

THE SYMBOL, THE SELF, AND THE PASSING OF TIME

**THE SYMBOL, THE SELF, AND THE PASSING OF TIME: A TRANSATLANTIC
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND TEMPORAL VARIATION IN 18TH TO 20TH CENTURY
GRAVESTONE SYMBOLS**

By

PAIGE REPTON B.A

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

© Copyright by Paige Repton, September 2025

MASTER OF ARTS (2025)
(Anthropology)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: **The Symbol, The Self, and The Passing of Time: A
Transatlantic Analysis of Social and Temporal Variation
in 18th to 20th Century Gravestone Symbols**

AUTHOR: **Paige Repton, B.A (University of New Brunswick)**

SUPERVISOR: **Professor Aubrey Cannon**

NUMBER OF PAGES: **x, 143**

Abstract

This thesis examines gravestones from the 18th to 20th century in Cambridgeshire, England, Perthshire, Scotland, and Ontario, Canada in order to explore the potential relationships between the symbol present on the stone and the identity of the deceased for whom the monument was selected. Using three databases totalling 5,911 monuments across 106 burial locations, this study is the largest of its kind and as such allowed for the robust analysis of the potential relationships between identity, time, and symbols that are frequently explored in mortuary literature but on smaller, more localized scales.

Three main questions were addressed: 1) is there a symbolic category that is more associated with a specific identity marker; 2) what is the large-scale change seen in symbolic categories over time; and 3) is there a difference in the two aforementioned questions between broad geographic locations.

This research demonstrates that the selection of a symbol for a monument - primarily floral or religious symbols - cannot confidently be attributed to any singular aspect of identity, those being: sex, age, religious affiliation, social class, or immigration status. Further, the sex of the monument purchaser or presence of a religious or non-religious epitaph cannot act as a predictor for the symbol chosen for a gravestone. While certain facets of identity - namely age and social class - can play a role in the patterning of symbol choice, selection is more variable and idiosyncratic than can be predicted by a single facet of a decedent's (or purchasers') identity.

Change was observed on a comparable timescale between 1856 and 1925 for all three locales, indicating that there is indeed a change in floral and religious symbolic trends from the mid 19th to early 20th century, furthering the evolution seen in mortality symbols from the 18th to 19th centuries, with floral symbols overtaking the prevalence of religious symbols in all locations.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the individuals who were memorialized by these gravestones, it is without them that this research would not be possible. I must also thank their family and friends, those who made sure they were buried and received immortalization in the form of a gravestone. I wish that they have received the same honour and consideration they gave to others in their own deaths. I hope they all rest well.

Similarly, thank you to all those who compiled transcription records and collected photos of these monuments, as well as the research assistants who had a hand in creating the databases I utilized in this work.

Great appreciation must be given to my supervisor, Dr. Aubrey Cannon, who had the insanity and genius to collect both written and photographic records of thousands of graves. I must also thank him for all his help in editing and overall supervision for this project. Thank you to Dr. Andrew Roddick for being a wonderful committee member, and for getting me to think of the bigger picture that I would often trail away from. And lastly, Dr. Amanda Wissler for jumping into this committee at the last minute.

Special acknowledgement must be given to my peers Lauren Donker, Selby Westbrook, Jordan Cobbett, and Jahnavi Upreti. They have been integral to supporting this journey and keeping it lighthearted, hearing about both successes and problems both personally and professionally. Without them, this likely would not be in your hands. And, as always, my friends Kaila Hindle and Camryn Gaudet for being there for me, no matter where in the world we all are.

I must also thank Dr. Daniel Tubb, Dr. Gabriel Hrynicky, and Dr. Noah Pleshet who I came to know during my tenure at the University of New Brunswick. My greatest appreciation for truly introducing me to the field of anthropology and supporting my journey through it by writing reference letters, grading my essays, and providing encouragement, opportunity, and fun chats which all greatly contributed to getting me where I am today. I must also thank Judy Babin who kept the anthropology department at UNB afloat, and was always a wonderfully friendly face to me whenever I walked into Annex C.

This research was made possible by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and a SSHRC Insight Grant awarded to Aubrey Cannon, McMaster University.

The best for last, my parents Kathy Spahar and Mark Repton. Without their love and support, university would have been a pipe dream. Though academia may not be their realm, they have never doubted my ability to succeed in it, and they have been there for all the ups and downs university (and life) has had to offer. Thank you for being amazing parents, and thank you for cultivating my brains.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xi
Chapter One: Introduction to Cemetery Symbolism	1
1.1 Introduction to the Project	1
1.2 Expectations and Previous Literature	3
1.3 Symbols and Symbolism	8
Chapter Two: Background	12
2.1 Cambridgeshire, England Database	12
2.2 Ontario, Canada Database	13
2.3 Perthshire, Scotland Database	13
2.4 Availability of Information and Locations	15
Chapter Three: Methods	18
3.1 The Photographic Records	18
3.2 Animals, Mortality, Other	27
3.3 Occupations and Social Class	29
3.4 Material and Weathering	31
3.5 Statistical Methods	34
Chapter Four: Change Over Time	38
4.1 Data	42
4.2 Analysis	46
Chapter Five: Identity Markers	49
5.1 Sex and Religious Gender Ideals	51
5.1.1 Data	55

5.1.2 Analysis	58
5.2 The Monument Purchaser	59
5.2.1 Data	61
5.2.2 Analysis	63
5.3 Age	63
5.3.1 Distinctions for Under 21	65
5.3.2 Data	66
5.3.3 Presence of Animal Symbols	68
5.3.4 Analysis	71
5.4 Occupation and Social Class	74
5.4.1 Data	76
5.4.2 Analysis	81
5.5 Religious Affiliation	86
5.5.1 Data	89
5.5.2 Addressing Time	92
5.5.3 Analysis	95
5.6 Inscriptions	95
5.6.1 Data	96
5.6.2 Analysis	99
5.7 Immigration	100
5.7.1 Data	101
5.7.2 The Monogram	102
5.7.3 Analysis	103
Chapter Six: Discussion	106
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	110
Definitions	115
Reference List	116

Appendix 1: Code for individuals who were known to have purchased the grave monument in Perthshire (relation to the deceased)	126
Appendix 2: Detailed List of Symbol Categories and Codes	126
Appendix 3: Codes for inscription type (religious or non-religious phrase)	130
Appendix 4: Detailed List of Occupations and Occupation Categories	131
Appendix 5: Tables for Mortality, Animal, and ‘Other’ Symbols by Identity Marker and Time	137
Appendix 6: List of Burial Sites	142

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the location of the three Ontario burial sites - Orangeville, Harriston, and Mount Forest relative to the large city of Hamilton, Ontario in the Greater Toronto Area.	17
Figure 2: Map of where Perthshire, Scotland and Cambridgeshire, England are located in the United Kingdom relative to one another.	17
Figure 3: Example of monument with architectural florals. Willingham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.	19
Figure 4: Example of a monument with a natural floral. Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire.....	19
Figure 5: Example of a monument with an angel. Fordham St. Peter's, Cambridgeshire.	21
Figure 6: Example of a religious symbol (Sign of Solomon). Oakington St. Andrew, Cambridgeshire.....	22
Figure 7: Example of an urn atop a monument. Harriston, ON.	22
Figure 8: Example of a monument with a veil. Mount Forest, ON.	21
Figure 9: Example of a military monument with an insignia and cross. Harriston, ON.	24
Figure 10: Example of a monument in the shape of a scroll. Mount Forest, ON.	24
Figure 11: The phrase here is outlined in red. It contains a religious allusion, and thus this stone would be categorized as having a religious inscription. This monument also has natural florals, and a finger pointing upward. Melbourn United Reform Church, Cambridgeshire.....	26
Figure 12: This monument speaks of Isaac Watson "as a husband and as a father, equals it is hard to find, but the blow is felt the keenest by his dear ones left behind." This phrase is secular and speaks of Isaac in relation to his family and as a person. This stone would be categorized as having a secular inscription. It also has ivy with berries and other natural florals. Isleham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.	26
Figure 13: Example of a monument with an anchor and rope. Soham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.	28
Figure 14: Example of a monument in the shape of a shield with natural floral. Mount Forest, ON.	28
Figure 15: Example of a monument with monogram and ivy. Harriston, ON.	33
Figure 16: Cambridgeshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)	43
Figure 17: Perthshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)	44

Figure 18: Ontario (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)	45
Figure 19: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by sex	56
Figure 20: Perthshire (1730-1969) floral versus religious symbols by sex	57
Figure 21: Ontario (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by sex	58
Figure 22: The monument of the 22 year old male, Martin Bench, with a cross atop the stone and lamb. Orangeville, ON.	69
Figure 23: The monument of the infant girl, Catherine “Kate” Crawford (and her twin sister, Hattie) with a lamb and clasped hand symbol. Mount Forest, ON.	69
Figure 24: Monument with a left pointing dove. Whaddon, Cambridgeshire.	70
Figure 25: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class	77
Figure 26: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by social class	80
Figure 27: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by burial location	90
Figure 28: Ontario (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by religious affiliation	91
Figure 29: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in Anglican churchyards	92
Figure 30: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in Nonconformist burial grounds	93
Figure 31: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in cemeteries	93

List of Tables

Table 2-1: This table indicates what information was available for each of the three locations used in this study.	16
Table 4-1: Cambridgeshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 81.96$, $df = 6$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.18$)	43
Table 4-2: Perthshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 7.52$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.275$)	44
Table 4-3: Ontario (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 9.71$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.14$)	45
Table 5-1: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.70$)	56
Table 5-2: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.05$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.82$)	56
Table 5-3: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 3.416$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.065$)	57
Table 5-4: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by purchaser's sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 3.04$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.08$)	62
Table 5-5: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 47.01$, $df = 3$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.13$)	67
Table 5-6: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 26.37$, $df = 3$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.15$)	67
Table 5-7: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 5.94$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.14$)	68
Table 5-8: Total presence of animal symbols for each age group	69
Table 5-9: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 147.6$, $df = 4$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.24$)	77
Table 5-10: Table of religious occupations, noting only those who had exclusively used a religious symbol.	78
Table 5-11: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class, omitting those with religious occupations and religious symbols: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 100.2$, $df = 4$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.20$)	78

Table 5-12: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by social class: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 36.81$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.44$)	80
Table 5-13: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by burial location: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 159.73$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.24$)	89
Table 5-14: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by religious affiliation: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = .162$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.92$)	91
Table 5-15: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by burial location: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 90.15$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.21$)	92
Table 5-16: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by inscription: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = .95$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.33$)	98
Table 5-17: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by inscription: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 1.70$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.19$)	98
Table 5-18: Number of Individuals from each country of origin	101
Table 5-19: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by country of origin: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 1.24$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.26$)	102
Table 5-20: Ontario (1845-1925) Presence or absence of monograms on monuments with symbols from the 'other' category by country of origin: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.99$)	102

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO CEMETERY SYMBOLISM

1.1 Introduction to the Project

In death a gravestone can act as a communicative monument, serving to construct and demonstrate identity. Gravestones, or monuments, are designed for the public eye - be they members of the deceased's family, community mourners, or individuals passing by who knew nothing of the deceased (Vajta, 2021). Though monuments are most often not chosen or purchased by the decedent themselves, the monument is still chosen in relation to them as means of memorialization in - what can essentially be - perpetuity (Haveman, 1999). Exploration of identity on the basis of burial practices is commonplace in archaeological research, and historical gravestones provide an opportunity to evaluate the extent to which dimensions of identity correspond to variability in monument design and decoration. Decoration often comes in the form of symbols featured on the monument, which can be used in conjunction with the identity of the deceased to assess if any relationship is present between the deceased and the symbol on their monument.

Explorations of identity are fundamental to the understanding of humanity. This identity includes group identities and their expression regarding ethnicity (Reimers, 1999), identity when compared against others and their understanding of 'us' (Sartre, 1965) or in the realms of sociology when exploring how the self-identity is constructed alongside the reordering of biographical narratives (Mellor & Shilling, 1993) or how identity development and existential contemplation work together (Lavoie & de Vries, 2003). The understanding of personal and community identity has always been sought and does not necessarily cease with the death of the body. Some believe that the identity can exist 'beyond the body' in regards to a soul or essence

that survives past death (Hallam et al., 2005) and grave monuments are a place where the self can, in some ways, persist.

This thesis quantitatively examines symbols and their relationship to dimensions of individual identity in order to understand how certain facets of identity may be at play during the time of death and subsequent commemoration by the bereaved. It does so by examining grave monuments to explore whether certain aspects of identity (i.e. social class, sex, religion, age) show clear association with the symbolic decoration present on their grave monument. This will help assess whether a specific aspect of identity or the time period of death plays a part in how the deceased is commemorated, or if the choice of representation on a monument is seemingly idiosyncratic in nature. Perhaps the answer is neither, and choice is based on the combination of multiple identity factors equally as opposed to one being the primary influence, or something else entirely. This research thus aims to answer the following three questions: 1) what large-scale change is seen in floral and religious symbolic categories over time; 2) is there a symbolic category that is more associated with a specific identity; and 3) what variability exists across broad geographic locations.

To address these questions, I utilize records of grave monuments collected from Perthshire, Scotland, Cambridgeshire, England, and three burial sites in Ontario, Canada (see Appendix 6 for a detailed list of sites from all locations, and associated maps). The latter two were catalogued into individual databases as part of a larger Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) funded project, entitled ‘A digital ethnoarchaeology of emergent mortuary practice in Britain and Canada, 1845-1925’ undertaken by Dr. Aubrey Cannon, while I personally created the Perthshire database from materials Dr. Cannon had sourced. While there are commonalities between them as to how they understand these facets of identity that permitted

appropriate comparisons, these three locations were utilized for this research primarily based on their availability, and further because they provided the opportunity to conduct a larger scale of analysis.

Question one regarding change over time is addressed in chapter four. There, I present background on the historical context in which Laqueur (2015) and Rugg (2013) respectively argue that the church did or did not lose control of the burial space into the 20th century. This led to the examination of floral and religious symbols from 1856 into 1925 across Cambridgeshire, Perthshire, and Ontario. This assessed whether the idea of naturalization and anti-clericalism posed by Laqueur (2015) would lead to an increase in floral symbols, or whether religious symbols would remain relatively consistent across time.

Chapter five then addresses question two. This chapter offers both historical context as well as examples from the literature as to whether or not there is precedent to expect either floral or religious symbols to be more closely associated with the specific aspect of identity being addressed, followed by the data from the locations which permitted the assessments, and an interpretation of that data within the historical context. The focus was on assessing whether or not each aspect of identity could serve as a predictor for which symbol category (floral or religious) may appear on a monument.

1.2 Expectations and Previous Literature

Prior to assessing the databases for Cambridgeshire, Perthshire, or Ontario, there were only two ideas of what may be expected regarding patterning - those dealing with sex, and change over time. Change over time has found precedent primarily in the seriation study of Deetz and Dethlefsen (1967), who noted that there were trends regarding the mortality symbols present during different periods in the 18th and 19th centuries in New England. Deetz and

Dethlefsen (1967) noted a change in the popular symbol(s) present on a monument as time continued, beginning with the presence of the 'death's head' motif which declined with the rise of Puritanism, transitioning into the presence of cherubs, and finally the urn-and-willow which the pair claim coincides with the rise of intellectual religions such as Methodism, as well as the Greek revival in the late 1700's.

Similarly, Hijiya (1983) studied changes in monument form - sometimes in tandem with motifs - as far back as the 17th century and into the 20th century in America. He has similar findings, but notes that the 'plain style' monument preceded the death's head, while the 'monumental' and often more ostentatious graves dominated the Victorian period, followed by the inverse in the 20th century once again gravitating toward plain, unassuming monuments.

Both these studies demonstrate that change does occur over time when it comes to trends and styles that are popular for burial, and these can be influenced by cultural shifts in ideology occurring during the time period. While Hijiya (1983) notes that the late Victorian era saw the rise in symbols that regard the deceased's profession, imitations of natural objects, and Gothic architecture, neither of these studies gives their full attention to the symbol present on the stone, especially when that symbol is not part of the mortality category of motif.

The question regarding sex and symbol association was suggested by Wilbur Zelinsky (2007) whereby he asked whether women would display more religious symbols on their monuments than men, though he did not explore this himself. Earlier, Watters (1980) had also asked, more generally, if there could be a style of design that could be related to the sex of the deceased. Access to all three databases permitted an avenue to investigate this question, making available multiple elements of an individual's identity - beyond that of simply sex - to see which,

if any, may have a relation to the choice of symbol present on their monument and if they continue to demonstrate a pattern of change.

Later in this project, Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) provided some ideas of what could be expected when assessing other identity categories such as religious association and immigration. In 1981, Gorman and DiBlasi brought multiple identity categories together in their study of six burial sites in Georgia and South Carolina, USA. They utilized 311 monuments and included similar data points as I did, though they did not place specific focus on symbols. They tracked the religious denomination of each cemetery, age at death, sex and occupation of the decedent, as well as their birthplace to determine immigration and used Deetz and Dethlefsen as precedent to see change in their own context (Gorman & DiBlasi, 1981). They determined that mortuary ideology within their geographical study area did not seem to be solely founded upon religious sectarianism and that colonies appeared to have different mortuary practices and representations. They noted there were not enough data to represent any potential differences in motifs between age categories or sex - however it did not appear that women or children were less valued than adult males in society (Davis, 1967; Gorman & DiBlasi, 1981). Immigration status was not a useful factor in predicting patterning since most motifs they assessed were associated with both native born and immigrant individuals, but economic (i.e. the importation of gravestones) and social factors were at play.

While researchers have previously been examining grave monuments in relation to identity, research of this exact type has never been undertaken on the large - or broad - scale that I present here. Studies of burial sites and grave monuments are often located in one area, some as small as a family graveyard (Little et al., 1992) and others within an American region (such as New England) (Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1967; Nelson & George, 1981) or European county or

region (Mytum, 1999; Vajta, 2021). Cross-cultural and transatlantic comparative studies are foreign to the existing literature with very few exceptions (Cannon, 1989) which presented a unique opportunity for this research to explore whether there were or were not consistent patterns across these societies, and mortuary studies commonly have very small sample sizes of both individual monuments and number of burial sites.

Typically, cemetery studies have, at most, a few hundred graves making up their sample within their one locale (Gorman & DiBlasi, 1981; Haveman, 1999; Heinrich, 2009). In comparison, for this research, the smallest of the three databases being used is for Ontario, and it has a total of 769 individual grave monuments documented across three sites. My research thus boasts a much larger sample size of both individual monuments (5,911 in total) and burial site locations (106 total) than any previous study. Assessing identity on a transatlantic level between the three locales provides a novel source of information to explore if cultural or temporal trends emerge, or if the choices made for monument decoration were more variable and idiosyncratic in nature on a large scale.

Further, research in the context of historical cemeteries does not often consider the appearance of symbols as a primary focus for study. Often, these studies approach the symbols observed on a monument in terms of differentiation between the sexes (Foster & Freeland, 2007; Horton, 1989; Lott, 2000). Both Lott (2000) and Foster and Freeland (2007) found that in their research clasped-hand symbols appeared to be evenly split between males and females, and that sex played little to no part in the selection of a motif despite different (though close) geographical areas, being the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and east-central Illinois respectively. Foster and Freeland (2007) had a sample size even larger than this study, using 109 cemeteries with 55,914 burials in total from 1825 to 1985, and yet still found no difference in

sex. Horton's (1989) study does not use a specific cemetery to make observations, but instead references how some symbols in the Victorian period - such as the lily - would be more prominently associated with females of all ages. While symbols are used in these studies, they are either a part of a larger consideration (i.e. looking at the size of stone and/or grave goods as well), or the focus is placed on a specific symbol, such as with Foster and Freeland (2007).

An exception to this neglect of symbols is Mytum's (2009) study of graveyards in West Ulster, Ireland that belonged to Catholic and Protestant individuals in the early 18th century. His attention was on the popular mortality symbols of the time, noting that the "the Irish graveyard was redolent with identities of class, ethnicity, and religion, even though these largely overlapped" and that similar symbols could convey different meanings to different parts of the population (Mytum, 2009, p. 179). Mytum (2009) also found that there was a difference in the preferred use of symbols, whereby Protestants selected mortality symbols, and Catholics would use iconic religious symbols, and concluded that association with one's religious identity was above that of their sex or class when it came to society in Ireland.

This research places less focus on establishing these identities - class, religion, sex, ethnicity, age, etc - in a specific place and time, but favours a broad overview of these identities and how they are then potentially reflected via specific monument symbols. This research avoids the limitations of both scope and the neglect of symbols, assessing five categories of symbols- floral, religious, mortality, animal, and other - on a large scale with specific focus on floral and religious symbols, which are also often under analyzed in the literature when compared to mortality symbols (Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1967; Heinrich, 2009; Heinrich, 2014; Hijiya, 1981; Mitoraj, 2001; Mytum, 2009, 2018; Watters, 1980).

1.3 Symbols and Symbolism

It is imperative to note that this research does not attempt to make any assertions about the potential *meaning* of symbols. While there are often commonalities seen between symbols and their associated meanings between cultures, numerous meanings are assigned to every symbol present in this study and thus are not useful to the categorization necessary for this type of project.

Some symbols are self-evident, such as a cross which is inherently religious in nature, or the military insignia. However, the vast majority of symbols are incredibly unclear as to their meaning given the aforementioned cultural and social impacts of interpretation. It is a rarity that a symbol is assigned only one potential meaning. Most often, a symbol is endowed with multiple potential interpretations, some being secular and others being religious.

A floral, such as ivy, can be associated with friendship or fidelity, but it also represents the immortality of the soul and rebirth (Impelluso, 2004). Because of this, ivy is frequently associated with Christ's cross and the resurrection (Impelluso, 2004). Olive branches (also frequently held by doves) can be associated with wisdom or peace given their association with Athena, and utilization by Ancient Roman ambassadors as a means of indicating their peaceful intentions (Rosenthal, 1994). Ancient Greeks used olive branches to make crowns for Olympic winners, indicating victory (Rosenthal, 1994). However, olive leaves also appear in the Biblical story of Noah which Biblical dictionaries now claim also meant 'peace,' despite dubious evidence to the case in the Bible itself (Rosenthal, 1994). Thus, the olive branch gains both an association with Greek, Roman, and Abrahamic mythos.

There are still many pieces in the literature both in and outside of a burial context that attempt to assert meanings onto specific symbols. Husti and Cantor (2015) assign flowers

religious meanings, Foster and Freeland (2007) address the clasped-hand motif in all its iterations (being associated with connection to God, or of marriage bonds, etc), Clegg (1984) covers aspects of both hands and flowers, while Edgette (1999) assesses meanings in tandem with children's gravestones specifically. In 1998, Edgette also wrote about the soul being represented by a winged creature. While these interpretations are all valid in themselves, they are not taken into consideration for the purposes of this research.

It is important to understand that while this study aims to demonstrate the choices individuals are making in the creation of a gravestone, it cannot be fully understood *why* they are making the choices they make. Even if interpretations of each symbol could be asserted, understanding which of the several potential meanings an individual hoped to showcase is nearly impossible and well outside of the scope of this project. It is also impossible to know if an individual meant to exemplify meaning at all, and did not simply choose a symbol based on its availability due to the carvers in their area, or the price. Technology, monument dealers and carvers, and other death-care industries largely determined the availability of a monument and its degree of personalization (Meyer, 1989). Simple geographical availability of stone types or carvers can limit choice, and the presence of societal trends may influence what materials are more or less available for purchase. Personalization may also be limited by the graveyard itself, with certain parishes maintaining distinct rules about the monuments that can be erected on their land often regarding type, height, and colour of the stone (Buckham, 1999; Haveman, 1999).

Monumental choice was also often a key display of wealth and class (Cannon, 1989; Clark, 1987), whereby individuals in lower classes would seek to mimic the upper class in paying for monuments that would typically exceed their budget, sometimes to the point of neglecting personal and familial well-being for the sake of a 'proper' funeral (Chadwick, 1843).

The cemetery was a place that permitted the deceased and their family to depict themselves in more elaborate ways than was possible in their lives. Thus, it may not be the *symbol itself* that holds meaning to those who erect the monument, but the overall price or difficulty of attaining that symbol that is their true message.

It is also highly possible that individuals did not know why they were making the choices they did. Selection of a symbol can be unconscious as well as conscious, with the factors influencing the selection of a symbol not all being known or consciously acknowledged by the purchaser. Symbolic choice could be due to fashion at the time, or, again, availability. As per Horton (1989) individuals may have been choosing symbols because of a personal association or for the purpose of imitating someone else, but also perhaps simply because they liked it.

It is worth noting that some guidebooks for carvers in the 19th century did indicate the meaning of certain symbols (Horton, 1989), and thus a purchaser may have been able to know the 'proper' meaning of a symbol upon selecting it. Hobbs (2002) and Horton (1989) both address that the Victorians had a language of flowers which was used for social communication, with some publishers in the West selling books that acted as dictionaries for the standardized meaning of each flower, with these floral communications making their way onto gravestones. Though, in 'translating' these meanings, Hobbs (2002) found that different books provided different meanings, and these meanings varied across countries - and it is likely that these symbolic lists were not really used for communication at all (Seaton, 1995). So while communities *could* understand the meanings of symbols present in their burial grounds, symbolic meanings change and cease over time, and vary between societies. And, simply, a symbol need not necessarily be chosen based on meaning alone - or at all.

Because symbols are thought to “point to the self as well as to others, to the future as well as to present experience” and “it is in part because the self is implicated in the person’s own view of the world that intent is so central a part of human meaning” (Hewitt, 2003, p. 315) a symbol dies when the situation a symbol was born in changes or ceases to exist, and that the symbol cannot continue to ‘say’ anything outside of its own time (Tillich, 1955). When selecting a symbol, the purchaser may have been confident that their message would have been understood perfectly well within their own community, not considering that the symbol may now carry another meaning or no meaning at all (Horton, 1989). With the death of the individual who selected and purchased the monument (and their community) comes the death of the understood intent - whether it be for social gain, or for the message of a symbol itself. These symbols are ever evolving and always ‘becoming,’ so their meaning can be renegotiated in modern day, but that does not cancel out the death of the original meaning. Symbols not only hold a meaning associated with themselves, but function as a way of communicating patterns and interactions among people over time (Hewitt, 2003).

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

2.1 Cambridgeshire, England Database

The Cambridgeshire database was created as a part of a digital ethno-archaeological project by Dr. Aubrey Cannon and funded by SSHRC. Monumental inscription records and burial records came from transcriptions created by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (now the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Family History society) of records from the parishes. The census records from 1841 to 1911 were accessed through Ancestry; the 1921 census was accessed through FindMyPast. Data for eighty parishes (see Appendix 6) for which grave monuments were recorded for the period of 1845 to 1925 were used in this research. The eighty parishes are each individual locations within one county. For fifty of these eighty parishes, Dr. Cannon had previously collected the monumental data for his own thesis research (1986), meaning that records about monumental decoration were handwritten for those monuments in those fifty parishes dated between 1845 to 1900. For monuments in those fifty parishes dated between 1901 to 1925, photographic records exist. For the other thirty parishes, photographic records were available for the period 1845-1925.

The database includes variables for the age of the decedent at death, the year of their death, their occupation and affiliated social class, and their sex. In addition to the parish location, the database also recorded whether the monument was located in an Anglican churchyard, a Nonconformist burial ground, or a non-denominational civic cemetery. While the central database included individuals listed as both primary and secondary burials, this research only considered individuals who were considered to be the primary burial. Individuals who were the primary burial are most often listed at the top of the stone, and are considered to be the individual for whom the monument was erected, with the secondary burials added to the

monument at a later date. In total, this research utilized information from 3,276 monuments in Cambridgeshire.

2.2 Ontario, Canada Database

The Ontario database included the same basic information on each decedent: age at death, year of death, occupation, and sex for a total of 769 monuments that were included in this research. Ontario occupations were not assigned to broader social classes, but commemorated individuals were assigned to religious denominations based on census records. Census records also provided information about the individual's country of origin, indicating whether or not they were an immigrant to Ontario. Photographs were available for all three burial grounds (Harriston, Mount Forest, and Orangeville) and dates ranged from 1845 to 1925.

2.3 Perthshire, Scotland Database

The database for Perthshire, Scotland was the only database that I personally created in full. This database extended further in time than those of Ontario and Cambridgeshire, with burial monuments from 1730 to 1969 from twenty-three burial sites (see Appendix 6) - though burials in the 1700s were minimal, with twenty-nine recorded up until 1800. In total, the Perthshire database recorded information on 1,866 monuments from twenty-three parishes (see Appendix 6) in the county. All information was collected from CD's purchased from and produced by Scottish Monumental Inscriptions. Each CD held photographs of each monument in the respective burial ground, along with a document containing transcribed inscriptions.

