bay which is South of Sydney. Initially the sick people were confined to their houses with all of the people who were in contact with them. The contacts would then be vaccinated (Bashford 2004:41). There was the suggestion that because smallpox was not a disease endemic to Australia, the most effective management system for the prevention of the disease was maritime quarantine rather than vaccination. The thought was that the vaccinations would not be necessary if the disease was never able to enter into the country (Bashford 2004:22). After a few months it was realised that these measures were not working effectively, and it was deemed necessary that the sufferers be taken to the Quarantine Station at Manly with all of the people who were in contact with them (Bashford 2004:41).

A large scale building project commenced at the Quarantine Station in the 1880’s. This was very different to the quarantine practises in the rest of the world at that time. In Europe, the quarantine stations were being shut down. This was due to the fact that Australia was so physically isolated that even the time spent on the fastest ship journey was longer than the incubation period for the majority of illnesses, so if the illness was brought on board the ship, it was clearly present before the ship arrived in Australia, allowing the disease to be identified and the ship quarantined (Charles 1988:18).

The station was taken over by the Commonwealth government in 1909 in order to standardise quarantine practises across the country. There were some modifications made to the buildings between 1912 and 1920, most of which are still intact today. The last ship which was quarantined to the station was the Sakaki Maru in 1973. From the mid 1950’s, the site was used to house visitors without the required health certificated and for the disinfection of imported goods which had the potential to bring plant and animal diseases into the country. It was also used as a detention centre for Vietnamese boat people in 1977 (Foley 1995:128), in a manner of speaking, returning it to its original roll of keeping the unwanted entrants out of Australia. The quarantine station closed in 1984 when there were new diseases discovered which were not able to be treated at the site. At least 580 vessels were quarantined at the site (excluding cargo vessels) and over 13000 people. 572 people were buried in the three burial grounds (Foley 1995:11).

There have also been times when the quarantine station was used for non-quarantine activities. In World War Two the site was used as a military establishment, most of the work which was conducted here at this time was non-medical (Foley 1995:124-5). The site has also been used as a source of emergency accommodation for the survivors of Cyclone Tracy in 1974 and a group of Vietnamese refugees from an orphanage in Saigon in 1975 (Foley 1995:127-8).
In 1984 the site was handed back to the NSW state government when it became part of the Sydney Harbour National Park. In January 2000 the National Parks and Wildlife Service agreed to lease the site of the quarantine station to Mawland Hotel Management for conservation and adaptive re-use (McArthur et al. 2005:12).

b) **Rookwood Cemetery**

1) **Sydney Burial Grounds**

The locations of the earliest burials in the colony are unknown, being that the colonial administration did not record an official burial ground until 1792. People were buried in the areas around where they were living, executed or in Sydney Cove (Johnson & Sainty 2001:9).

There are records of burials in the colony taking place at Dawes Point, moving to the area of land between Margaret and Erskine Streets (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1). However it is not know if there areas were officially designated areas or if people were buried there as it was convenient. It was also not unheard of for the early settlers to have their own private graveyards, usually on their own property (Johnson & Sainty 2001:10-11). The first known official burial ground was established in 1792 at the current site of Sydney Town Hall and St Andrews Cathedral. There is a record of 451 burials and an additional eighteen executions which took place prior to the opening of this burial ground (Johnson & Sainty 2001:11). George Street Cemetery was filled by 1818 and officially closed in 1820 (Sigrist 1989:14, Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1). There was estimated to be approximately 2000 burials in this cemetery prior to its closure (Johnson & Sainty 2001:13). At this point, the cemetery at the Brickfields, (also known as the Sandhills or the Devonshire Street Cemetery, now the site of Central Railway Station) site was opened. By the 1940’s this cemetery was becoming overcrowded (Sigrist 1989:14, Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1). Approximately 5000 markers were expected to have been erected at this cemetery, making the number of people interred at the cemetery at least this number, although due to the common practise of interring more than one person in a grave, there is likely to be significantly more (Johnson & Sainty 2001:42).

Land was reserved at Sydney Common, near Cleveland and Burke Streets, (Moore Park) although there was never anything further done to make this site a cemetery. By the 1850’s a new cemetery site was desperately needed. The site on Sydney Common which had been previously reserved was not considered to be suitable due to the fact that there was potential for pollution of the drinking water of the residents of Surry Hills (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1).
Rookwood Cemetery

It was not until 1860 that the government put out an advert informing landowners that they were looking for a site at least 100 acres in size for a new cemetery. The delay was caused by the government, Catholic Church and the Church of England arguing over who should pay for and govern the site, and the government inspecting all the land that it owned to see if there was any suitable land which they didn’t have to pay for (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1).

The new site was required to be on the Great Southern Railway at least 12 miles from Sydney and east of Parramatta. Other requirements of the site were: the soil had to be deep and easy to dig, drain into water that was not for domestic use (i.e. salt water), away from settled areas and able to be “cultivated and beautified” as was the tradition for graveyards elsewhere in the world (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1).

There were two sites offered which met the criteria that were set out by the government. They were located at Homebush and Liberty Plains (later to be renamed Rookwood). Negotiations for the purchase of these areas started at 50 pounds per acre for the Homebush site and 15 pounds per acre for the Liberty Plains (Rookwood) site. Based on the asking price, the Homebush site was rejected (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1).

The original land for the cemetery was purchased by the government in 1862 (Weston 1989:10, Sigrist 1989:14). 200 acres were purchased for ten pounds each. The land was divided up between the different religious denominations based on the percentage of their population at the previous census (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.1, 2.3.2).

The first burial in the cemetery occurred in 1867 (Sigrist 1989:15). Most of the denominations started using the site at this time (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.3). Within ten years more land was needed for the cemetery. An additional 577 acres to the south of the original site was purchased in July 1879. It was divided up between the different denominations in 1889 (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.3).

To make the cemetery more accessible, there was a rail link created in 1867 between what is now Lidcombe Station and what was then the centre of the graveyard. As the cemetery was expanded, the rail line was extended (in 1897 and 1908) and the technology was modernised (Singleton 1989:45-50, Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.4). With the advent and popularisation of the motor car and buses as a method of transport, the train link to the cemetery became unnecessary. In 1948 the train services were discontinued (Singleton 1989:52). The line was pulled up and destroyed in 1952 (Plan of Management 1993: Section 2.3.4).
As of 1987 Rookwood Cemetery was 60% filled, with 40% remaining to be used for future burials. The remaining space is approximately 54% of the public burial area remaining in Sydney (Plan of Management 1993: Section 1.1). In the late 1980’s and early 1990’s there was an average of approximately three thousand burials each year at Rookwood (Plan of Management 1993: Executive Summary).

Rookwood Cemetery is the largest Victorian cemetery in the world, and the largest cemetery in the Southern Hemisphere. It is currently 777 acres in area. It is believed that there are over one million people buried there (Weston 1989:9). The site was added to the register of National Estate on the 11th of April 1987 (Plan of Management 1993: Section 8.7.1).

2. Previous Archaeology

a) The Manly Quarantine Station

There have been a number of studies which have been conducted on the site of the Manly Quarantine Station since 1983 when it became part of the Sydney Harbour National Park. The vast majority of these have been consulting reports, aimed to determine the significance of the site in terms of Aboriginal and built heritage, and to propose methods which would allow for the proper upkeep of the site (Partners et.al. 1987, Partners et. al. 1988, Freedman et.al. 2000, Davies et.al. 2001, Thompson Berrill et.al. 2006). More recently, reports have been aimed at creating guidelines for how the heritage listed areas of the quarantine station would be treated when Mawland Hotel Management leased the site from the National Parks and Wildlife Service (Mawland 2002, McArthur et.al 2005). These reports only deal briefly with the inscriptions – usually highlighting that they are of a high level of significance and that further work should be done to properly interpret them.

The main report about the inscriptions is the one by Wendy Thorp written in 1983. This report provides a detailed typology of the inscriptions at the site, statistics on how many of each type existed (Thorp 1983:9-14), the date ranges and a precinct by precinct account of the inscriptions at the site. Each of the precinct accounts contains a description of the area, general description of the engravings including the condition, threats and the problems for exhibition. The statistics on how many of each type of inscription are in the precinct, the percentages of these, a list of all the dates present in the area, if there were any inscriptions which were painted and the statistics of the condition of the inscriptions are also outlined. There are also a number of plans showing the locations of each inscription included in the report. The one problem with this report is the lack of interpretation which has been done on the inscriptions. This is more than likely due to time and
budget constraints, although, leaving a large collection of artefacts ranked of high significance for national heritage un-analysed.

There has also been a report from Simon McArthur which was aimed at providing an updated management plan for the inscriptions. Much of the information about the inscriptions has been taken from Thorp’s report (Thorp 1983). This report suggests that the inscriptions in the wharf precinct are the most significant collection, and as such should be the ones which are given the most focus on conservation (McArthur 2006:20).

The final heritage report which deals primarily with inscriptions is that of Lattin and Elliot (2007). They wrote a very brief report aimed at providing information about the number of inscriptions at the Old Man’s Hat area of the quarantine station. This area was not addressed within either the Thorp or McArthur reports. This report provides a brief description of the number of inscriptions and their general condition. There are no detailed statistics or interpretation in this report.

The inscriptions are considered to be significant for a number of reasons. One of these is that they provide a unique insight into the experiences of migration and quarantine (Freedman et.al. 2000:121). More significantly however, is the fact that the inscriptions are the only known documentary record of the experiences and feelings of the Asian inmates (Freedman et.al. 2000:83). The inscriptions are also considered to be rare (Partners et.al. 1988:33).

