

The Use of Symbols on Victorian Cemetery Monuments for Anglican and Catholic Religious
Group Identification and Differentiation: Urban versus Rural Cultural Contexts, Adelaide,
South Australia (1870-1899)

By

Amber Parrington

B. Archaeology

A thesis submitted in partial requirements for the degree of Master of Archaeology and
Heritage Management, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Education, Humanities and
Law, Flinders University, July 2018

DECLARATION

‘I certify that this research project does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text.’

Amber Parrington

31st July 2018

Contents

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Appendices	xiii
Abstract	xiv
Acknowledgements.....	xvi
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Aim.....	1
1.2 Significance	5
2.0 Literature Review.....	6
2.1 Wider Cemetery Studies.....	6
2.1.1 Wider Cemetery Studies: South Australia	10
2.2 Urban versus Rural: Redfield’s Folk Societies	12
2.3 Religion and Cemetery Studies	14
2.4 Summary	20
3.0 Historical Background	20
3.1 Introduction	20
3.2 Religion in South Australia.....	22
3.3 Catholicism in South Australia	23
3.4 Anglicanism in South Australia	26
3.5 Catholic and Anglican Symbols	28
4.0 Methods.....	30
4.1 Introduction	30
4.2 Data Collection.....	30
4.2.1 Site Selection.....	30
4.2.2 Proximity to Adelaide CBD: Rural versus Urban.....	31
4.2.3 Religious Classification/Association.....	31
4.2.4 Cemeteries and Sample Size	31
4.2.5 Time Period.....	33
4.2.6 Headstone Recording	34
4.3 Data Entry	38
4.4 Statistical Analysis of Data	38
4.5 Limitations	39
5.0 Results.....	39

5.1 Introduction	39
5.2.1 Common Motifs and Symbols in Rural Catholic Cemeteries	40
5.2.2 Common Motifs and Symbols in Urban Catholic Cemeteries	41
5.2.3 Common Catholic Motifs and Symbols: Rural v. Urban	42
5.2.4 Common Motifs and Symbols in Rural Anglican Cemeteries	43
5.2.5 Common Motifs and Symbols in Urban Anglican Cemeteries.....	44
5.2.6 Common Anglican Motifs/Symbols: Urban v. Rural.....	44
5.3 Religious Symbol use	45
5.3.1 Rural Catholic	45
5.3.2 Urban Catholic	46
5.3.3 Religious Symbol Use in Catholic Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural	48
5.3.4 Rural Anglican	49
5.3.5 Urban Anglican	50
5.3.6 Religious Symbol Use in Anglican Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural	51
5.3.7 Religious Symbol Use in Rural Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican.....	52
5.3.8 Religious Symbol Use in Urban Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican	54
5.3.9 Religious Symbol Use: Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic.....	56
5.3.10 Religious Symbol Use: Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican.....	58
5.4 Sex and Religious Symbol Use.....	60
5.4.1 Rural Catholic: Male v. Female	61
5.4.2 Urban Catholic: Male v. Female	62
5.4.3 Rural Anglican: Male v. Female	64
5.4.4 Urban Anglican: Male v. Female	66
5.4.5 Sex and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic	67
5.4.5.1 Males and Females: Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic.....	67
5.4.5.2 Males and Females: Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic	68
5.4.6 Sex and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic	69
5.4.6.1 Males and Females: Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic.....	69
5.4.6.2 Males and Females: Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican.....	70
5.5 Age and Religious Symbol Use	71
5.6.1 Rural Catholic	71
5.6.1.1 Religious Symbol use within Age Groups: Rural Catholic	72
5.6.2 Urban Catholic	74
5.6.2.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Catholic	75
5.6.3 Catholic Age and Religious Symbol Use: Rural v. Urban.....	77
5.6.4 Rural Anglican	78

5.6.4.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Anglican	79
5.6.5 Urban Anglican	80
5.6.5.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Anglican	80
5.6.6 Anglican Age and Religious Symbol Use: Urban v. Rural	81
5.7 Age and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic	82
5.7.1 Age and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic	82
6.0 Discussion	83
6.1 Religious Motifs/Symbols	94
7.0 Conclusions	103
7.1 Future Research Directions	108
8.0 References	110
9.0 Appendices Part A	116
9.1 Headstone Recording Form	116
9.2 Common Headstone Symbols	117
9.3 Headstone Terminology	121
9.4 Photography Recording Form	128
9.5 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Catholic Headstones	129
9.6 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Catholic Headstones	129
9.7 Most Common Symbols Use on Male Urban Catholic Headstones	130
9.8 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Catholic Headstones	130
9.9 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Anglican Headstones	131
9.10 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Anglican Headstones	131
9.11 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Urban Anglican Headstones	131
9.12 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Anglican Headstones	132
9.13 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Catholic	132
9.14 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Catholic	132
9.15 Most Common Symbol Use with Age Groups: Rural Anglican	133
9.16 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Anglican	133
10 Appendices Part B – Chi Square Test Tables	134

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Australia and South Australia.....	3
(Map from < https://library.unimelb.edu.au/collections/map_collection/map_collection_outline_ma ps >)	3
Figure 1.2 Study Area within the Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	3
Figure 1.3 Cemetery Locations within Study Area of Adelaide Region, South Australia. Source: Google Earth 2018.....	4
Figure 5.1 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	40
Figure 5.2 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic Headstones from West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia	41
Figure 5.3 Most Common Motifs/Symbols Found on Late Nineteenth Century Catholic Headstones: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia	42
Figure 5.4 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Anglican Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia	43
Figure 5.5 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican Headstones from Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide	44
Figure 5.6 Common Motifs/Symbols Found on Late Nineteenth Century Anglican Headstones: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia	45
Figure 5.7 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Rural Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia	46
Figure 5.8 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia.....	47
Figure 5.9 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used in Late Nineteenth Century Catholic Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	49
Figure 5.10 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia	50
Figure 5.11 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide	51
Figure 5.12 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used in Late Nineteenth Century Anglican Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	52
Figure 5.13 Religious Symbol Use in Late Nineteenth Century Rural Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	54
Figure 5.14 Religious Symbol Use in Late Nineteenth Century Urban Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	56
Figure 5.15 Religious and Non-Religious Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Rural Catholic Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	57
Figure 5.16 Religious Motif/Symbol Use on Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Catholic and Urban Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	58
Figure 5.17 Religious and Non-Religious Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	59

Figure 5.18 Religious Motif/Symbol Use on Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	60
Figure 5.19 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Rural Catholic Cemetery Samples of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	62
Figure 5.20 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Urban Catholic Cemetery Sample of the Late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide.....	64
Figure 5.21 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Rural Anglican Cemeteries of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	66
Figure 5.22 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Urban Anglican Cemeteries of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	67
Figure 5.23 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region.....	68
Figure 5.24 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region.....	69
Figure 5.25 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Rural Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region.....	70
Figure 5.26 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region.....	71
Figure 5.27 Age Groups in Rural Catholic Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia ...	72
Figure 5.28 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Rural Catholic Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	74
Figure 5.29 Age Groups in the Urban Catholic Cemetery, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia.....	75
Figure 5.30 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Urban Catholic Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia.....	77
Figure 5.31 Use of Religious and Non-Religious Motifs for Catholic Adult and Senior Age Groups in Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	78
Figure 5.32 Age Groups in the Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia	79
Figure 5.33 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Rural Anglican Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia	80

Figure 5.34 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Urban Anglican Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide	81
Figure 5.35 Use of Religious and Non-Religious Motifs for Anglican Adult and Senior Age Groups in Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	82
Figure 5.36 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use by Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Adult and Senior Age Groups from late Nineteenth Cemetery Sample, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	83
Figure 6.1 Variation in the Number of Motif/Symbol Groups for Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	85
Figure 6.2 Motifs/Symbols in Comparison to No Motifs on Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia	85
Figure 6.3 Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols Compared with Headstones with No Religious Motifs/Symbols in Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Contexts, Adelaide Region, South Australia	89
Table 6.1 Anglican and Catholic Male Chi-square Tests for Urban and Rural Cultural Contexts: Religious v. Non-Religious Motif Use, significant at $p < 0.05$	91
Table 6.2 Anglican and Catholic Female Chi-square Tests for Urban and Rural Cultural Contexts: Religious v. Non-Religious Motif Use, significant at $p < 0.05$	92
Figure 6.4 Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia	92
Figure 6.5 Adult and Senior Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	93
Figure 6.6 Example of Cross in Recessed Circle Motif from St Joseph's Catholic Cemetery, Willunga, South Australia.....	95
Figure 6.7 Example of Cross Motif Variation from St Matthew's Catholic Cemetery, Birdwood, South Australia.....	95
Figure 6.8 Example of IHS Motif from St Matthew's Catholic Cemetery, Birdwood, South Australia.....	96
Figure 6.9 Example of Dove in Recessed Circle Motif, St Thomas' Anglican Cemetery, Balhannah, South Australia	97
Figure 6.10 Example of Dove Motif Variation, St Francis de Sales Catholic Cemetery, Mount Barker, South Australia.....	98
Figure 6.11 Most Common Religious Motifs/Symbols found on Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	98

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Anglican and Catholic Rural and Urban Late Nineteenth Century Cemeteries and Locations within the Adelaide Region, South Australia.....	33
Table 9.1 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Males on Rural Catholic Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Cemeteries	129
Table 9.2 Common Motif/Symbol used by Females on Rural Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	129
Table 9.3 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	130
Table 9.4 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	130
Table 9.5 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	131
Table 9.6 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	131
Table 9.7 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on Urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	131
Table 9.8 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century	132
Table 10.1 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.	134
Table 10.2 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.	134
Table 10.3 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.	135
Table 10.4 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic headstone decoration: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.....	135
Table 10.5 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.	135
Table 10.6 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.	136
Table 10.7 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	136
Table 10.8 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	136
Table 10.9 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	137
Table 10.10 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	137
Table 10.11 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	137

Table 10.12 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.	138
Table 10.13 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motif/symbols.	138
Table 10.14 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	138
Table 10.15 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Urban Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbol and religious motif/symbol.	139
Table 10.16 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	139
Table 10.17 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Rural Anglican Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	139
Table 10.18 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	140
Table 10.19 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Urban Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	140
Table 10.20 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Male v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motif/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	140
Table 10.21 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Urban Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	141
Table 10.22 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	141
Table 10.23 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Urban Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	141
Table 10.24 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	142
Table 10.25 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	142
Table 10.26 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	142
Table 10.27 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Rural Anglican Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	143
Table 10.28 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Female v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	143
Table 10.29 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	143
Table 10.30 Urban Catholic Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	144
Table 10.31 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Adult v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	144
Table 10.32 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Urban Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	144
Table 10.33 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	145

Table 10.34 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	145
Table 10.35 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	145
Table 10.36 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	146
Table 10.37 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Urban Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	146
Table 10.38 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Urban Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	146
Table 10.39 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Urban Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	147
Table 10.40 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	147
Table 10.41 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	147
Table 10.42 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	148
Table 10.43 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	148
Table 10.44 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Rural Anglican Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	148
Table 10.45 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Senior v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.	149
Table 10.46 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.	149
Table 10.47 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.	149
Table 10.48 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.	150
Table 10.49 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross motif and no cross motif.	150
Table 10.50 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: No use of cross and use of cross.	150
Table 10.51 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: No use of cross and use of cross.	151
Table 10.52 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	151
Table 10.53 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	151
Table 10.54 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	151
Table 10.55 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	152

Table 10.56 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	152
Table 10.57 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: IHS motif and no IHS motif.	152
Table 10.58 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape and cross and flowers/foilage.	152
Table 10.59 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Catholic: Cross (Individual) and combination.....	153
Table 10.60 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Catholic: Cross (Individual) and Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape.....	153
Table 10.61 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Urban Anglican: Combination and Dove and flowers/foilage.	153
Table 10.62 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross and flowers/foilage and Dove and flowers/foilage.....	154
Table 10.63 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross and flowers/foilage and combination.....	154
Table 10.64 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Cross and combination. ..	154
Table 10.65 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: Cross (individual) and combination motifs.	154
Table 10.66 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (Individual) and IHS (Individual).	155
Table 10.67 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and IHS (Individual).	155
Table 10.68 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.....	155
Table 10.69 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and Cross and flowers/foilage.	155
Table 10.70 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.....	156
Table 10.71 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (Individual) and Cross and IHS.	156
Table 10.72 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and cross recessed circle/rounded shape.....	156
Table 10.73 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Individual) and Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape.....	157
Table 10.74 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Cross and flowers/foilage motif and combination motif.	157
Table 10.75 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: IHS (Collective) and Cross (Collective).	157
Table 10.76 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Collective) and cross (collective).	158
Table 10.77 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).	158

Table 10.78 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).	158
Table 10.79 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).	159
Table 10.80 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).	159
Table 10.81 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Denomination specific motif/symbol and non-denomination specific motif/symbol.	159
Table 10.82 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Denomination specific motif/symbol and non-denomination specific motif/symbol.	160
Table 10.83 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Female: Cross (Individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.	160
Table 10.84 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	160
Table 10.85 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	161
Table 10.86 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Urban Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	161
Table 10.87 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	161
Table 10.88 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	162
Table 10.89 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.	162
Table 10.90 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	162
Table 10.91 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	163
Table 10.92 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	163
Table 10.93 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	163
Table 10.94 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	164
Table 10.95 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).	164
Table 10.96 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and combination.	164
Table 10.97 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and combination.	165
Table 10.98 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and combination.	165
Table 10.99 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and combination.	165

Table 10.100 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and HIS (collective).	166
Table 10.101 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and IHS (collective).	166

List of Appendices

9.0 Appendices Part A

9.1 Headstone Recording Form

9.2 Common Headstone Symbols

9.3 Headstone Terminology

9.4 Photography and GPS Pro-forma

9.5 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Catholic Headstones

9.6 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Catholic Headstones

9.7 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Urban Catholic Headstones

9.8 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Catholic Headstones

9.9 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Anglican Headstones

9.10 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Anglican Headstones

9.11 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Urban Anglican Headstones

9.12 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Anglican Headstones

9.13 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Catholic

9.14 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Catholic

9.15 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Anglican

9.16 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Anglican

10.0 Appendices Part B – Chi-Square Test Tables

Abstract

South Australia was designed as a place of religious diversity and freedom where no one church would be placed above the others. Status, funding and government support was removed from the Church of England while the Catholic denomination was freed of years of persecution, discrimination and segregation.

The adherents of the dominant Anglican denomination in South Australia, were not overt in their use of symbols in public life and tended to show religious affiliation through community actions. The minority Catholic denomination in South Australia was, in contrast, very overt in the use of religious symbols. The extent of the religious symbol use and variations between the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations with regard to mortuary memorialisation in urban versus rural contexts is an avenue within archaeology that has yet to be explored.

Religion within cemetery research is an area that has had limited attention or focus from historical researchers with the exception of a few key studies (see Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Keister 2004; McEgan 2017; Mytum 2009; Mytum 2013; Stone 2009; Veit et al 2009; Zelinsky 2007). Cemeteries present a unique opportunity to study religious expression in a mortuary context through the use of motifs and symbols displayed on headstones. This study investigates the use of religious motifs on South Australian Anglican and Catholic headstones and identifies religious symbols used by both denominations to identify denomination specific religious symbol use. This study incorporated a rural versus urban aspect to investigate the observed dichotomy between these localities identified by Redfield (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) in terms of his theory of “folk societies”. Redfield argues that more conservative and community minded behaviours are present in the rural communities than in

urban communities where diversity and anonymity allow for potentially more innovation and deviation from societal “norms”.

The analysis of 400 headstones, 100 for each denomination in each locality, from the period between 1870 and 1899 shows that religious symbol use was favoured by the Catholic denomination in both the urban and rural samples. In contrast headstones associated with the Anglican denomination, generally did not include motifs, religious or otherwise.

The data did not support Redfield’s “folk society” theory as the conservative religious behaviour seemed to be due to denomination factors rather than locational factors with the Anglican denomination in both the urban and rural samples showing more conservative religious behaviour when compared with the Catholic samples.

High variation was found across the headstones that included religious motifs suggesting that there was not a denominational tradition that needed to be adhered to when memorialising the dead. However, there were three symbols, the cross, the dove and IHS that were the most commonly employed, in some fashion, on headstones from both the Anglican and Catholic samples and were found across multiple motifs. The data show that while there was variation in how symbols were used and the way they were placed/designed on the headstones, neither denomination had a symbol that was specific to its memorialisation practices. However, the IHS symbol was predominantly found on Catholic headstones.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank my thesis advisor Professor Donald Pate for his continuous patience and assistance throughout this project, and for all his help in reading and editing the many chapter drafts and cutting down the final draft.

My thanks is also given to all my many volunteers who assisted in the completion of fieldwork across the eleven rural and urban cemeteries and without whom it would have been impossible to complete this study. The expertise of Stephen Muller and Owen Hems was greatly appreciated as was their commitment to the voluntary fieldwork and data entry stages of this project.

I would also like to thank the curators and parish members who permitted me to record their cemeteries for this study.

The support of my family and friends has been instrumental in the completion of this thesis from assistance with fieldwork and data entry to editing my work and encouraging me over the last two and a half years.

1.0 Introduction

‘It has often been remarked that all that is required to constitute a South Australian township is a public house, a chapel and a blacksmith’s shop...’ (Gibbs 1984:172).

Religious freedom and diversity has been an integral part of South Australia since it was just a concept in England. Part of the foundation of South Australia was based around religion and the non-conformist driven desire to see a British colony developed where there would be religious freedom and the separation of State and Church. This was a significant downgrade for the Anglican Church as it had previously been awarded with the best state funding, state acknowledgment and religious dominance and adherence throughout England. In contrast, the South Australian context provided a wealth of opportunity for the dissenter and non-conformist denominations including the Catholic denomination which has a history of being heavily discriminated against by the English State and Church.

With religious freedom in South Australia came the growth and expansion of many denominations each with its own traditions and systems of worship. Cemeteries of the nineteenth century were entirely separate for religious denominations or at minimum, there was a clear and distinct segregation, as is the case in West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Churchyard cemeteries and cemeteries associated with Anglican or Catholic Churches present ideal isolated samples as those that were buried in them were likely to be adherents of those denominations.

1.1 Aim

This thesis aims to investigate and determine variations in symbols and motifs employed by late-nineteenth century Anglicans and Catholics to memorialise and identify their dead in a rural versus urban context. The study aims to determine whether more conservative

approaches to mortuary memorialisation were more dominant in rural cemeteries compared to urban cemeteries. This thesis will specifically address the following questions:

- 1. Within a Victorian social environment of competitive status display in mortuary behaviour, did the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic Christian denominations use different symbols on cemetery monuments as a means to identify and differentiate members of that religious group?*
- 2. Because behaviours in urban cultural environments are generally more susceptible to innovation and change than those in more conservative rural “folk societies”, are there marked differences in the use of symbols on cemetery monuments in urban versus rural cemetery contexts?*

To answer these questions the study area encompasses both rural and urban areas of South Australia, specifically Adelaide and the surrounding areas (Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3).