The Perthshire database included each individual's first and last name, age at death, year of death, and sex. When age of death was not explicit on the monument, calculations were made using the month and date of birth and death when provided. Sex was inferred in association with the gendered nature of the names on the monument, and if unclear due to a unisex name, other

information on the epitaph was used to determine the sex of the individual such as their title within the family (i.e. mother, son). Due to the fact that Perthshire did not have census records available due to paywalls and limited online availability, the database did not include religious affiliation, and did not include occupation of the deceased unless it was noted explicitly on the gravestone. Perthshire data include the period from 1730; only one stone was found to date to the decade prior, and was thus excluded.

Information was taken both directly from the stone and from transcription records. Transcription records seldom recorded information regarding the small font inscriptions that often referenced the character of the deceased or religious allusions, and occasionally disagreed with the dates or ages noted on the stone. When this happened, I included the information that was visible on the stone as opposed to that noted in the transcription records. The records were created from simply writing down what the individuals surveying the graveyard read on the stone and had no relation to census data, therefore what was written down was likely subject to having been mistyped when uploaded to the CDs and discrepancies were not due to actual differences between the stone and historical records.

Inscription information was included for the Perthshire sites, as long as the inscription was partly legible. The transcriptions provided by Scottish Monumental Inscriptions focused on the biographical data as opposed to the additional inscriptions (religious or secular), and thus I had to personally collect the additional inscriptions from the photographs. Unique to the Perthshire epitaphs was the frequency whereby the person who purchased the stone was explicitly noted, either by saying the relation to the deceased (i.e. 'our mother') or the name of the individual responsible for the purchase and selection of the stone (i.e. 'erected by John Doe for his father'). Information as to who purchased the monument, when available, was categorized

based on relation to the deceased. Overall, I created twenty-nine categories of relationships (see Appendix 1).

Distinctions between the wording of ‘children’ and ‘family’ on monuments proved difficult when determining the purchaser. It seems that in some cases, individuals were using the word ‘family’ to refer to immediate family members (mostly children), and in other cases to more distant, extended family. Thus, information was collected as two separate categories, and purchaser data were noted as being ‘family’ or ‘children’ based on the phrasing used directly on the stone. However, ‘family’ also encompasses four cases that did not receive their own code, those being: father and brother, sons and grandsons, brother and son, mother and siblings, and any cases of child(ren) and siblings. If the phrasing used was ‘family and children in memory of their parent’ this was labeled as being ‘children’ (16), as though family and children were used distinctly, the addition of ‘in memory of their parent’ seems to imply that the individuals were memorializing their parent above all else.

However, when I could not make out the correct date in the photograph *and* the transcription records showed some doubt, I did choose to use the information provided by the transcriptions. Only in cases where it was evident an error in transcription had been made - and the information was clearly visible on the stone - did I favour using my own interpretation of dates or ages.

2.4 Available of Information and Locations

Due to the lack of census data for Perthshire, and that information I did have for Ontario and Cambridgeshire varying from one another, the same type of information could not necessarily be collected for all three locations. Below is table 2-1 which indicated which identity information was available for each of the three locations.

	Cambridgeshire	Perthshire	Ontario
Sex	Available	Available	Available
Purchaser	Unavailable	Available	Unavailable
Age	Available	Available	Available
Class	Available	Available	Unavailable
Religious Affiliation	Available	Unavailable	Available
Inscription	Available	Available	Unavailable
Immigration Status	Unavailable	Unavailable	Available

Table 2-1: This table indicates what information was available for each of the three locations used in this study.

From 1845 to 1925, information was available for all three of the locations. However, I chose to look at each of the locations from only 1856 to 1925 in order to keep the times comparable since the information for Perthshire was collected from 1730 to 1969. 1845 to 1855 was removed from assessment due to the issue of running Ontario through SPSS (explained in more detail in 3.5).

As aforementioned, I utilized 106 burial sites in this research across three locations. Given that these burial sites in Cambridgeshire and Perthshire are all within the same rural locales, providing the specific positions of each is invaluable. However, the map provided below (Figure 2) illustrates the locations of these counties in relation to one another. The Ontario sites (Figure 1) are on another continent entirely, and since there are only three of them, the map shows their locations relative to one another and to the largest nearest city of Hamilton, Ontario.

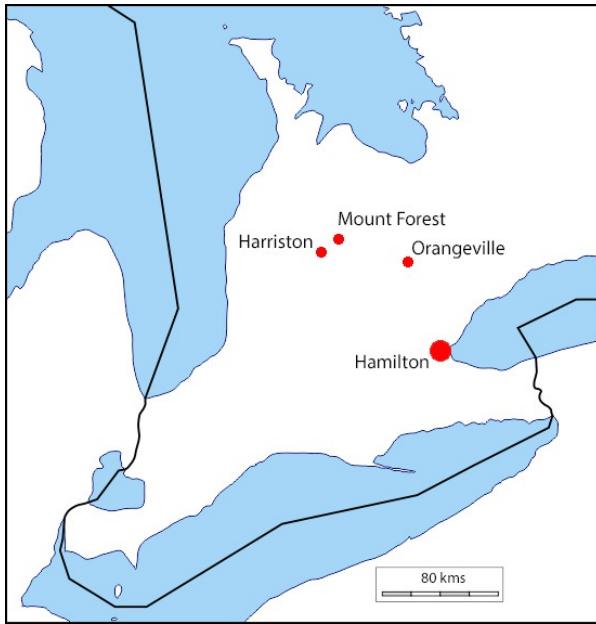


Figure 1: Map of the location of the three Ontario burial sites - Orangeville, Harriston, and Mount Forest relative to the large city of Hamilton, Ontario in the Greater Toronto Area.

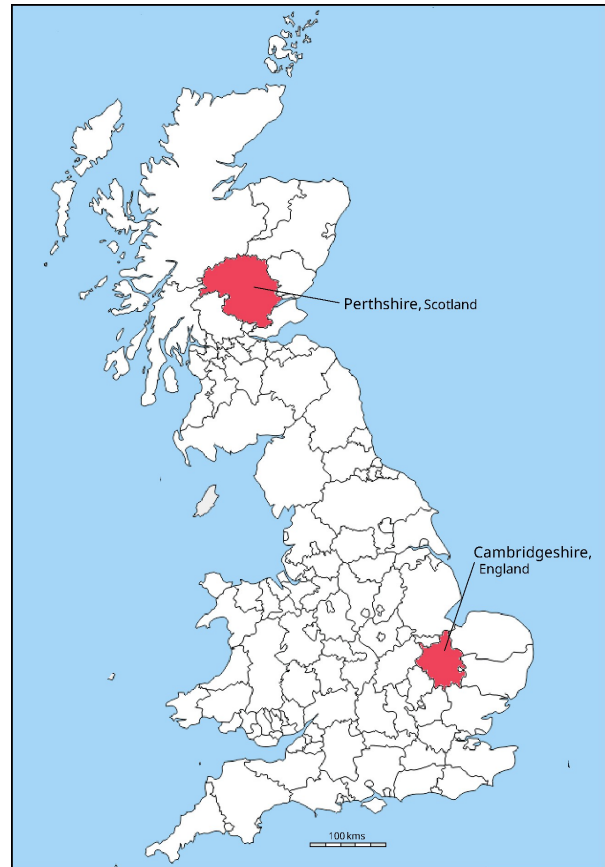


Figure 2: Map of where Perthshire, Scotland and Cambridgeshire, England are located in the United Kingdom relative to one another.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

3.1 The Photographic Records

To assess the symbols present on each monument, a combination of photographs and written records were utilized. Symbols fell into five primary categories: floral, religious, mortality, animal, and other. Distinctions as to which symbols belonged in each category were made primarily based on common symbolic groupings. The book *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* by Douglas Keister (2004) was frequently referenced. Keister (2004) used multiple distinct categories of flora, fauna, mortality symbols, religious devotion, and the human condition. I maintained the use of the former four, but the human condition was changed to a category known as ‘other.’

Collection of the symbols was done manually. I observed each photo associated with a decedent in a database. Only monuments with clear and visible symbols were included in the study.

To the best of my ability, symbols were recorded with specificity (i.e. the exact type of flower) before being generalized into the broader categories (see Appendix 2). Each symbol was logged independently of one another. If there is a stag *in* a crown, stag and crown were noted in the animal and other category respectively - however, when intertwined in such a way, a note was made of this.

The main emphasis of this study was on the broader categories of floral and religious symbols because of their dominant presence in the databases. Florals encompass all images of flowers, logs, or leaves, however, this category does differentiate between architectural florals and natural florals. Architectural florals are understood to be those which do not attempt to explicitly mimic the natural form of a flower (Figure 3). Architectural florals tend to be highly

stylized, and not always identifiable as to which type of flower they may be attempting to mimic. Natural florals do attempt to replicate how a flower appears in nature, and remain unstylized (Figure 4, further examples in Appendix 2).



Figure 3: Example of monument with architectural florals. Willingham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.



Figure 4: Example of a monument with a natural floral. Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire.

Deviation in natural symbols seems to occur more often because of the skill of the carver rather than because of choices to deviate from its natural form. While designations were made in the coding process as to which type of floral was present, be it natural (2) or architectural (3), they were coded overall as a floral being present (1). Almost all floral symbols have religious meanings associated with them (Keister, 2004), and while this research acknowledges the existence of these associations, the emphasis is placed on overt or ‘iconic’ religious symbolism, and so florals are not assumed to be referencing their religious meanings. Clegg (1984) also notes that the Victorians and Edwardians had a ‘language of flowers’ and so would have likely

been more knowledgeable of potential meanings of flowers - especially when paired in a bouquet - which can also add to the “difficulty over assigning precise meanings to funerary floral ornament” (p. 310).

Formal religious symbols include “IHS” in acronym, a cross pattee, Celtic cross, maltese cross, or standard cross. Cross pattee, standard crosses, and maltese crosses are all considered under the code 1, whereas Celtic crosses are coded independently due to the connection to Scottish heritage. Crosses are also recorded if the shape of the stone is representative of one of these cross types. Despite the form of a monument being distinguishable from the symbols *on* the monument, it is quite the imposing sight for the entire monument to be in the image of a cross and appears to merely be a different way of representing the chosen image. However, these are coded independently as a ‘2’. Later, these were all simplified into a new category which coded either the presence (1) or absence (2) of a religious symbol.

Informal religious symbols are understood as those symbols which are more commonly associated with religious meanings rather than with secular meanings. While they *could* be assumed to have a secular meaning, religion - most dominantly Christianity - is favoured for their interpretations given their commonality as a religious symbol, and based on written precedent (Keister, 2004). Informal religious symbols include angels, hands clasped in prayer, or ‘thy will be done’ (or other similar sentiments) being written on a Bible carved into the stone.

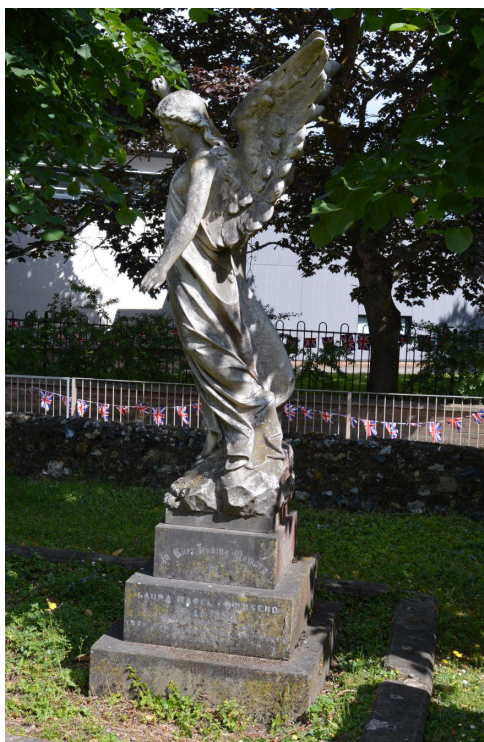


Figure 5: Example of a monument with an angel. Fordham St. Peter's, Cambridgeshire.

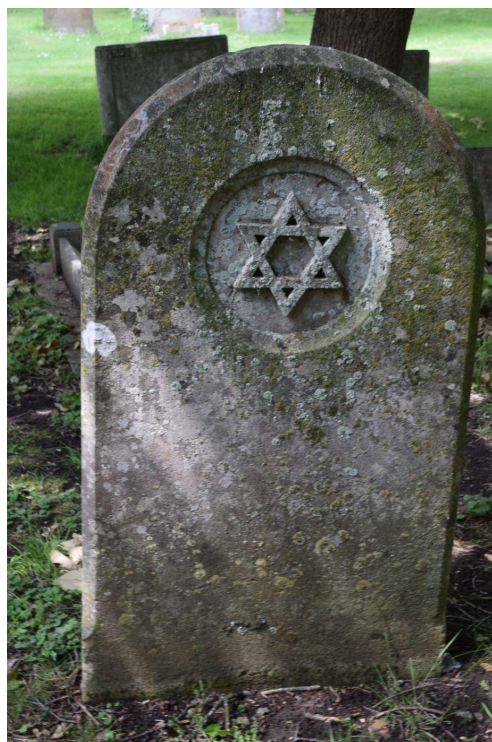


Figure 6: Example of a religious symbol (Sign of Solomon). Oakington St. Andrew, Cambridgeshire.

Without the presence of the words 'Bible' or other religious sentiment, it will be assumed the relief is intended simply to be a book and thus categorized as 'other.' Clapsed hands are sometimes counted as informal religious symbols, but due to the state of decay on some stones, the typical markers indicating whether the hands are indicative of a Godly-human interaction or of a marriage bond (eg. the types of sleeves the hands have) are often indistinct. Due to this, making estimates on whether clapsed hands are informally religious, matrimonial, or otherwise is unachievable to any degree of certainty whereby I would feel comfortable including them in the databases as 'religious,' and thus they are categorized as 'other.' While doves most often have an association with religiosity, due to the secular interpretation of 'peace,' and the fact that they are much more faunal than religious in aesthetic presentation, they were put into the 'animal' category. Designations of formal or informal religious symbols are understood, but when entered

into SPSS, symbols were either considered to be religious (1) or non-religious (2) with no regard to whether or not they are considered formal or informal.

Mortality symbols encompass skulls, crossbones, hour glasses, or (veiled) urns (which tend to be present atop the stone as a carving). The combination of ‘urn and willow’ were noted, but willow was logged under ‘floral’ and ‘urn’ under mortality. While these symbols appear in *Stories in Stone* (2004), they are also the symbols chosen for Deetz and Dethlefsen’s (1967) work *Death’s heads, cherub, urn, and willow* which traces the patterns of popularity of these mortality symbols through 17th and 18th century New England. Curtains were also classified as mortality symbols, contrary to Suchan (2012) who deemed them ‘miscellaneous.’ Curtains were added to the mortality category as they serve a similar function to the veil.



Figure 7: Example of an urn atop a monument. Harriston, ON.



Figure 8: Example of a monument with a veil. Mount Forest, ON.

Animal symbols encompassed birds (almost exclusively doves), horses, felines, roosters, lambs, or stags. Stags commonly occurred in tandem with crowns, and birds, such as eagles with an army insignia. As detailed above, these animal elements would have been coded independently of a crown (which is considered ‘other’), while the eagle would not have been coded as an animal at all, but instead the entire insignia considered to be an ‘other’ symbol (as seen in Figure 9).

As per Suchan (2012), while classification systems aim to categorize motifs the best they can, there are symbols that due to their unusual nature - or nature which resists classification into the typically understood categories - are entered into a ‘catch-all’ category. The catch-all category for this research was designated the ‘other’ category. The category of ‘other’ included all of - but was not limited to - the following symbols: anything related to occupation (eg. hammer, anvil), family crests or letters of the last name, shields, books, scrolls, crowns, or affiliations to organizations (eg. Freemason’s) (see Appendix 2 for a full detailed list). This category also contains insignias, most often associated with military divisions. Many of these insignias have animals (lions, stags) alongside things such as flags or crowns. Due to the fact that the insignia is created through the combination of all these elements, and the removal of one would no longer render it the insignia for that division, any symbol included in an insignia was *not* categorized separately. Thus, a stag and crown were not put into ‘animal’ and ‘other’ in these cases, but categorized as a ‘22’ army insignia in the code.



Figure 9: Example of a military monument with an insignia and cross. Harriston, ON.



Figure 10: Example of a monument in the shape of a scroll. Mount Forest, ON.

I resisted pairing symbols together. When a hand was holding a bouquet, they were logged as independent symbols in the ‘other’ and floral categories respectively. While floral elements, when in tandem with another symbol may be regarded by some researchers as secondary (Suchan, 2012) this study assessed each symbol as a primary element, as each element was selected for on the monument. Their presence is still indicative of choice, even if it is not the central focus of a viewer.

I did not consider architectural designs like windows or columns as symbolic. These are more representative of design trends (such as the Gothic revival period in the mid-late 1800s) (Francaviglia, 1971; Norris, 1988) than they are of symbolic meaning. The exception here is with

the motif of open gates, often leading to rays of light. These gates are categorized as informally religious as they refer to Heaven's pearly gates.

Given that each individual symbol was given its own code number, the database became bloated. Using the symbols as they were individually categorized would have led to numbers too small to be valuable or interpretable. So, when entered into SPSS symbol types were grouped together based purely on presence or absence with no distinction made between the exact symbol. If the monument had a symbol from that category it would receive a '1,' and if there was no symbol then a '2.' This was done for each of the five categories: floral, religious, mortality, animal, and other.

It should be noted that other researchers, such as Zelinsky (2007) take into consideration a wider range of symbols they considered to be religious in nature. For his religious category, Zelinsky (2007) includes: the Christian cross in all forms, doves, lambs, Bibles, crowns, heavenly gates, fingers pointed upward, a hand reaching down from heaven, gothic windows, and the acronym of 'IHS' (indicative of Jesus' name in Greek) (p. 448). Zelinsky (2007) classifies these as overtly religious, but does not point to why he believes these are clearly religious as the symbol of the dove, crown, lamb, and gothic window can be indicative of other meanings (doves mean peace, crowns reward or glory, lambs purity and innocence, gothic windows can be architectural features), and thus his categorizations were not followed.

Alongside symbols, the inscription present on a monument was included when present. It is important to note that the words 'epitaph' and 'inscription' can be used somewhat interchangeably. Definitions of parts of monumental inscriptions are not very clear, what is specifically 'epitaph,' 'verse,' or personal information (name, date, etc) is all classified as an inscription because it is inscribed, and each of these aspects - by different definitions - is or is not

part of the ‘epitaph.’ There are thus different aspects to the inscription, with part being basic facts about the deceased, and then there is the more traditional epitaph which includes a description of or about the person (occupation, relations), and then there is possibly an extra verse that is generally more religious by definition (examples in Figure 11 and Figure 12). Thus, for this research, the entire inscription was considered to see whether there was, in words, a religious reference. However, this omitted the occupation of an individual in a religious position.



Figure 11: The phrase here is outlined in red. It contains a religious allusion, and thus this stone would be categorized as having a religious inscription. This monument also has natural florals, and a finger pointing upward. Melbourn United Reform Church, Cambridgeshire.



Figure 12: This monument speaks of Isaac Watson “as a husband and as a father, equals it is hard to find, but the blow is felt the keenest by his dear ones left behind.” This phrase is secular and speaks of Isaac in relation to his family and as a person. This stone would be categorized as having a secular inscription. It also has ivy with berries and other natural florals. Isleham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.

Inscriptions were often unreadable due to weathering and general decay of the stone. Since these additional verses or phrases tend to be toward the bottom of the monument, many were obscured by grass, lichen, or dirt. They are also frequently small in font size, and depending on the quality and angle of the photo, many words were left uninterpretable (discussed further in 3.4). However, when sections of an inscription remained visible with a few words in a row, they were logged into the database in hopes that they could be searched and produce a result of where they may have originated from. Inscriptions were collected from Perthshire and Cambridgeshire, but not Ontario due to the typical conditions of the stones and less overall number of monuments. The number of inscriptions that would have been included would have been insignificant in number. Since much of Cambridgeshire's information came from an oral source, photos were not available, and Dr. Cannon did not collect inscription records during his field work. Thus, for those burials, inscriptions could not be collected.

Inscriptions were categorized into forty-five distinct codes (see Appendix 3), many being a combination of inscription types. When entered into SPSS, the inscription code was simplified into whether it was religious or non-religious. If an inscription had both religious *and* non-religious elements, it was classified as religious as the presence of religious writing or verse indicates religiosity of the deceased.

3.2 Animals, Mortality, and Other

These symbols were comparatively underrepresented in all three databases, and thus provided less valuable data for this research. Each of the identity categories as well as change over time were assessed in tandem with these three symbolic categories. They were used in SPSS in an identical manner to floral and religious symbols, being first categorized for their specific symbols, and then for only presence (1) or absence (2) on each monument and then cross

tabulated against the factor of interest. Animals, mortality, and ‘other’ symbols were omitted from the ‘floral versus religious’ category and assessed independently of one another and ‘floral versus religious’ when put through SPSS.

The information for the three symbolic categories in tandem with each identity category and change over time are present in Appendix 5, but are not dealt with in depth for any of the following chapters. It is however noted that mortality symbols follow the expected trend of decline over time as seen by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1967), and symbols of animals occur much less frequently than anticipated, especially regarding the presence of lambs on children’s graves (Haveman, 1999).



Figure 13: Example of a monument with an anchor and rope. Soham Cemetery, Cambridgeshire.



Figure 14: Example of a monument in the shape of a shield with natural floral. Mount Forest, ON.

3.3 Occupations and Social Class

Cambridgeshire had a robust collection of occupational data which, following Cannon (1986), Cannon and Cook (2015) and Thacher (2024), were translated into several associated social classes. In the creation of the database, occupation was recorded from census records. The occupation was listed for the individual, and if the individual did not have a recorded occupation for themselves, that of the head of household was listed. The presence of servants in the household was also noted, as having a servant was indicative of wealth and was used to make distinctions between members of the lower and middle classes (Armstrong, 1972; Bennett et al., 2020; Frost, 2009; Gorham, 1982/2013; Robin, 1980).

Armstrong (1972) was extensively followed in classifying occupations as he is often considered the definitive study on translating the occupation of the deceased known from census data into social class. Decedents were placed in one of 27 categories based on their occupation (see Appendix 4 for the detailed list of occupations). These categories were then reduced to five more general categories of upper class (1), upper middle class (2), middle class (3), lower middle class (4), and lower class (5). Occupations were grouped together based on similarity between overall wealth, education or skills required to perform the job, and responsibility over others.

Military occupations were excluded from class designations because it was uncertain how military service and rank equated with class associations at the time of death. Paupers were also excluded because they were unemployed, and thus did not fit into the class system; they were also significantly underrepresented among the monumental commemorations.

For Perthshire, occupations were recorded if present explicitly on the stone, and I utilized the same occupation and class categories as were used in Cambridgeshire, given that time periods and occupations were similar between the two countries. Some individuals used different

titles for their work, and thus were logged as the most comparable occupations. Employees of the advertiser office were classed as office keepers (3), inspectors of the poor were classed with other inspectors (2), shipmasters were classed as mariners (2), revenue officers and supervisors of inland revenue were classed as collectors of internal revenue (2), and farmers were all considered to be upper middle class (2). Though the acreage and servants present on each farm was unknown, when observing the class categorizations, the upper middle class contained the majority of farmers. Farmers were also considered to be in the upper class (1) or middle class (3), and this contributed to placing farmers in the upper middle class as it was the mean number between the three possible categories.

I did code military employees as lower middle class (4) most often, unless specified that they were of a higher rank in the army, such as naval commanders who would be considered upper middle as per Musgrove (1959). Officers in the British army tended to come from backgrounds in the gentry or aristocracy, whereas foot soldiers were almost all of working class backgrounds. Cookson (2009) claims that individuals would join war efforts in Scotland for the financial security of a pension, but Mansfield (2016) reports that individuals in the British military in the 19th century would only be awarded pension in cases of severe disability, and ex-servicemen would often be forced onto Poor Law.

Common soldiers tended to be of lower class and “cheated of their pay” (Oddy, 2000, p. 39). Private soldiers in the British army would receive 18 pounds and five shillings a year from 1792 to 1866, about a shilling a day (Mansfield, 2016). The military thus paid less to soldiers than any other working-class occupation including unskilled labourers, though their food and accommodations would be subsidized (Mansfield, 2016). Though using some of the British military information, categorizing individuals in Perthshire with a military background as lower

middle class (4) seemed most appropriate for their income, education, and responsibility levels.

Because I did not use census records in the compilation of the Perthshire database, many individuals do not have listed occupations, and were therefore not used in the analysis of class-based associations.

3.4 Material and Weathering

Despite the general populace's understanding that monuments exist in perpetuity, time and weather conditions will impact how long a monument stands and remains legible to passersby. Some stone types, such as granite, bear this weathering more robustly than others. Slate markers often split because of frost, and sandstone or white stone markers can be severely deteriorated by frost, lichens, and acid rain (Kerr, 2011). Weathering can be dependent on where the stone is located geographically, such as close to a body of water, or in a wet or dry climate. In larger graveyards, the location within the graveyard can cause differential weathering patterns based on the directionality of the stone compared to the typical direction of the wind. Monuments that are covered by large trees may also preserve better as they are somewhat defended from the elements.

A portion of monuments from each site were rendered illegible from weathering, be it wear on the stone that has worn away the details and lettering, lichen that blanketed the stone, or having split the monument into two or more pieces. When a monument was broken and the pieces remained close enough to be confidently attributed to the same monument, they were included in the study. However, broken monument pieces were often not close enough to one another to have certainly belonged together, and some pieces were completely destroyed which would render the monument unusable. The majority of broken monuments were those of the monument being in the shape of a cross. Another common broken monument is one which is

assumed to have had an urn on top. These monuments are often similar in their form, so the likelihood of an urn being present at one time is very high. However, this could not be confirmed through anything except prior experiential knowledge, and so an urn was not logged in these cases.

However, the choice of material not only impacts how long the stone can withstand the weather, but how much detail was able to be carved by hand. Granite, in certain regions, had become the stone of choice in the late 19th and 20th century due to its general hardness and durability (Ames, 1981; Kerr, 2011; Farber, 2003). Individuals in Canada showed distinct preference for the use of granite, but in Cambridgeshire and Perthshire the use was not as widespread. Polished granite required specialized tools created in the late 1800s in order to sandblast images and inscriptions through rubber images onto the stone (Kerr, 2011). These earlier carvers thus often stuck to a select number of semi-standardized images and verses, made special by the extensive colour range of granite available (Kerr, 2011; Farber, 2003). It was the advent of modern power tools and computer-guided laser cutting that has made it possible to carve intricate designs into this tough stone (Kerr, 2011; Farber, 2003).

The majority of gravestones assessed in Ontario specifically are made of granite, which possibly explains the limited decoration observed. Due to the difficulty of carving into these stones without modern tools, florals and initials were likely easier to carve. Looking at the chosen designs, many of them are similar and repeated (Figure 15).



Figure 15: Example of a monument with monogram and ivy. Harriston, ON.

Because carvers - or companies - were probably using molds and pouring rubber to get the rubber template, it would follow why so many of these symbols are highly repetitive. Carvers often had catalogs of what could be put onto a stone (Buckham, 1999; Francaviglia, 1971; Monumental Bronze Company, 1882; Sears Roebuck and Co, 1906), with general consistency “in the way the designs were presented and combined” that is suggestive of these catalogs being present in Ontario (Russell & Stone, 1983, p. 38). Haveman (1999) identifies in her research that one or a few cemeteries would have the same specific images and symbols within them, indicative of local carvers, funeral homes, or monument dealers which served them.

Given the specialized process used to carve granite, it is possible that similar catalogues were used in or around Harriston, Orangeville, and Mount Forest, providing purchasers a select number of styles which could be picked for their desired monuments. There would thus be limitations on the symbols that could be selected, and customization less available due to the pre-existing templates.

Material for each stone was not included for the symbolic database. While material may impact the longevity of a monument, and even perhaps what is available to be carved on each monument, the degree to which the material impacted symbolic selection is unknown. Because options were still available to individuals on even the toughest stone like granite, the agency in choosing a symbol is still present, even if slightly hindered. Further, though granite may have been predominant in Ontario, this did not entirely preclude the selection of another stone material and thus potentially other symbolic choices. Individuals picking these monuments were thus likely content with the choice they were making and what it said to passersby, else they would have made a different decision.