Other than the numerous heritage reports as mentioned above, there has been a small amount of academic work done at the site of Old Man’s Hat. There is one report by Clarke, Frederick and Williams (2010) which provides the first published interpretation of the site. The report publishes statistics from Thorp’s 1983 report and introduces the idea that the inscriptions are place-markers or memorials to the creator’s survival. The metaphor likening them to postcards is presented due to the standard sets of imagery and the formulaic textual inscriptions which are presented. These inscriptions are also seen as messages from the past to the people (at the time of creation) of the future (Clarke et. al 2010).

b) **Rookwood Cemetery**

One academic study of the cemetery has been done by Dr Kok Hu Jin in 2004. It is primarily a recording and translation of the Chinese sections of the cemetery, although there is a short section of analysis included at the end of each volume. This study was conducted as a part of a larger study of Chinese cemeteries in Australia. The aim of the study overall was to record as accurately as possible all the Chinese gravestone in the cemetery. The inscriptions needed to be recorded pictorially due to the fact that the meanings of the characters can change depending on where on
the stone they are positioned. All inscriptions in the designated Chinese sections of the cemetery were recorded and translated. The analysis of the content of the gravestones included information on the origins of the deceased, the dates of death and their burial practices, the ages and the symbolism. There is also a small amount of analysis on the occurrence of inscribing both the Western name and the Chinese name of an individual onto their gravestone. This changed between the areas which were included in the study. In Section 1 (dating 1865-1920), 74% of the graves included a Western name, whereas in Section 3 (dating 1917-1945) 91.3% of them did.

Rookwood Cemetery has also been studied as a part of the cultural heritage industry. In 1988 a short survey was conducted over the whole cemetery with the aims of describing the archaeological deposit, assess the significance and to provide some general conservation guidelines. There were only ten days spent doing the fieldwork for the entire cemetery, as such it has been acknowledged by the author of the report that it is neither detailed or comprehensive (Lavelle 1988:1.4). In each area of the cemetery (as divided up by the cemetery board) the significance was considered, a description given and the features of the area which were considered to be more important or noticeable than others. The report contains a huge amount of information; however it is very selective to larger, flashier monuments and landscape features and mostly descriptive.

Although not a strictly archaeological exercise, the Society of Australian Genealogists transcribed the entire cemetery. They started their project in 1981 working most Sundays for the next seven years. The information was recorded on forms and then later transferred into a computer database. The information recorded was aimed at allowing for a much easier study of family histories, allowing people to view the information they needed from a computer, rather than requiring them to search the graveyard for the individual graves and collect the information themselves (Burge 1989:75-76).

3. **Summary**

This chapter has provided a brief historical overview of each site and a summary of the archaeological work which has been carried out on the sites in the past. This will provide a site based context to the study that has been carried out by this thesis. A theoretical background to the study will be provided in the literature review in the next chapter.
III. Literature Review
This literature review evaluates work which has been done in the area of stylistic change in rock art, historical inscriptions/graffiti and memorials and graveyard archaeology from across the entire world. The temporal scope of the studies is from prehistory up until the twentieth century.

This literature review will first look at studies of rock art, which is considered necessary as previous rock art studies have provided both methods and theoretical structure for the study of other assemblages of historical inscriptions. The studies of rock art which will be reviewed here are those which are concerned with the change in style over time, as these are the methods and theories which are most relevant to the questions asked in this thesis. The studies of change over time in rock art studies have methods which have been established and critiqued to ensure greater accuracy and confidence in the results. Rock art is also similar in form to the inscriptions studied in this thesis, especially those from the Manly Quarantine Station.

To provide a context for the assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station, a review of previous studies of historical inscriptions, historical graffiti and some archaeological works on modern graffiti will be carried out. The methods used in some of these studies also assists in informing the methods of this thesis.

The next subject to be reviewed will be the archaeology of graveyards and mortuary memorials, providing a context for the assemblage from Rookwood. As the focus of this thesis will be on exclusively the above ground memorials, only studies which have this focus will be reviewed.

Finally, there will be a section on the previous studies of lettering in the archaeological record. These studies have been separated from the other reviews of gravestones and historical inscriptions as they directly link to the questions asked by this thesis and the aims.

1. Rock Art
It has been argued by Chippindale and Nash that to develop a model for stylistic change over time the assemblage requires absolute dates (Chippindale & Nash 2004:7). Contrary to their assertion, there have been a number of studies which have developed a chronology for the rock art in the studies. These studies have used the superimposition of the rock art to determine which of the motifs were earlier. Although it is more difficult, it is possible to determine which of two overlapping engravings is earlier by the manner in which they cut each other (Arcà 2004:321, Layton 1992:218). The rock art must be overlapping for this method to work. If there is no overlap, there is no indication of the temporal relationship between the motifs (Arcà 2004:336). The method of dating
rock art by superimposition is assisted by there being a change to at least one aspect of the motif, be that in the colour, style of depiction or the technique that is being used. If this is not present, it can be difficult, if not impossible for the assemblage to be split up (Layton 1992:218). McDonald (1998, 2004) created a three phase chronology for the rock art in the Sydney region (Table 3.1) based on observations of the superimposition of different motifs and pigments (McDonald 1998:327).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Earliest</th>
<th>Intaglio motifs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White and red hand stencils, wet red infill (solid), wet red outline and infill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dry black outline, infilled and outlined and infilled motifs, wet red outline,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wet white infill, white, red, yellow and pink stencils, incised, Bichromes,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>black outlined and infilled, Dry white infill and white and/or yellow outlined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and infill polychromes and wet and dry black and white motifs, Dry and wet red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outline, wet white outline, dry yellow outline. Contact motifs occur in white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stencils and red and/or white outlined and infill drawings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3-1: McDonald’s proposed 3 phase rock art typology in the Sydney Basin from McDonald 2008:269*

Rock art motifs can also be dated by their content, particularly in the case of contact motifs, such as in studies by Kassen (1998), Chippindale and Taçon (1998), and when the researchers have access to ethnography from the local group (Chippindale & Taçon 1998). Chippindale and Taçon were able to create a chronology for the rock art in Arnhem Land. They created categories for post-contact motifs (images or paints which were not available before contact), motifs that had a known ethnographic context (i.e. they were still being used in current day or were recorded by Europeans) and motifs which had no known ethnographic context which were assumed to be created significantly earlier than European arrival in the area (Chippindale & Taçon 1998:92-98). Rock art can also be dated if there is pigment surviving in the archaeological deposit just below the rock art (Chippindale & Taçon 1998:101 McDonald 2004:131).

There have been studies which have been conducted into the accuracy of using style as a way of creating a chronology for rock art. Tratebas suggests that style is a too broader category for an accurate analysis of change over time, due to the idea that the rock art styles which were created in North America were too simplistic and did not take into consideration all of the variation in the assemblage (Tratebas 1993:165). Instead, attributes of the motifs were suggested as better indicators of change. When using principal components analysis (PCA), the benefit of using attributes as opposed to entire motifs is shown to be better. This is due to PCA being able to place
weathered and deteriorated motifs into the analytical group that they belong to if there are enough of the key attributes present (Tratebas 1993:177). Other studies include that of Franklin who points out that most of the ‘absolute’ dates which are determined for rock art are only minimum or maximum dates possible for the creation, as opposed to the exact date that the rock art was made. She also discusses more accurate methods of obtaining dates for rock art, such as cation ratio dating, carbon dating organic binders and blood residues which are mixed into the paint and AMS dating silica skins which form over the rock (Franklin 1993:1-7).

Walderhaug conducted a study into the changes in style of the rock art in Western Norway using attributes of the motifs as the way of determining the change. Within the article, only the change to the four legged animals was studied. The shape of the body (angular/curved) and the positioning of the legs (straight down/standing to angled/displaying movement) were the attributes which most successfully demonstrated change (Walderhaug 1998:295-296).

In an attempt to create more accuracy in the stylistic change which was observed in the Kimberley region in Western Australia, Welch uses a number of different techniques to make his chronology. These included: differential preservation (of pigments and rock faces), weathering, superimposition, and differences in the application of the paint and the subject matter presented (Welch 1993:99).

2. Graffiti and Historical Inscriptions:

There have been a few studies in the past which have looked at modern day graffiti to provide an analogy with the prehistoric rock art. These include Clegg’s study of what he termed ‘road side rock art’. Clegg not only used graffiti in his study, he used all the markings that existed in his study area. This also included street signs and advertising. He created a typology for the different contents and purpose of each of the markings. Clegg draws parallels between prehistoric rock art and the modern day assemblage (Clegg 2006:95). He identifies the four attributes which were argued by Conkey to be characteristic of Western European Palaeolithic art within the assemblage which he studied (Clegg 2006:97). Clegg’s aim is to demonstrate that the words ‘art’ and ‘style’ are very problematic to the study of rock art, that current models are insufficient and unnecessarily complex, meaning is hard, but not necessarily impossible to find, and that in studying assemblages from our own culture, archaeologist area able to figure out the biases that are held and to improve analytical skills (Clegg 2006:101).

Frederick’s Revolution is the New Black looks at modern graffiti as an assemblage which can be studied archaeologically in its own right. She uses rock art recording and analytical methods as the
basis for the study. Like Clegg (2006), Frederick suggests that studying modern assemblages of graffiti allow for the biases and assumptions which are made by the researchers to be identified (Frederick 2009:229). In particular, she highlights that there can be different explanations and manners of approaching rock art studies to those which have been previously employed by archaeologists (Frederick 2009:230).

There have also been some studies on historical graffiti as a method of learning about the people of the past (Plesch 2002; Casella 2005 and Wilson 2008). The studies by Casella and Wilson have been conducted on writing which was discovered on the walls of historic prisons. These studies each have a different focus. Casella focuses on the institutional nature of the prisons and also on their modern day heritage values She observes that the graffiti is able to provide information about the journeys of the inmates, their longing for home and as acts of defiance (Casella 2005:457-458). This article is much more focused on the heritage values of the sites and has very little interpretation of the graffiti which is recorded as being present. Wilson uses the fact that there were segregations between the different sexes, and thus derives a gender based analysis from the inscriptions. She finds that the male inscriptions were mostly focused on the artists personal identity, however the female inscriptions were based around networking and creating alliances in order to better survive their time in prison (Wilson 2008:105). The study by Plesch looked at inscriptions created by scratching the words into the paint of church paintings. It was found that the inscriptions were a history of the town, detailing good and bad events (Plesch 2002).