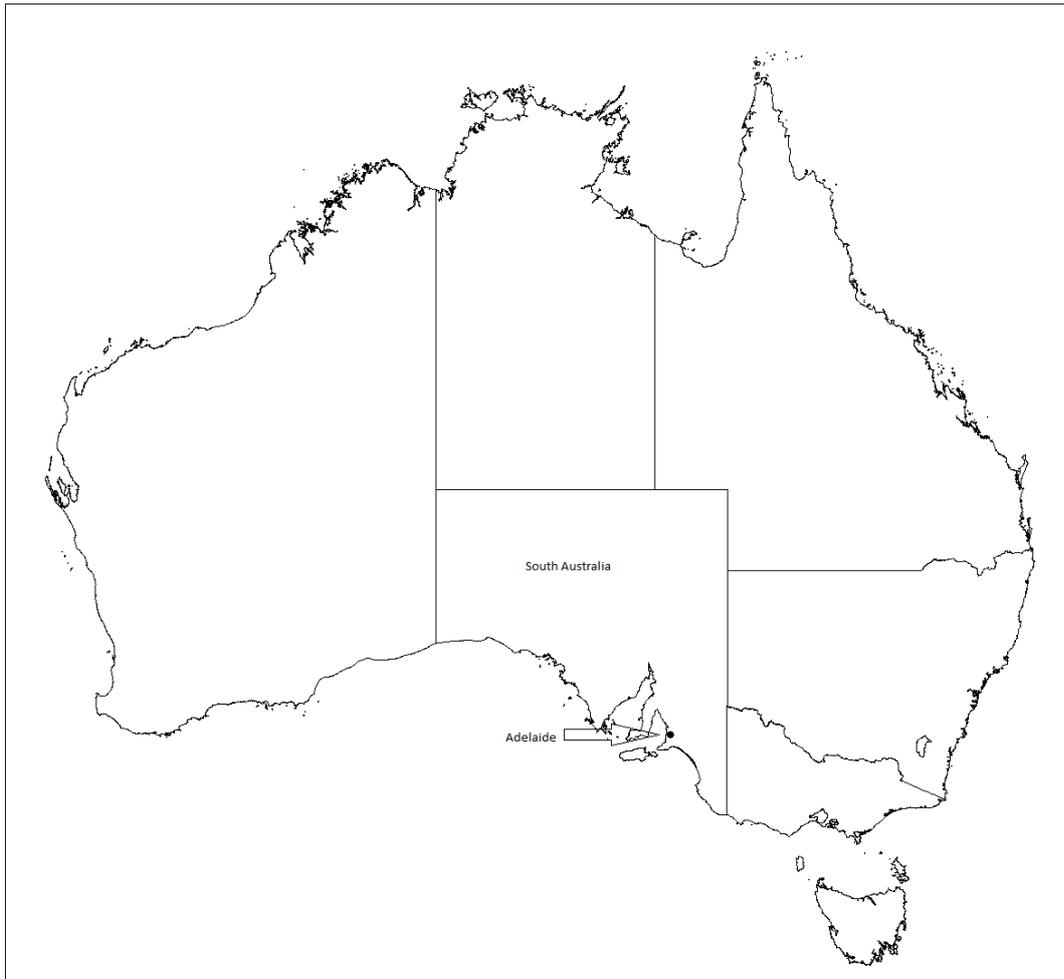


Figure 1.1 Australia and South Australia

(Map from < https://library.unimelb.edu.au/collections/map_collection/map_collection_outline_maps >)

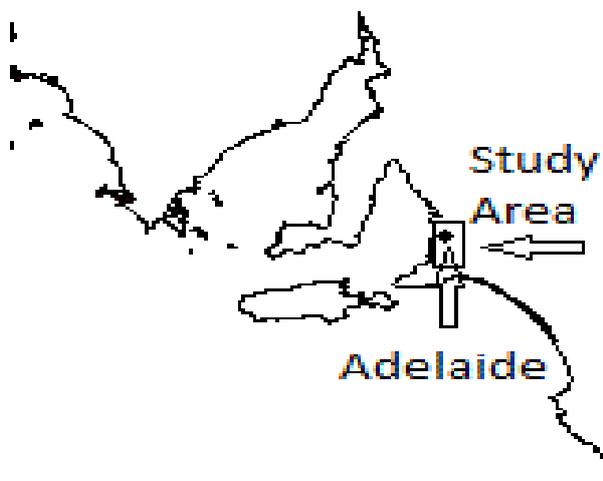


Figure 1.2 Study Area within the Adelaide Region, South Australia

The thesis study area encompasses Adelaide and its surrounds and includes nine rural cemeteries and two urban cemeteries with headstones dating between 1870 and 1899. The rural Anglican sample includes four cemeteries and the rural Catholic sample includes five cemeteries. Each denomination has one corresponding urban cemetery or cemetery section, as is the case at West Terrace Cemetery. The selection and definition of the rural cemeteries is based on what would have been considered to be rural in the late nineteenth century and distance from Adelaide CBD. The cemeteries used for the rural headstone sample were located in the following towns: Morphett Vale, Willunga, Balhannah, Blakiston, Salisbury, Birdwood, Mount Barker and Aldinga. Figure 1.3 presents the locations of the cemeteries recorded for this study.

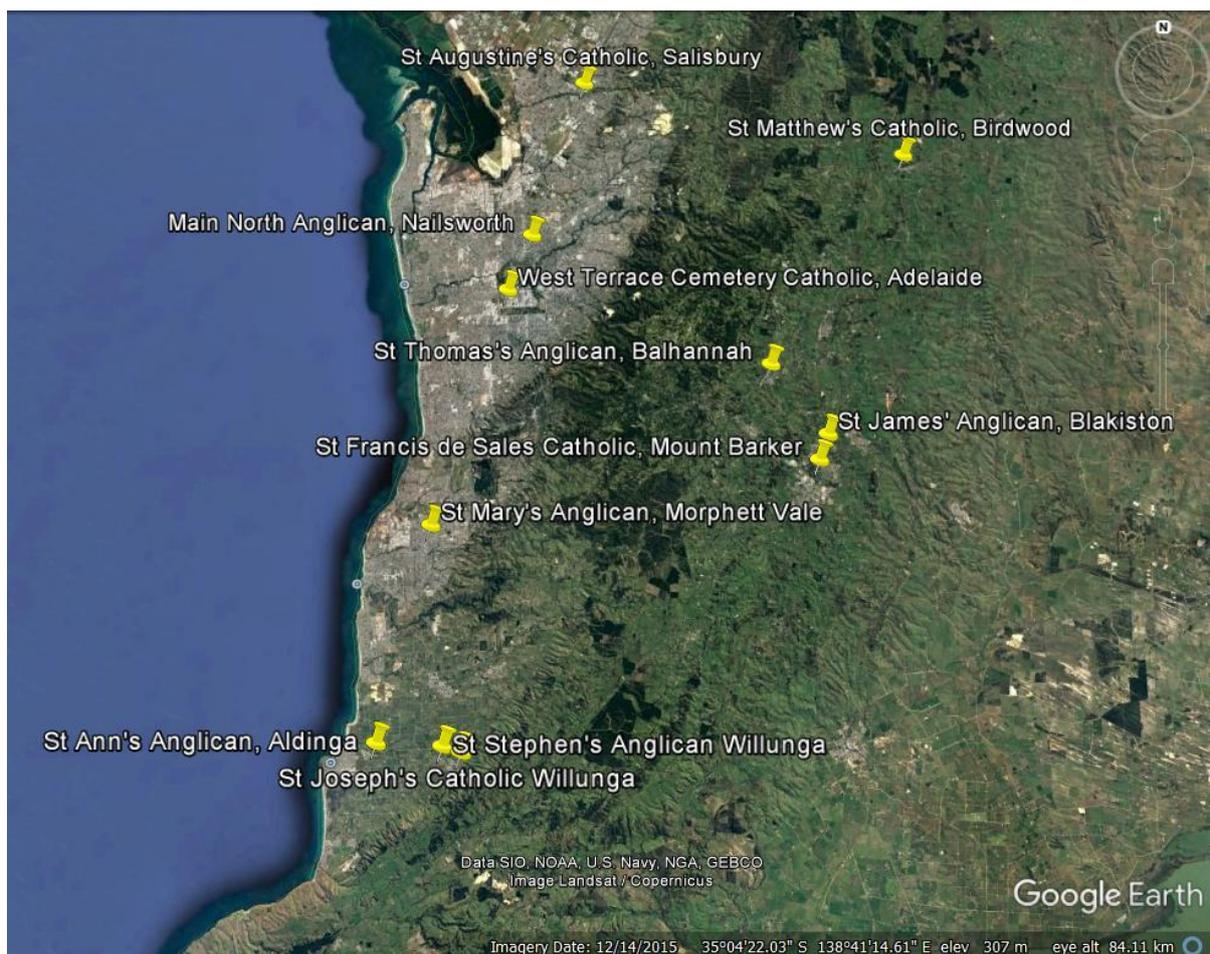


Figure 1.3 Cemetery Locations within Study Area of Adelaide Region, South Australia. Source: Google Earth 2018

1.2 Significance

This study is significant as it investigates and addresses the use of symbols and motifs for religious identification of individual and family headstones to determine variations between Anglican and Catholic mortuary practices. It also introduces a rural versus urban component investigating the theory of rural conservatism and urban diversity using late nineteenth century South Australian cemeteries.

Redfield (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) and others (see Adamson 2011; Foster 1953; Funnel 1988; Thomas 1990) argue that there is an observable dichotomy between urban and rural communities. This dichotomy suggests the presence of more conservative and traditional behaviours in rural cultural contexts compared with urban ones. Redfield's concept of the ideal polar opposite to the urban cultural context is that of the "folk society" which shows strong patterns, group solidarity, and 'traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal' behaviours associated with limited change (1947:293-297). This study, while considering Redfield's argument, also considers Foster's (1953) position of "folk societies" as less polar and with some degree of interaction between the urban and non-urban societies. Following this, the study will present an analysis of the urban and rural cemeteries using Foster's (1953) "folk-urban continuum" to determine the extent of influence the urban would have had on the rural within South Australia with regard to religious mortuary symbols/motifs.

Cemetery studies in South Australia have focused primarily on the social, economic and demographic interpretations of data with little attention to the religious aspects. Cemetery studies outside South Australia and wider Australia that focus on religious interpretations/investigations are limited (see Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Keister 2004; McEgan 2017; Mytum 2009, 2013; Zelinsky 2007) leaving a significant gap in current research. By addressing this gap, this study endeavours to build upon and expand existing research.

The significance of this study also lies in that it is the only South Australian cemetery study to address the potential differences in mortuary behaviour related to the choice of symbols and motifs employed on headstones within Anglican and Catholic denominational contexts in urban versus rural social environments.

2.0 Literature Review

‘For most settlers [of South Australia], death and burial were intimately associated with religion’ (Nicol 1992:4).

Religion is an aspect of mortuary and cemetery culture that despite widespread inclusion throughout colonial cemeteries, visible through the decoration, symbols and inscriptions on memorials dedicated to the dead, is still under researched and considered. According to Mytum (2009:160), religion is an area that ‘has received less attention in historical archaeology than it deserves’.

Religious aspects of burials can, at times, be inferred from the wider cemetery context as historically religious denominations have segregated their burial places. For example, those buried inside an Anglican cemetery are, or are associated with, the Anglican faith and/or church (Nicol 1994:92). Some of the early cemeteries, however, were designed around the ‘early Adelaide concept of a truly public cemetery’ meaning anybody could be buried within them, while others were named as public cemeteries but had denominational divides (Nicol 1994:92). By looking at the headstones and in particular the symbols and inscriptions, further information about the religious beliefs of an individual, or family, and their attitudes towards death and memorialisation is gathered (Keister 2004:xxi).

2.1 Wider Cemetery Studies

Throughout previous cemetery research, there have been three primary themes evident which relate to examining the social, economic and demographic standing of the deceased

individuals (Baugher and Veit 2014; Denny 1994; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Matic 2003; McGuire 1988; Muller 2006; Pate 2006). A major focus has been on the history of the cemetery (Harvey 2006; Marcus 2012; Murray 2006; Sayer 2010), identification of common headstone details and features (Bauer et al. 2002; Farrell 2003; Keister 2004), and technological and stylistic changes of cemetery features, i.e. headstones and mortuary practices (Dethlefsen 1969; Dethlefsen 1981; Muller 2006).

Death was a deeply ingrained feature of Victorian societies, and indeed in all societies. The creation and implementation of regulated and highly traditional ways of dealing with death came to a peak with the introduction of colonial public cemeteries which some argue are a Victorian invention (Murray 2006). The processes by which these cemeteries came to be, how they evolved and their place in past and present societies has been, and continues to be, an area of much interest for scholars (see Harvey 2006; Marcus 2012; Murray 2006; Sayer 2010).

The determination of temporal and spatial trends for headstone design, material and iconography and their relation to the social class and identity of the deceased is of interest to researchers due to the chronological nature of cemetery data (Denny 1994; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1971; Gorman and DiBlasi 1981; Heinrich 2003; Stone 2009; Watkins 2002).

James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen are two researchers who provided the foundation for spatial and temporal studies using cemeteries, specifically headstone iconography (Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen 1981; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1971). They state that headstones are 'uniquely and admirably suited' for studies which aim to test, refine and perhaps improve a wide variety of archaeological methods within 'highly controlled circumstances' (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:502).

Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) also produced influential work using the method of seriation and argued a theory of change in how motif design can spread away from a point of origin and how this can be associated with the replacement of a previous style of motif. Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) determined that the variations observed in symbol type were connected to wider social and religious factors of New England society at the time (Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). Studies of New England cemeteries in North America, sparked by Deetz and Dethlefsen, continue to expand on the temporal trends and religious emphasis explored by these researchers.

Ryan (1992) and Fitts (1990) both explored New England cemeteries with the former investigating the temporal and spatial trends of the “Egyptian Obelisk” by examining distinct obelisk styles, determining their origin and creating a timeline for their introduction into New England cemeteries in the United States. Fitts (1990) on the other hand, explored the religious-based transition, which characterised New England at the time, from ‘Puritan New England’ to ‘Yankee New England’, the shift away from religion, through the inscriptions on the headstones.

Focus on religious factors that could have influenced changes in mortuary display are few and far between in headstone studies. Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) and Deetz (1977), with Fitts (1990) coming later, are some of the earliest to have investigated this connection and their research is helpful in understanding and determining potential religious influences on the use of symbols on headstones. For example, Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966:506) state that:

Since the death’s-head motif was the model design which accompanied early Puritanism in the colony, the shift from death’s heads to cherubs may be viewed as a departure from a prior form of Puritan religion.

Trends in changes of attitudes towards death are evidenced in the symbolic nature of the three universal death’s heads, cherub, and urn and willow motifs of New England. The death’s

heads are said to represent mortality and judgement, this transitioned to the cherubs and the emphasis on ‘the joys of life after death and resurrection of the dead’ (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:508). The final transition was to the urn and willow that shows a more depersonalised representation of death and memorial which contrasts to the highly personalised earlier designs (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:508). It follows that if there was specific symbolism associated with a religious denomination in New England, that there is potential for similar findings in South Australia within the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations investigated in this project.

Ideology within and surrounding colonial cemeteries has been argued to be connected with mortuary rituals (McGuire 1988), theories of power within a society (Farrell 2003; Matic 2003; McGuire 1988), and combinations of religious, social and economic factors within a society (Gorman and DiBlasi 1981; Farrell 2003). It has also been argued that changes in the burial ritual and headstone features are not always a direct reflection of social factors (Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1971), but instead a result of changes in the dominant ideology within a society (McGuire 1988). The emphasis in McGuire’s study is the presence of power differences within the society, the powerful versus the powerless, and that the burial ritual is an idealised expression of the power relations.

The ritual acts ideologically to maintain the social order by misrepresenting the true nature of social relations. Burial ritual is therefore an active part of the negotiation and struggle between the powerful and the powerless in society (McGuire 1988:436).

The idea that headstone iconography can potentially tell us something about the deceased’s social class is widespread throughout cemetery and headstone research. It posits the idea that social class is identifiable by what is left behind on the headstones through an analysis and consideration of several elements, e.g. headstone material, headstone size and style, as well as the chosen inscriptions and symbols. While there are certainly inferences that can potentially

be made about this, there are fewer studies, including Dethlefsen and Deetz's (1966, 1969, 1971) and Mytum (2009, 2013), which consider the role that religious affiliations may have had in the selection of the symbols and other features.

Stone (2009) examined the various factors which influence headstone choice which, like Heinrich (2003), included examining trade routes i.e. importation of stone materials, familial connections and religion whilst also examining ethnicity. Within both of these studies there is an emphasis on the religious aspects as a component of wider research focused on headstone selection.

2.1.1 Wider Cemetery Studies: South Australia

Denny (1994) aimed to determine whether or not iconography was a context for class differentiation during the late nineteenth century in South Australia, a time which was considered to have an environment of competitive status display with regard to burial monuments. Denny found that some types of monuments confirmed differentiation between defined occupational groups but this did not follow for all. Again there was little consideration given to the religious aspects of symbolism except through the use of an Anglican cemetery (North Road Cemetery, Nailsworth) and the idea that the majority of Anglican parishioners could be defined as upper class. However, through the use of an Anglican sample, the study provided information about the social status of Anglicans in the period between 1880 and 1899 which will be important to determining the place/"status" of the Anglican denomination in South Australia in comparison with other denominations.

Anson (2004) also conducted research in an Adelaide Anglican cemetery (St Mary's Church Cemetery). Although his focus was on the bioarchaeology of the interred skeletal remains, his research could potentially provide a different insight into the nature of the Anglican faith within South Australia.

Further research in South Australia was conducted by Stephen Muller in 2006 at the West Terrace Cemetery in Adelaide. His work is quite different to previous research in that he uses the idea of the cemetery as a nineteenth century cultural landscape which can be investigated in a holistic manner to provide more complete understanding of how past attitudes towards death are articulated and experienced (Muller 2006). As this study will use the Old Catholic section of West Terrace Cemetery, Muller's work is crucial in understanding the cemetery in its entirety, particularly as his study demonstrates that the site is one with evidence of ideological and ritual beliefs.

Adamson (2012) investigated both sex and society with particular emphasis on how the status of females was represented in death and whether this was a reflection of their status in life and corresponded to periods of change in women's rights in South Australia. A key area of interest to this project was Adamson's inclusion of a rural versus urban component, in the context of what would have been considered rural in the nineteenth century, which would today be considered suburban or possibly even urban.

It is important to note that the rural versus urban comparison is not one that has been conducted in great detail within South Australia with Adamson presenting this as a smaller component of his research. A project which places the rural versus urban divide as one of the main pillars of comparison is yet to be published and as such is a gap that this project aims to help fill. Adamson's study includes a comparison based around variation in memorialisation of females versus males, with a rural versus urban temporal analysis component, to determine potential trends between males and females over time. Despite his use of Anglican cemeteries for the data, it does not seem that religion was a main area of focus within his research. This, unfortunately, seems to be the dominant trend for much of the South Australian research where the primary focus is on what cemeteries can say about the Victorian society, particularly in regards to the social and economic structure of the society in life and in death.

Hems (2016) investigated social class within South Australia using headstones from West Terrace Cemetery and corresponding historical documentation in the form of marriage notices, death notices, obituaries and In Memoriams. Hems identified and investigated both the dominant and minority social classes in South Australia in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the memorialisation practices that were employed by all classes and the changing trends over time in response to changes within the state.

2.2 Urban versus Rural: Redfield's Folk Societies

Arguments have been made that the observed dichotomy between urban and rural communities suggests more conservative and traditional behaviours in rural cultural contexts than in urban ones (see Adamson 2011; Foster 1953; Funnell 1988; Redfield 1940, 1947, 1953, 1955; Thomas 1990). In particular, anthropologist Robert Redfield (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) has argued that the separation between urban and non-urban is identifiably distinct in past societies.

Redfield offers the idea of an ideal polar opposite from the urban society using the term “folk societies” which he defines as ‘small, isolated, non-literate and homogenous’ (Redfield 1947:293). Redfield further states that “folk societies” have a ‘strong sense of group solidarity ... [and where] behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal’ with little in the way of change (1947:293-297). Conventional behaviour in these “folk societies” is argued to be ‘strongly patterned’ with tendencies to conform to a societal type or norm (Redfield 1947:299). This expression of traditional and patterned behaviours manifested itself through extreme social pressures to conform to the accepted norm which would have meant that deviation was rare and heavily criticised by the rural community. This situation is unlike urban communities that had more room to deviate from the social norm as the presence of a diverse range of sub-cultures allowed for behavioural anonymity, something rarely found in small communities (Redfield 1947). Redfield's folk societies do not need to and are not likely

to have all these characteristics present in combination, because as Redfield argues ‘in every primitive band or tribe there is civilisation; in every city there is the folk society’ (1953:224-225). This concept places a high degree of emphasis on the “ideal”, tradition and patterned behaviour in slow changing conservative societies.

In contrast, Foster (1953) disagrees with the extreme opposites presented by Redfield suggesting that the concept of “folk societies” should be less polar and allow for some degree of interaction between the urban and non-urban societies. He argues that “folk societies” are influenced by urban societies yet still retain their traditional and conservative behaviours as opposed to completely becoming “urbanised” or completely “non-urban”, a middle ground so to speak. Redfield’s definition of a “folk society” seems to present the idea of very primitive societies as one extreme end of the spectrum while Foster argues that “folk society” is something less primitive and isolated. Foster argues that a folk-urban continuum between the two polar ideals presented by Redfield would allow for real societies to be measured against a scale to determine how “folk” or how “urban” the characteristics of those societies are (Foster 1953:160).

It is hypothesised that more conservative behaviours are observable in the headstone features of rural Anglican and Catholic colonial cemeteries of South Australia. This is based around Redfield’s concept of “folk societies” and Foster’s folk-urban continuum which posits more traditional, conservative and community custom driven behaviours.

This thesis argues that there is observable differences in the behaviours of the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denomination in rural versus urban colonial contexts. In particular, there are signs of conservative and traditional customs in the rural cultural context, more so than in the urban cultural context with regard to the religious symbolism on the headstones.

Victorian commemoration and funerary practices employed in South Australia were based heavily on those customs and traditions which had been brought over with the colonists. There were adaptations and changes made to these customs and traditions in order to be practical in the different colonial circumstances facing early South Australia. While settlement was so insecure and unestablished, it became necessary to employ a very basic funerary format which was very different from the ostentatious and expensive displays that were the custom in the British Isles (Nicol 1992:13).