3.5 Statistical Methods

Initially, I designated each specific symbol its own number during data collection. However, as aforementioned, this led to the sample sizes for each symbol being very small. Thus, I simplified the symbol codes into the symbol category (floral, religious, mortality, animal, or 'other') being either (1) present or (2) absent for each monument. The five symbol categories would then be independently crosstabulated against one of the identity markers: sex, age, occupation, religion, immigration status, sex of purchaser, or social class, as well as against the presence or absence of a religious epitaph. This established a basic correlation between that aspect of individual identity and these markers. Due to the overwhelming presence of florals and

religious symbols in the data, they became the primary focus of this study. Though some monuments had both floral and religious symbols, only those cases in which *either* religious or floral symbols were exclusively present were examined for this research. This was to avoid counting monuments twice in cases which both were present on the monument.

This process was done in SPSS, as using SPSS would allow for a large amount of data to undergo statistical analysis. For this project, statistical analysis was utilized to test the association between the symbol group present on the monument and one of the aspects of identity of the decedent. The use of statistics provided a quantifiable, objective method to assess whether or not the relationship between the tested variables was real, or was simply what could be expected if there was no association between the variables and the choice was more idiosyncratic and less due to overall patterning.

SPSS was used to create Pearson chi-squares (or a chi-square test of independence) which determines whether or not the observed data was significantly different than would be expected if there were no association between the variables. Here, the variables were the aspect of identity, and the category of the symbol (i.e. female monuments and floral symbols). SPSS allowed for the creation of contingency tables, which classifies the data according to these two categorical variables (identity, symbol). The chi-square test then tests the association between these variables - if there is an association between the identity and the symbol present on a monument, I would expect the counts to differ between those within the identity group (i.e. if females *did* more often select floral symbols than males, the counts should reflect a difference between males and females, where females have a larger number than males).

This process also provided a test statistic and a p-value, following chi-square distribution and probability of obtaining the observed results when assuming independence between

variables respectively. The p-value was set at a predetermined significance of 0.05, whereby any p-value (or asymptotic significance) less than 0.05 is seen to be significant and unlikely to occur by random chance alone. A non-significant p-value (above 0.05) suggests that the association between variables could be due to random variation, negating the presence of a significant relationship.

If the p-value was significant, a phi value was calculated to determine the strength of the association between the two variables. Phi values can range from -1 to +1, representing a perfect negative association or perfect positive association, and zero indicating no association at all. Anything above zero indicates a relationship, but the strength of that relationship is determined by the value of phi. A phi of 0.4 is usually considered significant as it indicates that variable having a significant influence on choice (though, here a phi of 0.25 was considered to be at least notable). However, a phi of 0.1 is not having any determining effect. Phi values are derived from the chi-test statistic, calculating the square root of the quotient obtained by dividing the chi-test statistic by the sample size.

SPSS was also used to calculate the expected versus observed number of occurrences given the dataset. The number of observed occurrences are those that were actually logged into the databases. The number of expected occurrences (or expected frequency) are the number of observations that would be expected to fall into each category if there was no association between the variables being assessed. When the number of observed occurrences is close in value to the number of expected occurrences, nothing is happening of note within the data, and is likely to produce a very high chi-square p-value and a very small phi value. When the number of observed occurrences differs significantly from the expected, the opposite happens - there will be a smaller chi-square p-value and a higher phi value.

SPSS was also used to track change over time. Cambridgeshire and Ontario databases tracked burials from 1845-1925, and in Perthshire from 1730 to 1969, but for the purpose of allowing for a direct comparison between all three locations, only burials from 1856 to 1925 were used in this assessment. 1846 onward could not be utilized as the expected frequency was below five in Ontario, and this provided an inadequate cell count for use in a chi-square. Cross tabulations were made against each of the five symbol categories and the decades to track basic growth and/or decline patterns present for each symbol over time.

To make the data more relevant to potential identity and symbol associations, cases that satisfied relevant conditions were selected when necessary (i.e. only Anglicans crosstabulated against decade, only females crosstabulated against the presence or absence of floral symbols). This research did not utilize percentages in analysis as showing the actual numbers recorded provides a better sense of the scale of the data, whereas the use of percentages can serve to obscure the scale of the sample sizes utilized. I remained focused on the actual numbers within categories because the method of analysis takes into account variations in sample size between comparable samples. The contingency table analysis that I used explicitly takes into account variability in sample size, and determines if there is an unusual variation in the numbers. Thus, the focus is on the observed numbers and the variables between those.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHANGE OVER TIME

As previously mentioned, the works of Deetz and Dethlefsen (1967) and Hijiya (1983) set a precedent to expect change in the symbols present on gravestones over time. The urn and willow symbol was the latest mortality symbol to have widespread usage, declining in popularity in the mid 19th century, right as the data for the majority of this research begins. While urns remain a fairly common symbol into this period of research, the decline in mortality symbols allows for other symbols to begin to take their place in popularity. The late Victorian period is noted to have many imitations of natural objects, as well as crosses which show “the erosion of anti-Papist inhibitions” (Hijiya, 1983, p. 355). With the increasing use of floral and religious symbols beginning during this period, understanding the context in which these changes were occurring helps to demonstrate why these concurrent symbols may, at one point, outpace one another. Both Rugg (2013) and Laqueur (2015) have arguments as to whether or not floral symbols outpaced religious symbols, having set their arguments against the backdrop of the historical period.

In the 18th and 19th centuries there was a boom in investments in burial materials (Sayer, 2011). This led to an increase in monument availability as monument creation entered into mass production due to the creation of canal and rail infrastructures in England (Rugg, 2013; Sayer, 2011). Due to this increased affordability, families of all social classes found themselves with the ability to not only erect individual monuments, but monuments of increasing detail. However, it was only after 1880 that monuments seem to speak on the individuality of the deceased as opposed to simply attempting to fit into the broader cemetery aesthetic (Sayer, 2011).

This increase in monumental erection led to complications. With monuments more readily available, graveyards now had issues with their permanency of burial (Rugg, 2013).

Before, graveyards had been conducting burials at a rate above which they could support (often due to periods of population booms and disease), leading to improper burial practices being conducted (Rugg, 2013; Laqueur, 2015). Bodies were being buried upon one another, and were far too close to the top of the ground, with Enon Chapel reporting up to twelve thousand bodies in a fifty-nine-by-twenty-nine foot area with twenty new corpses added each week (Laqueur, 2015). This improper burial led to bones sticking up through dirt (Rugg, 2013), putrid smell, and black flies crawling out of the bodies (Laqueur, 2015). The only solution to the overcrowding was to remove the previously buried bodies to make space for the new, whereby it was reported that bodies from Eton were flushed down storm sewers to enter the Thames River (Laqueur, 2015). But with the monument boom, burial grounds now encountered the expectation that the dead have “privacy, comfort, and honour of bourgeois life; a comfortable bed in quiet surroundings far from noise and hubbub, where they could be cared for and rest undisturbed” (Laqueur, 2015, p. 217). Families now had the ability to erect personal, more ostentatious stones which usurped the practice of reusing burial space (Rugg, 2013).

The Church was also being reformed away from the state during this time, and the increasing number of Nonconformists were perceived as a threat to Anglican control. As churches began to run out of burial space, they struggled to keep up with burial demand due to issues with funding due to the increasing presence of Nonconformists who sat on vestries (Laqueur, 2015). In cases where the original churchyard could not itself be extended, land could be afforded to the church in other areas in or out of the village as ‘detached’ extensions.

With the pressures to move away from Anglican control of burial space, the rise of cemeteries began in the mid 19th century. The cemetery became a place of peace and tranquility, free from grotesque smells and permitting the dead to proclaim their memory. It was a place that

did not embrace Christian ideals in the same way as a graveyard, and did not carry the same ancient expectations and ideas (Laqueur, 2015).

By the mid-19th century, cemeteries remained rare in rural areas where the church still held total control over burial practices. Despite this, the ideas brought in by the creation of cemeteries were being heard and in some ways included by the church. Extensions added to pre-existing graveyards would often resemble the new cemeteries, with more standard practices and rules being introduced, such as the creation of grave registers and plot numbers (Rugg, 2013). But this led to the question of how cemeteries and graveyards were actually distinct from one another, and how the latter was more sacred than the former (Rugg, 2013).

Because of this, Laqueur (2015) asserts that the cemetery was a place of naturalization and creation of utopian futures. Cemeteries were “not only good hygienically but also psychologically good for the living” as the presence of a well-kept garden could assuage even the deepest of fears surrounding death, the dead, and dying (Laqueur, 2015, p. 277). The modernized garden cemetery saw a rise in not only romantic ideals surrounding death, but a rise in anticlericalism - a cemetery was new, not autarchic, and hid the dead skillfully from view while still tastefully demonstrating their presence. It was here in the garden cemetery that Laqueur (2015) claims that “the dead did not lose any of their idolatrous charms, but they exercised them more promiscuously than before; the old God was considerably less evident” (p. 279)

Rugg (2013) otherwise believes that the church did not lose such control of burial practices, especially in rural locales. Orders to close the graveyards were rarely requested, and when they did occur, closures often pertained to only select parts of the graveyard and oftentimes with exceptions which would permit burials in certain situations (Rugg, 2013). Nonconformist

cemetery companies were still offering ministerial services that could be requested by the family of the deceased, or dispensed with altogether. Methodist groups would travel a local circuit with a minister in order to conduct weddings and baptisms, which would often be scheduled for a week in which the minister visited (Rugg, 2013). Funerals in areas that did not have their own minister would still utilize the Anglican clergy as delay in burial to wait for a minister was non-optimal (Rugg, 2013). Rurally, Anglican ministers were still tightly bound to all community activities, and frequently had a personal association with the families that comprised the community (Rugg, 2013). So, while individuals may have been making the move toward cemetery burials - especially in areas of increasing urbanization - rural groups still relied on the local parish, ministers, clergy, and vicar, whether due to the hardships of attaining a Nonconformist clergyman, or regard to tradition.

Whether Anglican or Nonconformist, Rugg does not believe increasing secularism and use of cemeteries led to the turning away from religious devotion and personal piety. While the cemetery may be a signal of modern secularism (Rugg, 2019), cemeteries are a place where individuals can express formal beliefs of the afterlife alongside less formal ‘spirituality’ and hope (Rugg, 2022). Rugg (2022) defines cemeteries as

“Specifically demarcated sites of burial, with internal layout that is sufficiently well ordered to allow families to claim and exercise control over their particular grave space, and which facilitate the conducting of appropriate funerary ritual. Although cemetery space can be regarded to some degree as sacred, cemeteries are principally secular institutions that aim to serve the whole community. The sites are able to carry multiple social and political meanings” (p. 264).

If Laqueur’s idea about the church’s loss of control over burial holds true, it would be expected for my data to show a decrease in the presence of religious symbols being present on monuments up into the 20th century as secularism and utilization of the cemetery began to increase. If Rugg’s belief holds true, then it can be expected that the presence of religious

symbols would not decline in any significant way or be outpaced by other symbols. Though their analysis is largely centered around the United Kingdom, trends of secularization hold in Scotland and the United States. Scotland was more committed to religious observance than England up into the 1960s (Brown, 2014), but it was trending toward secularism and is now even more secular than England. Scotland and New England faced similar issues with lack of burial space and concerns over disease.

Supporting Laqueur's (2015) claim, Norris (1988) collected data from over 5,000 monuments in 105 rural cemeteries from 1800 to 1909 in Ontario. Norris (1988) charted the percent of recorded motifs during each nine year period after 1829 (beginning with the period from 1800-1829) and demonstrated an increase in the use of flowers and leaves (p. 133), a trend which falls within this period of study that would be expected to be observed in this research as well. This may demonstrate a move toward the more naturalistic and potentially anti-clerical ideas being held in the burial space.

4.1 Data

For the purposes of a direct comparison, change over time was observed from 1856 to 1925 for Perthshire, Cambridgeshire, and Ontario. The exclusive use of floral versus religious symbols was assessed by ten-year periods beginning in 1856.

Cambridgeshire

Cambridgeshire demonstrates that there is change over time in the selection of floral or religious symbols, but the association between the variables is weak. However, the patterning observed suggests that there is an association between the variables.

Symbol Present	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896-1905	1906-15	1916-25
Religious	70 (53.7)	163 (121.2)	181 (174.4)	223 (219.9)	228 (253.4)	237 (300.6)	341 (319.8)
Floral	28 (44.3)	58 (99.8)	137 (143.6)	178 (181.1)	234 (208.6)	311 (247.4)	242 (263.2)

Table 4-1: Cambridgeshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 81.96$, $df = 6$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.18$)

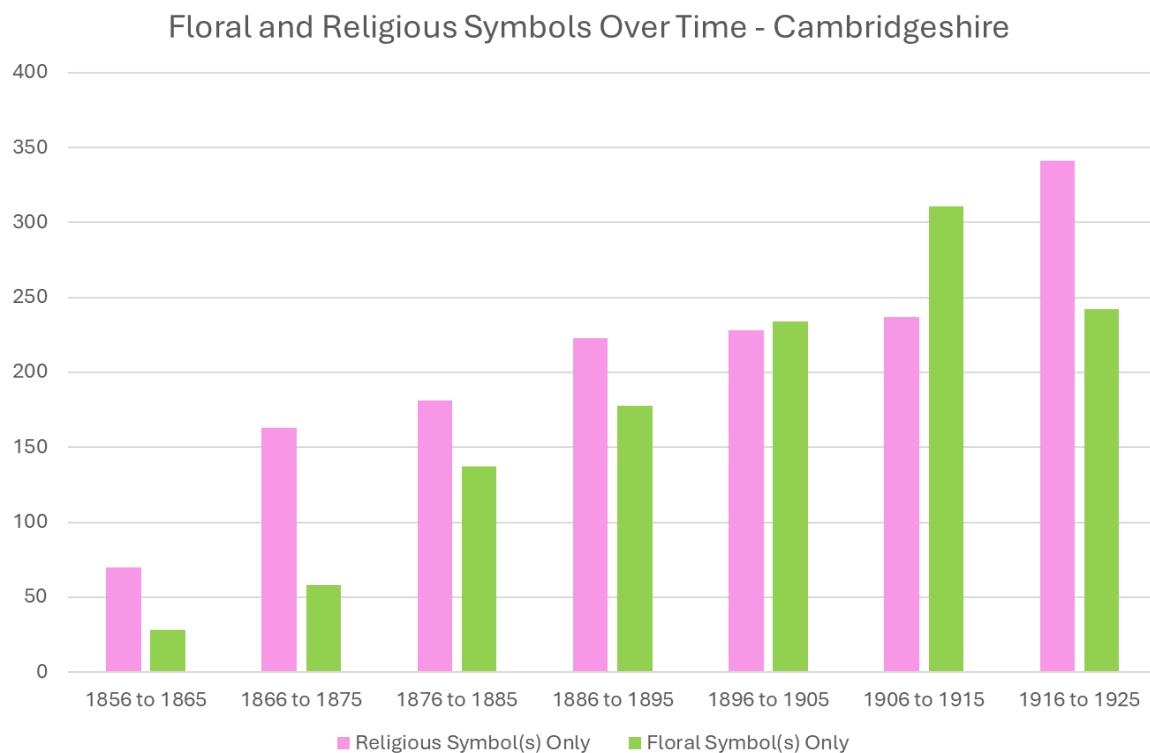


Figure 16: Cambridgeshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)

Notably, the use of exclusively floral symbols dropped off in 1916 after their continual increase in use. Because this decline occurs at the end of the time period used for research, I cannot be certain whether this is the beginning of a period of decline for the use of floral symbols, or simply one time period that experienced a temporary decrease in their use.

Perthshire

In contrast to the Cambridgeshire results, Perthshire demonstrates no significant association between time and the exclusive use of floral versus religious symbols. Perthshire also shows a greater preference for exclusively floral symbols.

Symbol Present	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896-1905	1906-15	1916-25
Religious	15 (15.8)	15 (15.4)	16 (17.2)	19 (26.3)	26 (28.6)	34 (32.3)	46 (35)
Floral	61 (60.2)	59 (58.6)	68 (66.5)	107 (99.7)	111 (108.4)	121 (122.7)	122 (133)

Table 4-2: Perthshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 7.52$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.275$)

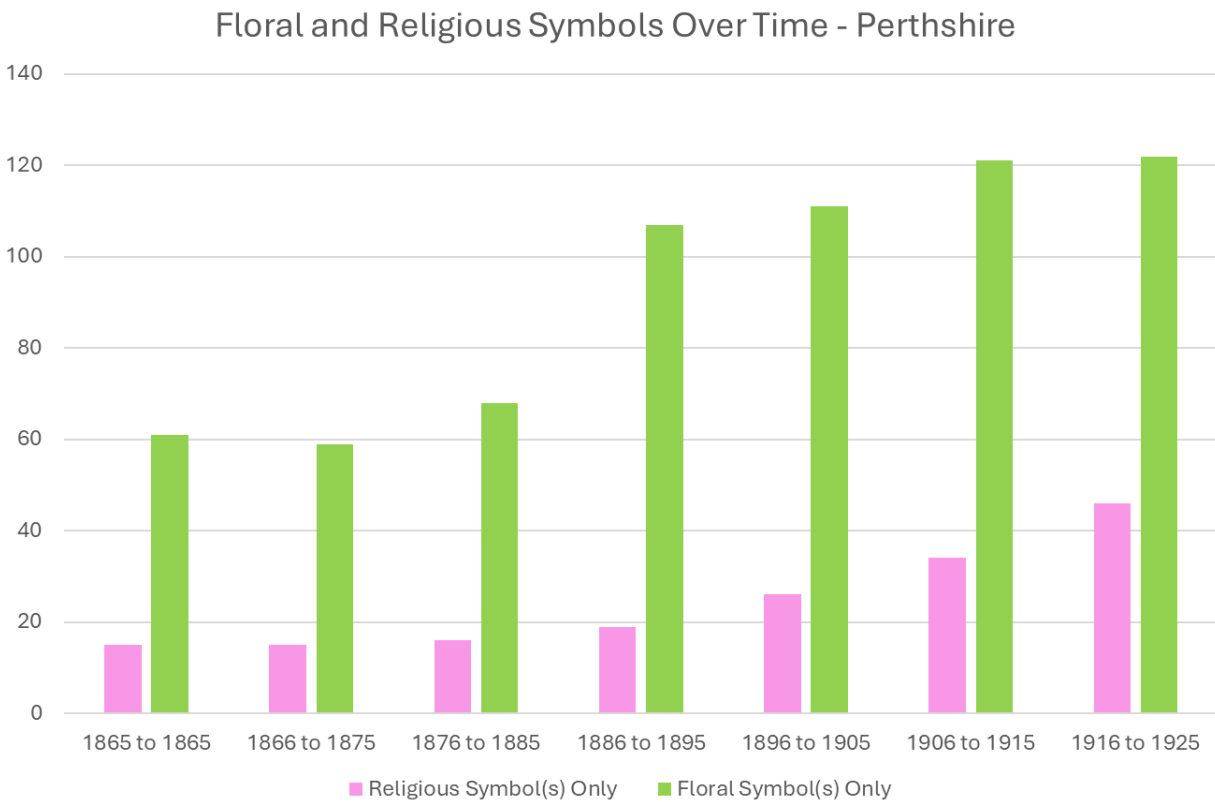


Figure 17: Perthshire (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)

Ontario

Similar to the Perthshire results, there is no significant association between time and the exclusive use of floral versus religious symbols in Ontario. Individuals also tend to favour floral symbols overall, again in contrast to Cambridgeshire.

Symbol Present	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896-1905	1906-15	1916-25
Religious	2 (1.4)	1 (1.8)	5 (4.4)	6 (6.2)	8 (10.4)	9 (15.2)	23 (14.6)
Floral	11 (11.6)	16 (15.2)	36 (36.6)	51 (50.8)	88 (85.6)	132 (125.8)	112 (120.4)

Table 4-3: Ontario (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by decade: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 9.71$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.14$)

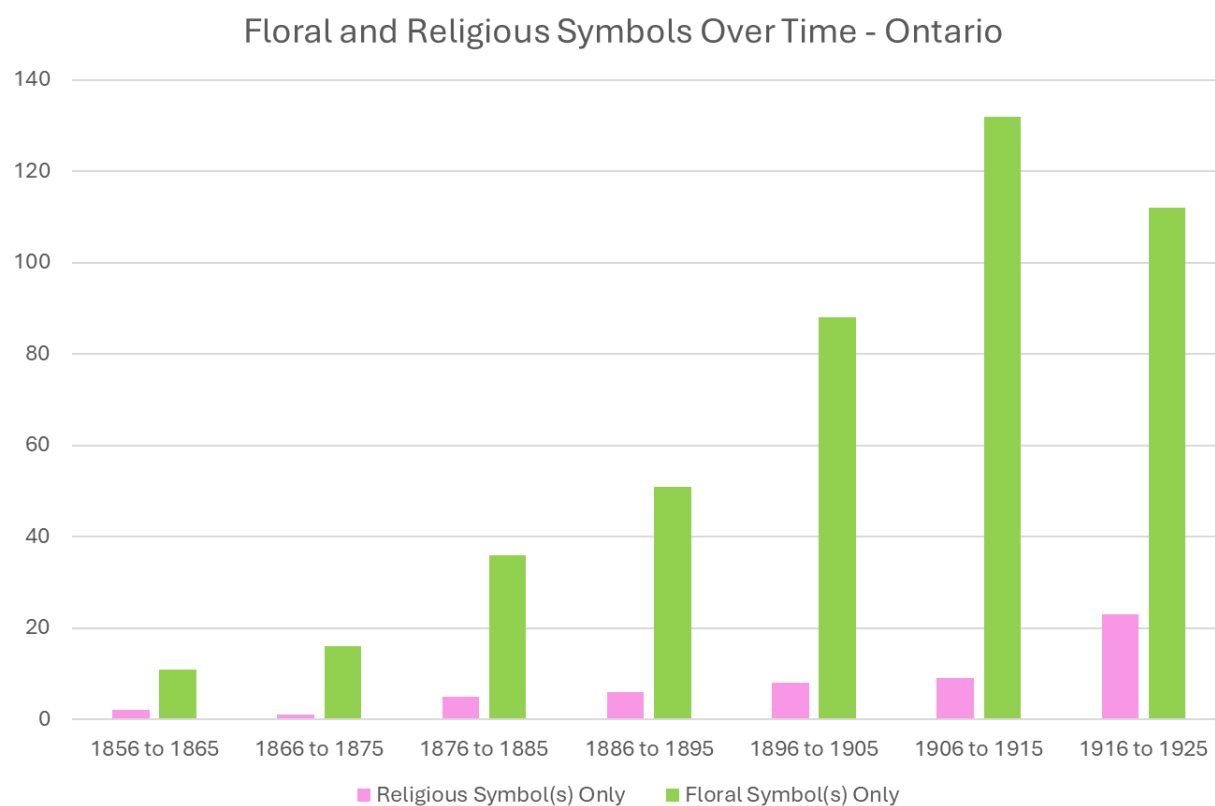


Figure 18: Ontario (1856-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time (by decade)

The use of an exclusive floral symbol is continually what would be expected up into 1906, where there is a large increase in the use of floral symbols before dropping off in 1916. Similar to Cambridgeshire, because this decline occurs at the end of the time period of study, it cannot be assessed whether this is the beginning of a pattern of decline in floral usage, or if it is simply a time period that exhibits a drop before growing again later.

4.2 Analysis

Generally, there is a trend in all three locales that points towards an increased use of exclusively floral symbols on grave monuments. Both Cambridgeshire and Perthshire demonstrate a decade where a ‘jump’ in use takes place, being between the periods of 1866 to 1875 and 1876 to 1885, and 1876 to 1885 and 1886 to 1895 respectively. Ontario does not demonstrate any of these larger scale jumps in usage, but instead trends more consistently toward the use of florals over time.

These findings would seem to support that of Lacquer (2015) in that individuals were moving toward more naturalized elements of burial and away from religious influence. There is no relative increase in the use of religious symbols, given that the increasing numbers are simply due to an increasing amount of monuments being erected. However, it should be noted that in neither of the three locales does the use of religious symbols ever demonstrate a decline in use. While the religious symbols do not see the ‘jump’ in any decade that is seen with florals, the use of religious symbols is also not being completely turned away from in Cambridgeshire, Perthshire, or Ontario. They are, however, being selected for less often than would be expected, especially from 1906 to 1915 in Cambridgeshire and Ontario, right before there is an increase in their selection in 1916 to 1926.

The dip in the use of florals in Ontario and Cambridgeshire in 1916-1925 is matched by an increase in religious symbols. Perthshire also shows a turn toward the selection of religious symbols, even though there is still a very minor increase in the observed use of floral symbols in 1916 to 1925. Since the data for this section of research ended at 1925, it cannot be ascertained whether or not this is the beginning of a downward trend in the use of exclusively floral symbols, or simply a brief outlying period in which florals declined in favour of religious symbols.

Given that the time period coincides with the middle of World War One, it is possible that there was a switch in these locales toward religious symbolism due to the increase in deaths triggering religiously significant behaviours. Burial grounds in both Ontario and Cambridgeshire contained graves for individuals involved in the military, whose graves typically had a religious symbol (namely a cross) present. Of thirty-one individuals who recorded a military occupation in Cambridgeshire, only six did not have a cross on their monument. Twenty-one died during the War, with four dying in 1919. However, this is still only a minority of individuals who died in or shortly after the War.

Wartime can still cause religiously significant behaviours in the living even if they themselves were not directly involved in the violence. As per Henrich et al. (2019), war can create trauma and increase thoughts of death, which leads individuals to seek coping methods. Religiosity can be attractive due to the ritualistic and social elements providing comfort and a sense of control in a time where control may seem lacking. Though Henrich et al. (2019) was studying Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Tajikistan post-conflict, the nature and impacts of war are similar between conflicts. Henrich et al. (2019) suggests that “the effects of war on elevated religiosity are enduring, but may only emerge gradually and strengthen over time after the conflict” (p. 133). Since the last time period covers burials from 1916 to 1925, seven years

post-conflict is covered in the burial records which could have given individuals time to express this religiosity on monuments.

CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTITY MARKERS

It is important to note that, famously, the dead do not bury themselves (Parker Pearson, 1999). While it is possible that, while alive, the deceased had a conversation regarding what they want for their monument, the final decision was made by a living individual. Identity and how it is expressed on a monument is thus negotiated by the living who make choices about what aspects of the deceased should be represented on the stone. While this can be limited by funds and monument availability, it is also influenced by the values held by the individual erecting the monument and the way in which they personally characterize the deceased. Parker Pearson (1993) notes that the survivors' "treatment of the deceased is conditioned by their perception of death and their relationships with each other as much as by their relationship to the deceased whilst alive" (p. 203).

Memorials could be commissioned and crafted prior to a death which would allow for a robust amount of input into the monuments by the decedent (Mytum, 2018). However, the majority of monuments were not selected and erected until anywhere from six months to a year after the death - when options and values had been reflected upon, and emotions were not as high - and thus the deceased often did not have final say (Mytum, 2018). Even had the decedent made specific arrangements for their funeral and burial prior to their death, these wishes could go unfulfilled by the survivors (Parker Pearson, 2003).

So, while the monument is erected to memorialize the deceased and denote who they were in life, the monument is not purely a reflection of the deceased, but also the living. The identity of the deceased may play a part in mortuary practices, but it is negotiated in tandem with the ideas and ideals of the living who are making these selections on their behalf. Thus, assessing facets of identity is a difficult task - someone may have noted themselves as being Presbyterian

in a community census, but not be the most observant or pious in their own religious practices. Their spouse who selects a monument for them may be, and thus may make the selection for a religious symbol on a monument, especially if they themselves may be added to the monument at a later date. However, it is likely that the values of the dead and the living would be similar as they both existed in the same time period and within the same culture, and most often within the same family.

Assessments of monuments are not straightforward and come with complexities similar to trying to understand the meaning of a symbol. Monuments are not simply objective testaments toward who the deceased was or what they valued, and so studies cannot make definitive assertions about the choices that were made for a monument. This research cannot factor in the entire identity of the deceased, nor the full identity of the individuals who purchased and made selections for monuments. Thus, just as it does not seek to make any claims about the meaning of symbols, it does not seek to make robust claims about death and identity as a whole. Individuals are complex, as are funerary practices. This research therefore serves to see if there is any correlation between one specific identity marker of an individual and the selection of symbols - predominantly the exclusive selection of either a floral or religious symbol.