The aims and methods of studies of historical inscriptions are varied. For example the study by Nash in 2010 attempts to create an analogy between the inscriptions which were created at Morecambe Bay in England and prehistoric rock art. He is using the inscriptions similarly to Frederick and Clegg’s use of graffiti in their above mentioned studies. The assemblage at Morecombe Bay is different from other assemblages of historical inscriptions which are discussed in this thesis due to the fact that the practise of inscribing the site has continued up to 2008, which obviously complicates the categorisation of this site. Due to the fact that there is a Labyrinth pattern carved into the rock which appears to predate the rest of the engravings, that the mystery was subsequently added to the site. Thus in the inscribers minds, the mystique provided a motive for the creation of their own inscription. He however concludes that it was equally as likely that many of the earliest artefacts were created by visitors attempting to memorialise their brief visit to the site (Nash 2010:57). Nash also suggests that a similar process would have been used to determine the site which was being used by both the prehistoric people and also the inscribers of the historical period such as the presence of smooth, soft stone and accessibility of the site (Nash 2010:50).
Clegg has a different approach to the study of historical inscriptions. He studied the collection of inscriptions from Callen Point as if they were traditional rock art motifs, rather than treating them as graffiti (Figure 3.1). He has studied the site from a number of different angles; public archaeology, statistics and basic recording (1998), landscape (2000), and as a case study to represent a theoretical discussion (2001). The number of different approaches to the interpretation of the site demonstrate that there a numerous different methods of approaching interpretation and the fact that one researcher has done this himself rather than his colleagues offering different approaches is interesting.

![Figure 3-1: An example of the historical inscriptions from Clegg's site (Clegg 2000:127 Figure 13.3)](image)

The approach of Winchester et.al. is dependent on the presence of historical documentation in the area of the Selwyn Ranges (1996). This approach is very close methodologically to that of Wilson, discussed above. They traced some of the names of the people who were mentioned in the inscriptions through the historical record. The dates which were carved with the names were also able to give confirmation for the early date of the town. The fact that the majority of this study was spent describing the historical evidence for the people in the town, rather than spending more time focusing on what the actual artefacts could tell archaeologists was a significant limitation to this article, as it read more as an artefact inspired history than as an archaeological report. Using archaeology as the catalyst for a historical research project has also been carried out by Hermanns (2010) in the Balearic Islands, Spain.
Historical inscriptions are not temporally restricted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bakirer (1999) reports on three motifs which were found in the region of Anatolia which date to the thirteenth century (Bakirer 1999:42). Unlike the majority of the historical inscriptions which were created in the nineteenth century onwards (or alternately in a Western European culture), the inscriptions in Anatolia are exclusively motifs rather than writing or a combination of motif and writing. Each of the motifs is circular with regular, repetitive, geometric pattern in inside (Figure 3.2). Bakirer concludes that the motifs were likely to be working drawings for the construction of the building which they were carved, or that they may have been practises for later carved decoration on the buildings (Bakirer 1999:62). Thus it is likely that these inscriptions are very different in purpose to the inscriptions recorded in Western European cultures. There have also be studies conducted on images which have been carved into the internal walls of churches, such as Pritchard’s study of the churches in the area around Cambridge, England, or Walsh’s study of the church of St George of the Greeks in Cyprus (Figure 3.3). These two studies have provided a detailed inventory of what motifs are present at each site; however, they have not yet come to any definite interpretations (Pritchard 1967, Walsh 2008).

Fig. 1. Graffito A: incised on a stone block, Divriği Great Mosque. Exterior. North façade. Reconstruction drawing after Fig. 2 (scale 1:5).

Figure 3-2: Medieval Graffiti from Anatolia (Bakier 1999:43 Figure 1)
Other studies which are also temporally located outside of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are studies by Breen and Lane (thirteenth-sixteenth centuries), Turner (fourteenth-seventeenth centuries) and Rivera-Collazo (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Each of these studies focuses on ship motifs which have been inscribed into the area. Rivera-Collazo mainly documents the artefacts which have been located in the area. This documentation is intended for future study, although at the time of writing the paper, it appears that it will not be done by Rivera-Collazo, due to lack of funding and available time (Rivera-Collazo 2006:52). Discussion of the inscriptions by Breen and Lane takes up a paragraph within their article, briefly mentioning the significance of the inscriptions to the study of maritime archaeology in Africa (Breen and Lane 2003). Turner aimed to determine the meanings and motivations behind the inscriptions of ship on walls of Bahamian settlements. She proposes that the images were made by male African slaves due to the locations where it is found. She also believes that the reason for the creation was focused around the cultural importance of ships to the African community (Turner 2006:271).

3. **Memorials and Graveyard Archaeology:**

One of the most comprehensive publications to date on memorials and graveyard archaeology in the historic period is Mytum’s book, *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period*. His analysis focuses on the aboveground archaeology which can be conducted in graveyards. Another comprehensive book on graveyard archaeology, this time focusing on America, is Yalom’s *The American Resting Place*. She looks at the different customs which developed across America as well as looking at general trends across the entire country. The book also contains an overview of the
majority of study types which can be based on recording the gravestone alone, such as gender, identity, class and change over time (Yalom 2008).

Gravestones have been used as the focus for many different types of studies. These have included looking at the spatial differences in the placing of the stones. Cleary’s study of the differences between town and country memorialisation processes in Roman Britain indicated that most of the gravestones which exist are found near urban areas – possibly due to the expense of the memorial being something most country dwellers could not afford (Cleary 1992:34). There have been numerous studies which have charted the changes to gravestones in different areas and in different locations. The iconography, content of inscriptions and the general style of the monument are traced (Sherlock 2008 – early modern England; Tarlow 1999a – early modern England; Tarlow 1999b – early modern to modern Orkney Islands; Collier 2003 – nineteenth and twentieth century America; Mytum 1994 – nineteenth and twentieth century Pembrokeshire).

There has also been a study by Ludwig which looks at the change over time of the style of gravestones and the differences between the gravestones in urban and rural areas of New England. The differences between the gravestones in England and New England are also considered (Ludwig 1966:239-422). He also spends some time analysing the changes which the works of individual carvers which occurred throughout their careers (Ludwig 1966:313).

The demography of the community is also able to be investigated via the information which is located on gravestones. Information such as family size, seasonal mortality, marriage patterns and the correlation of population density with gene flow can be gained from the gravestones. When the information from gravestones is used in addition to the information from historical research, a much more complete understanding of the population can be gained (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1967:41). Although there are problems with this style of research, such as the poor preservation of many of the stones and that many people were never actually given stones in the first place (Dethlefsen 2005).

One of the most iconic studies of change over time to gravestones in Dethlefsen and Deetz’s study of the changes to gravestone decoration in New England. The change which they identified is the shift from the death’s head motif to the cherub motifs and then subsequently, the willow tree and urn motifs (Figure 3.4). The shift in gravestone iconography is explained by the changing attitudes towards death (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). Other studies of the gravestones include looking at ritual practise, such as Tzortzopoulou-Gregory has done in modern day Greece on how long ritual practice of visiting the gravestone lasts (Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2010). Studies can also be
conducted into earlier periods such as Lambourn’s study of a monument to al-Malik al-Sālih, which appears to have been re-erected when the previous monument was lost (Lambourn 2008).

Figure 3-4: Death’s Head, Cherub and Willow and Urn Designs (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966: 504 Figure 2)

There are also a number of studies which look at the change to the attitudes of society towards death. This is often looked at as a cause for the change in iconography (such as Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Sherlock 2008; Tarlow 1999a; Tarlow 1999b). However, the changes to attitudes can also be the focus of the study, with the archaeology providing support for the arguments such as Hijiya’s study in 1983, which may have been caused by the focus of the paper being a philosophical argument as opposed to an archaeological one. He does look at other reasons which may have caused these changes, such as the plain style which is present in the earliest periods of American settlement being caused by a lack of skills in the colony rather than taste preference (Hijiya 1983). Symbolism from both the iconography and the language used on the stones is another study which is conducted on gravestones. The differing meanings behind the different images which are used on the gravestones were used by Collier to trace the social change from identifying with social institutions, such as religious and military membership to more individualised, personal memorials (Collier 2003). Language can also be used to demonstrate group membership, such as in Mytum’s
study of Welsh gravestones. In the years prior to 1850, English was used on the stones of the elite as a demonstration of their level of education. After the 1850’s there was a revival in Welsh culture, language and national identity, as such, Welsh became a more acceptable language to be used on gravestones (Mytum 1994:262-264).

The amount of people who were killed in the First World War and the fact that their bodies were not often recoverable for private burial lead to a new method of mourning which took place on three levels – the nation, local and personal. The major development was the creation of memorials in most cities and towns. These memorials provide a focus for the ceremonies of Remembrance Day and also, private grief when the bodies of the dead were lost (Tarlow 1999b:154-159). The names of the dead became the focus for mourning due to the loss of the bodies and thus a physical place to focus the grief. These names, unlike the bodies were able to be represented for mourning in more than one place as many soldier’s names were commemorated on memorial both at their place of death and in their hometown (Sherman 1998:447).

Other methods of creating memorials which are not officially sanctioned have also been studied. These include the creation of roadside memorials (Everett 2000; Clark and Franzmann 2006) and commemorative graffiti (Newmann-Storen 2006). Both of these commemoration types are usually in tandem with the traditional markers in graveyards.

4. Lettering:

Very few researchers have conducted studies into the lettering which has been used on the tombstones. Within his book, Mytum has a small section on this topic. He details that the lettering on tombstones became more standardised in the late eighteenth century. The lettering also became centred on the gravestone. At this time there was also a growth in the number of fonts which could be used on a single gravestone, especially when a fine grained material was being used. Font size, italics and/or capitalisation were used for emphasis. The etching and cutting technologies of the twentieth century allowed masons and consumers more freedom, especially with the images which could be placed onto the gravestone (Mytum 2004:80-100).

Mytum has also commented on the change in lettering on gravestones. He asserts that there was a change in both the iconography and the nature of the inscriptions in both England and it’s colonies in the late eighteenth century. At this time there was a general shift from calligraphic styles of lettering to a more typographic style. At the same time there was a shift in the motifs which were being used – from death’s heads and cherubs to crosses and flowers (Mytum 1994:252). Mytum also
asserts that there is a grammar which can be seen in the way different fonts and images are used on gravestones. This is through the ordering of the phrases and how they are positioned on the stone. Pedimented headstones in particular have a grammar which dictates the choices of typeface which will be inscribed (Mytum 1994:255).