This 'crudity of life' (Nicol 1992:13) experienced by the colonists extended throughout South Australia and so did the basic funeral format with some rural and isolated areas retaining this format for the majority of the nineteenth century. Nicol (1992:1) argues that while the urban areas quickly became more dignified and advanced in their funerary practices with distinct religious aspects present, the isolated country areas did not; instead, they 'remained for much of the nineteenth century a crude affair'. This raises the suggestion of a dichotomy between the urban and rural areas of South Australia having been evident in the funerary record in the early nineteenth century. This allows for the possibility that these variations may be evident in the use of symbols on headstones, particularly between the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations in the late nineteenth century.

2.3 Religion and Cemetery Studies

Throughout historical archaeology there is a lack of emphasis on religion in the context of cemeteries and its connection to past peoples and sites (Veit et al. 2009:4). With the emphasis more on the quantifiable, 'aspects of the human condition such as religious beliefs and symbolism, aesthetic sensibilities, and scientific knowledge are given little credence' (Trigger 1989:327).

It is argued by Veit et al. (2009:3) that one of the reasons for the lack of religious investigation is that ‘some researchers have mistakenly believed that all possible information about a congregation is already known and all that remains is to reanalyse the existing written record’.

Within colonial life religion played an integral part and, for better or worse, was a ‘binding force in communities’ able to dramatically impact the lives of people (Veit et al. 2009:5). Despite this, research conducted in historical archaeology to investigate these religious aspects in the cemetery context is less common. There are, however, some researchers who have investigated the religious aspects as more than a sidenote (Deetz 1977; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Keister 2004; McEgan 2-17; Mytum 2009, 2013; Stone 2009; Veit et al 2009; Zelinsky 2007).

Arguably one of the most significant of these is Mytum (2009, 2013) which provides the most complete analysis of religion in the above ground cemetery context through the emphasis he placed on examining religious identity using symbols and texts found on Protestant and Catholic headstones. Catholicism was and remains a large part of Irish history and the headstones of Ireland provided an opportunity to study Catholic iconography as a part of Catholic Europe (Mytum 2009:164). In eighteenth-century Irish graveyards, social and religious tensions were evident and investigations into the dynamics of identity that were played out here can be seen through the symbols and texts engraved on memorials (Mytum 2009:160).

According to Mytum (2009:160) religion was the most ‘crucial identifier’ in Ireland at the time. Investigations conducted on cemeteries of West Ulster in Ireland attempted to determine the connection between the use and meaning of mortuary symbols and religious identity/affiliation, particularly with the Protestant and Catholic denominations (Mytum

2009). Mytum (2009) looked at commemoration practices to determine the possibility of these groups using the same symbols but attributing different meanings, affiliations and resonances according to their different theologies. It was found that there was overlap in the symbols used, and in contrast an analysis of the texts found on the headstones indicated a clear theological division.

In terms of religious denominations the Anglicans, formerly the Church of England, enjoyed the power and prestige of being connected with the state in Britain, resulting in them having dominance over other denominations. This inequality was evident in South Australia despite the government no longer supporting one denomination over another (Nicol 1992; Marin 1998). In contrast, the Catholic denomination was heavily discriminated against and suffered due to a widespread anti-Catholic attitude in Britain and Australia (Marin 1998:29). The Catholics were also characterized by extreme levels of poverty due to a small following of mainly working class parishioners (Marin 1998:29; Press 1986:35). This is in direct contrast to the Anglicans who also had a lack of funding but had the majority of parishioners associated with the upper levels of society (Denny 1994).

Farrell (2003) notes the inequalities between religious denominations in her study of two regional South Australian cemeteries focussed on ideology and emotion. Farrell highlights the differences in the number of parishioners and the connection to the state with the Anglican denomination and the smaller representation of the Roman Catholic denomination as evidence of the power struggles which were played out in death (2003:96). It is evident that living as a member of a religious group primarily meant dying as one.

Matic's study in 2003 conducted excavations of the pauper cemetery of St. Mary's Anglican churchyard in South Australia investigating the non-skeletal material and spatial layout of the cemetery in order to determine the representation of socio-economic status and attitudes

towards death. This study also looked at theories of power, how that power is distributed throughout society and how it was used by individuals or groups. Matic (2003:1) suggested that power is represented in physical form by style and evidence suggested that the class structure of colonial South Australia could be represented in death through the grave goods and materials they were buried with.

Both Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) and Farrell (2003) argued that mortuary ideology is a combination of religious, social and economic dynamics which impact on a society and that an ideology is unlikely the result of only one of these. The former examined spatial trends of mortuary iconography through the analysis of religious influences on mortuary art, social influences from variables like migration, borrowing and socio-economic or demographic distinctions, and the economic trade of headstones (Gorman and DiBlasi 1981:83-88). In addition, Gorman and DiBlasi argue for temporal trends where the religious influences mirror the ideas of Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) in the replacement of one motif with another in sequences connected with religious shifts in the society.

Hall (1977) disagreed with the idea that the simultaneous nature of changes in religious beliefs and symbols is explanation enough and argued that this cannot, with any degree of adequacy, explain the nature of the relationship between the two. Farrell (2003:29) argued that 'overall ideological forces emerging from religious, economic and social dynamics impact upon a society. These then influence the expression of emotion and the production of material culture' which can potentially be seen on mortuary monuments. The analysis of the religious, social and economic influences as the components of a mortuary ideology and subsequent cause/influence on change in mortuary art is a more complete approach than many others.

McEgan (2017) presented a cemetery study that differs from those previously conducted within South Australia with its focus on Irish ethnicity and identity through cemetery memorialisation. Due to the almost ingrained Catholicism of the Irish, McEgan in her investigation of Irish cultural traditions and identity worked to separate aspects of “Irishness” from “Catholicness” (McEgan 2017:9). To do so, the Irish Catholic data were compared to the non-Irish Catholic headstones and Protestant Irish headstones. With approximately 90% of the Irish people in South Australia identifying as Catholic, religion was a large part of this study in order to differentiate religious traditions from cultural traditions with regard to memorialisation (McEgan 2017:1). It was found that there were statistically significant differences in the use and choice of motifs between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in the mid-North Clare Valley region of South Australia. According to McEgan (2017:60) this is indicative of religious dependence rather than a dependence on country. Her findings suggest that there is ‘some archaeological evidence for distinctiveness and separation between denominations ...’ (McEgan 2017:78).

McEgan’s research allows for the hypothesis that this same distinctiveness and separation will potentially be evident between the Anglican and Catholic denominations with the segregated cemeteries with the added element of potential rural and urban influences investigated in this thesis.

Due to the division present between the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations in South Australia (Nicol 1994), it is possible that a similar finding in that some symbols were used by both denominations but different meanings may have been attributed to them. The opposite, however, could also be argued as in West Ulster Catholicism had much deeper roots than in South Australia at the time. Within South Australian cemeteries it is possible that the Anglicans and Catholics wanted to remain completely separate from each other both through identifying symbols and texts as well as

through the cemeteries themselves. As such, with a comparison of this thesis project to Mytum's (2009) work a larger perspective on the uses and meanings attributed to symbols by various denominations in different study areas can potentially be gathered.

In an attempt to determine if "personal religiosity" could be tracked through headstone iconography and text, Zelinsky (2007) conducted an extremely widespread and detailed study of non-denominational and community cemeteries across Great Britain, Canada and the United States. He argued that while "personal religiosity" could be determined through the presence of symbols and text commonly associated with religious denominations, he could not completely rule out that those selecting the memorials did not just choose what was socially common at the time. Although, he argued that these were anomalies that would 'fade away amid a large volume of observations' (Zelinsky 2007:447). If such an argument has merit then within a South Australian context it is possible that religious beliefs will be visible on the headstones.

Keister (2004) provided a useful source of analysis regarding symbols and iconography in colonial cemeteries and is one of the few who discusses religious symbolism and iconography with great depth. Although Keister distinguished the key features of cemetery symbolism and iconography in a more generalised context, he also provided a more holistic documentation of the symbols and iconography found on headstones. Keister's (2004) research investigates the meanings associated with specific mortuary symbols and what those symbols mean to specific denominations, e.g. the cross is often associated with Christianity. It is, however, only a starting point and further research into symbols and the associated religious denominations is necessary.

It is well known and widely accepted that the cross is 'the supreme emblem of Christianity, symbolic of sacrifice and redemption' (Benson 1934:11). The cross was used by both the

Anglican and Catholic denominations. Primarily the Anglicans displayed a blank cross and only rarely does the image of Jesus Christ's crucifixion appear (Dawn 2017). One of the main differences between the Anglican and Catholic use of symbols is the latter's dominant use of 'IHS'. According to Smith (2002) and Mytum (2009), 'IHS', the first three letters of Jesus in Greek are highly significant and representative of 'Catholic affiliation and devotion'. It is a symbol that has an extensive history in Catholic iconography and although it can have several stylistic variations, for example IHS and a cross, it is easily recognisable as a key symbolic component of the Catholic faith (Mytum 2009:165).

2.4 Summary

There is a gap in the current literature surrounding cemetery studies in the form of religion. The majority of previous research only briefly mentions religious factors, making only surface level connections with many researchers focussing on the social, ideological and economic factors instead. The religious influences on iconography and text on headstones are rarely discussed and within South Australia there is a gap in current religious cemetery research with the exception of McEgan (2017) who considered Catholicism within the scope of separating Irish religion from Irish cultural traditions. It is argued in this thesis that, following Redfield's idea of conservative rural communities, there is variation in symbol selection and commonality in the urban and rural cemetery contexts as well as differences between the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations with regard to identification through symbolism.

3.0 Historical Background

3.1 Introduction

The settlement and development strategies employed in South Australia were vastly different to those previously implemented across earlier British colonies (Gargett and Marsden

1996:9). South Australia's origins centred on the development of its capital and Wakefield's plan of selling land to settlers instead of granting it to them for free. Designed to be the core of the state, Adelaide was positioned as a State capital city with country surroundings (Marsden 1986:87). Established prior to any country populations and any form of country production, Adelaide was the standalone economic, cultural and religious epicentre of the State (Marsden 1986:87). Perhaps one of the most important changes implemented in South Australia, within the scope of this thesis, was the relationship between Church and State, previously interconnected and united now disconnected and divided.

Burial and mourning rituals became increasingly elaborate towards the latter half of the nineteenth century in parts of Australia and other locations around the world (Denny 1994:1). As South Australia became more developed and settled, the trend of following Britain regarding mortuary customs and fashions became increasingly desirable for the population, particularly the reestablishment of the Victorian practices of funeral and burial status display (Denny 1994:4). According to Denny (1994:1-2), 'death, burial and mourning were "celebrated" with ostentation' with a 'social obligation to spend vast sums of money on funerals ... '. Research by Curl (1972) and Nicol (1992, 1994) suggests that the ostentatiousness of death and mourning rituals was about spending as much money as could be afforded on creating a flashy spectacle.

In the 1870s (1875 in South Australia), funeral reform movements began to emerge that pushed for simpler and less ostentatious funeral, burial and mourning rituals (Denny 1994:4). The encouragement was to spend less on these rituals than the "outrageous expenditure" that had been occurring (Denny 1994:4). However, very little was actually actioned until the beginning of the twentieth century spearheaded by the leading social and political individuals of the time (Nicol 1987).

3.2 Religion in South Australia

‘The support of religion will be avowedly trusted to the efficacy of the voluntary principle, and Dissenters and Churchmen will stand upon equal ground’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:197).

The conditions in British society in the early nineteenth century influenced South Australia’s religious history. The 1830s brought with them a rising discontent towards the Church of England and its position as the “nation’s” church. Moving in opposition of the Church of England were Christian Protestant Dissenters comprised of nonconformist denominations such as Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Lutherans (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195). The two factions, divided into those who were privileged, rewarded and celebrated for their religious adherence and those who faced discrimination, suppression and humiliations for theirs, both saw potential in the new plan regarding religion proposed for South Australia (Pike 1967:3). The plan was to divide the Church and the State, remove the Church of England’s funding and support and place all religious denominations onto equal footing (Curthoys 2002:38; Fletcher 2002:7; Hilliard and Hunt 1986:197).

The South Australian Association was determined to place an equalizer on the religious denominations and to ‘found a British colony without an established church and without endowments or grants for religious purposes’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:197). Previously provided luxuries such as these were administered selectively throughout Britain with the major beneficiary being the Church of England. It was this division that Wakefield and his group played to when implementing their plan to sell South Australian land, targeting those who felt persecuted, disadvantaged and discriminated against simply because they did not follow the Church of the “nation” (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:195; Pike 1967:82-83). The proposed plan offered them freedom from the traditional system that only awarded those who were followers of the Church of England with the “privileges” of education and business prospects (Gargett and Marsden 1996:13).

Lauded to become a 'place of civil and religious liberty', the South Australian specific systematic colonisation strategy drew in those who wanted change, wanted a chance to purchase land in a new colony and wanted entrepreneurial and business opportunities previously restricted to become a very real possibility (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:197).

Despite the presence of dissenting religious groups within South Australia, in 1844 approximately 54.77% of the South Australian population identified as adherents of the Church of England (Australian Data Archive 2012a). The census reflected that despite not having the financial or political backing that was present in Britain, the Church of England still enjoyed a dominant position of power and had a dominating presence throughout the wider population (Australian Data Archive 2012a). In comparison, the nonconformist groups of Wesleyan Methodists and Other Protestant Dissenters claimed 28.93% of the population combined and the Roman Catholic denomination formed one comparatively small minority with only 6.14% of religious adherents (Australian Data Archive 2012a).

During the Victorian gold rushes of the early 1850s, many people left South Australia and this combined with the removal of *Ordinance 10* (ordinance for public funds granted to religious bodies in place from 1846) in 1851 resulted in many denominations fighting for survival due to decreasing adherents and decreasing voluntary funding (Curthoys 2002:46).

3.3 Catholicism in South Australia

The Catholic faith was introduced into South Australia through the emigration of Irish and English Catholics into the state along with their religious beliefs (Hilliard nd). As shown by the census data, Catholicism did not have a large following and upon the denominations integration into South Australian life it met with the same anti-Catholic attitudes that had been widespread in Britain and wider Australia. The presence of these attitudes held by many

citizens and officials meant that the establishment and subsequent position of the Catholic Church in South Australia met with much adversity and little support (Marin 1999:29).

Unlike the Anglicans, the Catholic Church did not come from a background of state support and funding nor did it have a plethora of adherents whom were of high socio-economic status thus many of the Catholic immigrants to South Australia were poor or working class individuals. The first Catholic Bishop of Adelaide, Bishop Francis Murphy, reported that ‘our Catholics, are all plain working people with the exception of perhaps a dozen of families who are engaged in shopkeeping’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212; Hilliard 2000:3). With the lack of state funding, except the small subsidy introduced in South Australia by Governor Robe that any church who wished to could claim (prior to 1851 when all state funding was removed), it was extremely difficult for the Catholic Church to establish itself within South Australia (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212).

South Australia was a poor mission with neither Church, nor chapel, nor school house, and only 1200 Catholics in a population of 20,000. These Catholics were scattered and poor (O’Farrell 1985:70).

The Roman Catholic Church has always been a minority religious denomination within South Australia. Catholics comprised approximately 6.1% of the population in 1844 and showed a slow increase to 14.4% by 1901 (Australian Data Archive 2012b). By the late nineteenth century Catholicism was strongest in the mid-north rural region of South Australia and in the working class western and west Adelaide urban locations (Hilliard 2000:3; Hilliard and Hunt 1986:213; McEgan 2017).

The first Catholic churches were established in Adelaide in 1845 and Morphett Vale in 1846 (O’Farrell 1985:100). Prior to this, church services and worship were conducted in private residences and without the presence of an official priest or official clergy members (Marin 1999:29).

Willunga, as the staging point between Adelaide and Encounter Bay, is one of the oldest rural settlements with establishment beginning in 1839 (National Trust of South Australia 1976:2). St Joseph's Catholic Church was one of the early South Australian churches built in 1850 along with Catholic churches in Mount Barker and Kapunda (Onkaparinga City:2010a). St Joseph's attached cemetery was consecrated in 1855 with the first burial in 1867 (Onkaparinga City 2010a; Willunga Parish 2016).

Mount Barker was settled for its fertile land and the opportunity was seized by Mr Hampden Dutton, Mr MacFarlane, Mr Moore and others from Sydney (Anon b 1839:2). According to Martin (1982:17), Mount Barker was the site of the first town with establishment beginning in 1839, laying out the town in half acre allotments. Space was reserved for churches and schools and the influx of German emigrants at the time had not been overlooked by the founders with their desire to people Mount Barker (Anon b 1839:2). The St Francis de Sales cemetery dates from 1848 with the earliest recorded memorial dating from 1851 (Pate 2006:60). The associated church, and Mount Barker's first church, was built in 1851 near the Catholic cemetery and named after St Francis de Sales (Morris 2013).

Morphett Vale is considered to be the 'first substantial town to the south of Adelaide' and the centre of a 'large farming region' (Onkaparinga City 2010b). The land on which St Mary's Catholic Parish is located was donated by Protestant Alexander Anderson and was erected in 1846, making it the earliest Roman Catholic Church in South Australia (Onkaparinga City 2010b). It was built by many Irish Catholic immigrants. The Morphett Vale Catholic Parish Pioneer Cemetery adjacent to St Mary's Church was established in 1845 with the first burial in 1846 (Onkaparinga City 2010c).

Salisbury was laid out in 1848 between Adelaide and Gawler near Main North Road and was a 'service centre for the surrounding rural communities' (Donovan and Rowney 1991:5). The

foundation stone of the present St Augustine's Roman Catholic Church was laid in 1851, but it was not until 1857 that the Church was completed due to issues with architect deaths and the Victorian gold rushes (Donovan and Rowney 1991:95-97). The original church building was built near the cemetery however it was destroyed in 1855 by fire (Donovan and Rowney 1991:95). The Roman Catholic Pioneer Cemetery of St Augustine's was opened in the 1850s. Establishment of Birdwood, formerly Blumberg, began in 1851 with the purchase of the section by Johann Gottlob Blumel. He later subdivided it into nine allotments in 1860 (State Library of South Australia 2016). Roman Catholic settlers arrived in the 1850s but it was not until 1867 that the Catholic church of St Mathew was opened (Pope 2003a:40). In nineteenth Century Birdwood, only Lutheran and Catholic churches were established making the religious development of the area atypical 'as unlike other South Australian towns, it has not produced a Methodist or Anglican church' (Pope 2003a:40). Despite being a predominantly German settlement, Irish settlers were also present in the surrounding areas. The cultural growth of the town resulted in Birdwood being able to support a Catholic Church in the 1860s (Pope 2003a:40). The grounds for the adjacent Catholic cemetery were purchased in 1869 by Father Julian Tenison Woods (Adelaide Hills Parish nd).

3.4 Anglicanism in South Australia

The ideas and plans put forward by the South Australian Association to have no singular state Church were not in complete contrast to the stance made by the members of the Church of England who held positions on the committee. The Church of England members did not want a State Church in South Australia and were agreeable to the idea of voluntary funding on principle but it was also hoped that, like in Canada, part of the funds raised for the government would be used for church purposes without denominational discrimination (Jose 1937:1-2). However, this change was quite drastic for the Anglicans as they had gone from having State backing and funding in Britain to relying on their parishioners for funds to build

places of worship in a slowly growing colony. With no ‘strong tradition of lay initiative’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1987:199), this was to be no easy feat.

Although the Church of England comprised of approximately 54.2% of the South Australian population in 1844, there was a slow decline throughout the nineteenth century with only 29.5% of the population nominating as Anglican by 1901 (Australian Data Archive 2012b). Despite this decline, the Church of England remained as one of the largest singular denominations within South Australia throughout the nineteenth century. Feeling like an ‘embattled minority’ in South Australia, the ‘Church of England defended itself by stressing its distinctiveness’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:203).

Anglicans were widespread, the church was extremely heterogeneous in its social composition with adherents ‘found in every place and in every class’ with the larger proportions found in bigger country towns such as Gawler and Mount Gambier as well as in the urban suburbs of higher social status (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:203). Towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Church of England comprised more upper class members as the trend of South Australian social leadership shifted towards Anglicans (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212).