This chapter will address five aspects that can help create the identity of an individual: sex (6.1), age (6.3), social class (6.4), religious affiliation (6.5), and immigration status (6.7). The sex of the monument purchaser (6.2) is also addressed, as well as the presence of religious allusions (6.6) on the monument epitaph to see whether the personal identity of the living may have more of an influence than that of the deceased, and to see whether or not individuals select written word or symbols more often to denote religiosity. For each, I give a discussion as to what I expected to find given the social and historical context the monuments were selected in. I then

turn to my data, focusing on floral and religious symbols to establish whether one is more frequently associated with these identities, and if so which group (i.e. males or females within sex, if sex did display that one group favoured floral symbols). To conclude, an analysis is offered as to why - or why not - the results displayed from the data make sense given the background, previous literature, and expectations. When possible a speculative idea is offered as to why the results may have gone against the original expectations.

5.1 Sex and Religious Gender Ideals

This research focuses on sex as opposed to gender when categorizing data. However, sex is assessed and understood through the society's gendered ideas of sex, namely understandings of 'women' and 'men' as are placed onto biological females and biological males respectively. Ideas surrounding gender roles grow and evolve over time, and differ between societies. Today, the West accepts multiple gender identities that extend outside of the realm of 'woman' or 'man,' and expands these concepts to include transgender individuals as well. This research does not approach gender identities, and does not include the assessment of potentially transgender individuals.

Assessing sex is possible through burial and census records, I catalogued individuals as being male or female. Assigning male or female identities to the deceased has been a part of the archaeological process since the beginning of burial studies (Sofaer & Sorensen, 2013). Gender identity cannot be understood through physical presentation or biological markers, and thus cannot be assessed for a deceased individual. Personal identity of the deceased is thus not factored into the research, but instead how their biological sex presents and would thus influence the roles that would have been expected of them in the locale and time period in which they lived.

Numerous assessments of burial differences between males and females have been conducted in cemetery studies. Little, Lanphear, and Owsley (1992) did as such with the Weir burials in Virginia, assessing expenses afforded to each burial and finding that males were often afforded more elaborately decorated coffins than females. In a study in Juris, Colorado with twenty-eight burials from the 20th century, Broce (1996) assessed the height and geography - where the stone was located within the cemetery - of gravestones, finding no distinction between males and females, and that “neither the inscriptions nor artwork differ significantly by gender or age at death” (p. 180). In studying children from the mid 19th century to late 20th century in Western Michigan and Southern Illinois, Haveman (1999) mentions the distribution of male and female burials - with more infant male burials present - and that gravestones serve the purpose of reflecting gender differences, but does not actually address if any gendered differences were found in the research. Lott (2000) analyzed the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the 19th and 20th centuries to assess burial differences between the sexes and age categories, finding no significant differences in burial between males and females. Lott thus contradicts Dethlefsen’s (1981) claim to the contrary, that religious symbols and epitaphs are more often seen on female monuments than males especially in the 20th century.

Bolin (2004) states that “questions about the individual’s sex, gender and social position are considered to be of great interest, especially in presentations and discussions of the results of excavations of graves and cemeteries,” despite concluding that sex and gender roles can still not adequately be interpreted with mortuary materials (p. 169). A prime issue with assessing sex and gender in archaeology is that sexual differences are most often recognized and interpreted through a modern lens of understanding, and these are most often based on Euro-American

middle-class stereotypes of males and females (Peskowitz, 1997). Modern Western biases are thus imparted onto studies that deal with sex.

Contrary to Sofaer and Sorensen (2013), who state that bioarchaeological work is integral to archaeology because it provides *direct* access to the deceased that circumvents representative materials that are not the deceased themselves, the study of grave monuments *only* provides access to representative material. It is through the study of monuments that the performance of sex and gender are contextualized within the societies where these burials occur. Here, representative materials are important because they provide insight as to the context of the society the deceased operated within.

That performance of sex and gender can be influenced by other societal factors, such as the presence of religion. Wilbur Zelinsky (2007) directly connected sex and religion, asking whether women would be more likely than men to have a religious proclamation on their monuments (p. 461). Zelinsky did not specify whether this proclamation need necessarily be symbolic or present in the epitaph, but his own work assessed symbology. His work understood that personal piety can be in conflict with social and familial obligations, and while it may appear today as though someone is personally devout based on this presentation on a grave, it is possible that the presentation of religiosity on a monument may have conformed to communal expectations or the role one played in their community (Zelinsky, 2007, p. 444). While one may not personally abide by religious and gendered ideals in their everyday life, the person responsible for their burial and monument erection may have, or they may simply be inclined to bury the individual in a way expected by the community.

Religiosity in the 18th to 20th centuries was a prominent part of society and community. A large part of religious expression was that men and women play into the roles assigned to them

by the church. Women were expected to be figures of piety, upholding the expectations of what it meant to be a 'good Christian' as an example to other women and the younger generation (Cott, 1978). It was seen that, as women began to increase in prominence within the Protestant church in the 19th century that "'Christian' values and virtues and 'female' values and virtues were almost identical" (Cott, 1978, p. 221). However, women were to be merely the recipients of the teaching of scripture and had no active role in how the faith was defined (Larson, 2006).

Because of these social expectations on women to uphold God's desires (as they "were made for God's purposes, not man's") females came to be the more pious sex overall (Cott, 1978, p. 225). A woman's status in her community was largely reliant on that of her husband (Mitoraj, 2001). The issue of Eve and the doctrine of original sin followed women, making them weak, guilty, and subject to constant persecution - especially if they did not follow the ideals prescribed to them by the church (Stanton & Spalding, 1885). Men, however, were seen as logical, free, and above all else, with women only serving two purposes - to make men succumb to base desires, or to raise them to the status of supreme.

It was acknowledged that women were the reason men were born and raised into the world, and as such should be treated with a religious reverence - but only if she upheld the expected virtues (Stanton & Spalding, 1885). "Innocence is a woman, chastity is a woman, charity is a woman" and women provide the "ideals of the fair and beautiful" in all artistic pursuits (Stanton & Spalding, 1885, p. 399, 400). The home was the domain of women, where they would raise their children well, to become God-like men and suitable women by instilling religious knowledge and moral virtue (Whitley, 2006).

Given the strong ties between gender expectations and religiosity, it is expected that the answer to Zelinsky's question would be positive - females would be proclaiming more religiosity

on their monuments than males. Given that monuments tend to express not only identity of the individual, but expectations of them within the community, females displaying piety on their graves would be upholding the social expectation that they remain virtuous up to their death (and thus earn a place in Heaven), and further their piety by demonstrating to others that their devotion to God and family was what brought them their salvation. Passersby would instantly understand the deceased was of good religious character, and this would further reinforce the idea within the community that women should uphold these values. This would especially make sense given that females are overwhelmingly buried by male relatives - most often their husband - at least in Perthshire. In Perthshire, 136 women (7.2%) were confirmed to be commemorated by a male, and of that 101 specifically by their spouse.

Contrary to the expectation women would have religious symbols, Hobbs (2002) noted that flowers were “figuratively associated with women’s physical and emotional characteristics” (p. 242). But, even then, flowers would be connected to Protestant women who sponsored “flower missions” to bring arrangements to the impoverished and ill. It was at the turn of the 20th century that florals began to become associated with women’s roles in “establishing social status through conspicuous consumption” (Hobbs, 2002, p. 243). Overall, both floral *and* religious symbols have associations with females.

5.1.1 Data

Cambridgeshire

Cambridgeshire demonstrates no association between sex and the exclusive use of floral versus religious symbols. Neither males nor females deviate, almost at all, from what would be expected of them if there was no association between the variables of sex and symbol.

Symbol Present	Female Decedent	Male Decedent
Religious	648 (647.5)	825 (825.5)
Floral	534 (534.5)	682 (681.5)

Table 5-1: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.70$)

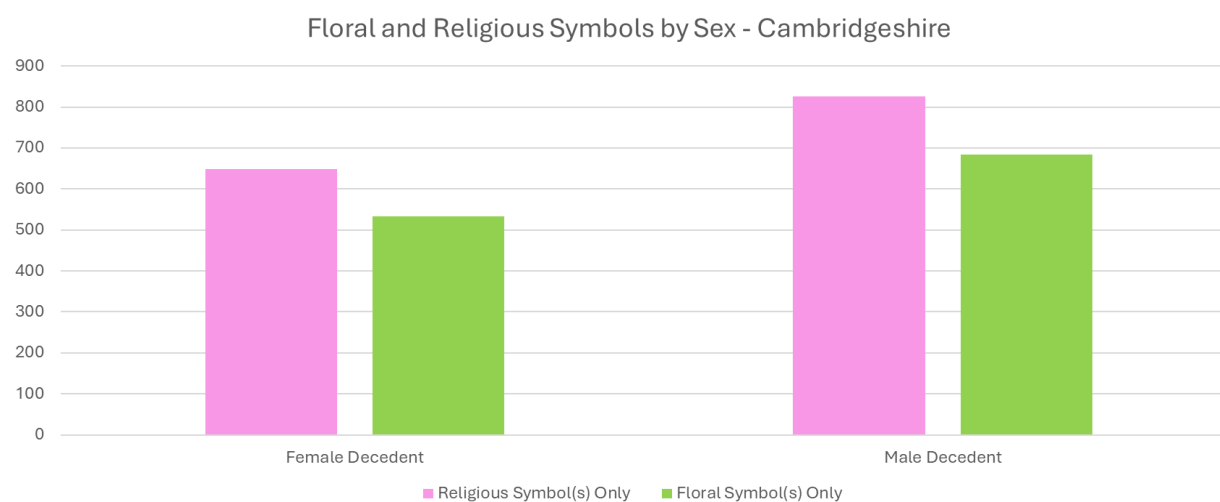


Figure 19: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by sex

Perthshire

Perthshire also demonstrates no association between sex and the exclusive presence of a floral or religious symbol on a grave monument.

Symbol Present	Female Decedent	Male Decedent
Religious	76 (74.6)	167 (168.4)
Floral	329 (330.4)	748 (746.6)

Table 5-2: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.05$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.82$)



Figure 20: Perthshire (1730-1969) floral versus religious symbols by sex

Ontario

Though still above the predetermined value of significance set for the p-value, Ontario differs from the results in both Perthshire and Cambridgeshire. Though the selection of an exclusively floral or religious symbol in Ontario is still demonstrating that there is little to no association between the variables, there is slightly more deviation from the expectation than seen in the other two datasets.

Symbol Present	Female Decedent	Male Decedent
Religious	21 (15.2)	33 (38.8)
Floral	120 (125.8)	326 (320.2)

Table 5-3: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 3.416$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.065$)

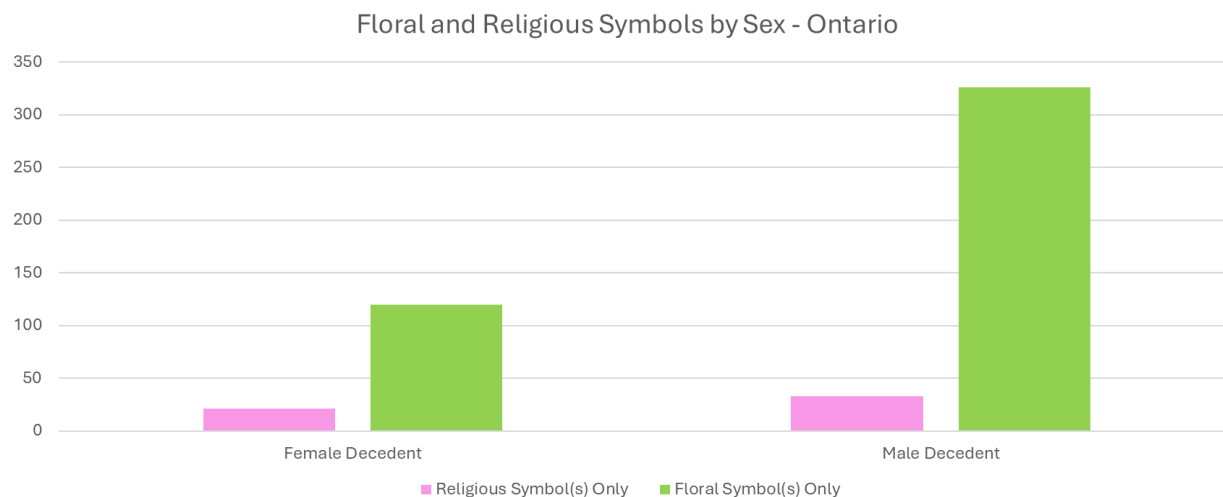


Figure 21: Ontario (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by sex

Females in Ontario *are* being represented with religious symbols slightly more often than would be expected though not to a statistically significant degree. Individuals in Ontario may thus be using sex as a slightly more deterministic factor in the selection of monument symbols, but sex is still certainly not an important contributor to the choice of a symbol.

5.1.2 Analysis

The hypothesis that females will have greater rates of overt religious symbolism present on their grave monument is unsupported by the data. Instead, these findings support those of Lott (2000) in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, who found that “while the stones of women tend to display slightly more religious content, the stones are more or less similar between genders; there is no significant difference in the...use of motifs” (p. 58). These findings also support Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) who assessed burial in tandem with religious affiliation from the 18th to early 19th century in South Carolina and Georgia. Though they conceded that they did not have enough information to determine if motifs differed between those of different ages or sexes - especially not in tandem with their religious affiliation - they did not think that

women or children held a lesser place than men within their societies based on grave monuments (Gorman & DiBlasi, 1981).

Even in Ontario where there seems to be even the slightest indication of a relationship between sex and the exclusive use of floral or religious symbols, individuals are not deviating significantly from expectation. Male and female representation appears to be fairly equal, even though females appear to slightly favour the presence of a religious symbol over the presence of a floral symbol.

This means the answer to Zelinsky's (2007) question is negative - women are in fact, overall, *not* more likely to display religious proclamations on their monuments, at least with regards to symbolism. It seems as though even if there are differences in social expectations placed upon males and females based on gendered roles or religious ideologies, they do not necessarily appear in the burial space. Males and females are represented in the same way as one another despite the very different positions they were expected to hold in society.

5.2 The Monument Purchaser

Knowing who selected or purchased a monument could also be telling as to the expectations of sex. Perthshire provided a unique avenue in which to make this assessment. Of all the monuments included in this study for Perthshire, 37.7% made explicit reference to the individual who had purchased the stone. Most often this came in two forms - 'this stone was erected by [name]' or 'for our mother, father, etc.' Mytum (2004) makes note of similar practice in the early modern period of Ireland, stating that the inclusion of the name of the individual who erected the monument was for the "person who commissioned the stone 'and their posterity (i.e. descendants)'" (p. 163). In Scotland, the clanship system had already disappeared in the late 19th century, but people still strongly linked their identity to kin and place (Ritchie, 2020). Here, the

gravestone was not only used to speak to the identity of the deceased, but to tie them back into their community, oftentimes to a local, long-standing family (Ritchie, 2020). This is especially evident when the individual who had purchased the monument mentions that they no longer live in the area of the deceased, but they are still purchasing a monument in the town of their family and once again associating themselves with the locale, even when physically absent from the space.

Based on personal communication with Aubrey Cannon, he recalled a lack of information regarding purchaser present on the monuments in Cambridgeshire - though did not recall the exact frequency at which it did occur - and so I conducted a more systematic analysis to clarify that the frequency of it in Perthshire was out of the ordinary, and likely meaningful in some way. A sample of five burial grounds in Cambridgeshire was taken to obtain a representative sample of the frequency of purchaser information on monuments outside of Perthshire. I selected Bourn (central), Balsham (to the east), Melbourn Baptist and Melbourn United Reform (Southwest), and Chesterton (directly in Cambridge) to assess via inscription records how often a monument purchaser was mentioned. In these five locations, only six monuments made direct mention of the individual that purchased the stone and had it erected for the deceased. Balsham had a total of 340 monuments, Bourn 339, Melbourn Baptist 44 and United 266, with Chesterton being well over 1,000 monuments. This count includes monuments that did not have symbols on them as well, which further demonstrates the rarity (0.3%) of the mention of the purchaser in Cambridgeshire when compared to Perthshire. Due to weathering and photo quality, the epitaphs for Ontario did not permit the reliable collection of epitaph information for Ontario, thus excluding it from this portion of the study. However, similar to Cannon, even when the epitaph

was readable, possible mentions of purchasers were infrequent, if not absent altogether from the burial sites.

Because of the commonality of this practice in Perthshire, assessing the sex of the monument purchaser was possible through the use of gendered names and language (i.e. ‘erected by John Doe for *his* father’).

Women were and continue to be more highly involved in devotional practices than men (Li et al., 2020), so it would make sense if females were the ones choosing to demonstrate piety on a monument. However, because of the link between piety and subservience to the husband, it is also possible that males select more religious symbols for their deceased wives in order to demonstrate their spouses’ virtue to others within the community even if, as has been established, the sex of the decedent does not have any influence on symbol selection.

5.2.1 Data

A total of 589 (31.6%) monuments dating from 1730 to 1969 in Perthshire made direct reference to the individual who purchased the monument, either by name, relation to the deceased, or both. However, of these 589 monuments only 260 were included in this research. Monuments were omitted from this category if the sex of the purchaser was unknown, or if multiple individuals of different sexes purchased the monument together. Further, monuments were only included if they demonstrated the exclusive presence of a floral or religious symbol.

Similarly to the results based on sex of the decedent, the sex of the monument purchaser appears to be largely irrelevant to the selection of a floral or religious symbol on a monument.

Symbol Present	Female Purchaser	Male Purchaser
Religious	15 (10.8)	12 (16.2)
Floral	89 (93.2)	144 (139.8)

Table 5-4: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by purchaser's sex: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 3.04$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.08$)

The selection of a floral symbol is most common for purchasers of either sex. Although the sample size of religious symbols for either sex is rather small, females appear to be choosing religious symbols slightly more frequently than males, and at a higher rate than expected, whereas males are selecting religious symbols less than would be expected, though not to a statistically significant degree.

Of the fifteen females who selected monuments with only religious symbols, all were wives except for one daughter who was memorializing her father. Of the 11 males, six were husbands, four were fathers, one was a nephew, and one was a male of unknown relation. The nephew was memorializing his uncle, and three of the fathers were memorializing daughters.

Thus, the majority of males were memorializing females, and all of the females were memorializing males. Males and females are also making similar selections in regards to the religious symbol present - overwhelmingly crosses on the monument or a cross as the monument. Males never chose IHS, however, though it was also not very popular among females. Both displayed one instance of atypical symbol selection, that being church imagery and an angel.

Seeing as males who chose religious imagery were only selecting for their wives 54.5% of the time, the argument in 6.1 for the fact that females - who were expected to uphold virtue within the family sphere - would be given more religious imagery has even less support. Three of

the females fell into the age group of being under 21, and would likely thus not be old enough to be expected to be properly displaying these religious behaviours and virtues, or at least not within their own family unit. Wives are actually displaying more religiosity for their husbands, despite the fact that males were not held to similar religious virtue standards.

5.2.2 Analysis

Given these data, it appears as though the sex of the purchaser and the sex of the deceased play equally insignificant roles in the selection of a symbol for a grave monument. Not only are females and males being memorialized in nearly identical symbolic ways, but males and females are making nearly identical symbolic choices for the decedent they are commemorating.

5.3 Age

For Cambridgeshire, Perthshire, and Ontario, age was originally designated into six categories, those being: 0.1 to 2.9 years, 3 to 10 years, 11 to 20 years, 21 to 50 years, 51 to 70 years, and 71 and above. Upon running these categories through SPSS in multiple variations, it was determined that the three youngest age categories needed to be combined to encapsulate all individuals under the age of 21 in order to create a group large enough to be comparable to the other age categories.

Age is important in assessing gravestones as there are different expectations placed on children as opposed to adults. Symbols on children's gravestones are assumed to be reflective of innocence, purity, and a life cut short (Haveman, 1999). Most often the symbol associated with deceased children is lambs, while roses and lilies are also prominent and potentially represent that a child had not lived to maturity (Anderson, 1993; Horton, 1989, 1994; Suchan, 2012). Adults, however, do not have similar symbolic expectations, although young women are often buried with lambs, lilies, and roses as well - seemingly for similar reasons. Heinrich (2014) notes

that young, typically unmarried women would correlate with tulips no matter their religious affiliation, and sunbursts or scallop designs were associated with children in New York and New Jersey in the mid-18th century. Adult males and females see much more flexibility in the symbols with which they are buried, having no precedent or expectations as to what should be on their stones.

There are other instances of symbolic differences between age categories being present on grave monuments. Edgette (1999) notes that symbols were changing in relation to religious ideas in the mid 1800s which changed ideas of death, and emphasis was being put on mortality. Children's monuments often had cherubs and other small angels, which then shifted in the 18th and 19th centuries with the addition of lambs (Edgette, 1999, p. 8). However, Edgette (1999) notes that while there was an increase in frequency of these symbols, children were often depicted with the same symbols seen on adult monuments, though smaller in physical size (p. 8). Edgette gives a robust list of symbols that would most often be associated with young children into the older child category:

“Included in a long list of motifs directly associated with very young children are rattles, alphabet blocks, tricycles, wagons, highchairs, toy trains, dolls, baby shoes, and the like. The motifs found on the memorials for older children have a tendency to show the kinds of things associated with that age group. Examples include: sports equipment (bats, basketballs, baseball gloves, hockey sticks, pucks, boxing gloves, skis), automobiles, scooters, bicycles, motorbikes, the whole range of musical instruments, school insignias, organizations to which they belonged, class rings, and so on” (Edgette, 1999, p. 11)

Edgette's references here are for monuments dating from the mid-20th century into present, and this type of individualization is not common for the 19th and early 20th centuries. My research noted the presence of none of these types of symbols for children's grave monuments (what was seen is noted in 6.3.1). However, Edgette (1999) establishes that there is

in fact a difference in typical motifs for children, and even within the age groups of children. Expectations for motifs change based on age.

Edgette (1999) also notes that the change in ideas about death took on the ideal of exalting the successes and virtues of the deceased. For children, especially within the youngest category, it is unlikely for them to have established any type of specific personality or accomplishments to be proclaimed on the stone. Thus, hobby associations or general motifs make more sense for adolescents.

Given Edgette (1999), Haveman (1999), Anderson (1993), Suchan (2012), and Horton (1989) it would be expected that there would be differentiation in the symbols present for children and adolescents when compared to individuals past adolescence.

5.3.1 Distinctions for Under 21

For all individuals under the age of twenty-one, the specific symbol present on their monument is recorded in the following. This section will use the finer age categories of 0.1 to 2.9, 3 to 10, and 11 to 20. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that there are similarities between individuals in these younger categories when it comes to symbols, but some groups have symbols that the others do not. As per Edgette (1999), younger children do differ from older children in regards to the symbols present on their monuments. Here, it is less specific than what he observed, but the differences between adolescent groups still hold.

For florals, 0.1 to 2.9 year olds had ivy, wreaths, and natural or architectural florals. For 3 to 10, ivy with berries, other natural florals, or architectural florals were present. For those 11 to 20, ivy (with or without berries), architectural florals, natural florals, wreaths, and bouquets were observed. Religious symbols for those 0.1 to 2.9 were those of the cross as a stone shape, the Celtic cross as the stone shape, a cross atop the monument, gates, or IHS with the I as a cross.

Three to 10 year olds had crosses in relief and gates, while 11 to 20 year olds had IHS with I as a cross, or cross as a stone shape. Animals for all groups were most typically a bird facing right. Only the 0.1 to 2.9 age group had a lamb, while both they and the 11 to 20 year olds had birds that pointed downwards. Mortality symbols for the 0.1 to 2.9 year olds were urns atop the monument with or without veils, urns atop the monument with a flame, or a sarcophagus element on top. Three to 10 year olds had soul effigies or cherubs, and urns atop the monument with or without a veil. Eleven to 20 year olds had urns atop (with no veils), soul effigies or cherubs, an urn in relief on the monument, curtains, or a sarcophagus element on top. Individuals aged 0.1 to 2.9 had shields, shields with the family initials, clasped hands, anchors, ribbon, shapes (i.e. square, triangle, sphere), rope, stars, and stones in the shape of a book, scroll, or heart. Three to 10 year olds had stones in the shape of a shield, book, or scroll, family initials, rays with a star, shapes, banners, or a relief scroll, and 11 to 20 year olds had shields with initials, shields by themselves, initials by themselves, book in relief, anchor with rope or chain, rays (such as from the sun), clasped hands, ribbons, insignias, banners, or stones in the shape of a book, scroll, or heart.

5.3.2 Data

Cambridgeshire

A pattern can be observed between age and the selection of a floral or religious symbol on a monument that is unlikely to occur if there was no association between the variables. There is a relationship between these four age categories and the use of a floral or religious symbol on a monument, however this relationship is weak.

It is interesting to note, however, that when looking at the rate of observed versus expected symbol presence in Cambridgeshire, there are far fewer floral symbols present than

expected and far more religious symbols present than expected for individuals in the age group under 21, and from ages 21 to 50, while the inverse is true for individuals in the groups of 51 to 70 and 71 and above.

Symbol Present	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71 and Older
Religious	193 (148.9)	388 (360.2)	459 (510.1)	428 (448.8)
Floral	79 (123.1)	270 (297.8)	473 (421.9)	392 (371.2)

Table 5-5: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 47.01$, $df = 3$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.13$)

Perthshire

The data collected from Perthshire indicates that there is a pattern occurring in regards to age and symbol selection, demonstrating that there is some association between the variables of age and symbol. The relationship is, however, weak.

Symbol Present	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71 and Older
Religious	20 (10.6)	60 (41.6)	61 (74.3)	57 (71.5)
Floral	41 (50.4)	179 (197.4)	366 (352.7)	354 (339.5)

Table 5-6: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 26.37$, $df = 3$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.15$)

Although religious symbolism is far less common in Perthshire, the relative proportion of monuments decorated exclusively with either religious or floral symbols with respect to age follows the same pattern observed in Cambridgeshire.

Ontario

Analysis across the sites of Orangeville, Harriston, and Mount Forest demonstrates that, in contrast to the Scottish and English results, there is no significant association between age and the exclusive use of florals versus religious symbols in Ontario.

Symbol Present	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71 and Older
Religious	9 (5.7)	19 (14.3)	12 (15.3)	14 (18.7)
Floral	44 (47.3)	113 (117.7)	129 (125.7)	159 (154.3)

Table 5-7: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by age: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 5.94$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.14$)

5.3.3 Presence of Animal Symbols

The category of age presented an opportunity to go into more detail regarding not only floral symbols, but animal symbols due to the common discussions in the literature about florals and animals and their relation to children - context that was not common for the other identity categories examined. Though there were not enough children to be broken down into smaller age categories for the general assessment, the quote from Edgette (1999) above notes that younger children are represented by different symbols than older children on more modern monuments. Because there was an expectation surrounding children more generally, and examples for children more specifically, a finer breakdown was utilized when looking at animal symbols. Despite the expectation that animals, namely lambs, would be present on the monuments of children, none of the three locales show the presence of animal symbols in any great quantity.

Age of Decedent	Cambridgeshire	Perthshire	Ontario
0.1 to 2.9	1	1	6
3 to 10	1	0	2
11 to 20	3	0	1
21 to 50	18	1	2
51 to 70	21	10	3
71 and Older	14	5	0

Table 5-8: Total presence of animal symbols for each age group

The number of positive occurrences for animal symbols in all three locales is very low when compared against the total number of monuments examined that had a valid age associated with them (3,266 for Cambridgeshire, 1,561 for Perthshire, and 767 for Ontario). In Ontario, only three individuals have lambs - two of which were infants (male and female), and one a 22 year old male. Perthshire and Cambridgeshire had no lambs at all.



Figure 22: The monument of the 22 year old male, Martin Bench, with a cross atop the stone and lamb. Orangeville, ON.



Figure 23: The monument of the infant girl, Catherine "Kate" Crawford (and her twin sister, Hattie) with lambs and clasped hand symbol. Mount Forest, ON.

The presence of a lamb on a child's monument is not unsurprising, but the presence of a lamb on the monument of a male of young adult age is strange. The literature discussed above anticipates that, of any sex, a female would be the one to be represented with a lamb. All three individuals with a lamb died in the late 19th century - 1880, 1884, and 1883. The infants are located in the Mount Forest cemetery, while the adult male is located in Orangeville.

Doves are overwhelmingly the most popular choice for an animal symbol. Nine are present in Ontario, 12 in Perthshire, and 36 in Cambridgeshire. Doves are represented pointing in all directions, and frequently carrying a branch (likely an olive branch) in their mouth.



Figure 24: Monument with a left pointing dove. Whaddon, Cambridgeshire.

5.3.4 Analysis

As evidenced by the work of Edgette (1999), Anderson (1993), Horton (1989), Haveman (1999), and Heinrich (2014), age may be one of the aspects of identity taken into consideration when choosing a symbol, but it is not the only or primary factor influencing choice.