As a part of his analysis on the difference between the date of death of a person and the date that their gravestone is erected, Mytum used the differences to the lettering which occurred over time, although he does suggest using caution, as older styles of lettering are able to be copied successfully by later masons (Mytum 2002: 7-9).

Ludwig briefly describes the change to the spacing and grammar of gravestones between 1653 and 1658. During this time it became common practise to substitute ‘suspended periods’ between each word rather than continue to use the colons (Figure 3.5). By 1678, most carvers had removed the unnecessary punctuation marks from their stones (Ludwig 1966:287).

Burgess also briefly discusses the changes to fonts and some of the potential sources that they came from. The majority of sources that Burgess draws on are from between the fourteenth and seventeenth century. In the fourteenth century, most of the inscriptions were a style which was adopted from manuscript illumination. Later gothic became popular, however as it was difficult to read, a style was developed which was between gothic style and roman style. In the seventeenth century, roman style script became more accepted, and thus was used more often. It was during the fourteenth century that the modern preference for mixing upper and lower case letters in the inscription started to appear (Burgess 1979:207-209).

The idea that the fonts which were used at the site may be sufficient to create a chronology of change over time was identified by Nash (2010) at his site in Morecombe Bay (Nash 2010:55). There was little overlap of the inscriptions which were present at the site, as there are few at the site of the quarantine station. Nash also took note of the style of fonts which present at his site, although the change to the fonts was not the focus of his study, as such, there was no further interpretation of them (Nash 2010:42).

When creating an introduction to the Farber Collection of gravestone photographs, Farber identified that there was a change in the capitalisation of the inscriptions in the early to mid eighteenth century. Prior to the mid eighteenth century, inscriptions in completely upper case letters were very common. By 1790 only ten percent of the gravestones were carved in exclusively uppercase letters. By the nineteenth century, complete inscriptions in upper case letters were non-existent (Farber 2003).
Within her thesis on the historical inscriptions created by Europeans in northern Western Australia and northern Queensland, Fyfe looks at the different uses of fonts, specifically the differences in capitalisation and the use of serifs. She looks at this as a part of a much larger analysis on the behaviour of the Europeans when faced with the cultural contact with the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Fyfe 2010:50).

5. **Summary:**

The main problem which exists with all of the previous studies of lettering in the archaeological record which have been discussed here is that the lettering itself has not been made the focus of the study. Rather, the change has been used as a tool for dating, or as an indicator of cultural change or continued practice. It is also frequently only briefly mentioned, especially in extended publication, such as the monographs on the topic.

From the overview of the studies of rock art, an important difference between previous work and this thesis is identified, that being the fact that the artefacts in the current assemblages all have dates. Therefore, much of the ambiguity which is usually faced by researchers of rock art will be removed. This current study will also be using the changes to attributes, as suggested by Franklin (1993) to determine the change in style over time (see Chapter 4).
There are a large number of possible studies with difference focuses which can be carried out in graveyards or on memorials. The studies of graveyards and mortuary monuments which have focused on a change in style over time have usually focused on the change in imagery or the symbolism of the tombstone.
IV. Methods

This chapter will outline the methods which were used to collect and analyse the data for this thesis. The methods which are conventionally used in the study of rock art will be briefly discussed as they inform the methods which are used in this thesis, both for the fieldwork and for the interpretation. The theory behind sampling will also be described in order to inform the sampling strategy which was used at each site. Finally, the exact methods which were used at each site, including the sampling, recording and interpreting processes will be described in detail. Factors which needed to be considered when recording the information from each site will also be discussed.

1. Rock Art Methods

The methods which will be used to analyse the assemblages from the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery are those which would have traditionally been used to study and interpret assemblages of rock art. These methods have been used to study other types of assemblages such as modern day graffiti and other assemblages of historical inscriptions prior to this study (for example, Frederick 2009; Nash 2010).

The methods which shall be used are mainly those which are used to analyse change over time. There is a small amount of analysis of the motivation of the creators of the inscriptions, which is located in Chapter 6. Other information depending on informed methods will not be used due to the fact that they would be difficult due to the very different contexts for the creation of the assemblages. The assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station was created by individuals, with a few which may have been commissioned, however the inscriptions from Rookwood would have been created by people who were commissioned, rather than by the individual families. An informed approach would depend on oral histories and personal records such as letters and diaries. Conducting a study including oral histories for the assemblage at Manly would be difficult due to the fact that the interviewees would have to be some of the people who participated in the creation of the inscriptions rather than anyone who had been incarcerated there. There would be a similar issue if attempting to use personal records. Oral histories and personal records are very unlikely to be of use to the study of the assemblage at Rookwood due to the fact that the site is a graveyard and the individuals did not make the inscriptions, rather they commissioned them.

The majority of methods which are used to study the change over time are considered to be formal methods. Formal rock art methods are those methods which collect only information which can be gained from the archaeological record (Taçon & Chippindale 1998:7-8). Formal methods have been
chosen for this analysis over informed methods, which use information supplied from the culture being studied, their descendent culture or the historical record (Taçon & Chippindale 1998:6).

2. Sampling

Sampling was required at both sites, although Rookwood Cemetery needed a much more detailed strategy. Therefore different sampling strategies will be discussed here, and later the sampling strategy chosen will be described.

Random samples involve selecting the areas being studied by chance. The entire sample area is divided up into sub-areas of equal size which will be given the same chance of selection. Random samples can be stratified by dividing the sample area into smaller sample areas and selecting from each of them. It is unlikely that artefacts will be scattered randomly around the landscape which is the benefit of the stratified random samples, as elements of human behaviour can be taken into account when deciding what areas are better for studying, however the areas are not so arbitrarily chosen by the archaeologist (Redman 1975:150; Burke & Smith 2004:67). The only negatives for this type of strategy are the practical considerations of how things would realistically work (Redman 1975:150). This type of sample was not chosen for this study being that in order to make a random sample a map of the graveyard would be needed, then individual graves or small groups of graves would be selected and would then need to be located accurately which, due to the size of the graveyard, would be a very difficult task. If the site was not stratified, there would also be a risk that there would not be the data that was needed to complete the analysis. For the sample to be then stratified, the map would have to have the years of the gravestones marked on it before the sampling was able to take place. Also, due to the fact that the areas being recorded are unlikely to be connected, a huge amount of time could be spent wandering from area to area.

Systematic samples take samples from a start point and then at regular interval throughout the entire sample area or divides the entire area up into sub-sample areas and then takes an area from the sub area to sample at random (Redman 1975:67-68; Burke & Smith 2004:67-68). This method was considered to be unhelpful for this study being that the items which would end up being recorded may not be a part of the data set that is needed for the study. Again due to the size of Rookwood cemetery, finding individual graves or even small groups of graves would be very difficult to do.
3. The Assemblages

The assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station which shall be analysed here is that which was recorded by Wendy Thorp in the early 1983 as a consultancy project for the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Thorp recorded 854 inscriptions across eleven precincts of the Quarantine Station. These precincts were designated by observing the natural groupings of the inscriptions. Large groups could be split into two precincts for convenience (e.g. Spring Cove III and Spring Cove IV), just as two small groups could be combined (e.g. Spring Cove V) (Thorp 1983:4). Thorp was unable to record the inscriptions at the site of Old Man’s Hat due to timing restrictions on the project (Thorp 1983:6), and as such these inscriptions will not be used within this thesis.

The second assemblage is made up of 121 inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery, which was recorded as a part of this thesis. The information about these inscriptions was recorded straight from the gravestone, as opposed to being recorded from the recording sheets from previous studies as the assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station was.

4. The Methods used in this Study

Due to the large number of inscriptions, and the research questions, only the inscriptions which have dates carved into them will be used. The other inscriptions will not be studied here as the only thing that would be possible to say about them was what they contained and the basic statistics about how many of them exist. This has already been done by Thorp in her report, and also by Clarke et.al in their 2010 paper (Thorp 1983; Clarke et.al. 2010). Therefore there is no reason for this analysis to recap their results again. The dates that the inscriptions were made are the way that the change over time will be assessed.

When the inscriptions are reduced to only those with dates, the inscriptions which are left make up only 24% of the original assemblage, approximately 203 inscriptions (Thorp 1983:14). There were a number of inscriptions which were recorded as having dates by Thorp which were not sufficiently legible to be used as a part of this analysis. There were a number of reasons for this. For this analysis, the year of the inscription needed to be legible to the decade. There were a number of inscriptions which were recorded by Thorp as having dates where this was not the case, such as, a few inscriptions that were potentially from either the nineteenth or twentieth century and some inscriptions which either the actually date or the legibility of the date were disagreed with. There were times also when the drawing of the inscription and the date which was on the recording form were recorded differently. If there was a photograph included with the record, this was consulted, otherwise, if the date could belong to two different decades e.g. 1910’s or 1970’s, the record was
deemed to be illegible and not used. If the date was agreed on for the first three numbers, and it was the final number which was disputed, it was still included in the study. Figure 4.1 show a date which was considered legible enough for inclusion in this study. If the second number had been in worse condition, it is likely that it would not have been able to be used.

![Figure 4.1: A legible date (Thorp 1983 Archives S.C.II 111)](image)

Also, although there are a number of non-English and non-European inscriptions which are at the site, this analysis will consist of only those inscriptions which are in European script. This has been done due to the fact that a) finding the translations of inscriptions can be difficult at times and b) attempting to compare the changes in scripts between two completely different alphabets would be impossible due to the lack of any similarity between the characters (Figure 4.2). There has been some work done on translating some of the non-English inscriptions, mainly the Chinese, for both sites, which would allow for some comparisons with the English inscriptions; however the scripts are still too different for this to be useful for this study.