St Stephen’s Church in Willunga was one of the earliest rural Anglican churches in South Australia. It was built in 1848 on the site of the St Stephen’s cemetery with the earliest headstones dated to 1850 (Onkaparinga City:2010d). The church was in need of repairs in the 1860s and was becoming too small for the growing congregation. However, due to the construction and opening of St Ann’s Anglican Church in Aldinga in 1865, upgrades to St Stephen’s were put off until the 1880s when it was rebuilt closer to the town centre in 1884 (Onkaparinga City:2010d). The original building fell into disuse and was demolished in the 1930s. The foundation stone of St Ann’s was laid in 1865 and it was completed by 1867 with

the cemetery consecrated on the same day as the first Easter service held in the church (Onkaparinga City:2010e).

Establishment of Blakiston began with Captain Francis Davison who made it his home in March 1840. At that time there were no other buildings in Blakiston (Martin 1982:23). St James' Anglican Church was constructed in 1846 and consecrated in 1848 making it unique as 'one of the earliest churches in the state and almost the only one built at that time in which services were held continuously to the present day' (Martin 1982:26). It is the fifth oldest Anglican church in South Australia and the oldest rural Anglican church (State Library of South Australia 2005: Pope and Booth 2004). People from Mount Barker and Hahndorf attended Anglican Church services at St James for several decades. The cemetery is dated from 1846 and is the earliest burial place for the Mount Barker Anglican residents (Pope and Booth 2004:174).

The township of Balhannah was established in 1839 by James Turnbull Thomson who put a call out to newly arrived emigrants and the general South Australian public to come to the area (Anon a 1839:2). He lost Balhannah due to debtors in 1844 and left for Sydney in 1846. St Thomas' Anglican Church was established in Balhannah by 1851 although Anglican Church services had been conducted in the town since 1848 (Pope 2003b:68). This building was replaced in 1865 due to the growth of the congregation. The new church building stands in use today (Pope 2003b:68). The earliest grave dates to 1851 with the establishment of the cemetery dating six years prior in 1845 (Pate 2006:60).

3.5 Catholic and Anglican Symbols

The Catholic faith places emphasis on the importance of prayer by the living and more engaged memorialisation which allows for enhancement of the afterlife for those passed on (Mytum 2013: 162). The importance of the actions of the living with regard to praying for the

deceased was engrained in all parts of the mortuary rituals including the headstones where according to Mytum (2013:162-163), mortality symbols were employed to encourage the Catholics to pray.

The Protestant attitude towards death, of which the Anglicans are a part, was a finite one where once the individual was deceased and buried there was nothing that could be done by the living to ‘influence the fate of the deceased’ (Mytum 2013:162). This is in direct contrast to the beliefs of the Catholics of active memorialisation to ensure the deceased spent less time in purgatory (Mytum 2013:162).

The IHS and IHS with cross symbols were promoted by the Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation movement in Ireland and ‘this became one of the most significant, and no doubt widely understood, markers of Catholic affiliation and devotion in Ireland’ (Mytum 2013:167). The Catholics in Australia and South Australia were nearly all Irish and ‘Irish and Catholic were virtually synonymous’ (Hilliard 2000:3; O’Farrell 1985:3). The IHS with cross symbol is found on headstones, particularly Catholic, where the cross is rising from the horizontal cross bar of the H and symbolises Christ’s sacrifice in death and his resurrection, indicating the possibility for the deceased at the Second Coming to do the same (Mytum 2013:167).

IHS has several interpretations throughout the Christian denominations. Constantine is said to have seen in the sun a cross and the Greek phrase ‘*in this be victorious!*’ and the Christian meaning came to him later in a dream with the Latin translation of the phrase, ‘*In Hoc Signo Vinces*’ (Mytum 2013:168). In Greek, IHS is the first three letters of ‘Jesus’ which has been used in early Christian inscriptions (Mytum 2013:168). Other variations include ‘*Jesus Hominum Salvator*’ which means ‘*Jesus, Saviour of People*’, and for the contemporary Anglican IHS simply means ‘*In His Service*’ (Mytum 2013:168).

The cross symbol has a fluctuating history of use by the Anglican denomination despite its widespread use throughout Christianity. Used both as a motif and as the headstone form, Mytum's research (2013) found that the cross was popular with the Catholics in Ireland and in Pembrokeshire it was exclusive to Anglicans. The use of the cross symbol could potentially be connected to location as well as denomination.

The cross and the IHS symbols are, arguably, two of the most widely known religious symbols found on headstones, the latter favoured by the Catholic denomination and the former potentially by the Anglican denomination. It should be noted that Mytum (2013) found that, although predominantly Catholic, IHS did become more popular with Anglicans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whether or not this was a trend in South Australia will be identified by this study.

4.0 Methods

4.1 Introduction

The methods by which the differences and similarities in how the Anglican and Catholic Christian denominations used symbols and motifs on headstones in urban versus rural in late nineteenth century (1870-1899) South Australian cemetery contexts are detailed in this chapter.

4.2 Data Collection

4.2.1 Site Selection

To examine these differences and similarities, two urban and nine rural South Australian cemeteries were selected and investigated across two separate fieldwork sessions. The headstones were recorded in detail to create a comprehensive database and approximately 100 headstones for each locality were sampled. All headstones in the rural cemeteries were recorded due to the smaller numbers of memorials present.

The primary variables employed for cemetery selection were proximity to Adelaide CBD measured in kilometres and religious classification/association.

4.2.2 Proximity to Adelaide CBD: Rural versus Urban

For the purpose of this thesis, an urban cemetery in the late nineteenth century is classified as being a true part of the capital and located within six kilometres of the Adelaide CBD providing high accessibility to those located in the growing South Australian capital city. Cemeteries classified as rural by this study are located a minimum of 20 kilometres from the Adelaide CBD in locations that would have been prime farming land and at least several hours travel during the late nineteenth century. This distance was determined to eliminate the grey area of the suburban location (Adamson 2011; Anson 2004; Matic 2003; Funnell 1988; Thomas 1990).

4.2.3 Religious Classification/Association

Each of the cemeteries was selected on the basis that it was connected or associated with the Anglican and the Catholic denominations and churches. This criterion allowed for the identification of denominationally specific cemeteries for both the urban and rural samples. The public West Terrace Cemetery was the only exception. West Terrace Cemetery was selected as the best option for an urban Catholic cemetery despite having a general cemetery classification due to its highly segregated design. Each section within West Terrace Cemetery is highly segregated, none more so than the (Old) Catholic section which was not even considered a true part of the cemetery with its location completely outside of the original cemetery borders (Nicol 1994; Muller 2006; Peake 1986).

4.2.4 Cemeteries and Sample Size

Initial reconnaissance of South Australian colonial Anglican and Catholic cemeteries presented one cemetery for each denomination and each locality. However, upon more

detailed inspection, it was determined that more cemeteries would be required from the rural locations to collect a representative sample size from the 1870-1899 time period. This was largely due to the small nature of rural communities which is mirrored in the small cemetery sizes found in those localities. Another consideration was the age of the headstones and the fact that there was likely to be a high degree of damaged or illegible headstones.

A sample size of 400 headstones was determined to be sufficiently large enough to provide a representative view of trends within each denomination as well as between the denominations in an urban versus rural context. Each denomination was allocated 100 headstones for the urban sample and 100 headstones for the rural sample.

Table 4.1 outlines the Catholic and Anglican South Australian cemeteries that were used in this thesis, their location and proximity from Adelaide CBD at Victoria Square via Google Maps, the sample size collected from each cemetery and the date of establishment.

Cemetery	Establishment date	Denomination	Location	Distance from Adelaide CBD (km)	Sample Size
West Terrace Cemetery – Catholic Section	1837	Catholic	Urban - Adelaide	1.5	100
Main North Road Cemetery	1853	Anglican	Urban- Nailsworth	5.5	100
St Stephen’s Anglican Cemetery	1848	Anglican	Rural - Willunga	47.1	49
St Ann’s Anglican Church and Cemetery	1864	Anglican	Rural- Aldinga	43.6	16
St Thomas’ Anglican Church and Cemetery	1851	Anglican	Rural- Balhannah	29.4	13
St James’ Anglican Church and Cemetery	1846	Anglican	Rural- Blakiston	34.1	21
St Joseph’s Catholic Church and Cemetery	1850 – Cemetery consecrated 1855	Catholic	Rural – Willunga	47.3	18
St Augustine’s Catholic Cemetery	1850s	Catholic	Rural - Salisbury	24.2	23
St Matthew’s Catholic Church and Cemetery	1869	Catholic	Rural – Birdwood	55.1	27
St Mary’s Catholic Church and Cemetery	1846	Catholic	Rural – Morphett Vale	25.7	12
St Francis de Sales Cemetery	1848	Catholic	Rural – Mount Barker	33.6	22

Table 4.1 Anglican and Catholic Rural and Urban Late Nineteenth Century Cemeteries and Locations within the Adelaide Region, South Australia

4.2.5 Time Period

The time period of 1870-1899 associated with the Victorian era was selected to allow for a larger and more representative headstone sample to be collected during a time when South Australia had become well-established. This later sample time period ensured access to a viable number of denominational cemeteries and associated headstones, particularly in the

rural locations. The 1871 South Australian census reported a population of 185,626 that increased to 275,344 by 1881 and 358,346 by 1901, with approximately 27-30% identifying as Anglican and 15-16% identifying as Catholic during the 1871-1901 period (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 2012).

The 1870-1899 time period also represents a time where South Australian Victorian status display was competitive throughout the mortuary practices resulting in the presence of stylistic embellishment in the death rituals (Denny 1994; Muller 2006; Nicol 1992, 1994). Despite the growing trend towards less elaborate and expensive funerals and processions, there still remained a level of competitiveness between the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations seen largely in their churches and ceremonies (Denny 1994:4; Hilliard nd:5; Nicol 1994). One aim of this research and headstone recording was to determine to what extent, if any, the stylistic competitiveness translated across to the Anglican and Catholic headstones, and in particular the motifs employed by each denomination.

4.2.6 Headstone Recording

The main aim of data collection was the recording of the stylistic motif and symbol elements employed on the Anglican and Catholic headstones. For the purpose of this thesis, motifs/symbols include any additional stylistic embellishment not part of the standard headstone form, which was recorded separately.

Two cycles of fieldwork were required to gather a representative sample with the first taking place over a period of two weeks from September 26th to October 7th 2016. This was completed with the assistance of ten student and graduate volunteers from Flinders University and encompassed the recording of the following cemeteries: West Terrace Cemetery: Catholic Section, Main North Road Cemetery, St Stephen's Anglican, St Ann's Anglican, St

Thomas' Anglican, St James' Anglican, St Joseph's Catholic and St Francis de Sales. The second cycle of fieldwork was aimed at expanding the rural Catholic samples to reach the desired 100 headstones. This cycle recorded the St Matthew's Catholic Cemetery, Birdwood, St Augustine's Catholic Cemetery, Salisbury and St Mary's Catholic Cemetery, Morphett Vale.

The sampling strategy differed slightly between the urban and rural cemeteries due to the size differences in the cemeteries. Main North Road Cemetery and the Catholic section of West Terrace Cemetery are both very large and a random sampling strategy was employed for recording headstones within the time period of 1870-1899. As neither of these cemeteries are strictly laid out in a chronological fashion, they produced a somewhat randomised element in that the headstones were dispersed throughout and were recorded as they were found by surveying the cemetery. The rural cemeteries were much smaller and no single cemetery could produce the 100 headstones. Consequently, all the rural headstones within the time period were recorded unless they were illegible or damaged in such a way that information was missing or incomplete. Recording was done in pairs each assigned different sections of the cemetery that were expanded when necessary. The process continued until 100 headstones, or all the headstones in the time period, had been recorded. A flagging system was used to prevent the repetitive recording of headstones.

A standard headstone recording sheet was employed to ensure the construction of a comprehensive and comparable database for each cemetery, including the inscription, dimensions, stone material, stone colour, stone shape, headstone orientation and motifs/symbols (Appendix 9.1). In addition, photographs were taken in order to comprehensively document the motif and design aspects of the headstones in line with the directive of this thesis. Handheld GPS points were taken for future relocation of the headstones within the sample with a reference number consisting of the abbreviated cemetery

name and the GPS waypoint assigned to each headstone. For example, Main North Road Anglican Cemetery became MNA, a grave number from the order of recording, and the GPS waypoint taken from the approximate centre of the headstone. This resulted in a reference number with the following template: MNA01GPS01.

For each headstone, the primary burial was determined to be the oldest adult interment for whom the headstone had been originally designed. This was generally found to be a male family member as it had been customary for the headstones to be erected once the patriarch of the family had passed, although not always the case (Mytum 2000:54). If the headstone was for a child or children, the primary burial was the first individual listed.

The denomination of the cemeteries was recorded as either Catholic or Anglican, as known from the attached or associated churches. The West Terrace Cemetery sample came specifically from the Catholic denominational section and was recorded as such.

The recording of motifs/symbols was the main focus of this thesis and as such were recorded in as much detail as possible. The recording form included an additional list of common motifs that was used to detail the individual motif elements, i.e. if it included flowers, a cross, and ivy each of those were selected. Further detail was then included using the information sheets provided, i.e. if the flowers were identified as roses, or the cross as a Roman/Latin cross then that was noted in the “details of motif” section (Appendix 9.2). Any unidentified motif was noted as such and extra care taken to describe it and draw it as best as possible. Photographs were taken for future reference and to aid in the identification of the more complex motifs.

Compass bearings were used to determine and record the orientation of the headstone, taken from the headstone facing out in the same direction. For the dimensions of the headstones, five meter long measuring tapes were used and the height, width and depth of the headstone,

plinth and surrounds were measured and documented. In the interest of maintaining the sanctity and respect for the deceased, graves were not walked on, climbed on or the plot entered in order to collect any measurements. This resulted in some of the sample not having recorded dimensions. The total height was taken from the ground to the highest point on the headstone and included the plinth. Headstone height was measured from the top of the plinth to the highest part of the headstone and the plinth measured from the ground to the point where it met the base of the headstone. The depth of the plinth was measured from front to back. The width of the headstone was measured between the two widest points and the depth was measured from the same point, perpendicular, from front to back. If the plot had a fence/border, it was measured at its highest point from the ground.

The marker type or headstone shape was determined using the NSW Cemetery Trust Guide Appendices (Appendix 9.3).

The inscription was recorded verbatim and spatially accurate. Key words and phrases were documented, such as Sacred to the Memory and In Loving Memory. Personalised quotes, phrases and poems were noted as such and recorded in full. The linguistic style/theme of the inscription was described as factual, emotive, biographical and/or religious. If the inscription only included details such as the name and date of death with no other embellishment or information, it was recorded as factual. The inclusion of phrases like In Loving Memory and the use of terms like beloved or dearest, were termed as emotive. Biographical inscriptions included details of the deceased's life, business and/or place of birth or death. Religious quotes, bible verses, and/or the inclusion of prayer, God, Jesus or heaven in the inscription were placed in the religious category. In many cases, a combination of themes was found to have been used. The author and tense of the inscription was recorded with the former based on indicators such as "erected by".

Digital cameras were used to complete the photographs once all the headstones for that cemetery had been completed. Each headstone was photographed and the photo numbers recorded on a photography pro-forma (Appendix 9.4) to be collated with the appropriate headstone during data entry. The name and date of death for the deceased individual was recorded on the photo pro-forma to allow for easier collation. As mentioned above, GPS points were taken and these were recorded on the photography pro-forma. The images included a context shot of the entire plot and close up images of the inscription and motifs and other decorative features.

4.3 Data Entry

Data entry was completed over several periods between October 2016 and August 2017. Using an Excel spreadsheet and a Google Sheets document, the recording forms were entered into a database. The use of Google Sheets allowed the document to be edited simultaneously so the additions made by the dedicated volunteers were placed directly into the database in the correct form. Drop down lists were created to help eliminate the potential for errors.

4.4 Statistical Analysis

Statistical analysis was conducted to determine patterns of significance within the data. Chi-square testing was conducted using the following variables: a) Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic b) Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican c) Urban Catholic v. Urban Anglican d) Rural Catholic v. Rural Anglican e) Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican and f) Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic. Age and Sex were added to these variables during analysis of motif/symbol use between the sexes and the age groups. Statistical significance was determined with a probability value of $p < 0.05$. Data counts greater than five were required to conduct chi-square tests of independence.

4.5 Limitations

Due to the age and site formation processes of the cemeteries, there were several limitations in this study.

The headstones in this study were restricted to those that still had all their elements, the inscription was legible and the motifs/symbols were identifiable. As a result of differences in the weathering of headstone materials, the headstones made of sandstone and slate were few in number while marble and more durable materials were dominant.

The rural cemetery samples were limited in their small nature subsequently limiting the number of usable headstones for the sample period of 1870 to 1899. The effect of weathering and other damages reduced this number further.

Many of the rural cemeteries also had removed headstones from the late nineteenth century either as part of a revival process or because the plot was no longer being paid for and the space required for newer burials. This was a particular problem at St Francis de Sales Catholic Cemetery, Mount Barker where a large number of headstones had been removed and placed up against the border fence on top of each other. St Augustine's Catholic Cemetery in Salisbury also had headstones removed and put to the side. As a result none of these headstones could be incorporated into the sample despite being within the time period.

5.0 Results

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents graphs and tables outlining the data collected from the urban and rural Catholic and Anglican headstones from late nineteenth century (1870-1899) South Australian cemeteries.

5.2.1 Common Motifs and Symbols in Rural Catholic Cemeteries

Figure 5.1 provides a summary of the most common motifs and symbols employed on late nineteenth century South Australian headstones in the rural Catholic cemetery sample. Rural Catholic headstones predominantly had combination motifs (17.64%) or no motif at all (14.70%). Combination motifs included those with imagery across multiple parts of the headstone, for example, an anchor with rope in a recessed circle on the face, flowers/foilage on the surmounted cross and ribbon and torches along the sides of the headstone make up a combination motif. The cross and flowers/foilage motif was the third most common (11.76%).

The highly recognisable Catholic symbol of IHS was found, individually, on 5.88% and with the cross on 3.92% of the headstones. Those grouped under “other” account for all the motifs which were present in smaller numbers throughout the sample and only portrayed on one or a few of the headstones (14.70%).

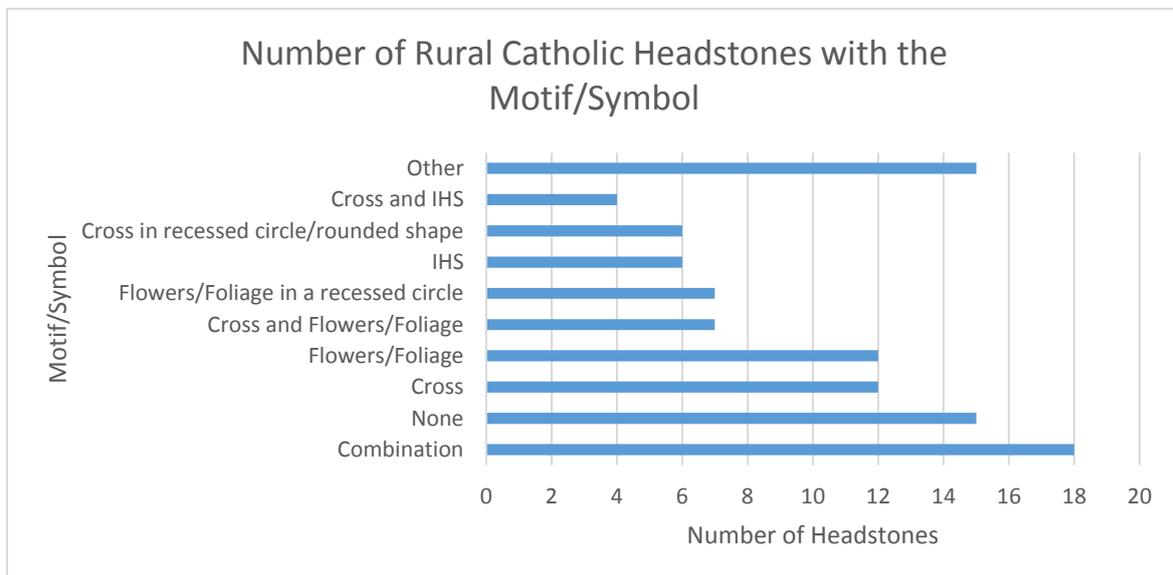


Figure 5.1 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 56.86% of the rural Catholic headstones.

Approximately 66.67% of the combination motifs included religious elements and 68.75% of “other” motifs/symbols were religious.

5.2.2 Common Motifs and Symbols in Urban Catholic Cemeteries

Figure 5.2 provides a summary of the most common motifs and symbols employed on late nineteenth century South Australian headstones in the urban Catholic cemetery sample at West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. The data show a high degree of motif/symbol variation with “other” accounting for the largest percentage of the sample at 30.69%. Headstones with no motifs represented 17.82% of the data and the cross 12.87%. Approximately 8.91% used the cross inside a recessed circle/rounded shape, and a further 5.94% used the cross and IHS together. Flowers/foilage were identified on 10.89% of the headstones, and a further 4.95% were identified with flowers/foilage and the cross together. Combination motifs represent 7.92% of the data.