Cambridgeshire and Perthshire both demonstrate that age creates a relationship between the selection of a monument symbol and the age of the deceased. Ontario, however, shows little to no association between age and symbol presence on a monument. Thus, the confirmation of the hypothesis appears to rely on the location of the study. Age was a greater factor in the selection of exclusively floral or religious symbols in some geographical areas, but not in others.

The results from Cambridgeshire and Perthshire raise questions about why younger individuals in that locale are over-represented by religious symbols and older individuals are over-represented by floral symbols. A possible explanation for the greater use of religious symbols for individuals under the age of 21 could be due to child mortality. Haveman (1999) wrote of the inscriptions on children's monuments in America that the inscription may be 'bittersweet' because the death of a child was not a wholly unexpected occurrence in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Haveman (1999) also notes that in the early twentieth century, the themes of the monumental inscription changed to be more representative of the belief in God, and that the child belonged to Him and was now with Him in their death (p. 275). Haveman (1999) observed that children most often had flowers, lambs, and angels - with only one of these fitting into my categorization of religious imagery - but it is possible that, for children, religious symbols were being selected more frequently because of this idea that the child now belonged to God.

However, child mortality during the periods of 1845-1925 had dropped significantly over time. In England and Wales the mortality rate dropped from 8.7 deaths per 1,000 people for those aged five to nine from 1841 to 1845 to 3.4 of every 1,000 in 1906 up into 1910 (Seventy-Seventh Annual Report, 1916, p. 28). Thus, it may not be the actual mortality rates that are the source of increased religious symbolism on monuments, but instead cultural trends having to do with ideas of religiosity especially since this pattern extended to individuals under the age of fifty.

Despite the decrease in child mortality over time, the death of a child (and younger individuals more generally) is still considered highly traumatic. Grief was, amongst all social classes, inseparable from the experience of child loss as it is today, despite the increased expectation that death may occur to younger individuals (Corrick, 2024). Though speculative, the death of an elderly individual is not necessarily an unexpected death in the same way the death of an individual under the age of fifty may be. Generally, younger people are not expected to die in the same way as those over the age of fifty, as aging is linked to changes in vital functions of the body which can lead to a decline in health and create age-associated diseases, and then death (Holliday, 2010).

Deaths in younger individuals can be due to disease, but these are genetic or spontaneously developed (i.e. cancer or epidemics), and cannot necessarily be anticipated in the same way as the development of age related diseases such as Alzheimer's or osteoporosis. In a study of nearly 6,500 individuals from 2001 to 2009, the causes of sudden and unexpected natural deaths in young adults between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were found to be predominantly preventable (Chaturvedi et al., 2011). Infections accounted for nearly 55% of cases, with cerebrovascular accidents and ischemic cardiac causes accounting for approximately

16% together (Chaturvedi et al., 2011). Other causes of deaths in younger individuals are accidental in nature, be they car crashes or steep falls, or caused by mal intent.

While older individuals may also die in the same manner, aging cannot be reversed, and diseases caused by aging often have no cure and are not inherently preventable. It is also commonly thought that older individuals have lived ‘full lives’ in comparison to younger individuals, and thus their passing is not necessarily viewed as a tragedy in the same way. When younger individuals pass away, there may be the need to view this in relation to religious ideas, especially those that regard spiritual immortality - the young person’s life is not *over* as much as it is simply transformed to existence in another realm. Here, death is simply a continuity into another life where, as per Haveman (1999), the child now belongs to or with God. These statistics around the cause of death of younger individuals highlights how frequently the death of a younger individual would be seemingly sudden, unexpected, and seemingly unpredictable, potentially leading to more religiously significant behaviours.

In contrast, the lesser use of religious symbols for individuals in the oldest age category is contrary to the observed incline in religiosity associated with aging (Argue et al., 1999, p. 433). Sari (2017) found that younger Muslim individuals are less participatory in religious activities (such as the salaah), likely due to their assumed distance from death whereas older individuals partake in more religious activities as they feel closer to dying (p. 262). However, older individuals would be the ones selecting and purchasing the monument for these younger individuals, so it is possible that their religiosity is manifesting on the monument, at least for those individuals under the age of twenty-one.

The age of the individual selecting the monument may also prove of further value because just as older individuals (i.e. parents) would most often be purchasing for younger

individuals, younger individuals (i.e. children) would often be purchasing for older individuals. Given their age, older individuals may be choosing older style fashions. Chapter four determined that there was a trend toward the use of floral symbols over time, so the older trend would have leaned toward the selection of religious symbols (if not mortality symbols). Younger individuals would likely be selecting from the rising trend of floral symbols. Thus, older individuals having more floral symbols on their monuments and younger individuals having more religious elements may be explained by the changes in monument fashion over time.

5.4 Occupation and Social Class

Clark (1987), Cannon (1989), and Little, Lanphear and Owsley (1992) found that upper class individuals were often the first to create trends, and then the first to abandon them as the lower classes sought to copy them in order to keep control over the status associated with a monument. Individuals of lower-status would be picking popular forms *after* the height of their popularity, as this is when they could gain access to the materials (Cannon, 1989). Knowledge about a particular set of rules and expectations is curated by a group of people, and participation in such expectations then associates the individual with the group. These expectations are redefined often enough that those who do not fit into the group can never keep up, and are thus constantly being excluded from said group (Little et al., 1992). However, even with the presence of trends, there is still a large amount of variability present in decision making, and not all of it is conscious.

Individuals may not have been thinking in-depth about what the symbol they picked could mean aside from how it helped present their status. Consumer choice is limited by social relations, and these choices can either serve to reinforce expectations, or change them (Clark, 1987, p. 385). From the perspective of symbolic interactionists (those that believe individuals

construct reality through shared meanings and interpretations), the ‘self’ is a social object which is created through interactions with other individuals and objects, and is continually being created and renegotiated through these interactions (Hewitt, 2003). Those responsible for burial and monument selection were not considering what these symbols would mean to individuals in the future, such as archaeologists, but were playing into the social behaviours that were created by the society in which they lived. As per Cannon (1989) “one must accept that meanings change, determine whether there are historical regularities in this change, and then use these regularities as the contextual constant against which variation is interpreted” (p. 446).

Choice in a status-based society can be limited, even with the presence of many options. Status-based societies often limit individuals to certain options that meet a standardized set of rules and expectations, meaning that “class structures are the interaction between individuals and between individuals and material culture” (Clark, 1987, p. 383). As per Cannon (1989), trends in choice are established by the upper class, and upper-class individuals are more likely to follow the societally expected rules that ascribes prestigious behaviour (Clark, 1987, p. 384). Mytum (2018) notes that the only concern of the individual selecting a monument may be to conform with the expectations surrounding the family given their social status and cultural context.

A greatly limiting factor to this participation is income, no matter the individual's class. To participate in higher-class trends means to potentially forsake the wellness of the self and the family unit (Chadwick, 1843). Little, Lanphear, and Owsley (1992) studied a familial cemetery in 19th century Virginia, and found that despite drastic economic decline after the Civil War, the Weir family proceeded to *increase* spending on burial to maintain their status (p. 412). Social climbing behaviours are a way of gaining prestige for those for whom it would otherwise be denied (Clark, 1987). Grave markers do not only serve to designate the social standing or wealth

of an individual, but the entire family's reputation is demonstrated through the erection of an elaborate (or modest) grave marker (Young, 1960). Alongside having a favourable location in the graveyard, such as on top of a hill, having a large plot was a demonstration of wealth (Francaviglia, 1971, p. 506).

However, this prestige is only recognized by those within a similar class. A lower-status individual does not win favour with the higher-class through their (often late achieved) emulation (Cannon, 1989), instead the emulation and spending is done in order to impress other lower-class individuals (Clark, 1987). The lower-classes, although trying to keep up with the standards of behaviour often set by the upper-class, are following an entirely different set of behavioural rules as they are not *setting* trends, but simply following them in a delayed fashion.

5.4.1 Data

Cambridgeshire

Results from Cambridgeshire indicate that there is a relationship between social class and the use of floral or religious symbols on a gravestone that would not appear if there was no association between the variables. The exclusive use of floral or religious symbols was assessed in relation to social class for the period of 1845 to 1925 in Cambridgeshire. Specific occupations were collected in the master database, including the presence of servants and acreage when applicable. This permitted a robust classification system whereby individuals were put into one of five classes, those being: upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, or lower class (Thacher, 2024). The list of occupations and their associated class can be found in Appendix 4.

Symbol Present	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class
Religious	264 (165.2)	415 (436.3)	183 (204.8)	300 (343.8)	185 (196.8)
Floral	45 (143.8)	401 (379.7)	200 (178.2)	343 (299.2)	183 (171.2)

Table 5-9: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 147.6$, $df = 4$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.24$)

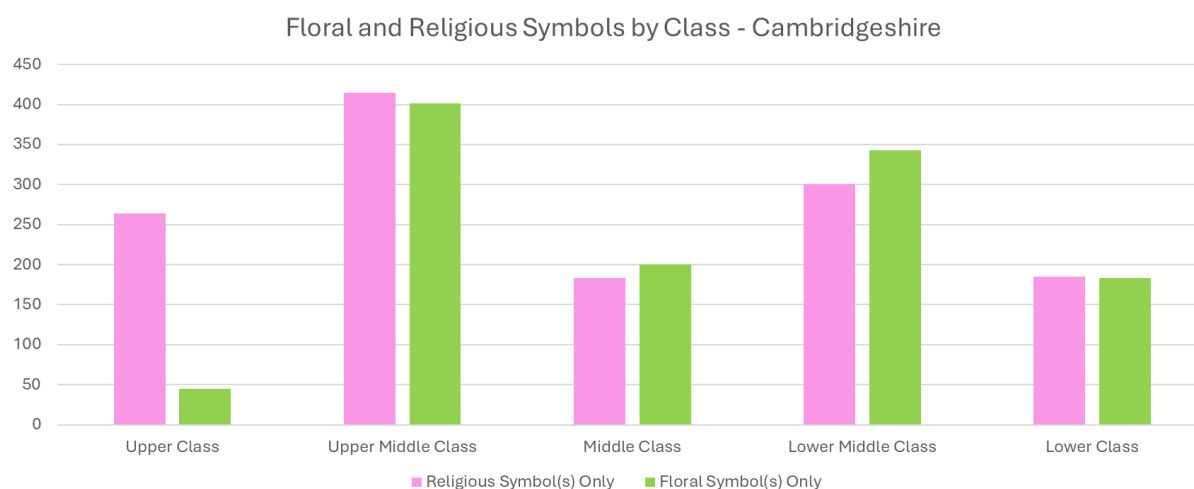


Figure 25: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class

Those in the upper class show the most deviation from expectations. Upper class individuals seem to have highly favoured the selection of a religious symbol for their gravestone compared to the other four social classes who demonstrate a preference for floral symbols. This may be because individuals in religious occupations or those who are related to individuals in religious occupations are part of the upper class. If individuals in the upper class hold religious positions - and form a large part of the upper class - they may be accounting for the over-selection of religious symbols.

	Vicar	Rector	Curate	Reverend	Minister	Clergy	Clerk
Religious Symbol Present	25	10	3	1	3	8	15

Table 5-10: Table of religious occupations, noting only those who had exclusively used a religious symbol.

Approximately 65 individuals were either in religious professions, or related by marriage or parentage to an individual in these professions. Individuals in religious occupations are far more likely to have only a religious symbol present on their monument (though interestingly, three individuals who were or were related to a Baptist minister, and one who was a primitive Methodist minister selected purely floral symbols). Four of the clerks are church or parish clerks and are middle class, but eleven are clerks in/of holy orders, and would be upper class.

Symbol Present	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class
Religious	203 (129.6)	415 (426.3)	179 (198)	300 (335.9)	185 (192.2)
Floral	45 (118.4)	401 (389.7)	200 (181)	343 (307.1)	183 (175.75)

Table 5-11: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by social class, omitting those with religious occupations and religious symbols: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 100.2$, $df = 4$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.20$)

Omitting these individuals, 203 upper class individuals have religious symbols on their monuments. While omitting those with religious occupations significantly decreases the discrepancy, the upper class is still selecting for religious symbols disproportionately to the other classes.

It is possible that upper class individuals had the financial ability to emulate those in religious occupations who may have had larger or more detailed monuments. However, given the willingness to make financial sacrifice for prestige (Chadwick, 1843) and their already higher

financial position, the upper middle class could have displayed similar behaviours to the upper class if it was the financial situation that was setting these individuals apart given that the difference in cost between floral and religious symbols is modest to non-existent.

Perthshire

Data from 1730 to 1969 was used to assess the exclusive use of floral or religious symbols on monuments as they relate to occupation and social class. Occupations for individuals in Perthshire were collected based on the presence of the occupation being explicitly declared on the monument as opposed to through the use of census records. To the best of my capabilities, when assigning these individuals into an occupation category and associated class, the same list that was created for the Cambridgeshire database was used. Due to the lack of information about acreage and servants, the distinction about class for farmers was more difficult. I designated farmers to be in class 2, upper middle, because the majority of individuals with the occupation of farmer in the occupation list were in this class.

Adjustments also had to be made for certain job titles, such as a feuar. Feuar's were not recorded for the Cambridgeshire occupation categories, but it is the title that designates an individual as a tenant of a feu which is a type of land tenure in Scotland. Thus, a feuar was given the class of '2' as that is the class that a tenant was given in Cambridgeshire. Similar substitutions were made for individuals with the titles of supervisor of inland revenue and revenue officer, shipmaster, and inspector of the poor (as addressed in 3.2). After deciding on an approximation of their job title, they were given the same class as those other occupations in Cambridgeshire.

In creating the Perthshire database, I used the same five class distinctions: upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, or lower class. However, due to the lack of

individuals in the middle and lower classes, they were omitted from the study as they would not provide a sufficient sample size for analysis.

Data from Perthshire indicates that there is a significant relationship between the category of social class and the exclusive use of floral or religious symbols on grave monuments.

Symbol Present	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class
Religious	23 (11.3)	13 (31.3)	21 (14.3)
Floral	15 (26.7)	92 (73.7)	27 (33.7)

Table 5-12: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by social class: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 36.81$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.44$)

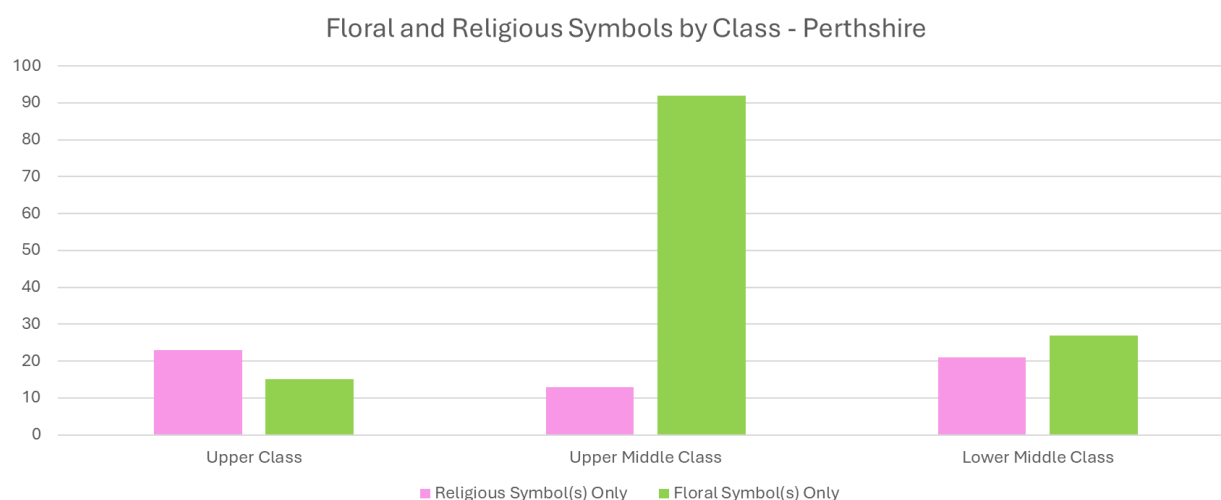


Figure 26: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by social class

Similar to the Cambridgeshire results, upper class individuals favour religious symbols over floral, however, contrary to Cambridgeshire, the lower middle class is the same, though the discrepancy between observed and expected is much less. Here, it is the upper middle class who are acting against patterning - they show a preference for floral symbols over religious.

5.4.2 Analysis

Both Cambridgeshire and Perthshire demonstrate that there is a relationship between the social class of a decedent and the symbol present on their monument, but this is manifesting in different ways and against the findings of chapter four. It would be expected that, given the overall trend toward the selection of florals, that all classes would be favouring floral symbols over religious symbols. However, the upper class in Cambridgeshire (and in Perthshire, to an extent) is doing the opposite. As for lower classes favouring floral, this could be the Nonconformist individuals as they more often tended to avoid religious symbols (Cannon, 1986) as seen in Cambridgeshire in the following section 6.5. However, this avoidance could also be due to the trend toward florals.

In an unofficial census in England conducted by the *Daily News* from 1902 to 1903 in Greater London, there was “widespread religious apathy - though not widespread agnosticism or atheism - among the workers,” meaning working, lower class individuals (Pelling, 1964, p.131). Censuses from the 1880s and 1890s in Liverpool, Ipswich, and Newcastle support similar trends (Pelling, 1964). It was only in smaller towns in the country and a few large cities, such as Bristol, that retained the attendance of the proletariat class (Pelling, 1964). Pelling (1964) makes sure to mention that this does *not* apply to Scotland, which had “on the whole, a much more vigorous religious life” (p.130) than England, supporting the later claims of Brown (2014) that Scotland was more committed to religious observance than England up into the 1960s.

Worship for the lower classes was also distinct and unequal from those in the upper echelon, and worked to discourage their attendance, namely by the system of renting pews which made it challenging - if not impossible - for the poor to find a seat at church (Inglis, 2013). The Church determined that instilling equality between churchgoers would lessen needed profits, and

wealthy individuals felt certain entitlement toward their pews and annexing them could cause them to alienate themselves from the church (Inglis, 2013, p. 51). Eventually, renting declined as a practice, but it still hindered the Church from appealing to the lower classes as even once the changes were made, the poor felt lessened desire for religious practices that had for so long been denied to them (Inglis, 2013, p. 56).

Individuals involved in the clergy were also traditionally of the class of gentlemen, despite unconvincing claims that a career in the church was open to men of all social standings (Inglis, 2013). Because the opinion was still largely that welcoming individuals below (at the lowest) the middle class into clerical positions would doom the Church, crossing the gap from priest to his congregation was difficult, and thus including the poor was made even more challenging (Inglis, 2013).

Dissenting sects such as Primitive Methodists and Baptists also had a larger part of their membership drawing from the lower classes (Pelling, 1964). Dissenters were, more typically, from the middle classes (Inglis, 2013., p. 102). Nonconformity carried with it the risk of a lower social standing, and doing away with dissent would have been needed to move between social strata if they had the money to do so, and so these individuals were likely to switch to the Church (Inglis, 2013). The lower classes, being more Nonconformist, also faced challenges about going to church. The working-class was not being elected to church positions filled by the lay people, and could not afford the proper clothing for worship (Inglis, 2013, p. 116). Again, the church did not see them as equal to the middle class attendees. Nonconformist individuals are more likely to avoid religious symbolism which could also explain their behaviours where they slightly favour the selection of florals for their monuments.

This may help begin to explain the lower numbers of religious symbols present on individuals of lower (and middle) classes for Cambridgeshire. If individuals were unable or unwilling to attend church, they may also be less inclined to select religious symbolism for their graves. The unequal treatment faced by those in lower classes would likely not persuade them to make religious choices upon death, feeling abandoned by or apathetic to religion in general.

The behaviour of the upper middle class in Perthshire is less explainable. As per Pelling (1964), the situation between class and religious affiliation and devotional practices does not hold for Scotland during the same time. Scotland had the same issues with pew renting and the need for Sunday best clothing as England, which did push the working class away from even middle class parishes (Knox, 2014). Lower class individuals were given their own services away from the middle class due to concerns from the middle class, and in the 1840s there was a significant issue with the increasing population meaning that there were not nearly enough seats to accommodate all the attendees (Knox, 2014). However, dependence on the Church of Scotland for Poor Relief ensured attendance until it was given over to the local authorities in 1845. From 1845 to 1865, 75% of those in the Church of Scotland and 54% of individuals in Nonconformist churches were of the working class, and predominantly from skilled jobs - it was the older attendees who made up the middle and upper class ranks (Knox, 2014). Thus, it was the unskilled and poor who were removed from the church, not the working lower classes. Scotland was still more observant religiously than England (Brown, 2014), and despite having similar social challenges as England, the behaviour of the social classes in regards to the choice of floral or religious symbols on monuments is not the same.

Lack of research outside of lower, middle, and upper class individuals precludes specific reasonings as to why the upper middle class is selecting more floral symbols than the upper or

lower middle classes. As to why the upper and lower middle class individuals are demonstrating similar behaviours is also unknown, especially because, generally, Scotland favours the selection of floral symbols over religious symbols. If the upper class and lower middle class were simply selecting the most common symbol and the upper middle class were acting against this expectation, the former would not be unexpected. However, while the upper middle class is acting against the patterns of the upper and lower middle classes, they are acting in accordance with the larger overall pattern witnessed in Scotland of the preference for floral symbols.

The true middle class were not denoting their occupations frequently enough to create usable amounts of data for this research, but they were the most frequent attendees of the Church of Scotland. The Catholic Church in Scotland was predominantly working class with its membership increasing from the mid 19th century into the 20th century (Knox, 2014). There was a larger working class population in Scotland compared to those in the middle class which increased the numbers in the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church connected themselves to the school systems. However, the parishes from Perthshire in this research are not Catholic, but belong to the Church of Scotland, representing Presbyterians primarily. Thus, the lower middle class (possibly considered the working class) were not part of the Catholic Church, but were navigating the issues posed by the Church of Scotland.

Thus, the symbolic behaviours of the upper and lower middle class individuals in Perthshire remain unclear. The upper class choice for more religious symbols may be similar to those in Cambridgeshire, but the selection of religious symbols by the lower middle class and floral for the upper middle class do not fit cleanly into the historical context (especially considering a small majority of the lower middle class monuments also bear floral symbols

exclusively). It also must be acknowledged that the sample for Perthshire is relatively small, and though significant, the relationship between class and symbol is very weak.

The frequency of individuals declaring their occupation in Perthshire is worth its own attention. Herat (2014), in studying monuments from the 19th to early 21st century Liverpool found that there was no modern preoccupation with highlighting work or social virtues on a grave monument. However, 19th century gravestones highlighted occupation at a much higher frequency of 0.65% (compared to 0.003% in 21st century epitaphs), though an occupation was only included if ‘worthy of display’ in regards to the society's social values (Herat, 2014, p. 139). Including the occupation - and thus social status - of a decedent served to further highlight the individual's identity and place in society. The three occupations in Perthshire most frequently declared on a monument were that of farmers, those in religious positions, or those in the military. Given the frequency of this practice and the most commonly noted occupations, it is made clear which jobs were of value in Perthshire, and thus worthy of denoting on a monument. Individuals - be they the deceased or the monument purchasers - were displaying attachment to occupations as an integral part of identity that would remain after death.

Ritchie (2020) found that men in the 19th century Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* expressed their identity on inscriptions in four primary ways: religion, relation, geography, and occupation. A role in the military may have been integral to defining the man's sense of self, using it for relative economic security via a pension and increased social respect (Cookson, 2009). However, military jobs in the 19th century did not pay well (Mansfield, 2016) and these men would likely be from poorer economic backgrounds to begin with, so it is unclear how economically secure these individuals actually were, and how much of their social standing came from their class as opposed to the actual work they had done in wartime.

Individuals whose inscriptions listed them as a farmer were noted by Ritchie (2020) to also mention the location of the farm, or name of the farm as “such men may well have been known locally by the name of their farm rather than their family name,” perhaps because the men may die, but the farm would persist after them (p. 6). The location of the farm was also seen in this research, though this information was not collected in the database. Occupation was thus undoubtedly a foundational part of the identity of individuals - especially males - and so it having a significant association with symbol presence is sensible.

Though occupation in this research is valuable purely because it indicates the social class of an individual, the fact that the deceased in Perthshire were being memorialized with their jobs so frequently points to the fact that class *was* an important social aspect, and so the work one does would be an important part of one’s identity. Thus, seeing that social class does have an impact on the selection of floral or religious symbols makes sense in the historical context.

Overall, contrary to the broader idea that lower classes follow the social classes with the emulation of style, these results demonstrate that simple characterizations may work in limited contexts but begin to become more complicated with larger samples. This, along with the fact that there can be emulation *within* classes as well as between them, is part of the complexity of these results. It is evident that, since the upper classes (to varying degrees) in both Cambridgeshire and Perthshire favour the selection of religious symbols, the selection of floral symbols over time as observed in chapter four is not being led by the upper class.

5.5 Religious Affiliation

Religion was a key aspect of life for many individuals from the 18th to 20th centuries. Different religious sects took different approaches to worship and devotional practices, expectations of members, and overall ideologies surrounding faith, God, and the afterlife. The

prevalence of religious symbols present on gravestones indicates that religious values permeated not only society and daily life, but also found their way into mortuary culture. Assessment of the religious affiliation of the deceased will be able to show whether or not certain religious groups were more inclined to denote religiosity on their monument. This could be for many reasons - wealth disparity between religious groups, greater overall religiosity, or for unknown reasons of personal choice within the group.

A religious symbol may be more likely to be missing from a monument erected in a churchyard as opposed to a cemetery due to the inherent religiosity present in the space. If buried in a churchyard, religiosity is already assumed, and the sect of the parish known. A visual indication of religiosity and/or religious affiliation may therefore be more necessary in a cemetery as it would not be assumed in that context. Though there may be a lesser number of religious individuals present in a cemetery, it may be that they have a higher rate of religious symbolism to maintain their affiliation with their religion, especially to be instantly recognizable to passers-by.

The secularity of a cemetery may actually permit greater freedom of religious expression (Bubik et al., 2023) as opposed to curtailing it, but because monuments are not erected by the deceased it is possible that the extent of the decedent's religiosity is being misrepresented. The presence and reaction to death can create religiously significant behaviour in the bereaved, which may increase motivation to erect a monument with religious significance. It is also possible that the individual commemorated on the monument - if they were alive at the time of selection - may similarly present this religious behaviour even if they were not overly pious during their life (Bubik et al., 2023).

Mytum (2009) found that in 18th century Ireland, religion was often seen to be the most important personal identifier, even above those of sex and class. He found that Protestant individuals centered the treatment of death on the concept of judgement, acting as a warning to others who were still alive. Protestants earlier favoured the skull, but moved to the use of the cherub to emphasize the hope of salvation on the day of judgement, with Scottish individuals moving toward the use of the cherub even earlier than the Irish (Mytum, 2009). Conversely, Catholics would often use the IHS and the cross, which were seen as Papist symbols and not found on Protestant memorials in Scotland, nor in England until the 19th century (Mytum, 2009, p. 194).

Mytum's (2009) findings give further reason to believe that differences in religious affiliation could lead to the preferential selection of certain symbols over others, here being mortality or religious symbols. As the use of mortality symbols had faded by the mid 19th century, and Hijiya (1983) noted that this period saw the influx of natural imitations (p. 355), it is possible that certain denominations may have favoured the selection of floral or religious symbols in replacement of mortality symbols.

Further, Norris (1988) found that in Ontario there were distinctions in the form and symbols displayed on Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Mennonite gravestones as well. Norris' (1988) project included information from over 5,000 gravestones from between 1800 and 1909. In the specific study of three different rural cemeteries in Haldimand County, Presbyterians were seen to favour individualized motifs, whereas Catholic preferred crosses, and flowers and wreaths seemed to be preferred by Mennonites (Norris, 1988, p. 142). Both Mytum (2009) and Norris (1988) show that there is reason to anticipate differences in the symbols present on gravestones of those from different religious affiliations.

5.5.1 Data

The relation between religious affiliation and symbolic choice is best understood in the contexts of the Ontario and Cambridgeshire sites. Due to the lack of census data for Perthshire, religious affiliation is only known for a select few individuals - the majority of whom were in a religious occupation - and thus do not make up a sufficient sample size to include in the study.

Cambridgeshire

The religious affiliation of the decedents in Cambridgeshire is presumed based upon the location of an individual's burial, those being an (1) Anglican churchyard, a (2) Nonconformist burial ground, or a (3) cemetery. It should be noted that though this is the only way in which to ascertain possible religious affiliation in Cambridgeshire, location of burial cannot perfectly predict the religious affiliation of the deceased. Though it is safe to assume the majority of individuals buried in an Anglican burial space are Anglican, it is not possible to know which monuments in these churchyards may belong to Nonconformist individuals.