This study will also look at the some of the inscriptions which are on the gravestones at Rookwood Cemetery. Due to the size of Rookwood Cemetery, analysing the carvings from all the gravestones would be a task which was too huge for an honours thesis. Therefore a sample of the gravestones was taken. A strategy which was outlined by Mytum will be used (Mytum 2004:194). Ten gravestones from each decade were recorded. These were the first ten which are located for each decade as the fieldwork is being carried out. The earliest decade where there are inscriptions at Manly to the latest decade with inscriptions at Manly will be the dates which the gravestones are recorded at Rookwood. There was a problem with this aim, that being that Rookwood Cemetery was not open for burial until the 1860’s, however the earliest inscriptions from Manly date to the 1830’s. Although this is the case, Rookwood was still the most suitable graveyard due to the length of time that it has been open. There were also only eight inscriptions which pre-date the 1860’s.
The date of the person’s death is the date which will be used for this study as this should be roughly the year in which the actual tombstone was created. The fact that many gravestones are not purchased within the first year of the death needs to be considered. Two thirds are purchased within two years, however, over fourteen percent of gravestones were not purchased until after five years since the person died (Mytum 2004:181). This being taken into account, the majority of monuments are erected within a decade of the death of the last person (or the only person) commemorated on the stone (Mytum 2002:27).

There are a number of different methods of sampling which could be applied to Rookwood as have been discussed above. Judgement sampling – when the previous research and knowledge are taken into account when deciding where to sample (Burke & Smith 2004:66-67, Redman 1975:149), will be used to determine which area of the graveyard will be used. For this study, the earliest area of the graveyard is desirable, so either the Catholic or the Anglican sections were considered ideal. The advantage to selecting the area of the graveyard which is being studied based on previously acquired knowledge is that the information which is needed for the study is much more likely to be found within a smaller amount of time. Often there is a risk that the researcher will create a circular
argument using this type of sampling strategy, however the risk here is minimal being that the rest of the sampling will not use this method.

The Catholic section will be chosen for the sample are due to the fact that it is the area of the cemetery which is one of the oldest, and also because it is at the entrance to the cemetery which is closest to the train station. This is something which is considered for this study due to the lack of private transport available, the area must be accessible by public transport or close enough to walk to. This is a sampling strategy termed by Fletcher and Lock to be a convenience sample – i.e. the sample is chosen based on what is convenient to the researcher (Fletcher & Lock 2005:70).

The war graves section of Rookwood was avoided due to the fact that as they are erected by an intuition which favours rigid conformity among the living population of it members, it can be expected that the graves will also rigidly conform to one design. They will also be mostly erected at particular times, i.e. there will be a large number of graves which date to World War One and Two with a gap between these times. There has also been a lot of damage to the Jewish section of the graveyard; therefore it is considered that there may be fewer graves which meet the criteria for inclusion in the study.

When there are two people buried in the one grave with the one headstone (Figure 4.3) or two dates recorded on one inscription (Figure 4.4), it can complicate the recording of the site. Therefore if the two dates are within the same decade, the inscription will be eligible to be recorded for the study. If the two dates are in two different decades, the inscription will have to be ignored due to the fact that the creation date of the inscription is unknown. Therefore Figure 4.3 was used for this study, but Figure 4.4 was not. It may be the case that the inscription was created for the first person, and then was added to at the death of the second, or the entire gravestone may have been created at the death of the second person. A method for determining when a stone for multiple people was erected was developed by Mytum (2002:2). This involved identifying the extent of the primary inscription – i.e. all of the people who were originally commemorated on the stone before later deaths were added. The most recent date of death in the primary inscription would be considered to provide a rough date for the erection of the gravestone and the creation of the inscription (Mytum 2002:2). This method was found after the field work for this study was completed, however as the sample for this study was such a tiny proportion of the overall number of gravestones at Rookwood Cemetery, the problem of having insufficient data from the gravestone which commemorate only one person was not there. Attempting to use this method during the collection of data at Rookwood would have also caused the field work to take a significantly longer time, which would not have been feasible for this study.
The information which was recorded at both sites included: an Id Number, the site (Quarantine Station/Rookwood Cemetery), date, language, technique (engraving, painting, bas relief, engraving infilled with paint, appliqué, pecking (see Figures 4.3, 4.5-4.9), capitalisation (all capitals, beginning
of word capitalised, no capitalisation), serifs (yes/no), formality, spacing between letters (regular intervals, random intervals), font size in centimetres (largest, smallest), a description, if there were motifs and a description of the motif. There was also some information which was recorded at only one site. This information for the Manly Quarantine Station included: the precinct and Thorp’s Id number. The information which was only recorded at Rookwood Cemetery is the number of scripts used on each stone, which scripts had serifs and the presence of handwritten style scripts.

Figure 4-4: Painted Inscription (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.II 37)

Figure 4-5: Bas Relief Inscription (Andrews 2011 286)
Figure 4-6: Engraved and Infilled with Paint (Andrews 2011 285)

Figure 4-7: Appliqué (Andrews 2011 215)
When recording the formality of the inscriptions, a scale was created. It consisted of three levels of formality, those being: formal, moderately formal and informal. Formal inscriptions (Figure 4.10-4.11) were those which had neat lettering, had regular intervals and the text looked as though it had been written on a straight line. Moderately formal (Figure 4.12-4.13) had neat lettering mostly or almost regular intervals and the text had been written on a straight line. Informal (Figure 4.14-4.15) was anything which had messy text, very irregular spacing and the text was written at different angles. The presence of images and frames did not affect the level of formality of the inscription. This is show by figures 4.10 and 4.12.
Figure 4-10: Formal Inscription with a frame (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.I 9)

Figure 4-11: Moderately Formal Inscription with a frame (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.II 190)

Figure 4-12: Moderately Formal Inscription with a frame (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.II 193)
Appliqué is a technique for creating the inscription on tombstones. It is created by carving the inscription into the stone and then filling the carvings in with another material (Figure 4.16) – often a dull grey metal, however there are some examples recorded with black infill.
As the fieldwork was conducted, the information was entered straight into a specially created Access 2007 database for analysis. The Microsoft Access 2007 database was used in preference to others due to the fact that it is easy to use and cheaper than other alternatives being that it is included in most Microsoft Office software packages. Once the data was analysed, queries were created to compare different sets of information.

The presence of the unknown techniques in the Manly Quarantine Station assemblage is caused by the fact that on the original recording form which Thorp created, there was not a section to indicate a painted inscription or one which was part engraved and part painted. In most situations this type of confusion could be resolved by looking at the accompanying photograph, however in the case of the ‘unknown’ techniques, there was no photograph. If there was no colour indicated on the recording form, and there was no photograph, the inscription was assumed to be an engraving.
V. Results

Within this chapter the results from the data collection at both the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery will be outlined. First, each site will be analysed individually, the Manly Quarantine Station followed by Rookwood Cemetery. There will be a short comparison of the two sites highlighting the similarities between what changed and what did not change at each site and what the differences were between the two sites.

1. The Manly Quarantine Station

There were 171 inscriptions recorded at the Manly Quarantine Station. Of these, it was found later that seven did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the study due to the full year not being recorded and what was recorded could have belonged either to the 1800’s or the 1900’s (see Chapter 4). These will therefore not be included in the analysis leaving a study group of 164 inscriptions. The breakdown of the number of inscriptions in each decade is in the following table (Table 5.1). The date of the first inscription which had been found at the site could be as early as 1830; however, the final number is illegible. The earliest completely legible date for an inscription is 11th of September 1835. The latest date is from 1983 which was the second last year that the Quarantine Station was in operation and the year that the recording by Thorp took place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number of Inscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830’s</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840’s</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850’s</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860’s</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870’s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880’s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890’s</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900’s</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
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<td>1910’s</td>
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<td>1920’s</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>1930’s</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940’s</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950’s</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960’s</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970’s</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-1: Number of Inscriptions made in each decade

The Quarantine Station was originally divided up into nine different areas for recording purposes by Thorp in her original study of the site. Three of the areas of Spring Cove are shown to be more popular as areas for inscription. These are S.C.I, S.C.II and S.C.V. The aforementioned areas are not
only the most popular area for dates to be written, they are the most popular areas for the inscriptions to be created. The percentage of inscriptions with dates in each area varies from 12-36% (Table 5.2), although most of the areas have between 12-23% of the inscriptions with dates. The area with 36%, S.C.IV, is a clear outlier and not reflective of the trends (Table 5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precinct</th>
<th>Number of Inscriptions with Dates</th>
<th>Number of Inscriptions in Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Inscriptions with Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.C.I</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.II</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.III</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.V</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P.I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P.II</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P.III</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P.IV</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-2: Number and Percentage of Inscriptions in each Precinct

S.C.V is the precinct with the earliest dates. Of the 26 inscriptions in the area, 16 of them were created before 1900 and another ten were created in the next decade, leaving only three which were created after 1910. All of the inscriptions from the 1830’s were created at S.C.V. There is a general trend that the Hospital Precincts were inscribed later in the period (mostly from the 1910’s, however they are where the majority of the inscriptions are in the 1960’s and 1970’s) (Figure 5.1).

S.C.II is the most popular area for the inscriptions to be created. It has inscriptions dating to all decades from the 1860’s with the exception of the 1970’s. The change to the number of inscriptions in each precinct is shown in Table 5.3.

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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.C.I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.V</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.P.II</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-3: Number of inscriptions in each precinct in each decade at the Manly Quarantine Station
There were 139 inscriptions which were completely written in capital letters. The remaining inscriptions include nine of which were either only numbers, or the numbers were the only part of the inscription which were still clear enough to see. There were also four which were capitalised at the beginning of the words. This leaves twelve records which are a random mix of upper and lower cases. Three of these were completely in capitals except for the ‘th’ for the date, three that only had one letter of the entire inscription in upper case, three which had certain words which were distinct from other parts of the inscription with only the beginning capitalised and the rest of the inscription in upper case (either by subject matter or by language), two which were marked as random and one which had no information about the capitalisation recorded.

The trend of capitalising at least the majority of the inscriptions, particularly the engravings would make sense due to the fact that there are less curved letters in upper case than lower case. The inscriptions where there was a difference in capitalisation between a couple of the words and the rest of the inscriptions are potentially to highlight certain words rather than the usual method of upper and lower case use from the time. This was considered to be unlikely to be as much of a concern for the painted inscriptions, however, they are all painted in upper case only, with the exception of one of unknown case and another which is numbers only. In fact, the only technique which uses lowercase letters is the engravings.