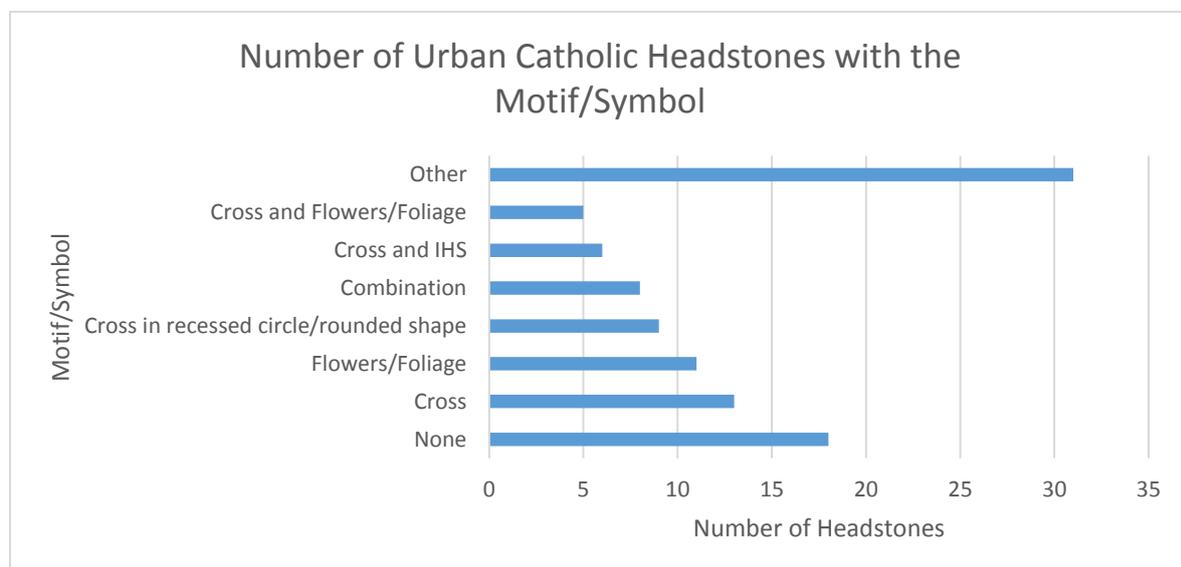


Figure 5.2 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic Headstones from West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia

Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 62.38% of the headstones from the urban Catholic sample. Approximately 75% and 77.41% of the combination and “other” motifs, respectively, were religious.

5.2.3 Common Catholic Motifs and Symbols: Rural v. Urban

Figure 5.3 provides a comparison of the most common motifs and symbols for the rural versus urban Catholic cemetery headstone sample. The motifs that were found on three or less headstones are groups together as “other”. Headstones with no motif and combination motifs were most common in the urban Catholic sample and the rural Catholic sample respectively.

The cross was the most popular symbol for both Catholic samples although flower/foilage motifs were equally common in the rural sample while they were second most common in the urban sample.

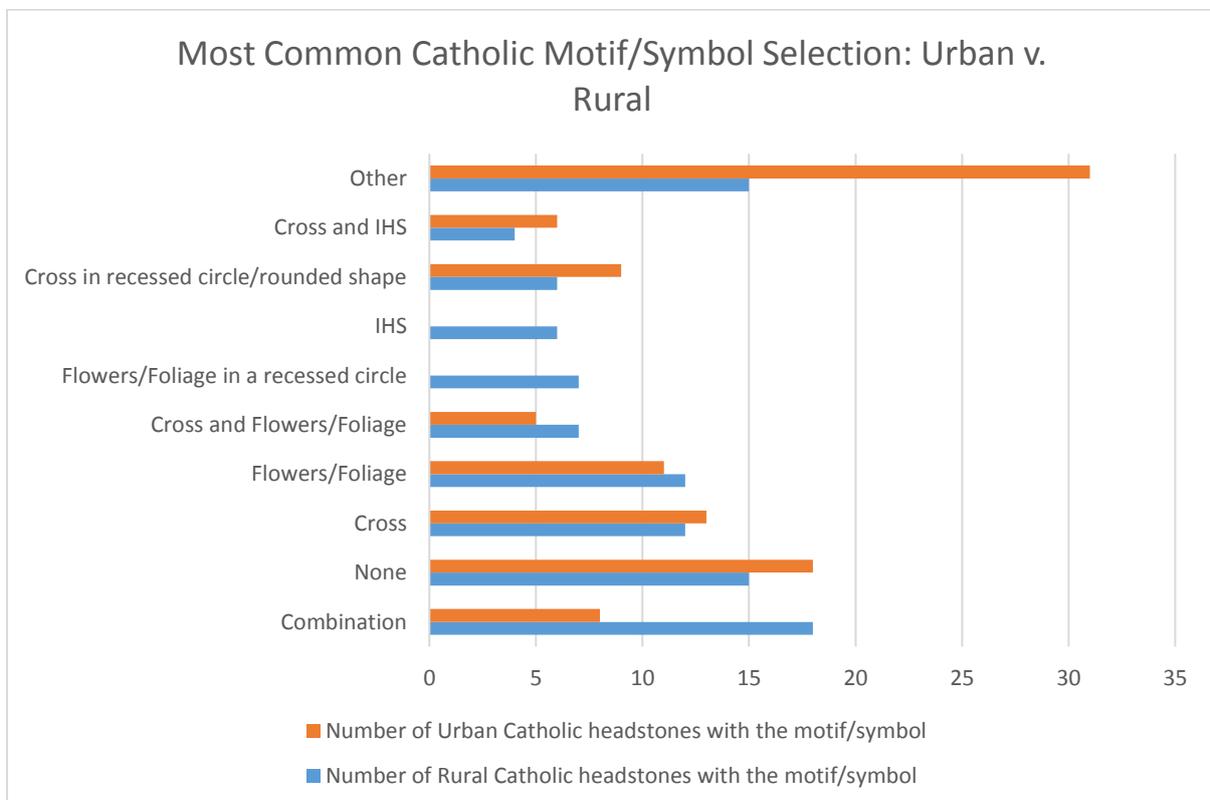


Figure 5.3 Most Common Motifs/Symbols Found on Late Nineteenth Century Catholic Headstones: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.2.4 Common Motifs and Symbols in Rural Anglican Cemeteries

Figure 5.4 provides a summary of the most common motifs and symbols employed on late nineteenth century South Australian headstones in the rural Anglican cemetery sample. In comparison to the Catholic samples, there is a much higher percentage of Anglican headstones with no additional motif/symbol.

Approximately 41.41% of the rural Anglican headstones had no motif/symbol.

Motifs/symbols in this sample have a high level of variation with the group “other” representing 27.27%. Flowers/foilage were the most common motif/symbol (15.15%) with flowers/foilage with ribbon and the combination the next most common (6.06%). The wreath/garland was identified on the remaining 4.04%. The lack of religious symbol use is evident in this rural Anglican sample with no religious motif/symbol present in large enough numbers to be classified as a common motif/symbol.

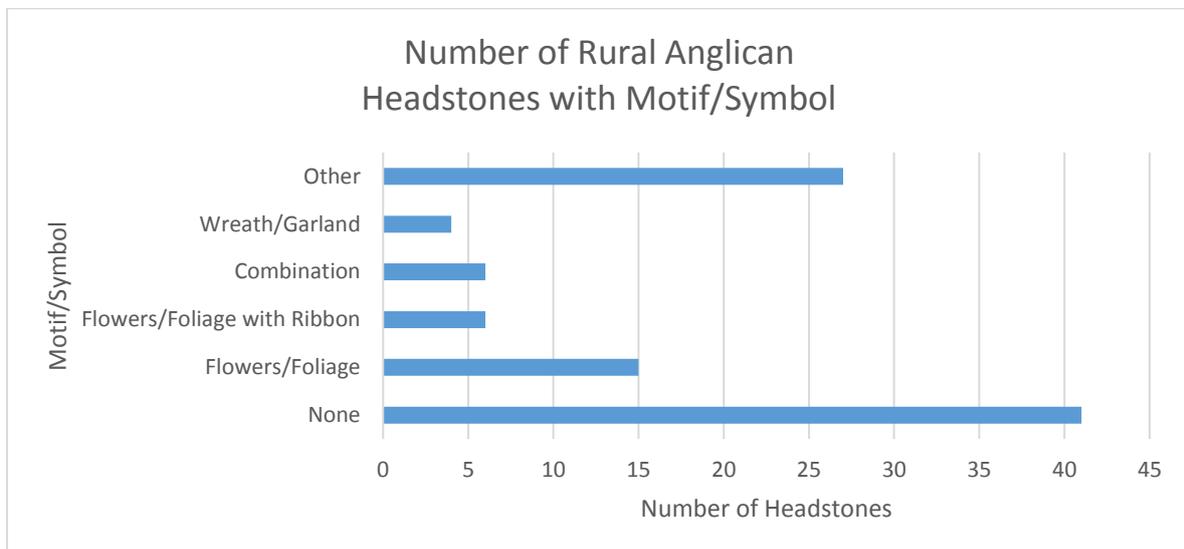


Figure 5.4 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Anglican Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Religious motifs/symbols were not common in the rural Anglican data with only 11.11% of headstones using them. Religious motifs/symbols were represented on one third (33.33%) of both combination and “other” headstones.

5.2.5 Common Motifs and Symbols in Urban Anglican Cemeteries

Figure 5.5 provides a summary of the most common motifs and symbols employed on late nineteenth century South Australian headstones in the urban Anglican cemetery sample at Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide. Approximately 55% of the headstones had no motif. High motif/symbol variation is evident with the “other” motif grouping accounting for 21%. Combination motifs were the most common (9%) with flowers/foilage as the second most common (7%). Flowers/foilage in a recessed circle and scrolls each represent 4% of the total urban Anglican sample.

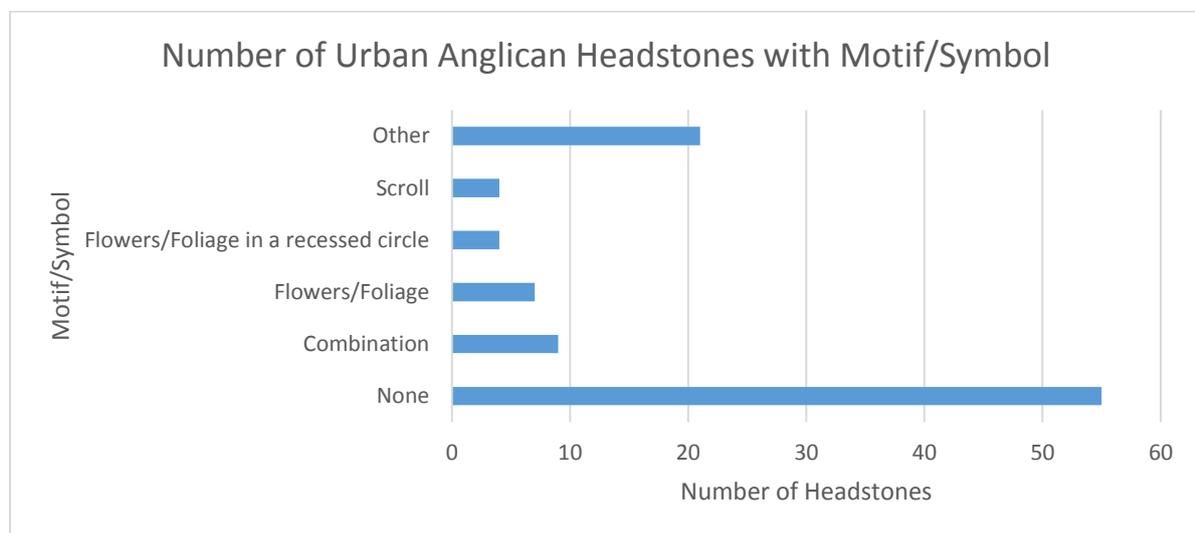


Figure 5.5 Motif/Symbol Selection from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican Headstones from Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide

Religious motifs/symbols are only represented on 12% headstones in the sample with preference in this sample given to non-religious motifs/symbols. Combination and “other” had religious motifs/symbols on 22.22% and 47.62% respectively.

5.2.6 Common Anglican Motifs/Symbols: Urban v. Rural

Figure 5.6 provides a comparison of the most common motifs and symbols for the rural versus urban Anglican cemetery headstone sample. Headstones with no motifs/symbols were the most common in both the urban (n=55) and rural (n=41) Anglican samples, although in the rural sample headstones with motifs collectively numbered more than those without.

Flowers/foilage and combination motifs were most common on the urban sample and the rural sample respectively. The wreath/garland was recorded on one of the urban Anglican headstones (grouped under “other”) while it was noted on four of the rural headstones. The flowers/foilage with ribbon motif was recorded on three of the urban Anglican headstones (grouped under “other”) in comparison to six from the rural sample. The scroll was also found on the rural headstones but in lesser numbers (n=2) and is grouped under “other”. The use of flowers/foilage in a recessed circle/lobed shape was only slightly less common in the rural sample with three headstones showing the motif/symbol compared to four. The most common motifs/symbols recorded on the Anglican headstones were mirrored in each locality and neither locality had common motifs specific to them only.

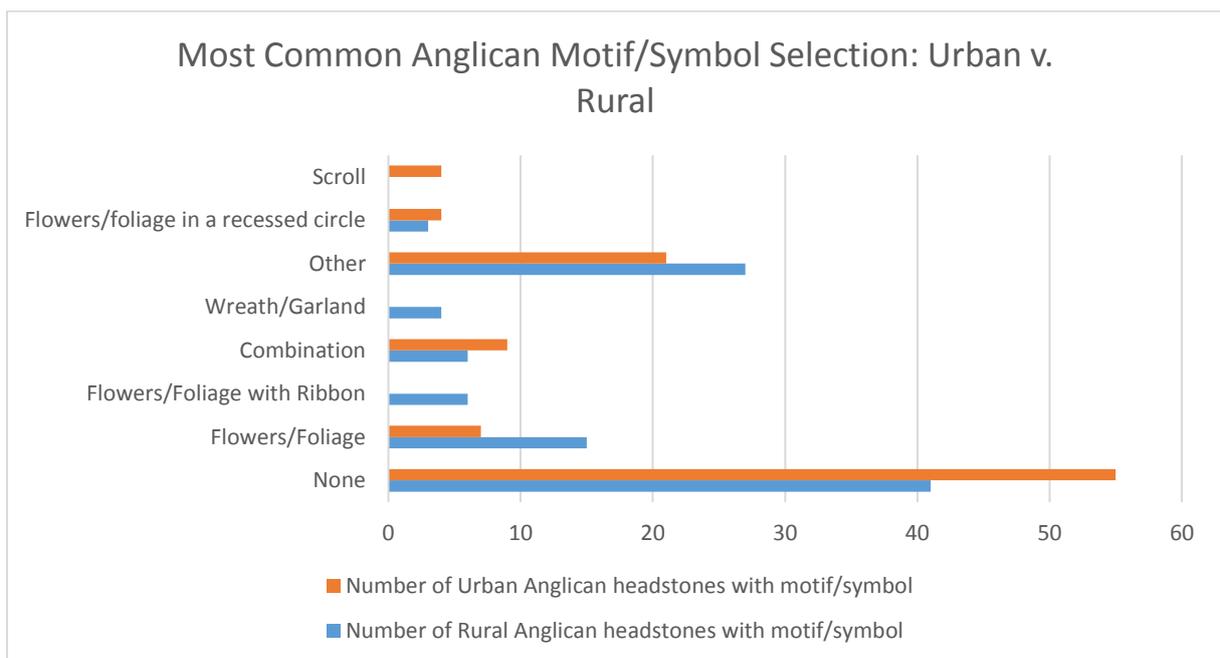


Figure 5.6 Common Motifs/Symbols Found on Late Nineteenth Century Anglican Headstones: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3 Religious Symbol use

5.3.1 Rural Catholic

Figure 5.7 provides a summary of the use of religious symbols on headstones in the rural Catholic cemetery sample. Approximately 56.86% of the rural Catholic data show religious

motifs/symbols. Combination motifs and the cross (individually) each account for 20.69% of the sample and were most common. The group of “other” motifs/symbols represents 18.97% and includes seven different religious motifs/symbols. The collective use of the cross with other symbols represents 37.93% of the headstones. IHS was used on 10.35% of the headstones and the cross and IHS on 6.90%.

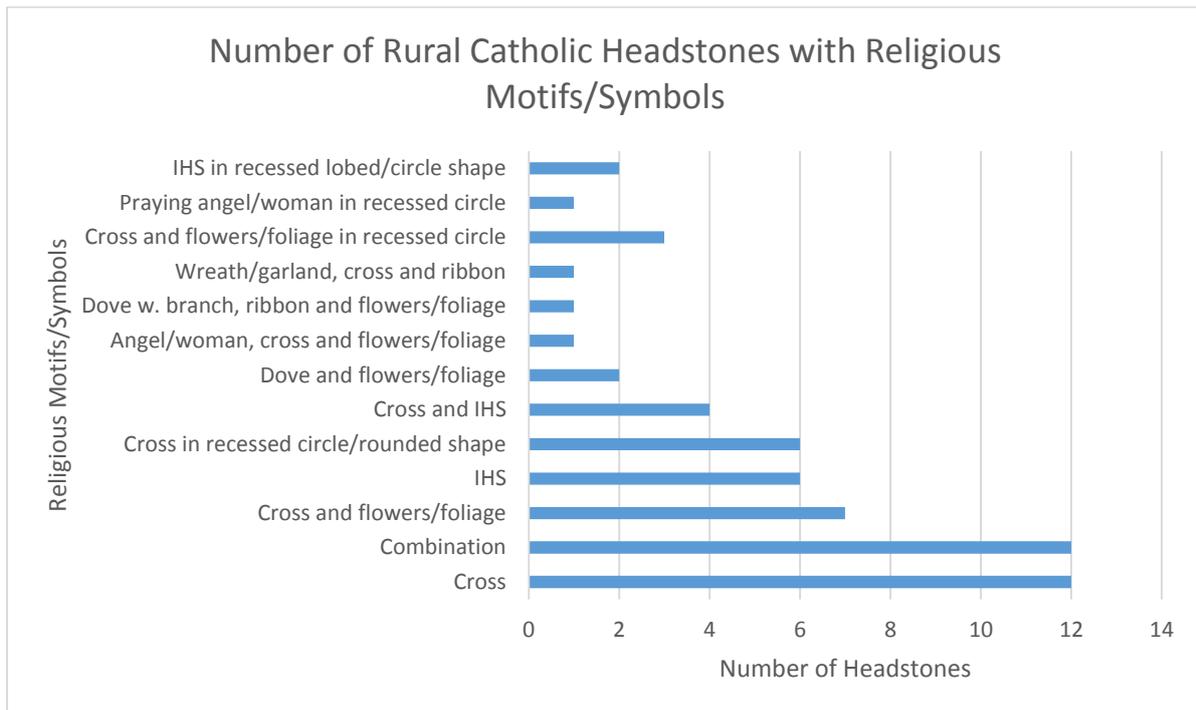


Figure 5.7 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Rural Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.2 Urban Catholic

Figure 5.8 provides a summary of the use of religious symbols on headstones in the urban Catholic cemetery sample at West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 62.38% of this data. Crosses (individually) represent 20.63% and were the most common occurrence. The second most common motif was the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape (14.28%). The motifs classified as “combination” with religious elements account for 9.52% of the sample. The cross and IHS together was identified on 9.52% and the cross and flowers/foilage on 7.94% of the headstones. Collectively, the

religious motifs/symbols grouped as “other” account for 39.68%, the individual makeup is demonstrated in Figure 5.8.