In Cambridgeshire, there appears to be a relationship between the location of the monument and the selection of a floral or religious symbol for a grave monument that would not be expected if there was no association between the variables.

Symbol Present	Anglican (Church of England) Churchyard	Nonconformist/Dissenter Burial Ground	Cemetery
Religious	1283 (1166.4)	25 (95.5)	161 (210.1)
Floral	849 (965.6)	144 (76.5)	223 (173.9)

Table 5-13: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by burial location: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 159.73$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.24$)

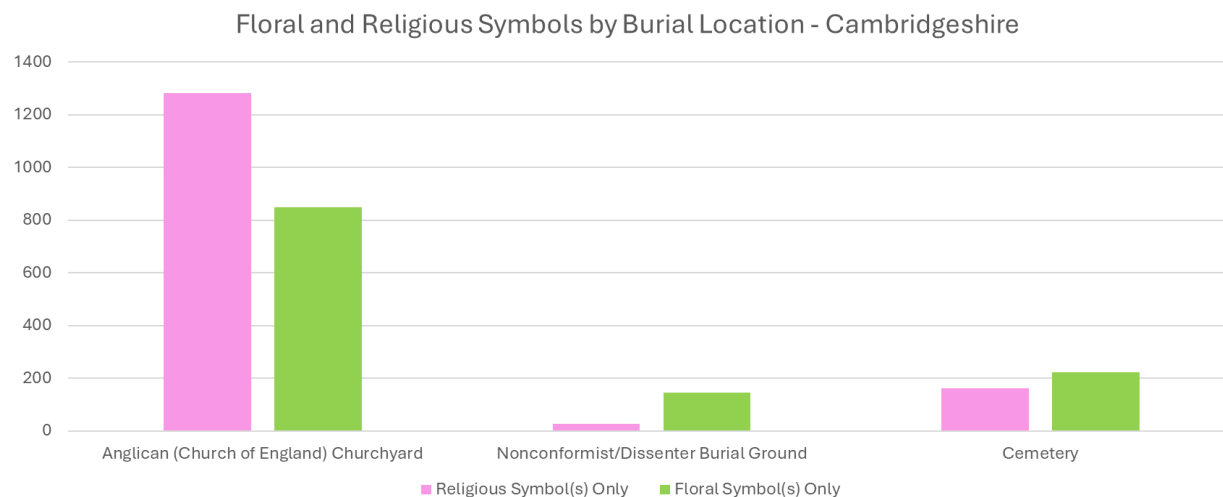


Figure 27: Cambridgeshire (1945-1925) floral versus religious symbols by burial location

All three groups are acting outside of expectation. Anglicans appear to highly favour religious symbols above Nonconformists and individuals buried within a cemetery, with the latter two groups selecting more floral symbols.

Ontario

In Ontario, census data were used to determine the specific religious affiliation of the deceased. There were seven religious categories in Ontario: (1) Presbyterian, (2) Methodist, (3) Anglican (Church of England), (5) Roman Catholic, (6) Baptist, and (7) Christian (undeclared sect). Category 4 was used for individuals who had an unknown religious affiliation. However, only the first three categories provided large enough samples for comparison.

In contrast to the results from Cambridgeshire, religious affiliation appears to have no association with the exclusive use of floral or religious symbols on monuments in Ontario. Floral symbols are far more prevalent than religious symbols among all groups.

Symbol Present	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican (Church of England)
Religious	12 (12.2)	9 (8.2)	4 (4.6)
Floral	149 (148.8)	99 (99.8)	56 (55.4)

Table 5-14: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by religious affiliation: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = .162$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.92$)

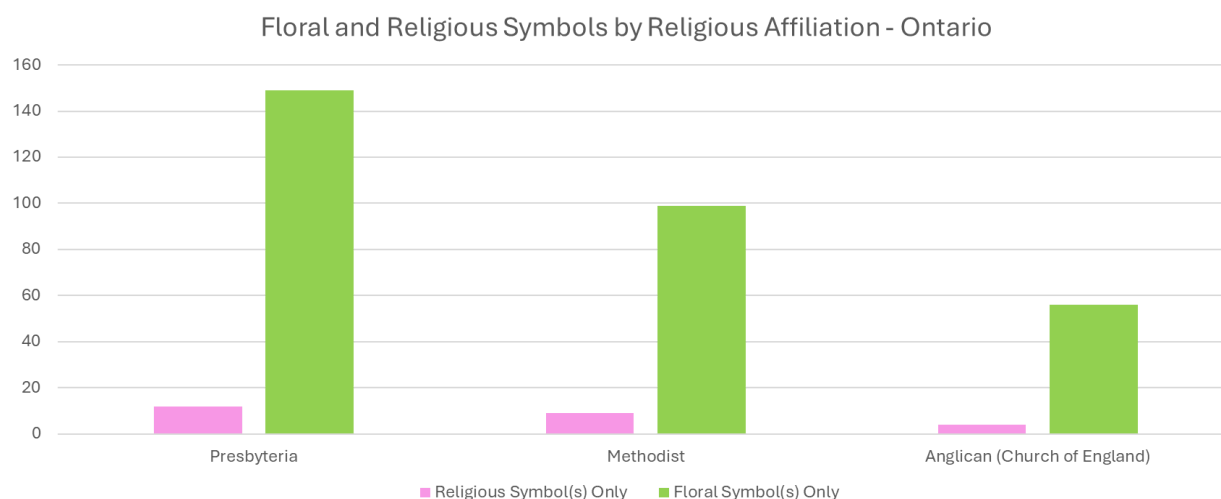


Figure 28: Ontario (1845-1925) floral versus religious symbols by religious affiliation

5.5.2 Addressing Time

Because Nonconformist burial grounds and cemeteries appear predominantly in the late 19th century, it is possible that time is the reason that Nonconformist individuals in Cambridgeshire are disproportionately selecting floral symbols, and most burial grounds and cemeteries were established relatively late in the 19th century. In chapter four it was established that there was a long-term trend toward the use of floral symbols. It is then possible that the selection of floral symbols is due to a pattern within the realm of time as opposed to having something to do with the identity of a Nonconformist or individuals buried in civic cemeteries.

To address that, only cases after 1885 in Cambridgeshire were selected, with burial location then being run against the exclusive use of floral or religious symbols.

Symbol Present	Anglican Churchyard	Nonconformist/Dissenter Burial Grounds	Cemetery
Religious	865 (785.2)	22 (63.9)	140 (177.9)
Floral	658 (737.8)	102 (60.1)	205 (167.1)

Table 5-15: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by burial location: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 90.15$, $df = 2$, $p = <0.001$, $\phi = 0.21$)

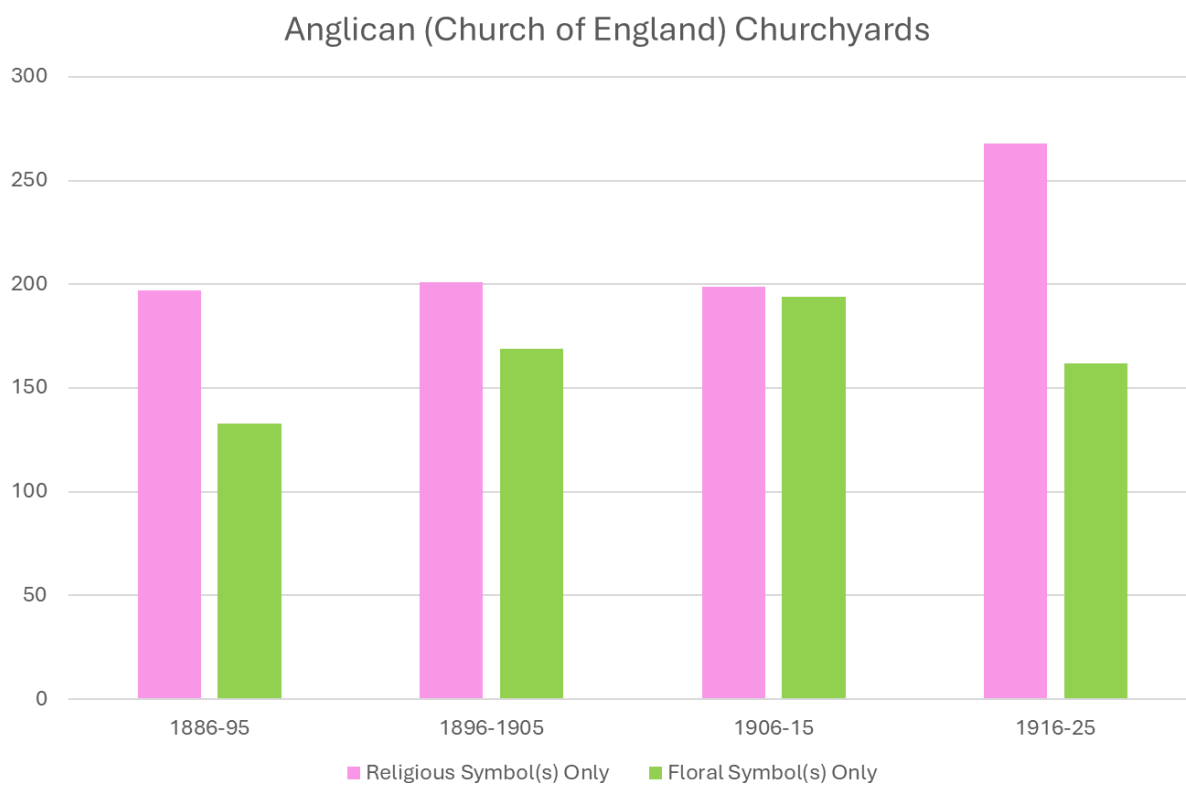


Figure 29: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in Anglican churchyards

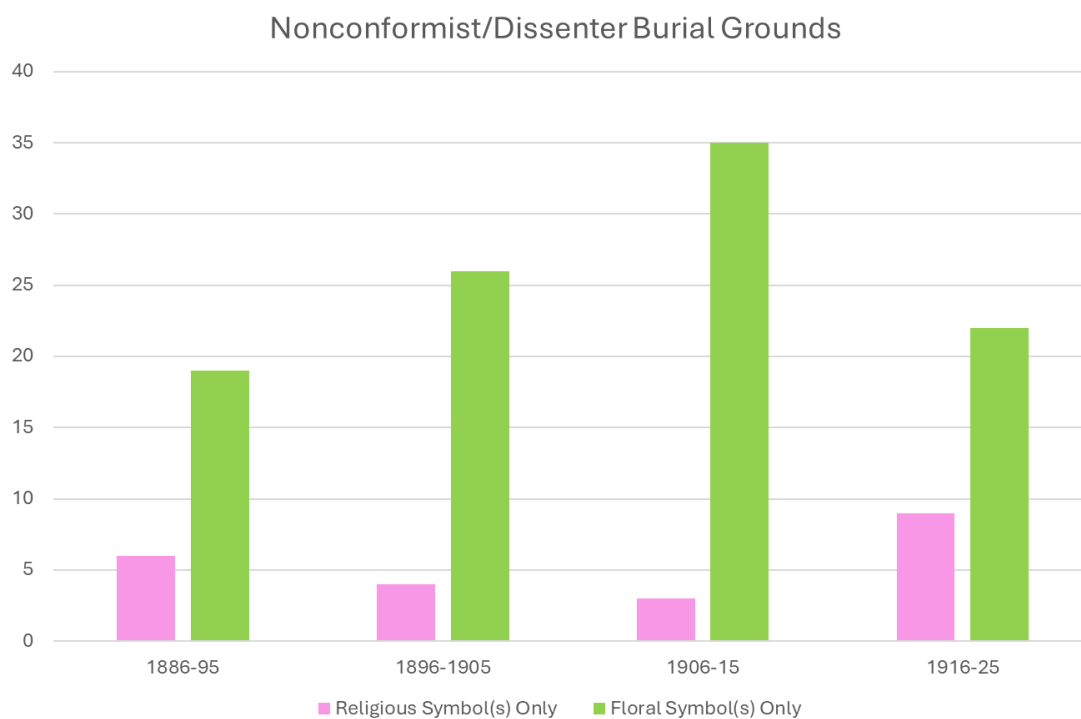


Figure 30: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in Nonconformist burial grounds

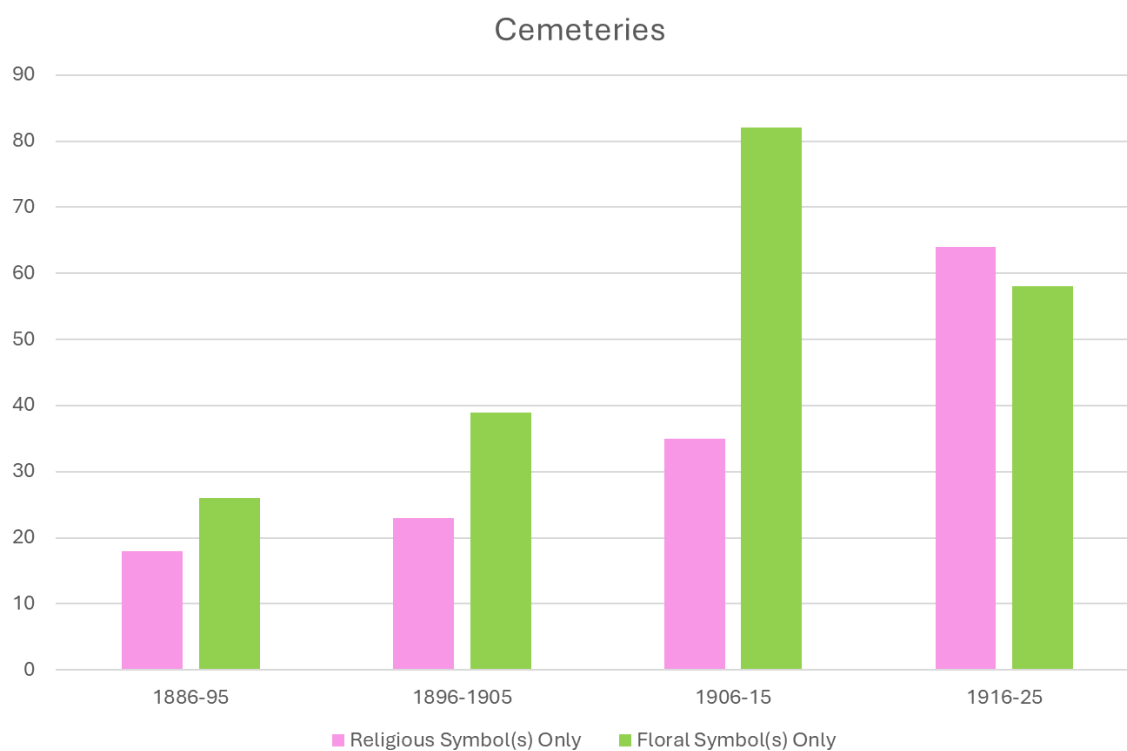


Figure 31: Cambridgeshire (1886-1925) Floral versus religious symbols over time in cemeteries

The data show that from 1886 to 1925, individuals in Nonconformist burial grounds and civic cemeteries are still selecting for florals at a rate that exceeds expectation, while Anglican's are still highly favouring religious symbols. This clearly demonstrates that there is a religious or secular (cemetery) influence on the selection of floral over religious symbols, and thus it is possible to say that Nonconformists and the creation of non-denominational cemeteries contributed to the increasing popularity of floral symbols, and not just time itself.

However, there was still a concern that time was a factor in the selection of symbols, with Anglican's participating in the trend but to a lesser degree. The data for Anglicans (and Nonconformists and cemetery burials) was run against the selection of exclusively floral symbols across all time periods.

Since the Anglicans show a clear trend independent of the Nonconformists and cemetery monuments, this was a broader temporal trend to which religion made a relatively minimal contribution.

5.5.3 Analysis

Results from Cambridgeshire and Ontario provide opposing ideas about religious affiliation and the symbol present on a monument. However, it does not appear to be religion alone that is causing these discrepancies. Despite the observations from Cannon (1986) that Nonconformists favour floral symbols over religious, when religious affiliation is run against time all three groups - Anglicans, Nonconformists, and cemetery (secular) - individuals appear to be participating in the overall trend toward the selection of floral symbols observed in chapter four. All three groups even show the period of decline in 1916 where floral symbols were being selected less than they had been in the decades prior, though it is still unknown if this is the

beginning of a period of decline, or simply a period in which the selection dipped before once again growing.

The selection of more religious symbols for Anglican individuals would make sense. Since Anglican individuals were more likely to be of the upper class, as per section 6.4, and the upper class was more likely to be in attendance of church gatherings, the increased selection of religious symbols among Anglicans in 6.5.1 would be mirroring the increased selection of religious symbols for individuals in the upper class - though the upper class is a relatively small part of the overall population. And again, Nonconformists - who tend to be of middle and lower classes - are selecting for floral symbols more than religious symbols as would also be expected as per 6.4. However, it appears that this is not a case of class and religion coming together, but time and religion.

5.6 Inscriptions

Though irrelevant to the study of symbols specifically, information about the epitaph was recorded based on the interest in identity and religiosity. This research found that, overall, floral symbols are more frequently present on grave markers than religious symbols. Given the inherent religiosity of the time period, it was hypothesized that the lack of religious symbols may be due to individuals demonstrating religious belief using written words as opposed to the use of symbols. This may be due to the fact that the symbol or shape present on a monument is what studies most often associate with class and prestige attempts, whereas inscriptions are thought to be the proclamation of the self.

Nelson and George (1981) note that monuments and their symbols were pre-carved and united later with an inscription, which would be more customized to the individual and added on later (p. 634). The inscription's purpose is to 'characterize' an individual based on their

personality traits, and can also carry views of death which are, typically, held and communicated on the monument by the survivors of the deceased (Edgette, 1992; Herat, 2014). These views of death can include ideologies of an afterlife, soul, or God.

If individuals with floral symbols are memorialized more frequently with religious words, this may explain the significant difference in occurrence between religious and floral symbols. The addition of a religious allusion on a monument with a religious symbol may appear redundant or less personal to the deceased, and thus lead the purchaser of a monument to select a non-religious symbol.

5.6.1 Data

Inscriptions were collected manually from the photo record of burials. The records from Perthshire of inscriptions did not consistently include the presence of a phrase or verse even when there was one clearly legible on the monument, and were thus not able to be relied upon without being compared to the photo record. Records did occasionally write the words ‘verse,’ in which case it was assumed this meant a religious or biblical verse and were recorded as such. The database for Cambridgeshire did not include verse or phrase, but it was collected from photo records when possible.

Inscriptions were excluded if they were too worn or buried to be legible, or if the photo quality did not permit me to read them to any reliable degree - this is the primary reason why epitaphs are not included for Ontario sites. Phrases were recorded in full when possible, but if only part of an inscription was visible to a great enough degree to demonstrate religiosity or secularity, it was recorded as well. This included single words (i.e. ‘God’) or segments of sentences. If the monument was partially legible but only for words which I could not use to determine religiosity or secularism (i.e. ‘the,’ ‘or,’ ‘we,’ etc.) the inscription was not catalogued.

Forty-five combinations of inscriptions were recorded (see Appendix 3), and then simplified into two main categories being (1) presence of religious allusion and (2) presence of non-religious writing. Inscriptions that had both religious and non-religious writings were coded as '1,' given that the presence of religiosity being proclaimed in the inscription (when an inscription was present) was of interest.

Religiosity was determined based on the presence of key words and phrases, such as 'God,' 'Jesus,' 'the Lord,' 'faith,' 'angel,' 'Heaven,' 'eternity,' 'pray,' 'resurrection,' 'blessed,' or the presence of the pronouns He or Him when capitalized in the sentence. Biblical verses are considered religious whether written in full, part, or demarcated by the verse chapter and number. Quotations or statements from the Bible such as 'thy will be done' or 'peace perfect peace' were deemed religious, along with quotes from hymns or other religious songs, falling in line with the distinctions made by Bubik et al. (2013), who also asserted that religious words are a "richer source of information" compared to a religious symbol given the specificity of belief they demonstrate (p. 435). 'Rest in peace,' while found in Psalms 4:9, holds a secular meaning as well, and was thus not categorized as religious.

Cambridgeshire

Cambridgeshire demonstrates that the selection of a religious symbol for a grave monument did not preclude also selecting a religious inscription. It seems that redundancy in displaying religion in multiple ways was not of concern to - and maybe even preferred by - monument purchasers. The pattern for the selection of an epitaph and religious symbol indicates that there is no association between the variables.

Symbol Present	Religious	Non-religious
Religious	222 (217.2)	61 (65.8)
Floral	194 (198.8)	65 (60.2)

Table 5-16: Cambridgeshire (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by inscription: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = .95$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.33$)

In general, the presence of a religious allusion was substantially more frequent than the presence of a non-religious phrase whether or not the symbol also present on the monument was religious in nature. Of 542 individuals with recorded inscriptions, 416 had a religious allusion present on their monument - over half of them also had a religious symbol present.

Perthshire

The presence of a religious symbol also did not appear to preclude the selection of a religious epitaph in Perthshire.

Symbol Present	Religious	Non-religious
Religious	37 (32.9)	21 (25.1)
Floral	68 (72.1)	59 (54.9)

Table 5-17: Perthshire (1730-1969) Floral versus religious symbols by inscription: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 1.70$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.19$)

In total, of the individuals in Perthshire with an inscription available, 105 had religious allusions while 80 chose purely non-religious inscriptions. In Perthshire, as in Cambridgeshire, there is no association between the presence of a religious inscription and the use of floral or religious symbols.

5.6.2 Analysis

Results from Cambridgeshire and Perthshire disprove the hypothesis that individuals with floral symbols would be more likely to select a religious inscription. Overall, the selection of a floral symbol for a monument carries about the same likelihood of being associated with a non-religious inscription as it does a religious inscription.

The selection of both a religious symbol *and* religious writing may appear redundant in theory, but the presence of religious symbols does not appear to deter individuals in either locale from also selecting a religious inscription. Thus, it seems that the overall lack of religious symbols being selected (when compared to floral symbols) is not because of the fact that individuals are selecting religious writings to take their place. It is more likely that other factors are playing into the selection of floral symbols - one such factor being the change in fashion or ideology over time

Further, the burial locations used for assessment in Perthshire are noted to be predominantly churchyards. Because these sites are inherently attached to a church, and thus the respective denomination and inherent religiosity present in the space (no matter the actual piety of the deceased), displaying a religious association may have been seen as unnecessary both in symbol and writing.

Cambridgeshire's database is composed of cemeteries and graveyards that contain Anglicans and Nonconformists. As per 6.5, Nonconformists overwhelmingly selected floral symbols as opposed to religious symbols. Thus, the idea that these individuals selected religious symbols and inscriptions as a way to specify their religiosity when buried in a graveyard, or to highlight their specific thoughts about religion in the graveyard is unlikely. While religiosity is not inherent in a cemetery in the same way it is in a churchyard, making specific reference to a

religious symbol or saying may not appear as important to these individuals when distinguishing religious belief after death.

Edgette (1999), in reference to children's monuments, mentions that the eye typically goes to the symbol prior to the epitaph, and that the epitaph simply confirms the 'implications' of the symbols (p. 23). This further supports the assertions of Bubik et al. (2013) regarding inscriptions lending specificity to belief. The appearance of redundancy in choosing both a religious symbol and inscription may then be explained - even if the monument selected had a pre-carved symbol, the addition of a religious allusion may help to personalize the meaning of the symbol when seen in tandem with the individual. It may have been a way of customizing the religious expression or ideologies of the deceased - or their survivors - especially since religious symbols are fairly generic in nature. Overall, it appears that if one wished to demonstrate some sort of religious affiliation on their grave marker they would actually more often have had both a religious inscription and symbol, which means that redundancy was not only not a concern, but also may have been part of the point.

5.7 Immigration

Ontario census records indicated the place of birth of some decedents, allowing for a comparison of monuments between those born in Canada, and those who had immigrated from one of six other countries: Scotland, England, Ireland, the United States, Germany, or France (all from Normandy). From this information it was possible to assess whether cultural traditions from the country of origin had influenced the selection of monument symbols. There are two possible outcomes for the symbolic transmission - immigrants are carrying over the typically expected symbolic styles from their country of origin, or immigrants are instead adapting to a new symbolic style once in Ontario.

Precedents set by Broce (1996) and Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) in American contexts indicate that the latter is more likely to be expected. In both a cemetery of Slovak settlers in Colorado (Broce, 1996) and six cemeteries from the 18th to early 19th century in South Carolina and Georgia (Gorman & DiBlasi, 198), immigrants do not show a continuation of cultural trends once they have immigrated to a new area.

5.7.1 Data

Immigrants were predominantly from Scotland, England, or Ireland, which makes for a good direct comparison to the countries in this study. After running the individual country analysis, it was determined that individuals originating from any country outside of Canada needed to be grouped together to create a sample large enough for comparison to the Canadian nationals. So, while the analysis is primarily using individuals from Scotland and England, all immigrants were placed into the category of ‘confirmed immigrant.’

Scotland	England	Ireland	United States	Germany	France
109	63	98	10	7	3

Table 5-18: Number of Individuals from each country of origin

Individuals were also coded based on their location of origin within Canada - being either from Ontario originally, or from a province outside of Ontario. Again, due to sample size, these individuals were placed into one larger category of ‘confirmed Canadian nationals.’ These categories were then compared against the exclusive use of floral versus religious symbols.

Analysis showed no difference in the use of floral or religious symbols based upon place of origin. The expected and observed values are what would be expected if there was no association between the variables.

Symbol Present	Canadian National	Confirmed Immigrant
Religious	24 (20.7)	14 (17.3)
Floral	203 (206.3)	175 (171.7)

Table 5-19: Ontario (1845-1925) Floral versus religious symbols by country of origin: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 1.24$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.26$)

5.7.2 The Monogram

The ‘other’ symbol of interest in Ontario was the presence of the monogram, most often reflecting the first letter (up to the first three) of the decedent's last name. The prevalence of this design was wholly unique to Ontario sites, occurring in no significant numbers in either Cambridgeshire or Perthshire. While there does not seem to be an association between the variables, the frequency of monogram occurrence demonstrates nationals and immigrants are behaving in nearly identical ways when making their choices.

	Canadian National	Confirmed Immigrant
Monogram Present	95 (95)	78 (78)
Monogram Absent	261 (261)	214 (214)

Table 5-20: Ontario (1845-1925) Presence or absence of monograms on monuments with symbols from the ‘other’ category by country of origin: observed n, and expected (n) values ($X^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.99$)

Veit (2009) notes that the increase in monograms are likely to reflect the growth of consumerism in late 18th century North America, and a modest memorial with a monogram could range from \$7 to a little over \$10 at the time. There was an increased number of individuals up into the 20th century who could afford to purchase an ornamented grave marker, and the monogram may have also been the “perfect combination of the new neoclassical style with the democratic ideals of a new nation” serving as the “common person’s equivalent of the

armorial crests that sometimes appears on colonial grave markers” (Veit, 2009, p. 136; Little, 1998, p. 117). Incorporating a monogram onto the monument was a way for individuals to emphasize their individual importance. In New Jersey, the monogram may also have been acting as a replacement for the urn and willow trend from New England (Veit, 1991).

This appears to be a phenomenon that emerged primarily in North America, and therefore has little to no connection to country of origin. It is possible that individuals in Ontario were already participating in the trend of monograms and immigrants joined these trends, or that both groups created a novel mortuary culture - perhaps based on New England trends - together. Either way, the large-scale presence of monograms in Ontario further serves to demonstrate that symbols were part of geographical and cultural trends rather than being ingrained in an ethnicity.

5.7.3 Analysis

It appears as though symbolic transmission was not occurring at a large scale between countries, even with individuals who had directly immigrated from one of the other countries in this study. This appears to hold with the findings of Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) from South Carolina and Georgia in the 18th to early 19th century, whereby they found that “contrary to [their] expectations, social factors such as immigration...were not useful predictors of iconographic patterning” (p.94). Similarly, Broce (1996) found that a Slovak cemetery in Colorado demonstrated mass acculturation within the 28 monuments of their study. The monuments were very uniform in both style and material, and individuals in the Juris cemetery had done away with common Slovak mortuary practices once they moved to the Colorado plains (Broce, 1996). Norris (1988) noted that “[Ontario] material culture exhibited very little that could confidently be termed Scots or Irish” and that “early Ontarians exhibited a remarkable

ability to achieve distinctiveness through selectivity, adaptation, and stubborn adherence to ‘norms’ which had little or nothing to do with their ancestry” (p. 147).