There are 140 of the inscriptions which are engraved, of which, fourteen have been painted and one which may have been painted. The remaining inscriptions were six bas relief style inscriptions, eight
which were exclusively painted, nine which were unknown and one which was pecked. The pecked inscription occurred relatively early in 1862 at S.C.V. Paint has been being used at the site (both in exclusively painted and composite painting and engraved inscriptions) from the 1870’s. This was very rare however, with the clear majority of inscriptions being non-painted techniques constantly. This may be due to the differential preservation of the different techniques. As a general rule, the exclusively painted inscriptions are more easily destroyed that the others being that they are able to flake away and be washed off the surface of the rock by rain. The six inscriptions which were created with bas relief technique vary in time with one being created in the 1880’s three in the 1940’s and two in the 1970’s. Again this technique is much more fragile than engravings due to the fact that it is raised above the surface of the rock and is thus more exposed to erosion from water runoff and rock exfoliation. In short, there does not appear to be any link between the technique and the date of creation for the inscription (Figure 5.2).

![Graph showing technique change over time at the Manly Quarantine Station](image)

**Figure 5-2: Technique Change over time at the Manly Quarantine Station**

The inscriptions in this study are mainly in English (155 out of 164). This is due to the difficulty of comparing English characters with non-English characters. There may be some other European languages represented here, but due to the lack of preservation of the inscription they have been categorised as English as there were only a few letters or the date remaining. Two of the 155 English inscriptions also had some Latin used in them (Figure 4.11, 5.3). The Latin was used to write a motto into the inscription. There was one other in the English group which included another language – this
time unidentified. The remaining inscriptions are: one Greek (Figure 5.4), four with only the numbers legible and/or present (Figure 4.1) and two complete unknowns.

Figure 5-3: Inscription with Latin text (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.V 120)

Figure 5-4: Greek Inscription (Thorp 1983 Archive S.C.II 71)

There were 39 inscriptions which were considered to be formal as per the definition of formal which was given in Chapter 4. There are a higher proportion of formal inscriptions in the earlier inscriptions. There were 51 inscriptions which were classified as moderately formal. These were generally created in the earlier to middle of the time that the quarantine station was in operation. There is a drop in the ratio of the moderately formal to the informal inscriptions after the 1960’s. Thus the informal inscriptions are mostly created in the later period of the quarantine stations operation. In the last thirty years of operation – the 1960’s, 1970’s and 1980’s, the informal
inscriptions became the most common. There are inscriptions from earlier which were classified as informal there were just less of them in comparison to the more formal ones (Figure 5.5).

![Figure 5-5: Change to Formality over time at the Manly Quarantine Station](image)

All, except for one of the inscriptions in the study which were marked as formal were written in mostly capital letters. This includes three of the inscriptions which had certain words in both upper and lower case which appears to have been a method of highlighting or drawing emphasis to the fact that these words are different to the others somehow (different language, ship name, different position in the image). There was also one which was entirely in capitals, except for the ‘th’ of the date. The informal inscriptions were also mostly written in complete capitalisation. There were six inscriptions in this group which were only numbers and two which included words with were only capitalised at the beginning. There is also one which the only lowercase letters were the ‘th’ of the date. There was only one which was completely random. Again the inscriptions in the moderately formal category were mostly capitals. There was one inscription which was all capitals except for the ‘th’ of the date. There was one that was only numbers and another which only used capital letters at the beginning of the words. There was also one which was random and three which had one letter in the entire inscription randomly in lowercase. The amount of capitalisation in each of the different levels of formality is unsurprising due to the fact that that the vast majority of the inscriptions were created in only capital letters across the entire study group.

There were 132 of the inscriptions which were in sans serifs script, leaving only 32 which had them. The majority of the inscriptions which had serifs were from the 1800’s (only nine were created from
1900) and of the inscriptions created after this time, two were from the 1900’s, two from the 1910’s and three were from the 1920’s. There was only one inscription from each of the 1940’s and 1960’s which had serifs. All of the inscriptions from the 1830’s and three out of the four from the 1850’s had serifs. After this the ratio for serifs to sans serifs styles of script change. From the 1870’s to the 1900’s the ratio of serifs to sans serifs inscriptions is approximately 1:2. From the 1910’s the number of serif inscriptions in a tiny fraction of the sans serif inscriptions (Figure 5.6).

![Figure 5-6: Change in Serifs over time at the Manly Quarantine Station](image)

Serifs are more common on the formal inscriptions than the less formal categories. There are 14 formal inscriptions with serifs and 25 without. The moderately formal inscriptions have a ratio of 13:39 serif to sans serif inscriptions. The informal are even less likely to have serifs with a ratio of 5:61.

2. Rookwood Cemetery

There were 121 tombstones which were recorded at Rookwood Cemetery, ten for each decade from the 1860’s to the 1970’s inclusive with the exception of the 1930’s where eleven were recorded due to an accident in tallying what had been recorded during the fieldwork. This mistake was not realised until after all of the analysis had taken place. Any inscription at Rookwood which dated before the 1960’s was not able to be located, which is unsurprising being that the cemetery was not officially open prior to this date. It was also decided that due to there being only one inscription for the
1980’s at the quarantine station, the inscriptions dating to the 1980’s would not be recorded for comparison as there was insufficient data for a meaningful comparison.

There were 109 inscriptions which had serifs somewhere within the inscription. There were twelve inscriptions sans serifs. There doesn’t appear to be a link between the date and the lack of use of serifs, however there is a link between the fonts which were used on the stone and the presence of serifs. The inscriptions which were written in sans serif fonts usually had no calligraphy styled script used on the stone, which was the case with all but one stone, which only had calligraphy for one word.

50 of the 109 inscriptions which had serifs only had the serifs on the calligraphy styled writing. Within the sample, there is a trend towards inscriptions starting from the middle of the study period to the end (1890-1960) to only use the serifs on the calligraphy styled script, with the rest of the letters being block print (Figure 5.7).

![Figure 5-7: Number of Inscriptions with Serifs only on the Calligraphy](image)

The inscriptions in the study which had serifs on the block print were a majority of inscriptions in the 1860’s – 1890’s. After this, block prints with serifs were less common, or equal to the sans serif block print until the 1970’s where the block prints with serifs became more common again (Figure 5.8). The difference in the use of serif or sans serif fonts appears to be linked to the desire to highlight
specific information. In 50 inscriptions, there was this occurrence, with 35 of these had the name highlighted. This practice is to be fairly consistent over time.

![Bar chart showing the number of inscriptions with serifs only on the block print.](chart.jpg)

**Figure 5-8: Number of inscriptions with serifs only on the block print**

There were a number of different scripts being used on each stone, as such there are differences in the way in which the serifs and fonts are used on the tombstones. There were sixteen inscriptions which had a handwritten styled font, fifteen of these dated to between 1860 and 1889. The final one was created in the 1970’s. The handwritten font was exclusively used for the prayer or biblical verse which was inscribed onto the stone. Most of the hand written fonts had serifs; however there were two which were sans serifs.

All of the inscriptions had regular spacing and even level of lettering, thus being classified as formal. This is not a surprising result, being that the majority of tombstones were created by professional stone carvers who had a level of training and skill which was not always present in the community of stone carvers at Manly. Due to the fact that all of the inscriptions are formal, there is not going to be a relationship between the capitalisation and formality of the inscriptions.

On each of the tombstones, there were between one and five scripts used, with the most common number of scripts being three. There does not appear to be a correlation between the number of scripts being used on the stones and the year that they were made, except in the case of the inscriptions which had five scripts. Of these six inscriptions, five of them dated to the 1860’s and 1870’s. The final inscription in this category was from the 1970’s (Table 5.4).
There are four different techniques used to create the inscriptions at Rookwood Cemetery. These are: engraving, bas relief, engravings infilled with paint, and appliqué. There are 51 engravings, which is a technique that was used throughout the entire period of the study. It is also the only technique which was used for the inscriptions on the tombstones dating to the 1860’s and 1870’s. One of these tombstones also had appliqué used on it too. There are 58 tombstones which have appliqué used on them, one of which is also included in the count for the engravings. There were no exclusively appliqué inscriptions recorded before the 1880’s. There were three bas relief style inscriptions, all of which dated to the 1960’s and 1970’s. Finally, there were ten inscriptions which had been infilled with paint. These mostly date to the 1930’s to the 1970’s, however this may be due to poor preservation of the paint in earlier examples. Only the most recent examples have the paint in good condition, the earlier ones only have remnant paint (Figure 5.9).

There is a clear change over time. There are originally only engravings prior to the 1880’s, at which time appliqué as a technique for construction becomes available. Engravings with paint in them are
present from the 1890’s however they either do not survive or become more common from the
1930 onwards. The bas relief inscription technique was first recorded as present from the 1960’s
(Figure 5.10).

![Figure 5.10: Change to the technique over time at Rookwood Cemetery](image)

There were no tombstones which did not use capital letters at all. The majority of the time only
capital letters were used. However, the use of capitalisation differed between the fonts and
between what the phrases were expressing differed. 19 of the recorded inscriptions were
completely in capital letters. There is no apparent change over time. There were 101 inscriptions
which had everything capitalised except for the text in except for one or two phrases. This was
usually the dedication (e.g. “In Loving Memory of”) or the introduction (the first word or few words
on the tombstone) which were most often created in calligraphy styled script. Another common
thing to be written with only the beginning of the word or sentence capitalised is the prayer, verse
or epitaph written at the bottom of the stone. There were 22 inscriptions which have the prayer or
verse in mixed upper and lower case included on them. There does appear to be a change over time
for this aspect of the inscription. There are no inscriptions which have the prayer or verse written in
upper and lower case after the 1930’s. The prayer is also more common before the 1890’s.
3. Comparison of Sites

There are four attributes of the inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station which exhibit change. These are:

- The location, in general, Spring Cove has more early inscriptions and the Hospital Precinct has more of the later period inscriptions.
- The presence of serifs, which were mostly used in the 1800’s. Although serifs were present during the twentieth century, they were few and far between.
- Paint was not present at the site before the 1870’s.
- Formality of the writing. The formal inscriptions are more common in the early period of the quarantine stations operation and informal inscriptions dominate the last three decades from the 1960’s to the 1980’s.