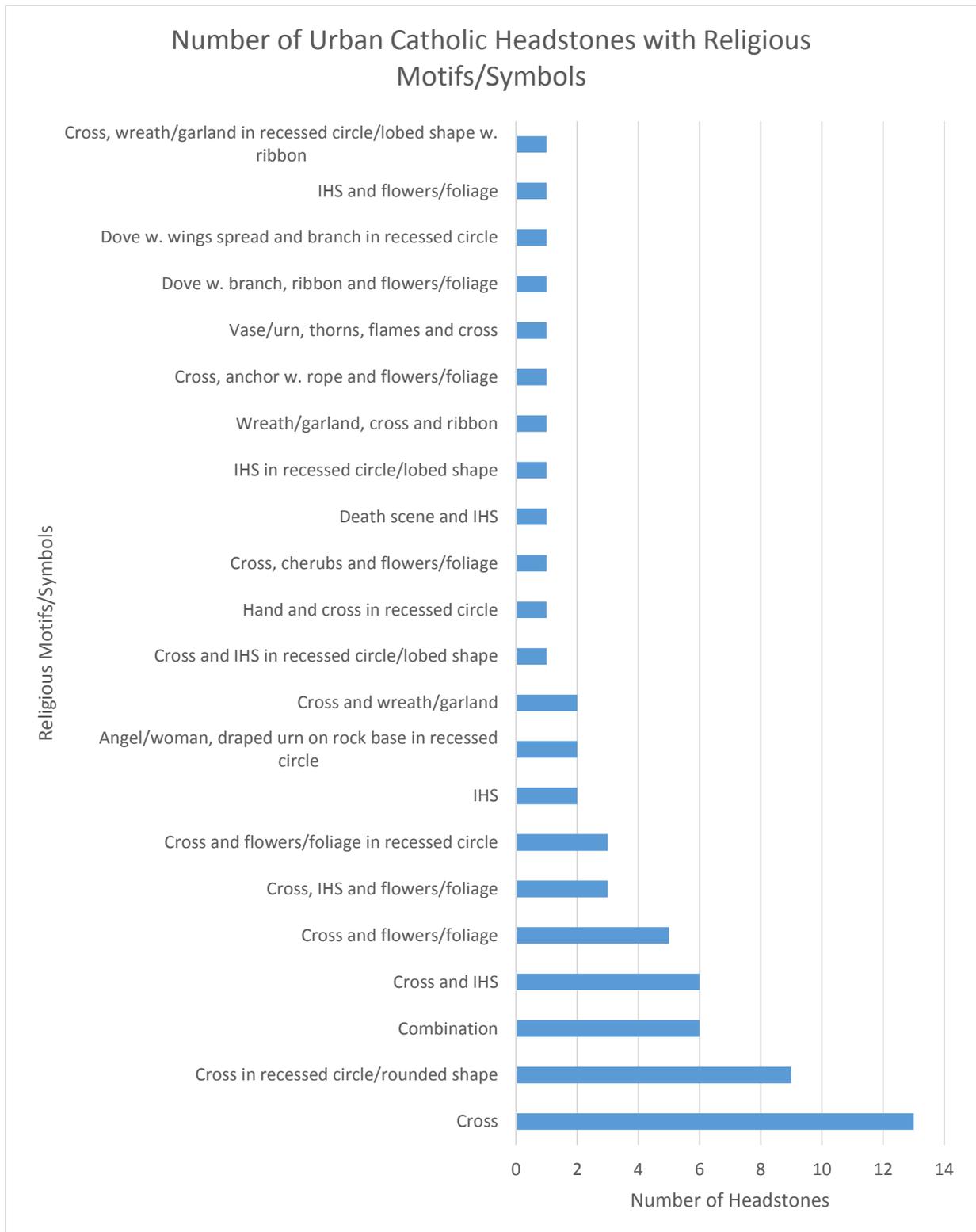


Figure 5.8 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia

5.3.3 Religious Symbol Use in Catholic Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural

Figure 5.9 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for the rural versus urban Catholic cemetery headstones sample. Religious motifs/symbols were present on over half of the Catholic samples for both the urban and rural localities with the dominant symbol for each being the cross. The cross and religious combination motifs/symbols were identified on an equal number of rural Catholic headstones while the latter was found on half the amount of urban Catholic headstones.

The placement of the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape was the second most common motif recorded for the urban sample in contrast to the rural sample where the cross and flowers/foilage motif was the second most common.

Four motifs/symbols were recorded in equal number as the third most common religious symbol, two for the urban cemetery (Combination; Cross and IHS) and two for the rural cemeteries (IHS; Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape).

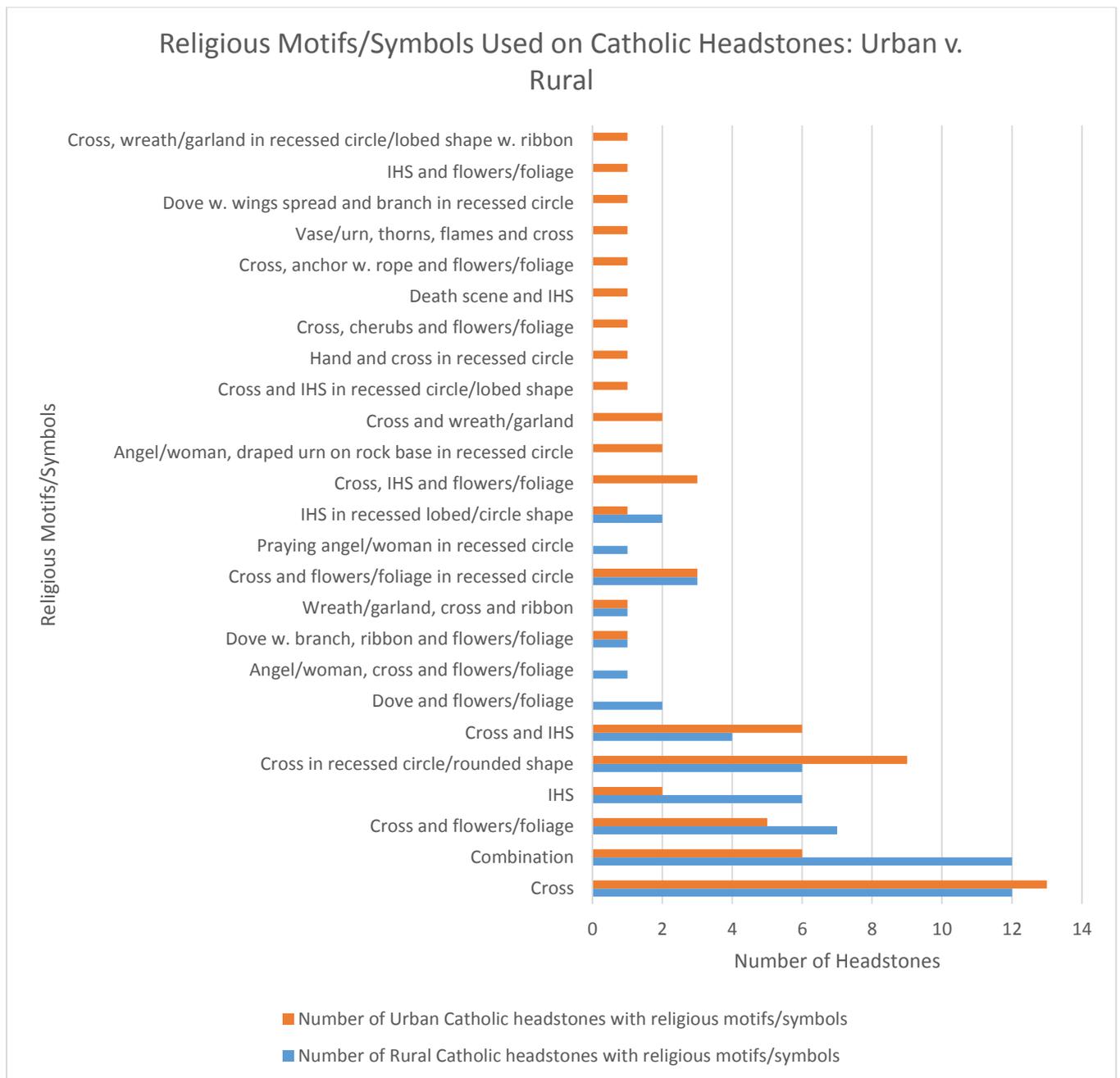


Figure 5.9 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used in Late Nineteenth Century Catholic Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.4 Rural Anglican

Figure 5.10 provides a summary of the use of religious symbols on headstones in the rural Anglican cemetery sample, Adelaide region, South Australia. Within the rural Anglican sample only 11.11% of the headstones used religious motifs/symbols. Approximately 18.18% of the sample is religious combination motifs. The remaining 81.81% is made up of those previously grouped under “other”, totalling five individual motifs/symbols. The cross and

flowers/foilage motif represents 27.27% of the sample. The motifs of a dove and flowers/foilage, and a dove with a branch on a rock base in a recessed circle were each identified on 18.18% of the headstones. The least common religious motifs/symbols were a dove with a branch (9.09%), and the cross and flowers/foilage in a recessed circle (9.09%).

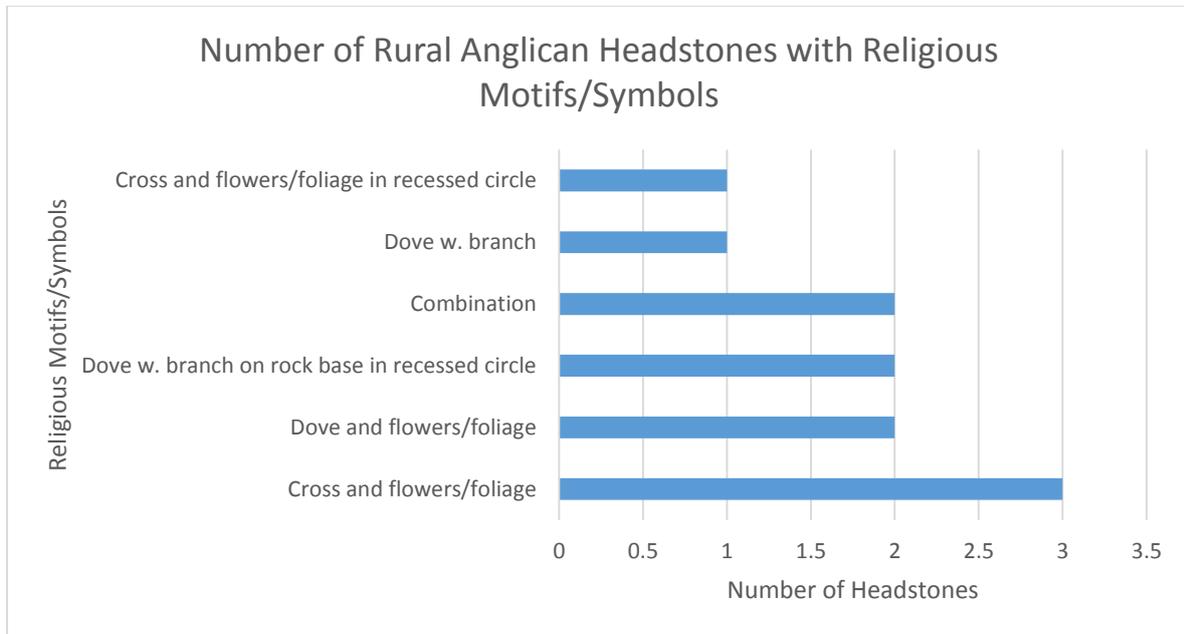


Figure 5.10 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.5 Urban Anglican

Figure 5.11 provides a summary of the use of religious symbols on headstones in the urban Anglican cemetery sample at Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide. Only 12% of the urban Anglican headstones used religious motifs/symbols. Of that, 16.66% came from combination motifs and the remaining 83.33%, representative of those previously grouped under “other”, is made up of ten individual motifs/symbols. There is a much higher degree of variation in this sample when compared with the rural Anglican sample with no two headstones having the same motif/symbol.

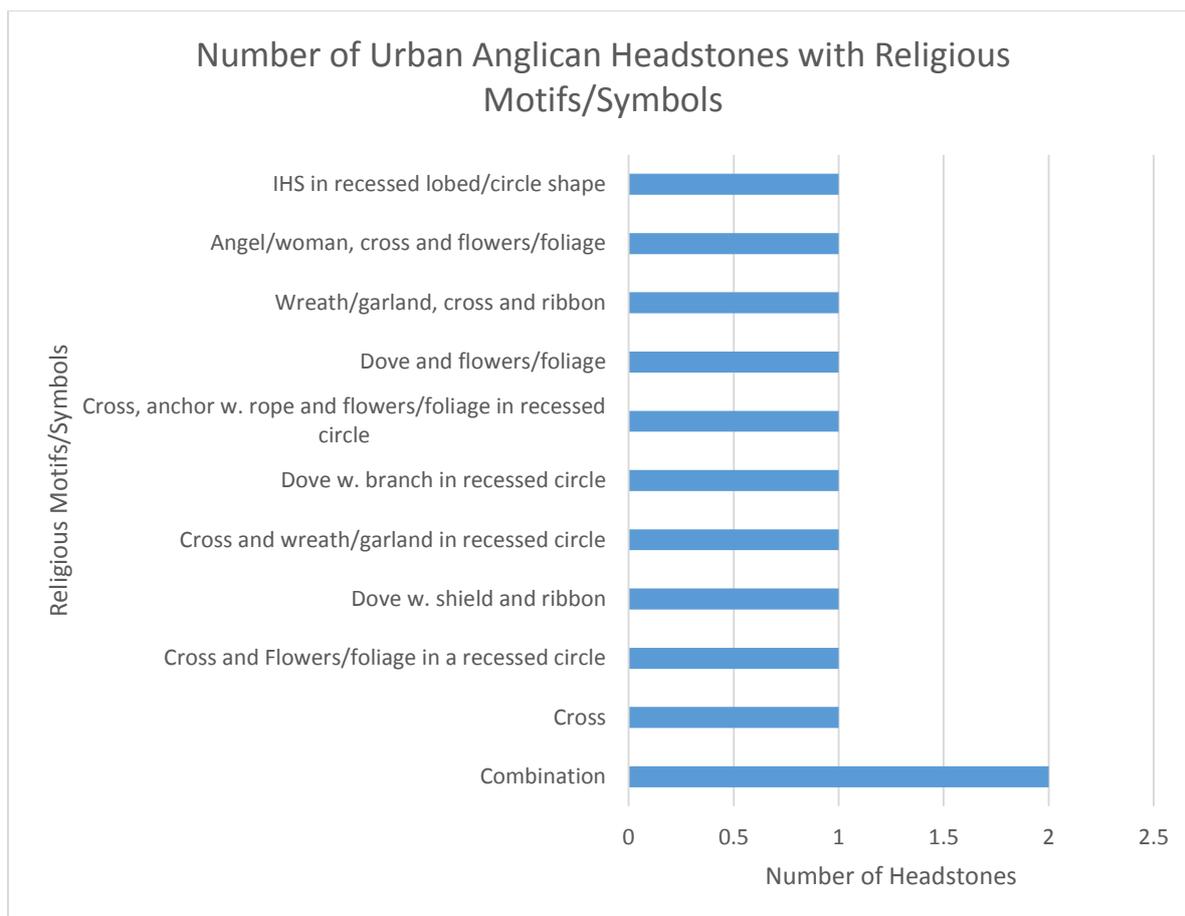


Figure 5.11 Religious Motifs/Symbols used on Urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide

5.3.6 Religious Symbol Use in Anglican Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural

Figure 5.12 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs/symbols for the rural versus urban Anglican cemetery headstone sample. Anglican headstones with religious motifs/symbols total only 23, which is far less in number than the corresponding Catholic samples. Low religious headstone numbers meant that chi square analysis of the religious motifs/symbols could not be conducted for the rural and urban Anglican samples with confidence.

The urban Anglican cemetery shows variation in the motifs/symbols used with only one headstone attributed to each of the twelve motifs/symbols recorded, with two grouped together under combination. The motifs/symbols recorded from the rural Anglican cemeteries shows less variation with three of the seven motifs evident on more than one headstone. The

cross was a common element found across both the rural and urban samples, as was the dove, with the latter being more commonly found on the rural headstones. An outlier found in the Anglican samples was the use of the predominantly Catholic IHS symbol. However, in his studies Mytum (2013) found that this symbol became more popular with the Protestants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which could explain its presence in this sample.

Eight of the motifs/symbols were specific to the rural sample and three to the urban sample showing that there was little overlap in the motifs/symbols used, although elements were common across both.

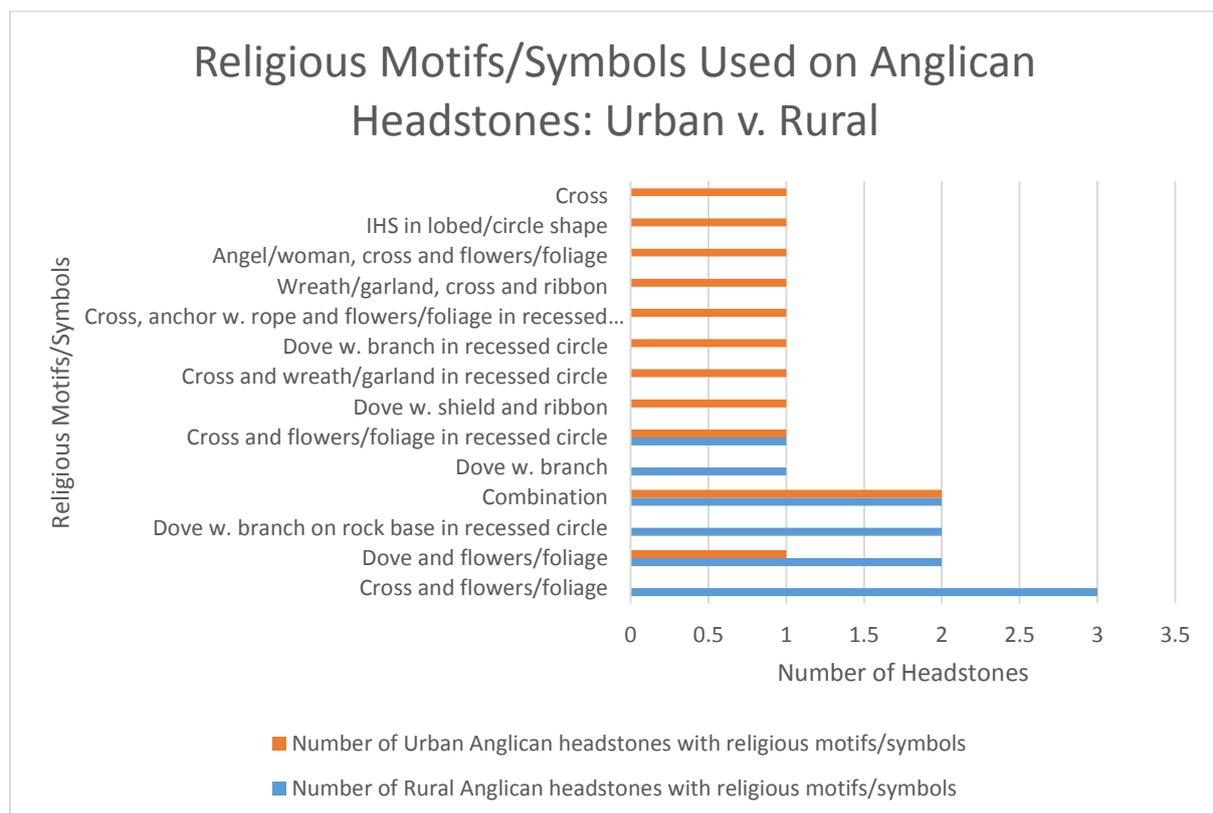


Figure 5.12 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used in Late Nineteenth Century Anglican Cemeteries: Urban v. Rural, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.7 Religious Symbol Use in Rural Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican

Figure 5.13 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for the Catholic versus Anglican rural cemetery samples. The use of religious motifs/symbols in rural

cemeteries was a practice that seems to have been favoured by the Catholic denomination (n=58) more so than the Anglican denomination (n=11).

The rural Catholic sample, with more motif variation, had nine motifs that were denominationally specific and had no corresponding recordings in the rural Anglican sample. In contrast, there were only two motifs specific to the Anglican denomination.

The cross is the most common symbol on the Catholic headstones being present on 12 of the headstones in contrast to the Anglican sample which had zero individual cross motifs. The more complex combination motifs were equally popular with the cross for the Catholic headstones also present on 12 headstones.

The cross and flowers/foilage motif is the most common motif for the Anglican headstones visible on three of the graves while it is the second most common for the Catholic headstones (seven) after the cross and combination motifs/symbols. The dove was an element used across multiple motifs, particularly within the Anglican sample with 54.55% of the headstones employing its use. Both the rural Anglican and rural Catholic samples had an equal number of headstones with the dove and flowers/foilage motif.

The IHS symbol was found to be one of the more common motifs in the Catholic sample used individually and as part of a larger motif. In comparison, it presented as an outlier in the Anglican sample when it was identified as part of a combination motif. IHS is known to be a predominantly Catholic symbol, one that was not typically used by other denominations and, although further research would be required, the data seem to reflect this trend, with the noted exceptions. The religious combination motifs primarily used the cross, IHS, dove w. branch and the angel/woman.