The fact that immigrants are behaving almost identically to nationals could be indicative of two things - individuals were unaware of burial trends and were thus unable to carry them over to their new country, or that mortuary patterns are indeed highly influenced by the area of burial and surrounding community leading to acculturation. Being unaware of trends from their countries of origin would make sense, given that it is thought that symbolic choice may be a more unconscious practice influenced by other individuals in the community, as well as based on availability from carvers and materials. Even if the patterning of symbols *was* conscious, immigrant individuals may have been too young to be aware of these trends at the time of their immigration to carry them over.

The nature of granite, as explained in 3.4, could also have significantly limited the options present to those in the three Ontario burial communities, thus making it much more difficult and expensive to choose the symbols more common in Cambridgeshire and Perthshire and increasing the probability that immigrants would be forced to act as nationals or together adapt a new style.

Based on the presence of the monogram trend, it appears that individuals in the three Ontario sites were subject to different patterns and trends within their communities. The closeness in geography between the sites could also explain why there are such similar trends in symbol selection. It is possible individuals from Mount Forest, Orangeville, and Harriston were using similar or identical monument catalogues, or at least frequenting the same few monument carvers available who offered these typical designs.

The presence of a monogram makes sense when considering the granite material of the stone as well. Creating letters out of rubber templates would permit them to be reused time and time again, and these molds could be made into the more ostentatious fonts seen on the monuments. The likely presence of these templates is further supported by the similarities in other symbols selected as well. There are common floral patterns present on monuments (see Figure 15), especially when these monuments are in the same shape and style as one another.

Norris' (1988) words appear to suggest that the choices being made were, to some degree, deliberate on the part of Ontarians to keep themselves within their own group and distinguish themselves from their ancestors, and that the above speculation on their limitation in choice is more due to their actual desires than material or lack of knowledge. However, Norris (1988) acknowledges that "rural aspirations rarely went beyond what could be cut, shipped, and erected for a reasonable price" and so Ontarians may have been largely unwilling or unable to select many of the options actually offered to them by carvers (p. 145). Norris is also presumably writing about individuals who were at least first generation Canadians, not those who were direct immigrants from Scotland, England, or Ireland. Thus, while Ontarians may be making certain choices to distinguish themselves in their material culture, immigrants may indeed be acculturating and limited by materials and cost.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

For this thesis, systematic research was done using large sample sizes, assessing symbols both over time and between three geographical areas. While others observed the relationship between gravestones and both the style of monument or symbols on a monument, I am in the position to say that, overall, with respect to historical gravestones, there is no distinction being made when it comes to the majority of identities and symbol selection.

The selection of a symbol for a monument is ultimately far more complicated overall. Human decision making is far more complex than selecting one facet of identity and using a specific symbol to represent it in death. There are many different dimensions, including not only how the individual identifies or was seen in society, but material availability and cost that can influence decisions. Many of these factors likely overlap, and different people would have different priorities - not only on how they would like to spend their money, but on what they feel is most important when it comes to making decisions about monuments.

Archaeological expectations can be naive, expecting to see things more simply or clearly than is ever possible. This is especially exemplified in the study of sex, where it is seen as a basic aspect of identity in mortuary archaeology, despite those such as Peskowitz (1997) and Stratton (2016) acknowledging that sexual differences are most often recognized and interpreted through a modern lens of understanding, and these are most often based on Euro-American middle-class stereotypes of males and females. It seems that there is often an innate expectation to observe a difference - even if this does not hold in practice - or else individuals would likely not endeavour to explore sex so often and in so many studies. Despite differences in sex not often being the main focus of research in historical gravestones, differences - whether present or not - are often included as an almost throwaway observation.

Given that broader archaeological research does find distinctions between males and females, removing the study of sex from mortuary contexts is nonsensical. However, a change in approach to the study of sex could prove beneficial. If researchers are able to approach sites without assumptions about finding a binary - and thus potentially trying to make their data fit said binary - beginning from a place of openness about the different ideas held by different societies regarding sex and gendered roles in the community could be beneficial so as not to alter what they have actually found.

Further, having a *reason* to expect a difference aside from knowledge of modern Western gender roles could help to ascertain whether sex is a worthwhile component of study. The majority of research assessed for this thesis in historical graves that mentions sex provides no reasoning for why the researchers approached the aspect of sex at all. It appeared there was an implicit assumption that they would find something of interest, and so sexual differences (and lack thereof) would be added to their papers without proper consideration, almost as a throwaway sentence. Without expectations - or acknowledging the work is exploratory in nature - there is less benefit provided and more questions raised from the random assessment of sex. The naive expectation for identity, especially sex, to fit into a clear male-female difference as seen on monuments (or in broader material culture studies) only serves to obscure or completely exclude the actual complexity and variation of societies.

Generally, symbolism appears to not often hold to expectation. While it was expected females would demonstrate more religiosity on monuments, there was no distinction at all between female and male monuments. While Scottish individuals were seen to be more religious overall when compared to British individuals of the same period (Brown, 2014), Scottish individuals actually selected fewer religious symbols overall and more floral symbols. Despite

being more religious as a group, they did not prefer to select exclusively religious symbols. This shows that while individuals may be more religious, this facet of identity need not necessarily manifest in a symbolic manner. Religious symbolism may therefore not be about religion itself, but as a means to express something else. Perhaps it can be about class, or simply affiliating oneself with a group. This is not a case in which the gravestone was imposing a limit on messaging, so the aversion to selecting the religious symbol perhaps meant something else, even if it was that the purchaser enjoyed the style of flower that was offered, or it looked similar to another one in the churchyard that they had seen before.

However, it is possible that gravestones themselves are part of the problem when it comes to patterning. Gravestones have messaging constraints, especially when the intended meaning(s) of symbols get lost through time. Because other studies in mortuary contexts have found differences in sex and social class, perhaps there is something that limits the gravestone. Maybe demonstrating multiple facets of identity is too costly, or perhaps there is more to do with the shape and form of the monument than of the symbols themselves. Perhaps the values of the society emphasized making social status known because the role of sex was already evident in the community and thus did not need to be displayed in death as it was already assumed.

Exploring the role of the community could thus be an interesting avenue to explore. It is possible that things like religion and sex were not playing a large part in monument decoration because the society already had presumed ideas about these things, ideas that are simply lost in modern day as everyone knew them and thus they were not properly recorded as it was assumed people would always know. Though we do have ideas about the historicity of the time period in these locations, the specificity of beliefs can only be guessed at unless it was written down.

Patterning largely appears to be due to the individual decisions being made as opposed to specific cultural ideas manifesting symbolically. If it was because of these cultural ideas, patterns should exist. However, it appears that individual decisions made within a community create patterns and trends. Unconsciously, this can lead to the change in favoured symbols over time, as individuals likely did not plan to trend toward the selection of florals. However, making the choice as it relates to social class may be a more conscious one as the purchaser tries to emulate others and/or establish themselves in society.

If similar research was to be undertaken again, a greater focus on the category of ‘other’ and sorting those symbols into more specific, inclusive categories could demonstrate more patterns of choice amongst individuals. The category of ‘other’ creates inherent issues in all studies as a catch-all solution to things that do not easily fit into other predetermined categories. While parsing these symbols into different, new categories may also create issues such as a small sample size within each category, it is something that I would do given more time.

Further historical research could also serve to better explain why patterns are emerging that were not expected, or why patterns that were expected to emerge are not. In cases such as sex, neither I nor any of the previous researchers mentioned in 6.1 noted any differences that could be attributed to sex. However, broader archaeological research does find that there are sometimes differences in burial culture for males and females (Crass, 2000; Petts, 1998; Rebay-Salisbury et al., 2022). The exploration of why this is not the case on monuments would be its own worthwhile undertaking, even though it may be complicated by lack of preexisting historical research. This is a problem that was often seen when trying to create analysis for why patterns were occurring, especially when literature was counter indicative of the pattern that had emerged, such as in the discussion of age.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study, as outlined in the introduction, intended to answer the following three questions: 1) what is the large-scale change seen in symbolic categories over time; 2) is there a symbolic category that is more associated with a specific identity marker; and 3) is there a difference in the two aforementioned questions between broad geographic locations. Through this research, I have tracked the relationship between the exclusive selection of floral or religious symbol choice and their association with the primary decedents age, sex, immigration status, social class, religious affiliation, and epitaph selection along with the information about the monument purchasers sex, and how selection may have changed over time. In exploring these questions, I have addressed these foundational components of identity often present in the mortuary archaeology literature through the medium of symbols which is often overlooked.

The relationship between social structure and mortuary material culture (as well as sex and mortuary patterning) are often theorized about and explored in mortuary studies and within broader archaeological contexts. This study contributes to this research body by directly testing whether these identity categories are expressed on monuments. The ideals or expectations upheld in a society - and those placed upon those within it - were not necessarily present within the symbol of a monument when examined in tandem with identity, even in cases where a relationship would be anticipated. Thus, while mortuary practices can be reflective of the identity of the deceased - and possibly the monument purchaser - some aspects of identity that would be important in society are less important - or completely irrelevant - to the selection of a symbol for a grave monument.

Here, I will outline the major findings of this work that were seen in previous chapters which answer the above three questions. First, the symbolic category most often associated with

the selection of an exclusively floral or exclusively religious symbol is that of social class. This is primarily observed within the upper two classes of society in Cambridgeshire and Perthshire, however the behaviour of these social classes are in complete opposition to one another. The upper class selected more religious symbols in Cambridgeshire, and the upper middle class selected more florals in Perthshire. This does support the conclusions of researchers (Cannon, 1989, Clark. 1987) who claim the upper classes act differently from the lower classes based on their ability to behave in a way that is not accessible or known to the lower classes. However, with the general trend toward florals, it does not appear that the lower class is attempting to emulate the upper class in Cambridgeshire for reasons unknown.

The results identified other patterns present in two other identity categories: age and religious affiliation, though on a weaker basis than that of social class. Individuals above 50 years of age were associated with floral symbols slightly more than religious symbols, whereas individuals under 51 years of age were associated more with religious symbols, contrary to the expectation of studies on age and religiosity - however, this pattern only appeared in Cambridgeshire and Perthshire, and not Ontario. Religious affiliation in Cambridgeshire appeared to have a relation to the selection of floral or religious symbols, with Anglicans favouring religious symbols and Nonconformists favouring floral symbols. However, when compared against time, these groups appeared to be acting in accordance with the trend toward the selection of floral symbols. None of this was seen in Ontario.

Sex of the decedent or sex of the purchaser were found to have equally little relationship with the selection of a floral or religious symbol. Similarly, the presence of a religious epitaph did not negate the presence of religious symbols. The immigration status of the deceased also did not indicate that they would be acting in a way that was contrary to individuals born in Canada,

supporting the claims by previous studies that immigrants are likely to acculturate themselves to mortuary practices of the area to which they immigrate.

The scale of this project - based on the number of locations, monuments, and burial sites - shows that commemorative practices vary considerably between regions, and that the evaluation of only one location would not do this area of research justice. The combination of the three locations into one would also serve to obscure geographical differences, and possibly patterns more generally. The construction and presentation of identity can be similar across locations, as in the assessments of sex and epitaph, but generally individuals in different locations will be making different choices from one another, even if not to a great degree.

Lastly, this project furthered research done by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1967) and Hijiya (1983) regarding change over time on a large geographical scale involving symbols that occurred past the peak of mortality symbols from the 17th to mid 19th century. Acting as a pseudo-continuation of this research, it has been shown that, with a broad assessment of religious and floral symbols, that there was a rise in the selection of floral symbols over time, but this did not indicate a drastic decline in the selection of religious symbols as well. In fact, in Ontario and Cambridgeshire, floral symbols appear to be facing a drop in selection by 1916-1925. Again, this emphasizes that while these locations can and do share similarities, the evaluation of each independently of one another serves to provide a more robust picture of what is occurring in different areas at the same time. Assessment of a trend in one location does not serve to settle the conversation about general patterns - these patterns should be assessed in different locations on greater scales.

Though analysis of identity is prevalent in gravestone studies, the analysis of identity and its presentation via symbol choice is an underanalyzed aspect of the literature. This research does

not make any claims about the meanings of symbols, and recognizes that it is not only the identity and ideas of the deceased, but those of the living, that may be impacting the selection of symbols for a monument. However, the analysis of the individual who selects the monument is also often not part of the current body of literature. Though this study only dealt with the sex of the purchaser, the assessment of the identity of the monument purchaser is an avenue for further research, especially regarding the purchaser's social class or age - all of which were demonstrated to have an impact on the selection of a symbol. Many monuments in Perthshire did note the occupation of the purchaser, though not enough to create dependable data. Knowing the age of the purchaser could help to confirm the speculative theories about trends and loss whereby individuals selecting the monument may be conforming to the style trend that was most prevalent when they were growing up. It is unknown to what extent it was the identity of the purchaser and not the deceased that created these patterns, and so investigation into these traits of a purchaser would help to further the understanding of whose identity is having the most impact on choice.

Time and material constraints have not allowed for each country to receive the same assessments in all areas of identity and symbols, nor has it allowed for the robust treatment of the animal, mortality, and 'other' symbol categories. Despite this, the analysis of symbol choice on monuments both over time and compared against identity markers has shown that both can contribute to commemorative patterns and relationships, but certain identity markers are likely to be more influential than others, and which these are would be especially dependent on location. Through this analysis of time and identity, this research expands a pre-existing body of literature that views the intersection of identity and mortuary culture and practices that are informed both by identity and time.

As Herat (2014) found that modern identity construction on a monument seldom differs from the historical identity construction, the implications of this research can help not only to construct identity in the past, but help to further the understanding of identity construction in the modern day. Because my study shows the areas of identity that do or do not have a relationship with symbol choice, individuals undertaking the study of symbols generally, or in mortuary contexts specifically could utilize such information in their interpretative approaches whether in modernity or the past.

Definitions

Gravestone, grave marker, monument - Used interchangeably, the material culture (for this research being types of stone) which indicate a decedent, whether or not the body of the decedent be buried in the location of the monument. The gravestone will often have identifying information about the deceased (name, age, date of death, etc) as well as decorative features.

Graveyard/churchyard - Burial ground which is associated with a particular religious institution. Most often demarcated by the presence of a church on the grounds.

Cemetery - Burial grounds which are often secular/non-denominational, but may also be multi-denominational.

Burial ground, burial site, burial location - More general terms which can encompass both denominational or secular areas with burials.

Symbol - Also known as iconography, image, or motif, the symbol on a monument is a visual representation of something else carved onto the grave monument. This visual can be of anything natural or manmade, and can include the use of letters to form the symbol (i.e. IHS, names of military regiments).

Reference List

- Ames, K. (1981). Ideologies in stone: Meanings in Victorian gravestones. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 14(4), 641-656.
- Argue, A., Johnson, D., & White, L. (1999). Age and religiosity: Evidence from a three-wave panel analysis. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 38(3), 423-435.
- Armstrong, W. A. (1972). The use of information about occupation. In E. A. Wrigley (Ed.), *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (pp. 191-310). Cambridge University Press.
- Bennett, R., Smith, H., van Lieshout, C., Montebruno, P., & Newton, G. (2020). *The age of entrepreneurship: Business proprietors, self-employment and corporations since 1851*. Routledge.
- Bolin, H. (2004). The Absence of Gender: Iron Age Burials in the Lake Mälaren area. *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 12(1), 169–185.
- Broce, G. (1996). Juris: An ethnic cemetery on the high plains. *Plains Anthropologist*, 41(156), 175-182.
- Brown, D. (2014). Scotland: Religion, culture, and national identity. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 14(2), 88-99.
- Bubík, T., Havlíček, J., Muczková, M., Jedličková, L., Čejková, O., Hurtík, J., Kubálková, K. (2023). Places of the dead and the living: A study of cemetery religious symbolism as funerary expressions of religiosity. *Slovak Ethnology*, 71(4), 426-447.
- Buckham, S. (1999). 'The men that worked for England they have their graves at home': Consumerist issues with the production and purchase of gravestones in Victorian York. In S. Tarlow & S. West (Eds.), *The familiar past?* (pp. 199-214). Routledge.

- Cannon, A. (1986). *Socioeconomic change and material culture diversity: Nineteenth century grave monuments in rural Cambridgeshire* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge]. Apollo.
- Cannon, A. (1989). The historical dimension in mortuary expressions of status and sentiment [and comments and reply]. *Current Anthropology*, 30(4), 437-458.
- Cannon, A., & Cook, K. (2015). Infant death and the archaeology of grief. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 25(1), 399-416.
- Chadwick, E. (1843). *A supplementary report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in towns*. W. Clowes.
- Chaturvedi, M., Satoskar, M., Khare, M., & Kalgutkar, A. (2011). Sudden, unexpected and natural death in young adults of age between 18 and 35 years: A clinicopathological study. *Indian Journal of Pathology & Microbiology*, 54(1), 47–50.
- Clark, L. (1987). Gravestones: Reflectors of ethnicity or class? In S. Spencer-Wood (Ed.), *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology* (pp. 383-395). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Clegg, F. (1984). Problems of symbolism in cemetery monuments. *Journal of Garden History*, 4(3), 307-315.
- Cookson, J. E. (2009). Early nineteenth-century Scottish military pensioners as homecoming soldiers. *The Historical Journal*, 52, 319-341.
- Corrick, E. (2024). *Grief, mourning, and motherhood: Cultural experiences of child and infant deaths across different social classes in the Victorian Period* [Unpublished master's thesis, Bournemouth University].
- Cott, N. (1978). Passionlessness: An interpretation of Victorian sexual ideology. *Signs*, 4(2),

219-236.

- Crass, B. (2000). Gender in Inuit Burial Practices. In A. Rautman (Ed.), *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record* (pp. 68-76). University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Davis, H. (1967). *The fledgling province: Social and cultural life in colonial Georgia*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Deetz, J., & Dethlefsen, E. (1967). Death's heads, cherub, urn, and willow. *Natural History*, 76(3), 30-38.
- Dethlefsen, E. (1981). The cemetery and culture change: Archaeological focus and ethnographic perspective. In R. Gould & M. Schiffer (Eds.), *Modern material culture: The archaeology of us* (pp. 137-159). Academic Press.
- Edgette, J. (1992). The epitaph and personality revelation. In R. Meyer (Eds.) *Cemeteries Gravemarkers* (pp. 87-102). University Press of Colorado.
- Edgette, J. (1998). *Frozen countenances: Form and function of cemetery effigies* [Paper presentation]. American Folklore Society, Portland, OR, United States.
- Edgette, J. (1999). "Now I lay me down to sleep...": Symbols and their meanings on children's gravemarkers. *Children's Folklore Review*, 22(1), 7-24.
- Farber, J. L. (2003). Early American gravestones: Introduction to the Farber gravestone collection. *American Antiquarian Society*.
- Foster, G., & Freeland, L. (2007). Hand in hand til death doth part: A historical assessment of the clasped-hands motif in rural Illinois. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1998-), 100(2), 128-146.
- Francaviglia, R. (1971). The cemetery as an evolving cultural landscape. *Annals of the*

- Association of the American Geographers*, 61(3), 501-509.
- Frost, G. S. (2009). *Victorian childhoods*. Praeger Publishers.
- Gorham, D. (2013). *The Victorian girl and the feminine ideal*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Gorman, F., & DiBlasi, M. (1981). Gravestone iconography and mortuary ideology. *Ethnohistory*, 28(1), 79-98.
- Hallam, E., Hockey, J., & Howard, G. (2005). *Beyond the body death and social identity*. Routledge.
- Haveman, M. (1999). A sociohistorical analysis of children's gravestones. *Illness, Crisis, and Loss*, 7(3), 266-286.
- Heinrich, R. (2009). "Remember me..." but "be mindful of death": The artistic, social, and personal choice expressions observed on the gravemarkers of eighteenth century Monmouth County, New Jersey. *New Jersey History*, 126(1), 26-57.
- Heinrich, A. (2014). Cherubs or putti? Gravemarkers demonstrating conspicuous consumption and Rococo fashion in the eighteenth century. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 18(1), 37-64.
- Henrich, J., Bauer, M., Cassar, A., Chytilová, J., & Purzycki, B. G. (2019). War increases religiosity. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 3(2), 129-135.
- Herat, M. (2014). The final goodbye: The linguistic features of gravestone epitaphs from the nineteenth century to the present. *International Journal of Language Studies*, 8(4), 127-150.
- Hewitt, J. (2003). Symbols, objects, and meanings. In L. Reynolds & N. Herman-Kinney (Eds.), *Handbook of symbolic interactionism* (pp. 307-329). AltaMira Press.
- Hijiya, J. (1983). American gravestones and attitude toward death: A brief history. *Proceedings*

- of the American Philosophical Society*, 127(5), 339-363.
- Hobbs, J. H. (2002). Say it with flowers in the Victorian cemetery. *Markers'' Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, 19, 241-271.
- Holliday, R. (2010). Aging and the decline in health. *Health*, 2(6), 615-619.
- Horton, L. (1989). Messages in stone: Symbolism on Victorian grave markers. *The Palimpsest*, 70(2), 63-72.
- Horton, L. (1994). Victorian gravestone symbolism on the Great Plains. *Journal of the West*, 33, 63-72.
- Husti, A., & Cantor, M. (2015). Sacred connection of ornamental flowers with religious symbols. *BioFlux*, 8(21), 73-79.
- Impelluso, L. (2004). *Nature and its symbols*. Getty Publications.
- Inglis, K. (2013). *Churches and the working classes in Victorian England* (1st ed.). Taylor and Francis.
- Keister, D. (2004). *Stories in stone: A field guide to cemetery symbolism and iconography*. Gibbs Smith.
- Kerr, W. P. (2011). *History etched in stone: Gravestone art and the Garrison graveyard at Annapolis Royal*. Canadian Defence Academy Press.
- Knox, W. W. (2014). A history of the Scottish people: Religion in Scotland 1840-1940. SP2_8religion.pdf. Accessed 20 May 2025.
- Laqueur, T. (2015). *The work of the dead: A cultural history of mortal remains*. Princeton University Press.
- Larson, R. (2006). Women and Protestantism in Colonial New England. In R. Keller, R. Ruether, & M. Cantlon (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of women and religion in North America* (pp.

- 221-228). Indiana University Press.
- Lavoie, J., & de Vries, B. (2004). Identity and death: An empirical investigation. *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying*, 48(3), 223-243.
- Little, B., Lanphear, K., & Owsley, D. (1992). Mortuary display and status in a nineteenth-century Anglo-American cemetery in Manassas, Virginia. *American Antiquity*, 57(3), 397-418.
- Little, R. (1998). *Sticks and stones: Three centuries of North Carolina gravemarkers*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Lott, J. (2000). *On the hallowed hill: An analysis of historic cemeteries within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park* [Unpublished master's thesis, University of Tennessee].
- TRACE.
- Mansfield, N. (2016). *Soldiers as workers*. Liverpool University Press.
- Mellor, P., & Shilling, C. (1993). Modernity, self-identity and the sequestration of death. *Sociology*, 27(3), 411-431.
- Meyer, R. (1989). Images of logging on contemporary Pacific Northwest gravemarkers. In R. Meyer (Ed.), *Cemeteries and gravemarkers* (pp. 61-88). UMI Research Press.
- Mitoraj, S. (2001). A tale of two cemeteries: Gravestones as community artifacts. *The English Journal*, 90(5), 82-87.
- Monumental Bronze Co. (1882). *Catalogue of the Monumental Bronze Co.*
- Musgrove, F. (1959). Middle-class education and employment in the Nineteenth century. *The Economic History Review*, 12(1), 99-111.
- Mytum, H. (1999). Welsh cultural identity in nineteenth-century Pembrokeshire: The pedimented headstone as a graveyard monument. In S. Tarlow & S. West (Eds.), *The Familiar Past*

- (pp. 215-230). Routledge.
- Mytum, H. (2004). A long and complex plot: Patterns of family burial in Irish graveyards from the 18th century. *Church Archaeology*, 5(6), 31-41.
- Mytum, H. (2009). Mortality symbols in action: Protestant and Catholic memorials in early eighteenth-century West Ulster. *Historical Archaeology*, 43(1), 160-182.
- Mytum, H. (2018). Explaining stylistic changes in mortuary material culture: The dynamic of power relations between the bereaved and the undertaker. in H. Mytum & L. Burgess (Eds), *Death across oceans: Archaeology of coffins and vaults in Britain, America, and Australia* (pp. 75-93). Penguin Random House.
- Nelson, M., & George, D. (1981). Part I: Gravestones and epitaphs "Grinning skulls, smiling cherubs, bitter words." *Journal of Popular Culture*, 14(4), 633-640.
- Norris, D. A. (1988). Ontario gravestones. *Markers: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, 5, 123-149.
- Oddy, D. (2000). Gone for a soldier: The anatomy of a Nineteenth-century army family. *Journal of Family History*, 25(1), 39-62.
- Parker Pearson, M. (1993). The powerful dead: Archaeological relationships between the living and the dead. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 3(2), 203-229.
- Parker Pearson, M. (2003). *The archaeology of death and burial*. The History Press.
- Pelling, H. (1964). Religion and the nineteenth-century British working class. *Past & Present*, 27(1), 128-133.
- Peskowitz, M. (1997). The gendering of burial and the burial of gender: Notes from Roman-period archaeology. *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 4(2), 105-124.
- Petts, D. (1998). Burial and gender in late- and Sub-Roman Britain. *Theoretical Roman*

- Archaeology Journal*, 112-124.
- Rebay-Salisbury, K., Bortel, P., Janker, L., Bas, M., Pany-Kucera, D., Salisbury, R. B., Gerner, C., & Kanz, F. (2022). Gendered burial practices of early Bronze Age children align with peptide-based sex identification: A case study from Franzhausen I, Austria. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 139, 1-12.
- Reimers, E. (1999). Death and identity: Graves and funerals as cultural commemoration. *Mortality*, 4(2), 147-166.
- Ritchie, E. (2020). Men and place: Male identity and the meaning of place in the Nineteenth-century Scottish Gàidhealtachd. *Genealogy*, 4(4), 97.
- Robin, J. (1980). *Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, P. (1994). How on Earth does an olive branch mean peace? *Peace & Change*, 19(2), 165-179.
- Rugg, J. (2013). *Churchyard and cemetery: Tradition and modernity in rural North Yorkshire*. Manchester University Press.
- Rugg, J. (2022). 'Further remarks on modern sepulture': Twenty years of cemetery study and eight core questions defining cemetery research. *Eastern and Northern European Journal of Death Studies*, 16-46.
- Russell, L., & Stone, P. (1983). Gravestone carvers of early Ontario. *Material Culture Review*, 18.
- Sari, M. (2017). The impacts of the age factor on religiosity. *The Journal of International Social Sciences*, 27(2), 257-267.
- Sartre, J. P. (1965). Existentialism is a humanism. In W. Kaufmann (Ed.), *Existentialism from*

- Dostoevsky to Sartre* (pp. 287-311). Meridian Books of the World Publishing Company.
- Sayer, D. (2011). Death and the dissenter: Group identity and the stylistic simplicity as witnesses in the nineteenth century nonconformist gravestones. *Historical Archaeology*, 45(4), 115-134.
- Sears, Roebuck and Co. (1906). *Catalogue of memorial art in granite and marble*.
- Seaton, B. (1995). *The language of flowers: A history*. University Press of Virginia.
- Seventy-Seventh annual report of the Registrar-General of births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales (1914)*. (1916). Darling and Son, Limited.
- Sofaer, J., Sørensen, M. (2013). Death and gender. In L. Stutz & S. Tarlow (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology of death and burial* (pp. 527-541). Oxford Academic.
- Stanton, E., & Spalding, J. L. (1885). Has Christianity benefited woman? *The North American Review*, 140(342), 389-410.
- Stratton, S. (2016). "Seek and you shall find." How the analysis of gendered patterns in archaeology can create false binaries: A case study from Durankulak. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 23(3), 854–869
- Suchan, L. (2012). *Memento mori: Classifying Nineteenth century Ontario gravestones*.
- Thacher, D. (2024). *Navigating the death of a child: An analysis of 19th and early 20th century child commemoration rates in rural Cambridgeshire, England* [Doctoral dissertation, McMaster University]. MacSphere.
- Tillich, P. (1955). Religious symbols and our knowledge of God. *The Christian Scholar*, 38(3), 189-197.
- Vajta, K. (2021). Identity beyond death: Messages and meanings in Alsatian cemeteries. *Mortality*, 26(1), 17-35.

Veit, R. (1991). *Middlesex county New Jersey gravestones 1687-1799: Shadows of a changing culture* [Masters thesis, The College of William and Mary].

Veit, R. (2009). "Resolved to strike out a new path": Consumerism and iconographic change in New Jersey gravestones, 1680-1820. *Historical Archaeology*, 43(1), 115-141.