There were six attributes of the inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery which have changed over time. These are:

- Serifs being used on the block print, which was most common between the 1860’s and the 1890’s and remerging in the 1970’s.
- The handwritten style of script, popular between 1860’s and 1880’s with one appearing in the 1970’s.
- Having five scripts used on one tombstone, mostly occurred in the 1860’s and 1870’s, with one being made in the 1970’s (which is the same stone as the 1970’s one with the handwritten script).
- The technique: appliqué introduced in the 1880’s, bas relief in the 1960’s and painted engravings becoming more common from the 1930’s.
- The use of upper and lower case script for the prayer was common before the 1890’s and the last recorded example is from the 1930’s.
- The location of the graves over time.

The locations of the inscriptions at both sites have changed over time. There was also a change in the use of serifs at each site, although the changes were different at each site. Finally, there was also a change in the techniques which were used at the two sites. Again the sites were affected differently. The change to the technique used to create the inscriptions is clearer in the assemblage from Rookwood Cemetery than the changes at the Manly Quarantine Station. These changes will be discussed further in Chapter 6.
The attributes of the inscriptions which changed only at one site include the change to the formality of the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station, the number of scripts used in each inscription, the presence of a handwritten script and the capitalisation of the prayer on the gravestones at Rookwood Cemetery.

The attributes which did not show a change at either site was the capitalisation of the bulk of the inscriptions (i.e. not the prayers in the inscriptions at Rookwood Cemetery).
VI. Interpretation

Within this chapter the changes which were identified in Chapter 5 will be further analysed and an attempt at explaining them in terms of the changes to the font in printed media and the styles of handwriting which were taught in schools will be made.

Several changes were identified at each site. At the Manly Quarantine Station the location of the inscriptions, presence of serifs and the formality of the writing changed over time, however at Rookwood it was the location, technique, the presence/absence of serifs on the block prints, number of scripts used on each stone, the font, and the capitalisation of the prayer or bible verse on the stone.

A possible reason for the change to the fonts at each site is the changes to printed typography. Between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries there were a number of developments to the printing industry, in particular the development of a number of new fonts which were created to suit the ideals of the time. There have also been changes in the fonts taught to children at school. Again, these fonts were influenced by the ideals of the contemporary social system and by economic needs.

Firstly a comparison of some of the differences between each site will be made. Following this, the assemblages from both sites will be compared to the changes in print media and the handwriting style which was taught in schools respectively. Finally, the motivation for the creation of these inscriptions is briefly considered.

1. Inter-site Comparison and Interpretation

There were some attributes which changed at one site; however it remained constant over time at the other, such as the formality of the inscriptions. There was a difference between the sites, particularly towards the end of the study period where the inscriptions at the Quarantine Station were becoming predominantly informal, whilst those at Rookwood stayed one hundred percent in the formal range. This is likely to have been caused by the difference in the skill level of the creators and the purpose of the inscriptions, as the majority of the stones at Rookwood would have been commissioned, but the majority of the inscriptions were made by individuals for the reasons which are discussed below.

The change to the technique which was used in the creation of the inscriptions was different at each site. There was no discernable pattern to the use of different techniques at the Manly Quarantine Station; however, at Rookwood there were clear changes over time. The changes which took place at Rookwood are likely to have been caused by changes to the techniques which were available to
the stonemasons and carvers. For example, the technique of appliqué was not developed until the use of white marble became common. This is due to white marble allowing an increase in the decorative carving and inscribing. It was one of the new techniques which was developed which allowed letters and motifs to be made in lead and placed into carvings (Mackay 1989:32). In Australia white marble became more popular from the 1880’s (Lavelle 1988:2.2.1), which is the time that the technique was first present at Rookwood.

There are changes in the location over time at both sites, although this was not recorded for the Rookwood Cemetery sample, as the change was clearly a result of the cemetery becoming full and subsequent acquisition of more land around the original area (see Chapter 2 Section 1 Part 2). The changes to the location over time at the Manly Quarantine Station are caused by the changes to the access inmates had to different areas of the station (see Foley 1995).

2. Printed Media

There have been problems with confirming the change in the fonts which were used in printed media, in particular the ephemera. One problem was that there has been an identified difference between the changes and development of the typography used in books and in printed ephemera. Another is that the studies of printed ephemera which have taken place are limited to what survived, which is limiting due to the fact that these items are usually disposed of and replaced frequently. Despite these limitations, there is a clear change over time in the fonts which were used in both printed mediums. The question is; do the changes to font styles in printed media effect the font styles used at Rookwood Cemetery and the Manly Quarantine Station?

a) Font Change in Printed Media

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, new fonts began to be developed, specifically those for use in printed advertisements. Prior to this, advertisements were forced to use the fonts which were available for book printing in the largest size available. This was developed further in the first two decades of the nineteenth century when large eye catching types were designed specifically for advertising. There is difficulty in determining the exact date that a font was developed in this period as there were very few detailed records kept by the printing houses (Twyman 1970:67-68).

The earliest font which was developed specifically for printed advertising is fat face (c.1810) (Figure 6.1) (Twyman 1970:68 Lewis 1962:12). The Egyptian style font was also another early development (c.1817) (Figure 6.2) (Twyman 1970:68), along with Clarendon (Figure 6.3), which was introduced in
1845 (Twyman 1970:72 Lewis 1962:20), and Black Letter (Figure 6.4), which became more popular in the 1840’s (Twyman 1970:71).

Figure 6-1: Fat Face Print (Twyman 1970:69 Figure 160)

Figure 6-2: Egyptian Print (Twyman 1970:69)

Figure 6-3: Clarendon Print (Twyman 1970:72 Figure 173)

Figure 6-4: Black Letter Print (Lewis 1962:16)
There was a decline in the artistic imagination towards the end of the nineteenth century and the letter styles became focused on being as serious and as economical as possible (Twyman 1970:75). In the 1870’s Old Style font (Figure 6.5) became popular for use in books and newspapers (Twyman 1970:79). A number of fonts were designed between 1922 and 1937 which were aimed to be suited to the printing machinery of the day. One of the most lasting fonts to be designed in this time was the Times New Roman. This print allowed clarity, whilst keeping blank space to a minimum, making it suited to the newspaper format. The font was later adopted by Penguin for their paperback books (Twyman 1970: 80).

![Old Style Print](image)

Figure 6-5: Old Style Print (Twyman 1970:78 Figure 194)

The next major change occurred in the 1950’s when fonts were created that were primarily suited to being used by the electronic reading equipment, with the secondary concern being the needs of the reader (Twyman 1970:84).

Although there were significant changes in the fonts which were available to the advertisers in the eighteenth to twentieth century, there was little change to the fonts which were available for book printing (Lewis 1966:9).

b) At the Sites

The one attribute to have changed at both sites is the presence/absence of serifs, (at Rookwood Cemetery this change is restricted to the block prints). Sans serif fonts became more common at both sites from the middle of the study period. Manly first had sans serif fonts from the 1850’s, however it is not until the 1870’s that they become the dominant font style. At Rookwood there is no link between the date and the exclusive use of sans serifs fonts. There is a link between the date
and the use of exclusive sans serif block prints (see Figure 5.6); however it is uncertain if this is a product of the relatively small size of the sample which was collected from Rookwood Cemetery. Sans serif fonts also became more common in printed media earlier than at the sites (started to become popular in printed media during the 1840’s and was a standard font by the 1860’s) (Twyman 1970:71 Lewis 1962:18), although sans serif fonts have existed from around the beginning of the nineteenth century (c. 1816). Of all of the designs which were introduced in the nineteenth century, the sans serif has been the most long lived and influential (Twyman 1970:69-80). There is a short lag between the development of sans serif scripts in the printing industry and the use of them for the majority of inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station. If the change which was identified at Rookwood is taken as accurate, there is a much larger delay between the popularisation of sans serif fonts in the printed media and the use of sans serif block prints on the inscriptions. This may be due to gravestones being traditional objects, thus they are inscribed with a more traditional font. There also may be a difference between the formal and informal fonts which were used and this is responsible for the disparity.

The changes to the fonts occurring at the sites in relation to the printed media as described above are difficult to assess with the attributes chosen to be recorded for this study did not capture some of the subtle differences between a number of the fonts. For example, fonts such as Fat Face, Egyptian and Clarendon were all recorded as a block print when the fieldwork was being carried out. There was no further information recorded about the fonts, unless there were serifs or in italics. This is something which should be considered for future research (see Chapter 7) as it is considered likely that some of these fonts would have been used at the cemetery. Black letter fonts would have been recorded as ‘calligraphy’ although, again there is likely to have been variation between the finer details which were not recorded.

3. Handwriting Styles

Another possible interpretation is that the changes in the scripts were caused by the changes in the ideal and teaching of handwriting. The only works which were used for the comparison with the assemblages were focused on the changes to educational practise in either England or America. This was not considered a problem, particularly for the interpretation of the Manly Quarantine Station as the majority of people passing through the site were not expected to be Australian born and educated. The bulk of information for this comparison comes from England. The one problem with this is that there was no national handwriting curriculum until after the study period finished. This means that there was often more than one style of handwriting being taught at any period.
a) **Font Changes to Handwriting**

At the turn of the twentieth century, children were being taught to write in copperplate (Figure 6.6), both in a joined and un-joined form. The grip, posture and the placement of paper in relation to the body were all proscribed by the text book, and were considered necessary for proper writing (Sassoon 1999:29). At the same time, another method and style of teaching writing was also being taught, however it was not as common as the copperplate handwriting. It was known as Italianised Gothic (Figure 6.7). It also had two levels, which students would work through (Sassoon 1999:31-4).

The copperplate model was considered to be preferable over the Italianised gothic as it was a simpler script to both teach and learn as there were more instructions included on how to properly write the font. There was also a significant difference in the skill level of the developers of each of these models. Gordon, who developed the copperplate hand, was an expert in calligraphy, whereas Bridges, the developer of the Italianised gothic was attempting to teach her own, personal writing style (Sassoon 1999:35).