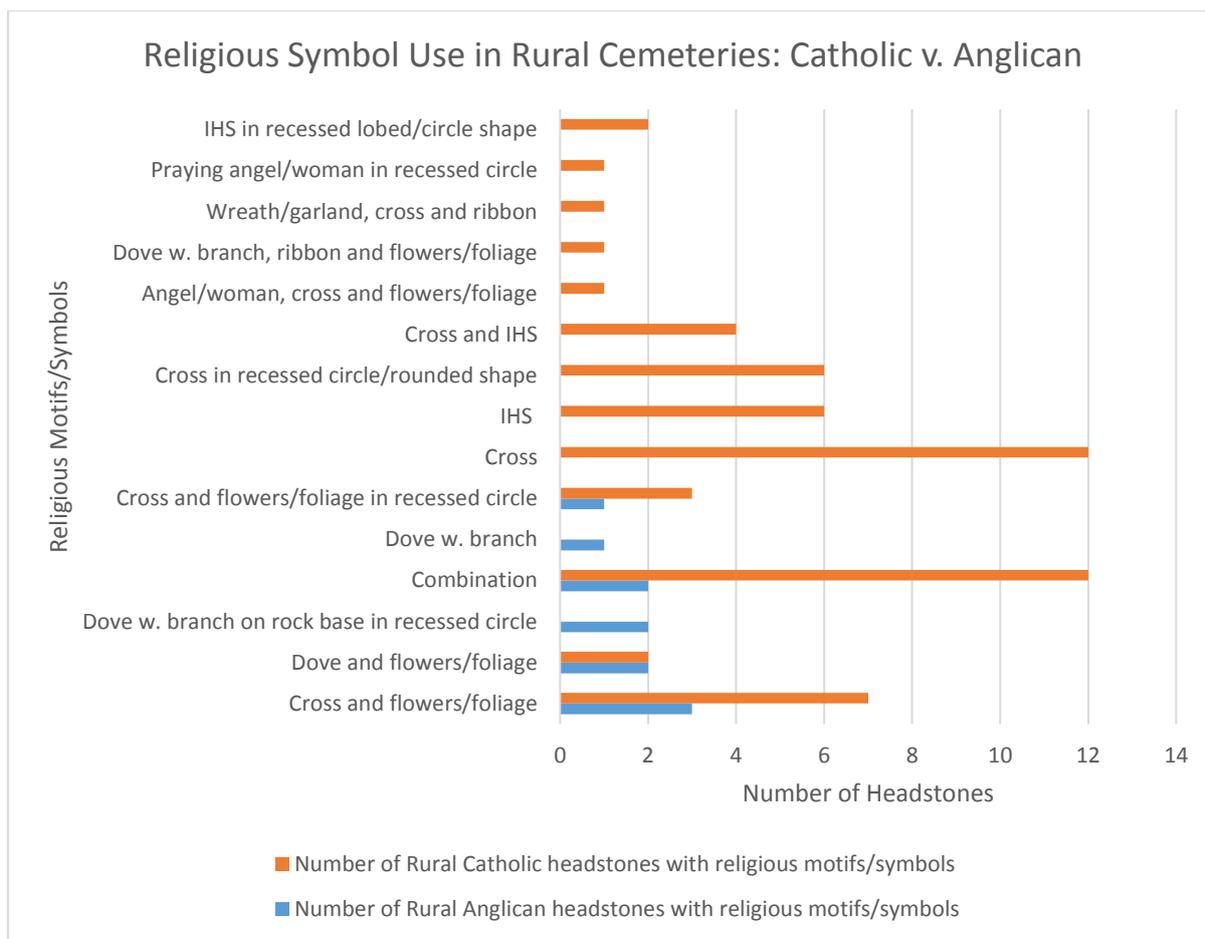


Figure 5.13 Religious Symbol Use in Late Nineteenth Century Rural Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.8 Religious Symbol Use in Urban Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican

Figure 5.14 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for the Catholic versus Anglican urban cemetery headstone samples. As was seen with the rural samples, the urban data show that religious motifs/symbols were used with higher frequency on Catholic headstones (n=63) in comparison to Anglican headstones (n=12).

A high degree of variation in motif/symbol selection and use was found in the data with 22 different motif groups identified in the Catholic sample compared to the 11 in the Anglican sample. The Anglican sample presents an extremely high degree of variation as each motif was only found on one headstone, with the exception of the combination grouping where there are two headstones.

There were 17 motifs/symbols that were specific to the urban Catholic sample and that were not found in the urban Anglican sample. In comparison, the Anglican sample had six motifs/symbols which are not found in the Catholic sample.

The cross is identified as the dominant symbol for the Catholic sample followed by the cross in recessed circle/rounded shape. Combination motifs were the dominant motif/symbol for the Anglican sample.

Each of the Anglican motifs were found on one headstone, ten motifs across ten headstones, indicating high variation.

The Catholic IHS symbol was found on two Anglican headstones. It was also used, collectively, on 15 Catholic headstones, although there is variation in its appearance and the use of secondary elements. The cross and IHS together was a fairly common motif identified on six headstones, as were the combination motifs.

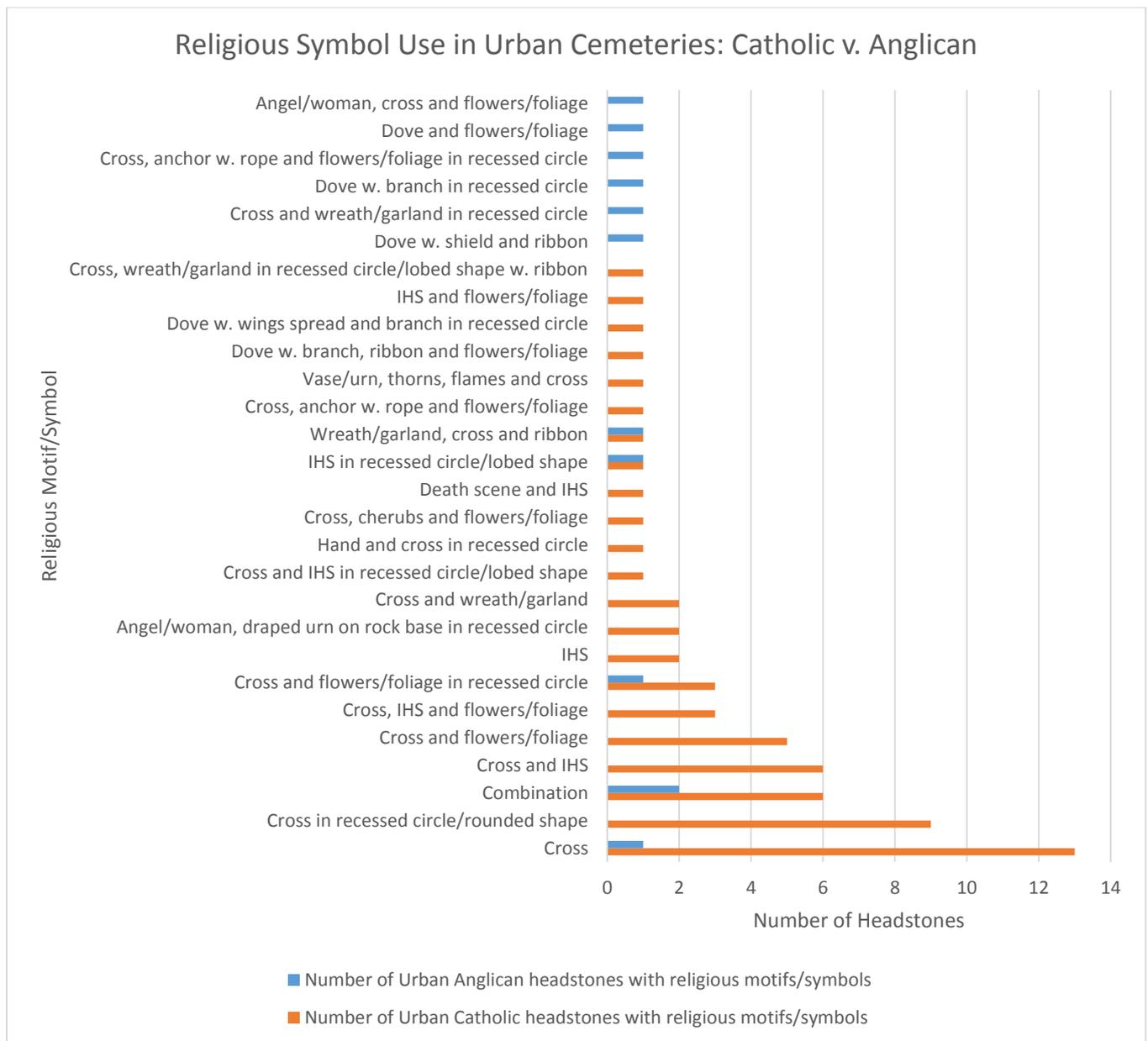


Figure 5.14 Religious Symbol Use in Late Nineteenth Century Urban Cemeteries: Catholic v. Anglican, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.9 Religious Symbol Use: Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic

Figure 5.15 shows the number of headstones with religious motifs (religious headstones) compared with headstones with no religious motifs (non-religious headstones) for the urban Anglican and rural Catholic samples. Non-religious headstones are the clear dominant type in the urban Anglican sample with the rural Catholic sample favouring religious headstones over non-religious although the difference is not large between the latter.

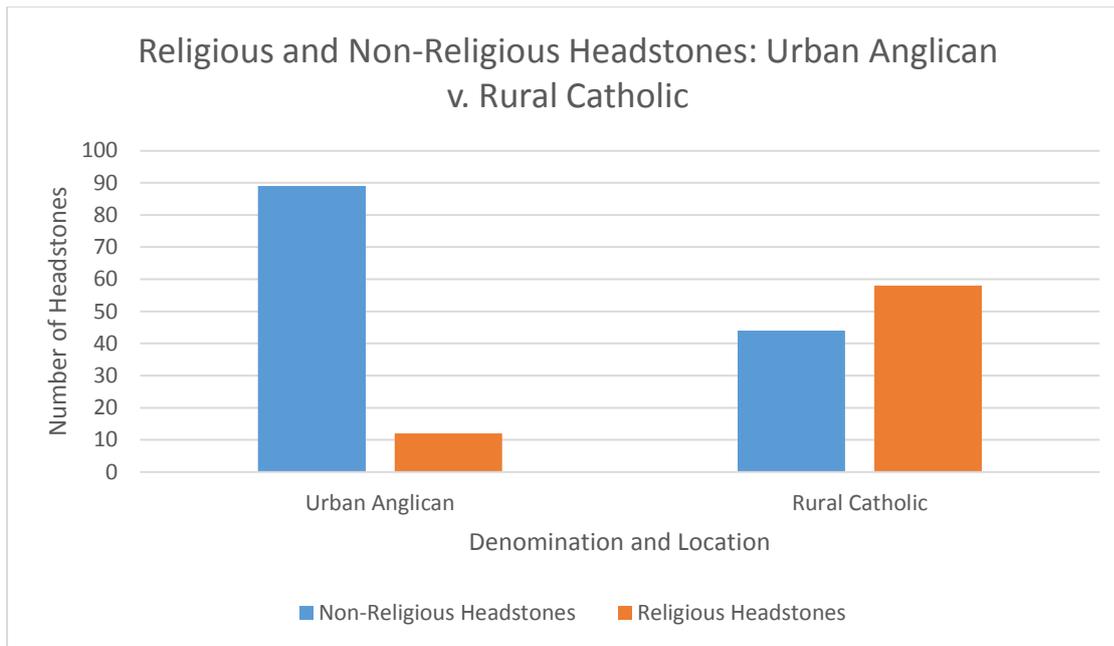


Figure 5.15 Religious and Non-Religious Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Rural Catholic Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Figure 5.16 shows the religious motifs/symbols identified on rural Catholic and Urban Anglican headstones in late nineteenth century South Australian cemeteries. There are only five motifs/symbols which are present on headstones for both samples with the rural Catholic headstones outnumbering the urban Anglican headstones for all five motifs.

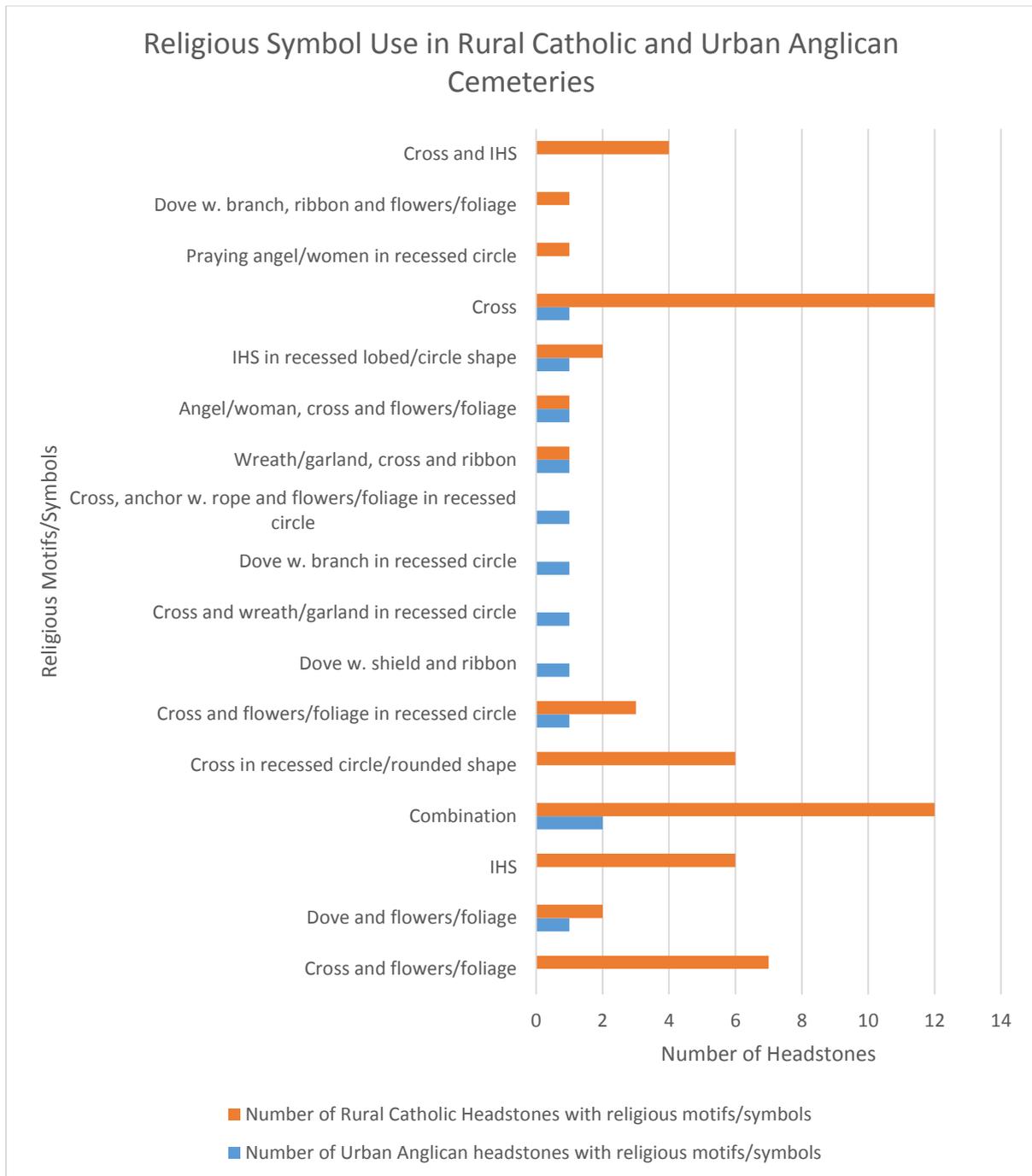


Figure 5.16 Religious Motif/Symbol Use on Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Catholic and Urban Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.3.10 Religious Symbol Use: Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican

Figure 5.17 shows the number of headstones with religious motifs/symbols (religious headstones) and those without religious motifs/symbols (non-religious headstones) for the urban Catholic and rural Anglican samples. The rural Anglican sample shows a clear

preference for non-religious motifs/symbols with the urban Catholic sample preferring the use of religious motifs/symbols.

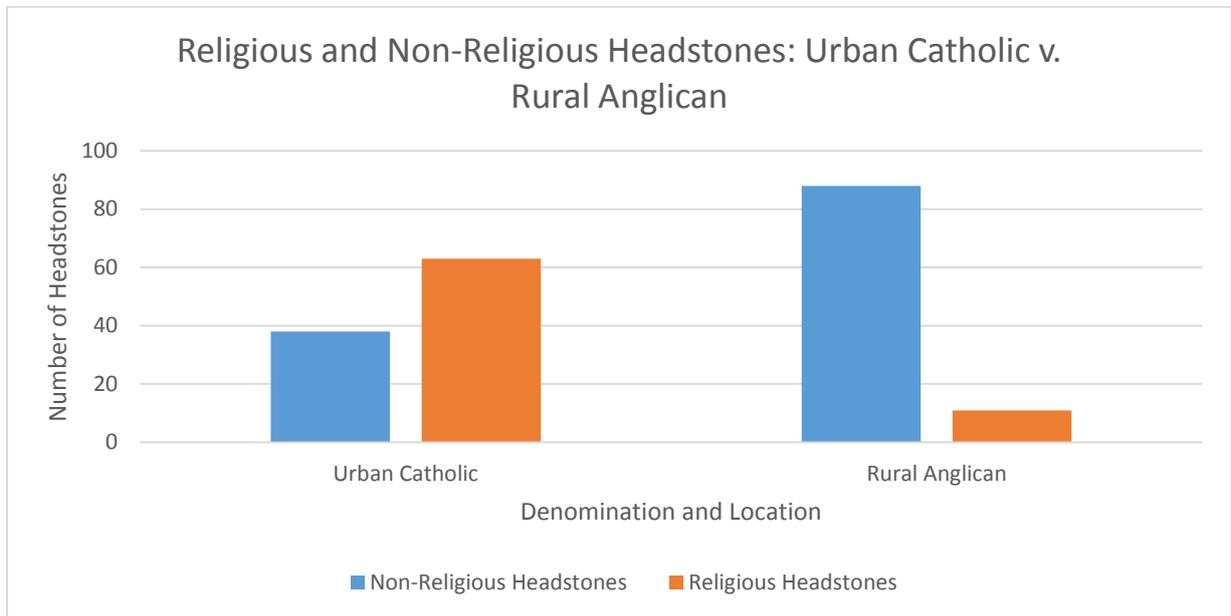


Figure 5.17 Religious and Non-Religious Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Figure 5.18 shows the religious motifs/symbols identified on urban Catholic and rural Anglican headstones in late nineteenth century South Australian cemeteries. Headstones that used the cross were compared with those that did not use the cross using the urban Catholic and rural Anglican samples. Only three religious motifs/symbols were identified on both urban Catholic and rural Anglican headstones with the Catholic headstones outnumbering the Anglican headstones with the motifs/symbols.