Watters, D. (1980). Gravestones and historical archaeology: A review essay. *Markers I: The Journal of the Association of Gravestone Studies*, 1, 174-179.

Whitley, M. (2006). Protestantism in British North America (Canada). In R. Keller, R. Ruether, & M. Cantlon (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of women and religion in North America* (pp. 242-249). Indiana University Press.

Young, F. (1960). Graveyards and social structure. *Rural Sociology*, 25, 446-450.

Zelinsky, W. (2007). The gravestone index: Tracking personal religiosity across nations, religions, and periods. *Geographical Review*, 97(4), 441-466.

Appendix 1: Code for individuals who were known to have purchased the grave monument in Perthshire (relation to the deceased)

1. Wife 2. Daughter(s) 3. Mother 4. Sister(s) 5. Niece(s) 6. Granddaughter(s) 7. Unknown female relation 8. Husband 9. Son(s) 10. Father	11. Brother(s) 12. Nephew(s) 13. Grandson(s) 14. Uncle(s) 15. Unknown male relation 16. Child(ren) 17. Parents (both mother and father) 19. Parish/community (friends/employers) 20. 'Family'	21. Sibling(s) 22. Niece and nephew 23. Grandchild(ren) 24. Unknown 25. Wife and parishioners 26. Wife and family 27. Husband and family 28. Wife and sons 29. Wife and children
---	---	--

Appendix 2: Detailed List of Symbol Categories and Codes

Floral Code

1. Ivy 2. Natural 3. Architectural 4. Ivy + natural 5. Ivy + architectural 6. Ivy + architectural + natural 7. Architectural + natural 8. Bouquet 9. Wreath 10. Wreath + architectural	11. Bouquet + architectural 12. Wreath + natural 13. Bouquet + natural 14. Ivy with berries 15. None 16. Berries + natural 17. Wreath + natural + architectural 18. Log 19. Log + natural 20. Wreath + Ivy	21. Upside down bouquet 22. Berries + architectural 23. Bouquet + ivy 24. Log + ivy 25. Wreath + Ivy + Log
---	---	--



More examples of (2) Natural Florals

Religious Code

1. Cross	15. Horizontal	29. Gates
2. Cross (SS)	16. Star/Seal + cross	30. Gates + other
3. Celtic cross (SS)	17. Horizontal + IHS	31. Finger pointing up
4. Cross (atop)	18. Angel	32. Finger point up + other
5. Cross (SS) + cross	19. Cross (atop) + cross	33. None
6. IHS	20. Celtic cross (SS) + IHS	34. Finger pointing down
7. IHS I = cross	21. Horizontal + cross	35. Finger point down + other
8. IHS + cross	22. Cross (SS) + angel	
9. IHS + cross (SS)	23. I = cross + cross	
10. Cross (SS) + IHS + cross	24. Cross (atop) + IHS I = cross	
11. Star of David/Seal of Solomon	25. Cross (SS) + angel	
12. Other (church window)	26. Cross (SS) + other	
13. Cross atop + IHS	27. Cross (SS) + IHS = cross	
14. IHS I = cross + Cross (SS)	28. Celtic cross (SS) + IHS + Cross	

Code 17 and code 27 are for the same symbol pairing. The code was accidentally repeated.

Animal Code

1. Stag 2. Bird facing up 3. Bird facing left 4. Bird facing right 5. Bird facing down	6. Lamb 7. Unknown 8. None 9. Horse 10. Bird with wings spread	11. Rooster 12. Feline 13. Regular bird 14. Multiple animals 15. Two bird facing each other
--	--	---

Other code

1. None 2. Shield with family initial 3. Shield (alone) 4. Shield (SS) 5. Initial (alone, maybe in shape) 7. Clasped hands 8. Clasped hands w/ ribbon 9. Ribbon 10. Rope 11. Stars 12. Anchor 13. Anchor w/ rope or chain 14. Celtic knots 15. Freemason symbol	16. Other 17. Book (SS) 18. Book (AF) 19. Scroll (SS) 20. Scroll (AF) 21. Heart (SS) 22. Army insignia 23. Crown 24. Rays 25. Serpent + Ray 26. Shapes (square, triangle, sphere) 27. Book + shield 28. Freemason + crown 29. Statue 30. Statue + clasped hands + anchor	31. Stars + scroll 32. Banner 33. Initial + Rope 34. Ribbon + scroll 35. Scroll + banner 36. Shield + ribbon 37. Initial + ribbon 38. Crown + Rope 39. Shield + crown 40. Multi 41. Torch 42. Shield + rope 43. Crown + Celtic 44. Initial + Celtic 45. Book + Broken chain	46. Torch + star 47. Star + Ribbon 48. Celtic + Scroll 49. Star + rope 50. Clasped + Rope 51. Rays + Star 52. Initial + Chain 53. Freemason + Shape + Initial 54. Book + Flag 55. Scroll (SS) + Statue 56. Star + Book
--	--	---	--

Other code '16' is another subsection of 'other,' symbols of which were too complex for formal categorization.

Mortality Code

1. Urn atop grave	11. Weeping willow + grave/urn
2. Urn with a veil	12. Soul effigy/cherub
3. Urn (on grave)	13. Curtains + urn
4. Urn w/ flame	14. None
5. Sarcophagus atop grave	15. Multi (often hourglass, effigy/cherub, crossbones)
6. Sarcophagus (AF)	16. Cherub + skull and crossbones
7. Skull with crossbones	17. Hourglass + skull and crossbones
8. (Winged) Hourglass	18. Hourglass + oroborus
9. Curtains (or curtain tassels)	19. Sarcophagus + curtains
10. Weeping willow	20. Urn + scythe
	21. Scythe

Appendix 3: Codes for inscription type (religious or non-religious phrase)

1. Religious verse 2. Non-religious (secular) 3. Beloved 4. Beloved + other religious 5. Rest/sleep 6. Meet again/not lost gone before/not forgotten 7. Other religious (pray, eternity, resurrection, blessed, a hymn) 8. Day dawn/day is over/day break 9. Mortal remains 10. Thy will be done 11. None/illegible 12. About a parent 13. Secular + Beloved 14. Beloved + Day dawn etc. 15. Other religious + mortal remains 16. Secular + beloved 17. Rest/sleep + other religious 18. Meet again etc. + Day dawn etc.	19. Religious verse + Beloved 20. Peace perfect peace 21. Other religious + Meet again etc. 22. Beloved + Rest/sleep 23. Beloved + Meet again etc. 24. Secular + Other religious 25. Peace perfect peace + Rest/sleep + Day dawn etc. 26. Religious verse + Secular 27. Other religious + Day dawn etc. 28. Religious verse + Thy will be done 29. Religious verse + Other religious 30. Peace perfect peace + Thy will be done 31. Thy will be done + Day dawn etc. 32. Rest/sleep + Thy will be done + Meet again etc. 33. Thy will be done + Other religious	34. Other religious + Peace perfect peace 35. Thy will be done + Rest/sleep 36. Secular + Thy will be done 37. Rest/sleep + Meet again etc. 38. Rest/sleep + Secular 39. Religious verse + Day dawn etc. 40. Peace perfect peace + Secular 41. About a parent + Other religious 42. About a parent + Rest/sleep 43. Erected by 44. Secular + Meet again etc. 45. Religious verse + Meet again etc.
---	---	---

Appendix 4: Detailed List of Occupations and Occupation Categories

Upper Class

- 1 - Nobility-gentleman, baron/baroness, baronet, benefactress, chancellor, president/master of college at university, countess, earl, dowager, member of parliament, senator, vice admiral, admiral, lord, provost
- 2 - Clergy-vicar, rector, minister, bishop, chaplin, clergyman, clerk in/of holy orders, curate, chaplain, vergor, preacher, deacon, reverend, pastor
- 3 - Professional-accountant/bank accountant, doctor, barrister, surgeon, general practitioner, curator, architect, analytical chemist, attorney, solicitor, University graduate, botanist, college tutor, esq, employing 25 or more individuals (excluding servants and excepting farmers with acreage), Royal School of Art, headmaster/principal/housemaster/head teacher, dentist, lecturer, medical officer of health, magistrate, professor, justice of the peace, farmer and [professional], honorable, professional cricketer, employed at British Museum, civil engineer, fellow of College, geologist, veterinary surgeon, actuary, mayor, law writer, museum employee, college bursar, director of education, town councillor
- 4 - Farmer (>500 acres), wife of farmer/gentleman
- 5 - Farmer (300-500 acres)

Upper Middle Class

- 6 - Farmer (100-300 acres)
- 7 - Land Owner/Proprietor/Land Agent/landlord/funded property/estate owner
- 8 - Wealthy Annuitant-servants listed, income derived from stocks, income from interest, retired with servants
- 9 - Semi-professional-schoolmaster/schoolmistress/school teacher, artist, auctioneer, land surveyor, chemist and druggist/medicine dispenser, pharmacist, apparitor, police chief/superintendent, agent, assistant analytical chemist, editor, assistant surgeon, attendant in courts of justice, author, banker, council, building surveyor, superintendent, churchwarden, civil servant, collector internal revenue, collector, customs and excuse assistant, music teacher, factory manager, station/railway master, assistant in laboratory, sup and labor Edmonton master working, master of workhouse, managing director, farmer and [semi-professional], rate collector, police inspector, agricultural student/farm pupil, canvasser, court clerk, senior chapel clerk, clerk with servants, relieving officer, police constable with servants, honourary secretary, governess in school board, school attendance officer, gardener and churchman, college/club steward, journalist, actress, showman, circus proprietor, coroner, governor of County Gaol, inspector/minder of roads, insurance inspector, librarian, musician, photographer, sanitary inspector,

electrician, government appointment, gas inspector, gas works manager, horse doctor, governor, kennel manager, land measurer, University librarian, library attendant, conductress of ladies seminary, foreign carrier, manager of insurance company, matron of nursing home, newspaper writer/reporter, organist, poet, prison warden, private tutor, rag room manager, publisher, race stud manager, coprolite manager, vet assistant, inspector of telegraph messengers, warden, turncock, bank director, certified wireless operator, harmony and pianoforte teacher, railway inspector

- 10 - Master Trades/Craftsperson- trades/craftsperson/innkeeper/gardener etc. with servants (not just employing boy), farmer and master [trade/craft] or previously master [trade/craft], [trade/craft/dealer] and manager, gentleman/[trade/craft], [trade/craft/dealer] and [semi-professional], [trade/craft]'s manager, restaurant supervisor, ironmaster and metal broker, postmaster/postmistress
- 11 - Farmer (50-100 acres)
- 13 - Farmer (0-50 acres or acreage not listed) and [trade/craft/dealer], [trade/craft] and [dealer of sorts], [trade/craft/dealer] and land owner, farmer and landed proprietor, cottager
- 14 - Farmer, yeoman, grazier, dairy farmer, husbandman, tenant farmer, farmer and gardener, farmer and groom, granger
- 24 - Servant-butler/governess, college servant, attendant to gentleman, bedmaker, chapel keeper, chauffeur, chief cook, college porter, college cook, college laundress, college kitchen porter, college servant, college gardener, college shoe black, college waiter, cook at Vicarage, cook and manager, head cook, coachman at university, gentleman's coachman, servants listed as having own servants, waiter, barman (servant) head gardener, university badgeman, bedmaker, university attendant, steward to individual, valet, head gamekeeper, head mistress, servant at Buckingham Palace, college groundsman

Middle Class

- 12 - Farmer (0-50 acres), smallholder/small farmer, farmer previously ag lab/semi-skilled lab/servant, farmer and [transportation], gardener/market gardener (0-50 acres)
- 15 - Market gardener, grocer and gardener, fruit grower/gardener, commercial gardener, labouring market gardener, farmer and market gardener, market gardener and carrier, farmer and fruit grower
- 20 - Dealer, innkeeper, shopkeeper, publican, cashier, draper, merchant, green grocer, merchant, grocer, parish clerk, marine store dealer, victualler, lodging house keeper, antique dealer, appraiser, beerhouse, hotel, inn proprietor, ladies outfitter, athletic shop, box business, outfitter, assistant schoolmaster/schoolmistress/teacher, assistant in school, assistant secretary, fancy shop keeper, business, auctioneer's clerk, bank clerk/bank cashier, barman, boarding house keeper, book seller, bookkeeper, stationer, storeman,

registrar of births and deaths, cab proprietor/jobmaster, sub postmaster, postman/mailman, post messenger, police/police constable, factor, contractor, cattle jobber/calf jobber/pig jobber, cellarman, cheesemonger, ticket collector, merchant's clerk, chapel/church clerk, clerk, timekeeper, clothier, salesman, dairyman, poulterer, [trade/craft]'s traveller, drummer, night watchman, asylum attendant/worker, workhouse/industrial trainer, boat partsman, letter sorter/carrier, account book ruler, shopman, supplementary teacher, florist, seedsman, printer's reader, [dealer] and gardener, [dealer] and [transportation], secretary, tobacconist, post office assistant, post boy, reader for the press, farm bailiff/farm manager, foreman, overseer, groom and foreman, farm steward, steward, officer, toll collector, furniture broker, pawnbroker, dealer and [semi-skilled lab], broker, mealman, monger, tradesman, hosier, dry salter, keeper of repository, fruiterer/fruiter, sexton, grounds manor golf link, horse proprietor, laundry managress, office keeper, restaurant keeper, machine owner, proprietor of thrashing machine, Chandler, telegraph messenger, peddler/pedler, hawker, huckster, assistant turncock, office keeper

- 21 - Annuitant/Independent/Fundholder/own means/private means

Lower Middle Class

- 17 - Tradesperson/craftsperson- butcher, manufacturer, miller, thatcher, agricultural engineer, wagon builder, implement maker, journeymen, cooper, boot maker/shoemaker, bricklayer, tailor/tailoress, carpenter, joiner, harness maker, painter, robe maker, tailor's print master, blacksmith, farrier, drape maker, builder, plumber, wheelwright, brewer, laundry and whiting manufacturer, baker, confectioner, barber, basket maker/weaver, beating engineer, glazier, book binder/binder/maker/finisher, boat builder, boat closer, boot closer, boat partsman, boatwright, [trade/craft] repairer, brass finisher, brazier, breech maker, bronzer, mattress maker, undertaker, decorator, mason, cabinet maker, cordwainer, carriage builder, cart builder, carver, guildler, chair mender, charge engineer, cheesemaker, stone mason, cigar maker, clock cleaner, clothes maker, coach body maker, coach maker/builder/painter/smith, collar maker, compositor, cook, copper smith, parchment maker, currier, cycle maker/repairer, engine fitter, plaiter/strawplaiter, straw hat maker, cap maker, local lab collector, sievemaker, smock maker, fireman, watchmaker, upholsterer, maltster, tinman, printer, piano tuner, coach trimmer, coach painter, motor and cycle engineer, inkmaker, matmaker, plasterer, glove maker, spindle maker, brickmaker, leather bag maker, pianoforte maker, musical instrument maker, machine maker, mantle maker, mathematical instrument maker, mineral water maker, boiler maker, match maker, box maker, glover, [trade/craft] and gardener, hairdresser, [trade/craft] and [transportation], spinner, grease manufacturer, bonnet maker, seamstress, lace maker, fancy needleworker/knitter, milliner, nurse (not domestic), laundress (servants), trade and [semi-skilled lab], cow leech/leach, artisan, cobbler, cutler,

dyer, furrier, greensmith, horse trainer, saddler, jeweller, knacker, lithographer, mechanic, motor repairer, razor manufacturer, sack manufacturer, weaver, whitesmith, distiller, dog trainer, engineer, engraver, gas engineer, mechanical engineer, electrical engineer, fancy marble worker, gunsmith, midwife, potter, trainer, jockey, sack weaver, shipwright, shirt cutter, silversmith, sinker, skin cutter, slater, soap and candle manufacturer, chef, hammer man, telegraph lineman, animal preserver, modeller, motorman, nib drawer, stone founder, taxidermist, tinsmith, horse breeder/turkey breeder, fellmonger, iron monger, millwright, skin stretcher, silkman, goldsmith, paper hanger, dressmaker

- 19 - Transportation-carter, carrier, coachman, porter, engine driver, machine driver, attends railway gate, messenger, bargeman, waterman, boatman, drayman, carman, cab driver, conductor, waggoner, groom and coachman, medical coach and dispenser, coach wheeler, shipman, attendant at gate, railway agent and fruit carter, engineman, lighterman, hauler, gatekeeper, signalman, vanman, transportation and [semi-skilled lab]
- 22 - Semi-Skilled Labourer- apprentice, groom/stablehand/stableman, laundress/laundry maid, washwomen, shepherds, platelayer, milkmen, [trade/craft/preacher/dealer/market gardener/teacher] and lab, seaman, needlewoman, gamekeeper, assistant, barmaid, bill poster and crier, billiard marker, birdkeeper, bobbin weaver/winder, brick burner, brickletter in factory, rabbit warrener, cableman on farm, castrator, cattelman, stockman, cement manufacturer, cement miller, sailor, sawyer, cloth finisher, cotton apperative, cotton maker/weaver, cowman, horsekeeper/pigman/poultry keeper/goosekeeper on farm, bleacher at mill, groom and gardener, lab occupying land/farmer and lab/farmer but later ag lab, herdsman, shepherd and gardener, sackhanger with threshing tackle, [trade/craft]'s assistant, baker's moulder, [trade/craft]'s man, builder's fitter, washer for waist bleacher, bothand, boat clicker, lift attendant, can maker (packing), lime burner, mat maker at factory, rat/mole catcher, cemetery caretaker, tailor's cutter, mangler, frizer (factory), glover (factory), grounder, leather washer cutter, skinner, printer machine minder, wool comber, sluice keeper, sheet taker in factory, [transportation] and [semi-skilled], draper's packer, ostler/hostler, custodian, higgler, kiln attendant, paper making machine attendant, scripture reader, horseman, thresher, horse clipper, laundress/dressmaker (when husband previously trade/dealer with no servants), machinist, ag machinist, machine man, mariner, cowkeeper, drover, drum feeder, glass/French polisher, grinder, sugar boiler, teamster, timber faller, timber roller, iron/lead moulder, paper hanger, fisherman, fruit canner, game watcher, goods guard/railway guard, counter in paper mill, key cutter, lath render, engine cleaner, horse/colt breaker, motor cleaner, silk warper, galvanizer, pulper, bag mender in paper mill, quick cutter, brakesman, razor grinder, scaffolder, slubber, bottler, beater in mill, casing manufacturer, groundsman, metal dipper, railway checker, studman, splitter, thrasher, brusher in dye works, manufacturer of solvent, iron turner, leadsman, riverter, stationary cutter, well borer, well sinker, thrashing machine, manure manufacturer, sausage skin cleaner, timber faller, church cleaner, paper glazier, paper finisher,

woodman/woodward, under gardener, marker, skin splitter (in leather yard), leather dresser/cutter/finisher/presser, flesher

- 23 - Gardener, jobbing gardener, nurseryman, hedge cutter
- 25 - Servant-domestic, domestic cook, housemaid, housekeeper, caretaker, children's maid, gardener (domestic), college laundress helper, companion, servant, nurse maid, footman, nurse, general lab (domestic), monthly nurse, [trade/craft]'s servant, attendant, coachman/groom (domestic), potman, footman, cowman domestic, scullery maid

Lower Class

- 18 - Probably middle class/lower middle class
- 26 - Agricultural/general labourer, charwoman, lab of any sort, chimney sweep, fossil digger, ag/horse/pig slaughterer, lower class, road work, bag collector, boiler stoker, brewer stoker, cab washer, roadman, coprolite digger, cement packer, cement worker, fossil digger, operative in paper mill, lamplighter, cleaner, coal heaver, coal miner, cow boy, dairymaid, employed in paper mill, domestic servant and lab, lab and [semi-skilled occupation], swans down worker, errand boy, factory worker, yardman, rag cutter, paper making industry rag weigher, rag sorter, farmer's boy, worker, dockman, warehouseman, stone worker, leather worker, leather mill man, railway servant, factory hand, factory operator, stoker, factory packer, gardener's boy, stone digger, laundress/dressmaker (if husband previously part of this category), feeder of stock, drill man, drainer, hay binder/maker/baler, chaff/hay cutter, turf cutter/digger, turfman, railway shunter, greaseman, tinker, excavator, repository, field worker, frackman, horse shunter, milkmaid, gas man/worker, packer, ploughman, railway, scavenger, china packer, collier, cottager, ganger, lumper, street sweeper, wagon lifter, blast furnaceman, L A (Lab Ag), railway goods loader, sorter, jobber, paper manufacturer/maker, paper sorter, leather sorter, chamois leather worker

Not Included

- 16 - Military-army pensioner, Chelsea pensioner, Greenwich pensioner, soldier, corporal, petty officer, flying officer, captain, private, lieutenant, sergeant, major, trooper, in army, navy, general, sapper, ambulance corp, colonel
- 27 - Pauper, prisoner, lunatic, parish relief, in Union/Workhouse/almshouse/Asylum, allowed/relieved by parish, unemployed, mental hospital, relief from benefit society, vagrant
- 28 - Uncodeable

Occupational Reorganization for Perthshire

1. Farmer (2) 2. Religious (1) 3. Merchant (3) 4. Gentleman/Esq/Lord/Baron (1) 5. Trades (tinsmith, lumber, etc) (4) 6. Graduand (1) 7. Politics (2) 8. Station carrier (2) 9. Unknown (6) 10. Army (4) (coding same as 18s since none provided) 11. Teacher (2) 12. Road surveyor (5)	13. Supervisor of inland revenue/revenue officer (2) (classed as 'collector internal revenue' code 19) 14. Landsteward (2) 15. Proprietor (2) 16. Gardener (2) 17. Housekeeper (4) 18. Manager (2) 19. Gamekeeper (4) 20. Engine driver/railway (4) 21. Servant (4) 22. Nurse/Physician (4, 1) 23. Overseer (3) 24. Baker (4) 25. Innkeeper (2)	26. Saddler (4) 27. Law enforcement (3) 28. Postal work (3) 29. Clerk (3) 30. Feuar (2) (classed as 'tenant' code 14) 31. Shipmaster (4) (classed as 'mariner' code 22) 32. Engineer (4) 33. Fisher (4) 34. Advertiser office (3) (classed as 'office keeper' code 20) 35. Banker (2) 36. Inspector of the poor (2) 37. Solicitor (1)
---	---	--

The number following the position was the social class they were designated.

Appendix 5: Tables for Mortality, Animal, and ‘Other’ Symbols by Identity Marker and Time

Age (Animal, Mortality, Other)

Cambridgeshire

	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71+
Animal	5	18	21	14
Mortality	7	19	24	22
Other	53	169	217	168

Perthshire

	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71+
Animal	1	1	10	5
Mortality	5	22	45	33
Other	32	134	226	200

Ontario

	Under 21	21 to 50	51 to 70	71+
Animal	9	2	3	0
Mortality	13	52	48	53
Other	39	96	102	126

Religious Affiliation (Animal, Mortality, Other)

Cambridgeshire

	Anglican (Church of England)	Non-conformist/ Dissenter	Cemetery
Animal	46	4	8
Mortality	46	11	15
Other	442	47	121

Ontario

	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican (Church of England)
Animal	2	0	0
Mortality	28	19	30
Other	69	38	39

Sex (Animal, Mortality, Other)**Cambridgeshire**

	Female	Male
Animal	21	37
Mortality	30	42
Other	230	380

Perthshire

	Female	Male
Animal	5	14
Mortality	39	83
Other	192	513

Ontario

	Female	Male
Animal	59	107
Mortality	6	8
Other	108	256

Immigration (Animal, Mortality, Other) - Ontario

	Canadian National	Immigrant
Animal	6	3
Mortality	74	70
Other	173	142

Purchaser (Animal, Mortality, Other) - Perthshire

	Female Purchaser	Male Purchaser
Animal	1	1
Mortality	16	27
Other	56	62

Inscription (Animal, Mortality, Other)

Cambridgeshire

	Religious	Non-religious
Animal	5	6
Mortality	18	0
Other	96	31

Perthshire

	Religious	Non-religious
Animal	1	2
Mortality	16	6
Other	45	48

Social Class (Animal, Mortality, Other)**Cambridgeshire**

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class
Animal	3	13	17	13	10
Mortality	13	34	7	11	3
Other	32	166	97	141	108

Perthshire

	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class
Animal	2	3	1
Mortality	5	19	5
Other	10	50	31

Change Over Time (Animal, Mortality, Other)**Cambridgeshire**

	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896 to 1905	1906-15	1916-25
Animal	0	3	4	3	14	22	12
Mortality	11	14	15	4	6	4	8
Other	18	26	50	68	114	142	176

Perthshire

	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896 to 1905	1906-15	1916-25
Animal	1	1	2	1	1	4	0
Mortality	21	11	13	8	9	8	5
Other	29	26	25	37	46	75	119

Ontario

	1856-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896 to 1905	1906-15	1916-25
Animal	0	3	6	2	2	0	1
Mortality	7	5	18	46	55	17	18
Other	3	6	29	46	66	103	111

Appendix 6: List of Burial Sites**Cambridgeshire, England:**

Connington St. Mary Fen Drayton St. Mary Boxworth St. Peter Knapwell All Saints Madingly St. Mary Oakington St. Andrew Fen Ditton St. Mary Horningsea St. Peter Shelford Little All Saints Whittlesford Cemetery Whittlesford St. Mary & St. Andrew Abbingdon Great St. Mary the Virgin Abbingdon Little St. Mary the Virgin Fowlmere St. Mary Landbeach All Saints Milton All Saints Bassingbourn Cemetery Bassingbourn St. Peter & St. Paul Wendy cum Shingay All Saints Shepreth All Saints Stapleford St. Andrew Swaffham Bulbeck St. Mary Swavesey St. Andrew Swavesey Dissenter's Cemetery Fordham Congregational Church Fordham St. Peter's Shelford Great St. Mary Weston Colville The Blessed Virgin Willingham St. Mary & All Saints Dullingham St. Mary Kirtling All Saints	Babraham St. Peter Balsham Holy Trinity Barrington All Saints Barrington Independent Chapel Barton St. Peter Bourn St. Mary Brinkley St. Marys Caldecot St. Michael Comberton St. Mary Conington St. Mary Coton St. Peter Croydon cum-Clopton Duxford St. Peter Duxford St. John Duxford Cemetery Eversden Great St. Mary Eversden Little St. Helen Abington Pigotts St. Michael's Arrington St. Nicholas Meldreth Holy Trinity Whaddon St. Mary the Virgin Longstanton St. Michael Longstanton All Saints Teversham All Saints Thriplow St. George Toft St. Andrew Swaffham Prior Cemetery Swaffham Prior St. Mary Stow cum Quy St. Mary Wilbraham Little St. John Wilbraham Great St. Nicholas Wimpole St. Andrew Pampisford St. John the Baptist Gamlingay Cemetery Gamlingay St. Mary Gamlingay Old Meeting Baptist Chapel	Foxton St. Lawrence Fulbourn St. Vigor Fulbourn All Saints Fulbourn United Reform Church Harlton Assumption of the Virgin Harston All Saints Harston Baptist Chapel Haslingfield All Saints Hauxton St. Edmund Hildersham Holy Trinity Hinxton St. Mary & St. John Histon St. Andrew Ickleton St. Mary Magdalene Kingston All Saints & St. Andrew Kirtling All Saints Newton St. Margaret Orwell St. Andrew Over St. Mary the Virgin Over Non-Conformist Sawston St. Mary Sawston Cemetery Impington St. Andrew Isleham Cemetery Soham Cemetery Wicken St. Lawrence Dry Drayton SS. Peter and Paul Girtson St. Andrew Linton United Reform Linton St. Mary Linton Cemetery Melbourn All Saints Melbourn United Reform Church Guilden Morden St. Mary Chesterton St. Andrew Grantchester St. Andrew & St. Mary
---	--	--

Perthshire, Scotland:

St. Maddoes & Kinfauns Church Madderty Church Extension Bendochy Churchyard Blackford Church and Cemetery Logerait Churchyard Lethendy Churchyard Rhynd Churchyard Findo Gask Trinity Gask Churchyards Perth-Kinross Clunie Churchyard St. Serfs - Dunning Dron Church	Kilspindie Churchyard Redgorton Churchyard Inchture Churchyard Blair Atholl-Kilamveonaig Churchyard Fowlis Wester Churchyard Abdergalie Churchyard Meigle Churchyard Forgandenny Churchyard Perth and Kinross Errol Churchyard Abernethy Churchyard Kirk of St. Bride Kinfauns Church Glendevon Churchyard
---	---

Ontario, Canada:

Harriston Orangeville Mount Forest
--