![Copperplate Handwriting](image)

*Figure 6-6: Copperplate Handwriting (Sassoon 1999:26)*
Print script (Figure 6.8) was introduced in c.1913 and was popularised over the next decade (Fairbank 1968:25; Sassoon 1999:62). It was a form of copperplate which was taught to children as they were learning to write their letters. Later they started to learn the cursive copperplate once they knew their letters and were expected to have mastered it by the time they finished school (Fairbank 1968:25; Sassoon 1999:62).

In the 1930’s print script (and to a lesser extent, italics) became the main script which was taught to children in schools, and for a time there was no expectation to graduate onto cursive at all. Throughout the twentieth century, print script and italics script have both been used in schools. Print script was widely used in schools by the middle of the twentieth century. In the 1950’s italic scripts started to become more popular to teach (Sassoon 1999: 86-108). Italic was re-popularised as it was easier to be made into a cursive font (Fairbank 1968:26).

In the 1960’s and 1970’s there was a decline in the emphasis on the skill of creating beautiful handwriting, and a growing focus on being able to express oneself through writing. Therefore there was a shift towards teaching the simplest forms of letters as possible (Sassoon 1999:135).
b) **At the Sites**

The change to the formality of inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station may have been caused by the changes to the style of handwriting which was being taught in schools. Copperplate handwriting for example is much more formal than print script. This is difficult to follow accurately however because once again, the exact fonts which were used at the site are not recorded other than the presence of serifs. As noted above, this should be remedied for any future research.

The change to handwriting may also have affected the changes to the uses of serifs on the letters of the inscriptions. The changes at Manly are unlikely to correlate with change from a copperplate with serifs to a sans serif print script as the assemblage there links well with the changes to printed media. The growth of the use of the print script in schools occurs much later than the changes to print media. The assemblage from Rookwood also does not link well to the changes in handwriting.

Although there is no clear link between the changes to handwriting over time and the changes to the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station, there is still potential for the generalised changes to the attitude and ideals of what writing looked like and if it was important. As a general rule, the scripts which were taught in schools became more and more simplified as the need for fast, but legible writing became an ideal skill for people to have (Florey 2009:78-79). This may explain the growing number of ‘moderately formal’ and ‘informal’ inscriptions at Manly.

4. **Motivation**

The motivation for the creation of the inscriptions should be briefly considered. The inscriptions from Rookwood would have been created as a way to mark the place of burial of the dead, to provide a physical place to mourn them, or possibly due to the social conventions of the time requiring the gravestone for a proper burial.

The reasons for the creation of the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station are less obvious. It was suggested by Winchester *et.al.* that historical inscriptions are created to leave a mark for posterity, mark out territories and boundaries or as a form of protest when other avenues of expression are removed (Winchester *et.al.* 1996:2). The inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station are unlikely to be created so as to mark territories. It has been suggested that they may have been made around the border areas of the site as a way of pushing at the perimeters of the area they were confined to (Clark *et.al* 2010:82). In this same way, the inscriptions could have been made in protest, as if to say – ‘let me out of here, there is no reason for me to be here, I feel fine’. Finally, the inscriptions could have been created as a way of people marking their presence in the alien and
uncertain landscape that they found themselves in. This has also been suggested by Nash in his research of the inscriptions in Morecombe Bay, although with the inscribers being tourists, rather than quarantine detainees. These sites are very similar to each other in terms of content of the inscriptions (Nash 2010:57). It was remarked that on the reunion for the passengers of the Constitution actively went looking for the inscriptions that they made whilst in quarantine, which may indicate the importance of the inscriptions to the individuals, and also that a little piece of themselves was left in the landscape (Charles 1998:24).

There is no reason as to why the inscriptions from the Quarantine Station could not have been made for multiple reasons. Being that there are over 1000 of them at the site, it is a reasonable suggestion that there was more than one reason for their creation.

5. The Inexplicable
There were a few changes at Rookwood Cemetery which have not been able to be explained through the comparisons of the changes to print media font styles and handwriting styles taught in schools. These were the changes to the capitalisation of the prayer and the disappearance of the handwritten style script after the 1880’s. These changes, particularly the capitalisation of the prayer, may be linked to those in the attitudes and perceptions of death, in a similar fashion to the changes in symbols and decoration (such as Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Sherlock 2008; Tarlow 1999a; Tarlow 1999b). The other possible explanation is that these factors change based on the personal choices and circumstances of the deceased, their family and friends, and the mason (Mytum 2002: 1).

6. Summary
From the comparisons which have been made in the previous chapter, it is clear that there a number of influences on the changes which occur at each site. Some changes were simply caused by the development and history of the site, such as the location of the inscriptions at different time periods. The differences in technology over time have also influenced some of the changes, particularly the different methods of inscription at Rookwood Cemetery.

The changes to printed media have affected the use of serif and sans serif fonts at the Manly Quarantine Station; however print media does not have an effect on the fonts at Rookwood Cemetery, if the current dataset is reflective of the reality of the site.
The change to handwriting practices in schools also has affected the two sites differently. The changes to the formality of the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station are believed to have been a result of the changes to the teaching of handwriting and the attitudes towards its importance. Again, the set of inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery has not been influenced.
VII. Conclusion

This study has shown that the historical inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station do reflect the changes in both printed media and the style of handwriting taught in schools. The inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery do not reflect these changes therefore there are clearly other influences on the choice of font at the site.

This study goes a small way towards filling the gap in the literature on studies focusing on the changes to font change in the archaeological record. There is still a large amount of work when needs to be done on this topic before a full understanding of how the social values, aesthetic preferences and technological changes have affected the choice in the fonts used in historical inscriptions.

Prior to this study being carried out, a review of the literature, both specific to the site and relating to the archaeological discipline as a whole was conducted. Within the previous archaeological work at both sites, there had been no previous studies on font change. Within the wider archaeological literature, there had been few studies on font change. Most of the studies had either used the change in font as a tool for other analyses, or had only very briefly mentioned font change as a topic which was considered to be important for future study in detail. Other studies of change over time were also reviewed. Rock art in particular was reviewed as the topic has a long tradition of studying change over time. Thus many of the methods for data collection and analysis have been critiqued and amended for greater accuracy. The methods which were traditionally developed for the study of rock art have also informed those methods which have been used for other studies of historical inscriptions. Previous studies focusing on graveyards have also been reviewed. There have also been studies of change overtime of aspects of the gravestone; however this focus has mainly been on the motifs which were used on the stone. There have been very few studies of gravestones which have had any interest at all of the changes to the font over time.

The methods which were used for this thesis were successful as they were able to provide the information needed to answer the questions which were set out for this thesis. However the methods were not so perfect that they could not have been improved upon. If time had permitted, a larger sample of gravestone inscriptions from Rookwood Cemetery would have been collected, ensuring greater accuracy and confidence with the results. It would have also been preferable if there had been some gravestone inscriptions dating to the 1830’s to 1850’s inclusive had been recorded to allow for a better comparison with the assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station. One of the problems with the methodology was the detail, or lack thereof of the database used for the recording. As a result of this lack of detail, font styles from printed media such as Fat face,
Egyptian and Clarendon were all classified as block print, although it is highly likely that they were present at the sites, especially Rookwood Cemetery. It is considered likely that there were similar problems with the recording of italic and the handwritten styles of font, the latter should have been split into copperplate, print script, other cursive and other printing. The assemblage from Rookwood is considered to have been effected by this lack of detail more significantly than the assemblage from the Manly Quarantine Station.

After the analysis had taken place, there were some attributes which exhibited change over time which were identified at both sites. These were the locations of the inscriptions, the techniques which were used/available to be used and the choice in the use of serifs. Although these attributes changed at both sites, these changes were different at each site. There were also some attributes which changed only at one site. This included the attributes which were only recorded at one site, and also attributes such as the change in the formality of the inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station and the number of fonts used on each gravestone, the presence of the handwritten style script and the capitalisation of the prayer on the gravestones of Rookwood Cemetery. All other capitalisation of the inscriptions did not show change over time at all at either site.

Some of the changes to the inscriptions, such as the changes to the locations of the inscriptions over time can be explained by the changes which occurred at the site historically, i.e. the purchasing of new land for Rookwood Cemetery as the original cemetery became full or the expansion of the Manly Quarantine Station to fit with new medical research or social values, and the related changes in boundaries for the inmates. The changes to the methods of creating the inscriptions are considered to be caused by the changes in the availability of certain resources (such as paint at the Manly Quarantine Station) or the changes in the available technology (such as the technique of appliqué becoming available from the 1880’s at Rookwood Cemetery).

Printed media and the different handwriting education practices have both affected the inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station. Printed media is believed to have affected the choices of serif or sans serif fonts to be used in the inscriptions. The change to the handwriting educational practices at schools is considered to have been the cause of the change in formality of the inscriptions at the Manly Quarantine Station. Rookwood Cemetery has not clearly been influenced by either printed media or handwriting practices, suggesting that there are other influences on the site which may not be present at the Manly Quarantine Station. These influences may be the changes to the attitudes and perceptions of death and personal choice of the deceased, their family and friends, and the mason.
One clear result from this thesis has been the finding that the inscriptions from cemeteries and historical inscriptions such as those from the Manly Quarantine Station are not ideal comparative data sets. In future, it is suggested that sites such as Rookwood Cemetery be compared with other cemeteries. If this research was continued at an international scale, a potential comparative collection may be found in the Farber Gravestone Collection, a photographic collection of early American gravestones. It is a large collection of images of gravestones which have been taken by Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber. The photographic collections of Bradford Dunbar, Ernest Caulfield and Harriette Merrifield were added to the Farber collection at a later date (Farber 2003). The inscriptions from the Manly Quarantine Station may be more successfully compared with sites such as Old Woodbrook, Ngiangu (Fyfe 2010) or Morecambe Bay (Nash 2010). Adding the data from Old Man’s Hat, also at the Manly Quarantine Station to the existing data collected for this thesis would allow for a much more complete understanding of what is present at the Manly Quarantine Station as a whole.
VIII. References


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