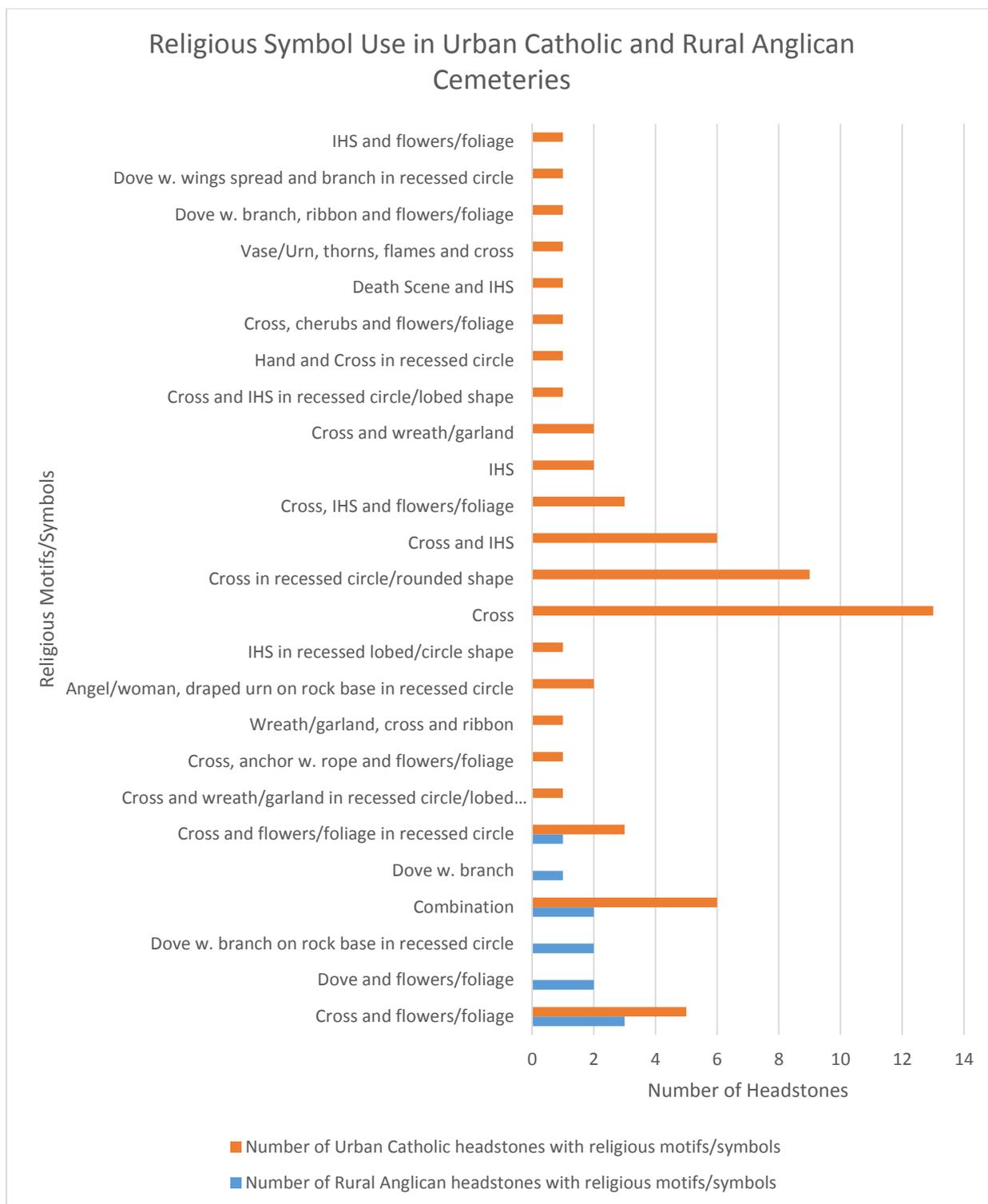


Figure 5.18 Religious Motif/Symbol Use on Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.4 Sex and Religious Symbol Use

The focus of this section is on religious motifs and sex and as such the most common non-religious symbols are detailed in the appendices.

5.4.1 Rural Catholic: Male v. Female

Headstones with primary male interments represent 59.80% of the rural Catholic sample and primary female interments account for the remaining 40.20%.

Figure 5.19 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for males versus females in rural Catholic cemetery headstone samples. Over 50% of the male and female headstones used religious motifs/symbols. The data show that there were common religious motifs/symbols used by each sex, however in four of the seven cases, the symbols were more popular with the male sex than female. The cross was the most common symbol followed closely by the cross and flowers/foilage for the male headstones, while for the female headstones it was combination motifs followed by the IHS symbol that were most common.

In the rural Catholic sample there were four religious motifs only used by males, in comparison, there were only two motifs/symbols that were used exclusively by females in this sample.

The cross was the dominant symbol across male headstones with 80.56% using it as either the entire motif or as an element.

The cross was found on thirteen (59.09%) of the female headstones across ten different motifs, including as part of the combination motifs. IHS was a decorative element of nine female headstones (40.90%) across five different motifs, including two combination motifs with one using it with the cross.

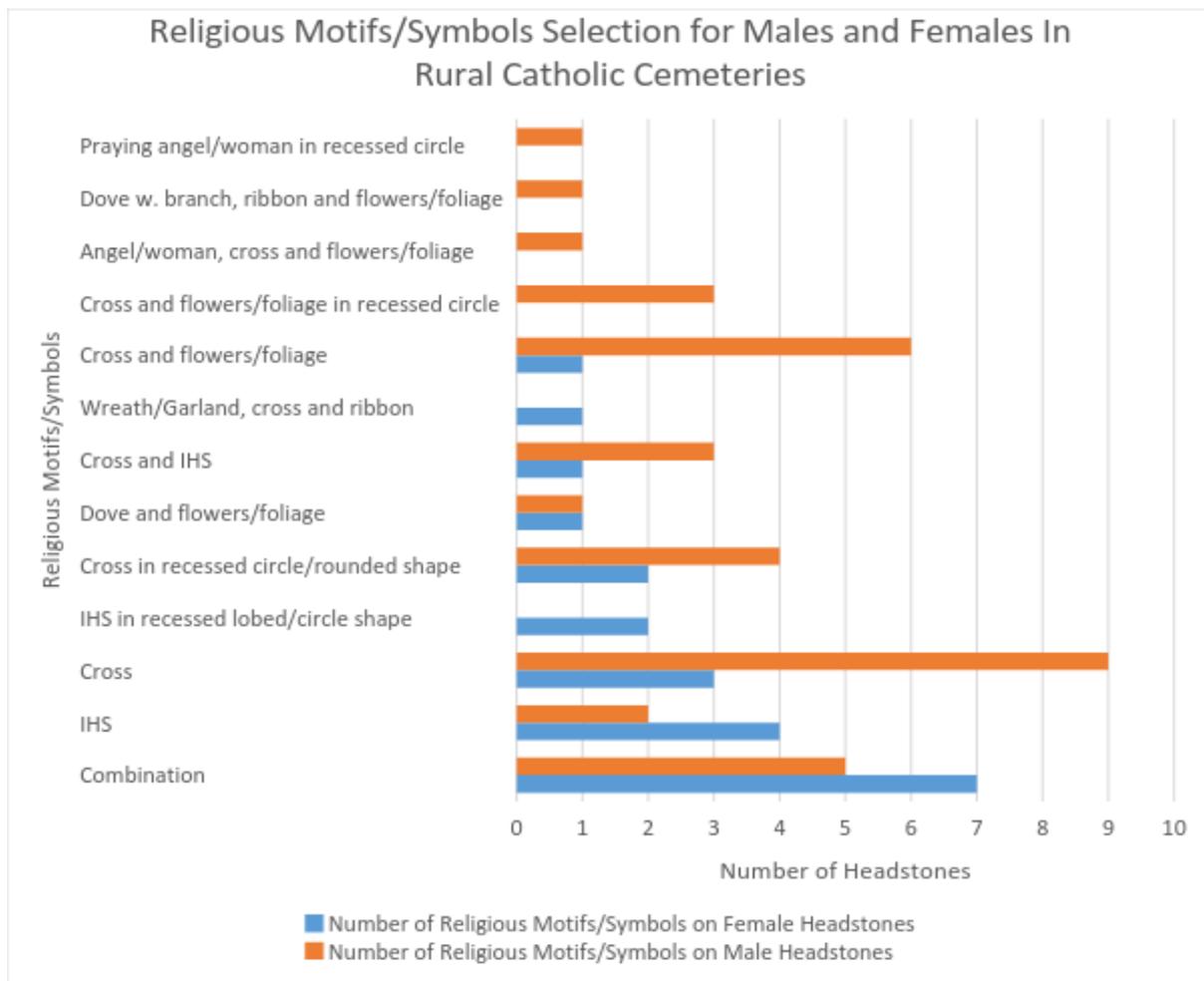


Figure 5.19 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Rural Catholic Cemetery Samples of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.4.2 Urban Catholic: Male v. Female

Headstones with primary male interments represent 60.40% of the urban Catholic sample and primary female interments account for the remaining 39.60% of headstones.

Figure 5.20 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for males versus females in the urban Catholic cemetery headstone sample, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Similar to the rural Catholic sample, over half the male and female headstones had religious motifs/symbols or incorporated religious elements. There is visible overlap in the selection and use of religious motifs/symbol by males and females, although some motif exclusivity existed for the male and female samples.

Eight of the motifs/symbols were exclusively found on male headstones and six of the motifs/symbols are exclusive to female headstones. Of those used only by males, only the motif of the cross and flowers/foilage in recessed circle was found on more than one headstone. The motif of the cross and wreath/garland was the only image that was found on more than one female headstone. The cross was the most popular symbol employed by both sexes although for the female headstones it was equalled by the motif of a cross in recessed circle/rounded shape.

Of the motifs that both sexes employed, three were dominant with males and three dominant with females, and two were equally used by males and females.

The majority of the religious motifs/symbols were only present on one headstone and a high level of variation can be seen. The cross was found to be a part of all the male combination motifs and was the dominant symbol with 67.5% of the male headstones employing its use across 15 different motifs/symbols. The cross was used in one of the female combination motifs and identified as part of 79.31% of the female motifs and is the dominant symbol used across nine of the motifs/symbols.

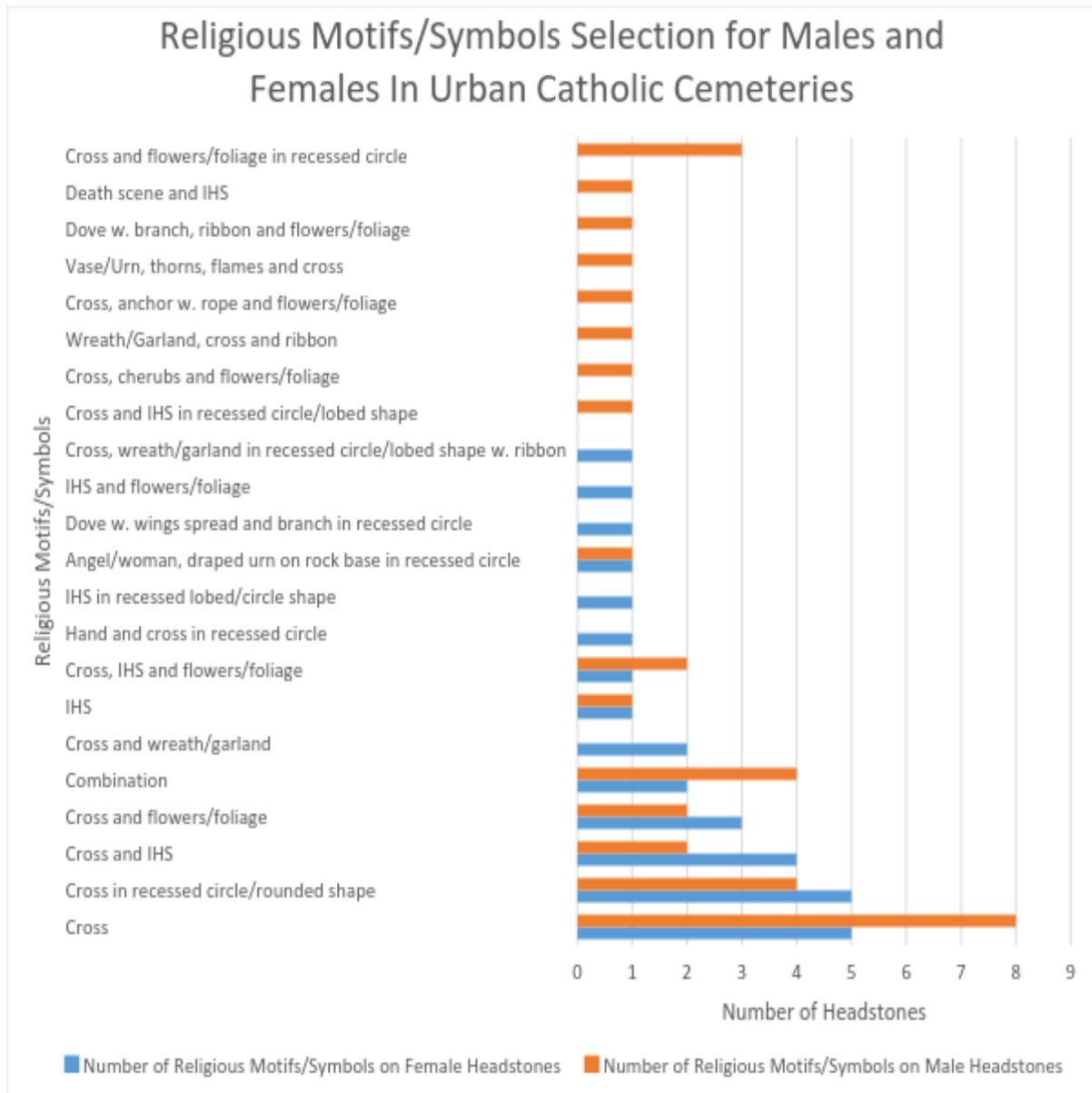


Figure 5.20 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Urban Catholic Cemetery Sample of the Late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide

5.4.3 Rural Anglican: Male v. Female

Headstones with a male as the primary interment represent 51.51% of the rural Anglican sample and the headstones with a primary female represent 48.48%.

Figure 5.21 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs and symbols for males versus females in rural Anglican cemetery headstone samples. In contrast to both the Catholic samples, the rural Anglican sample shows that there was no strong preference towards religious motif/symbol use. For both the male and female headstones, less than 10%

employed religious motifs/symbols. Religious motifs/symbols are more common on male rural Anglican headstones when compared to female headstones. There is visible overlap in the selection and use of motifs/symbols by males and females, however in this sample, only males have motifs/symbols which are exclusive to their sex.

From the male sample, the cross and flower/foilage was the dominant motif selected for headstone decoration and was the only motif to be found on multiple headstones. With the female sample, there is no preference towards one motif or another as there are three different motifs found on three separate headstones. The cross was found on the male combination motif and IHS was found on the female combination motif. The use of the cross as a part of the larger motif was equally common as the use of a dove for the males while for the females it was most common to incorporate a dove and only one opted to use the Catholic IHS symbol. The numbers in this sample are too low to conduct statistical analysis with confidence.

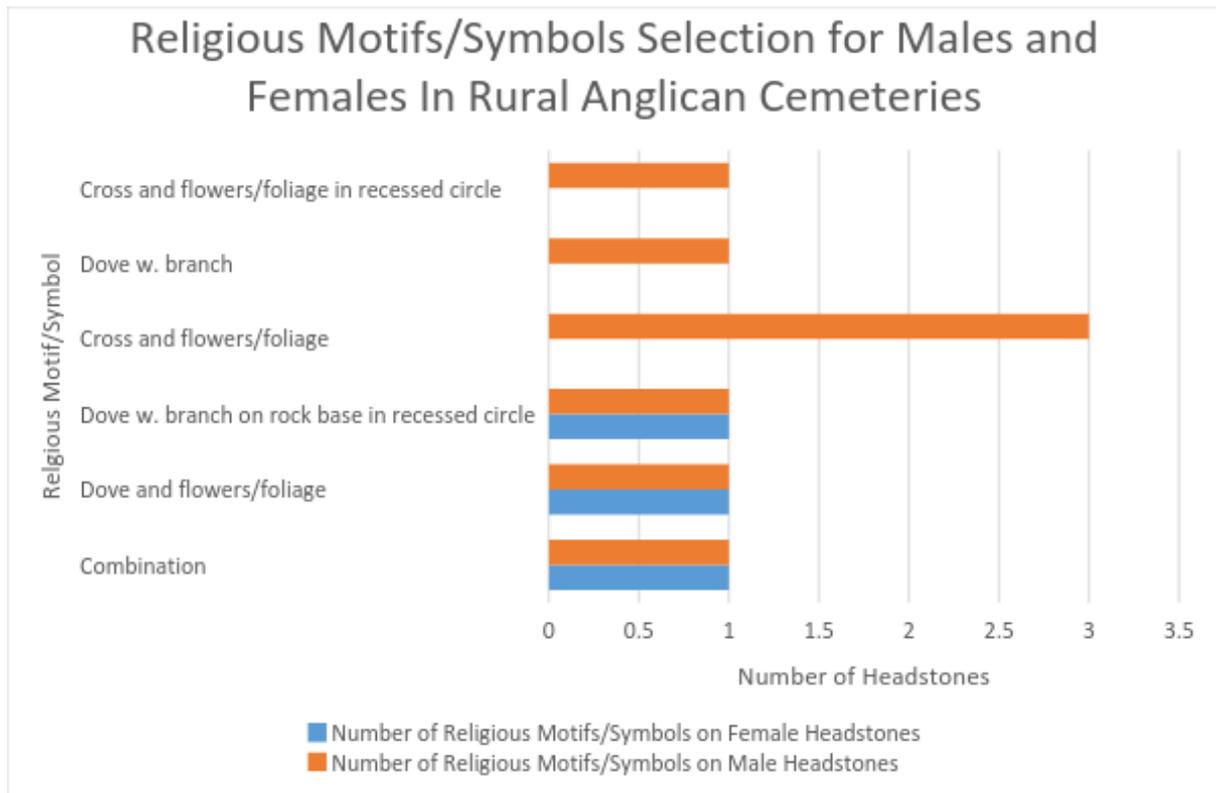


Figure 5.21 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Rural Anglican Cemeteries of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.4.4 Urban Anglican: Male v. Female

The headstones with primary male burials represent 56% of the urban Anglican sample, and those with primary female burials represent 44%.

Figure 5.22 provides a comparison of the use of religious motifs/symbols for males versus females in the urban Anglican cemetery headstone sample, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide. As with the rural Anglican sample, there was no indication of preference towards religious motifs/symbols in the urban Anglican sample for both males and females. Within the entire urban Anglican sample, only twelve of the recorded headstones had religious motifs/symbols. This was evenly divided between males and females with each having six headstones with religious motifs/symbols.

There are no common religious motifs/symbols between the male and female headstones nor within the female sample or the male sample individually. However, common elements and symbols were employed both by female and by males.

The cross symbols was common across three of the headstones with another two headstones using the Catholic IHS symbol. The IHS symbol and the cross with angel/women motif were each found on one male combination headstone. Overall, the cross was the most popular addition to a motif for both males and females, however this could not be tested for statistical significance with confidence.

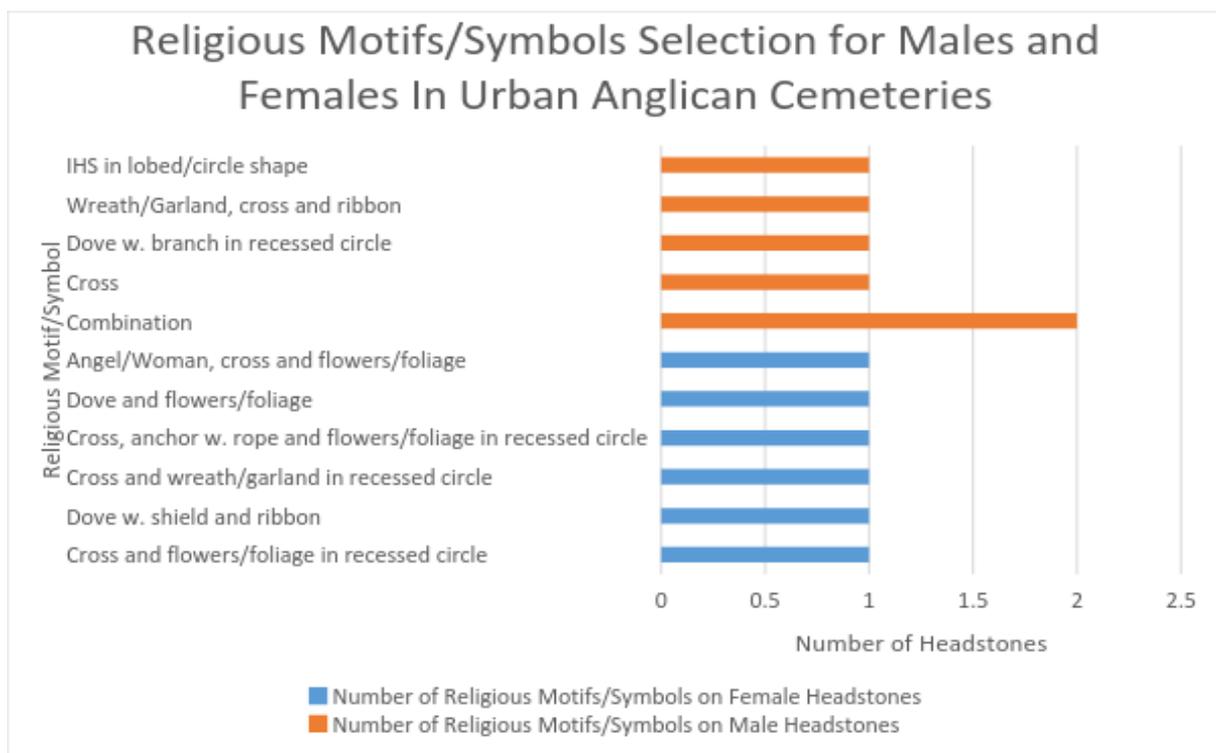


Figure 5.22 Number of Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Urban Anglican Cemeteries of the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.4.5 Sex and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic

5.4.5.1 Males and Females: Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic

Figure 5.23 shows that there was a clear preference for religious motifs on the male and female Catholic headstones in the urban sample when compared to urban Anglican male and

female headstones. Religious motifs were more dominant on the male Catholic headstones than the male Anglican headstones in the urban sample. The same could be seen with the female headstones where religious motifs were more dominant in the Catholic sample than in the Anglican sample.

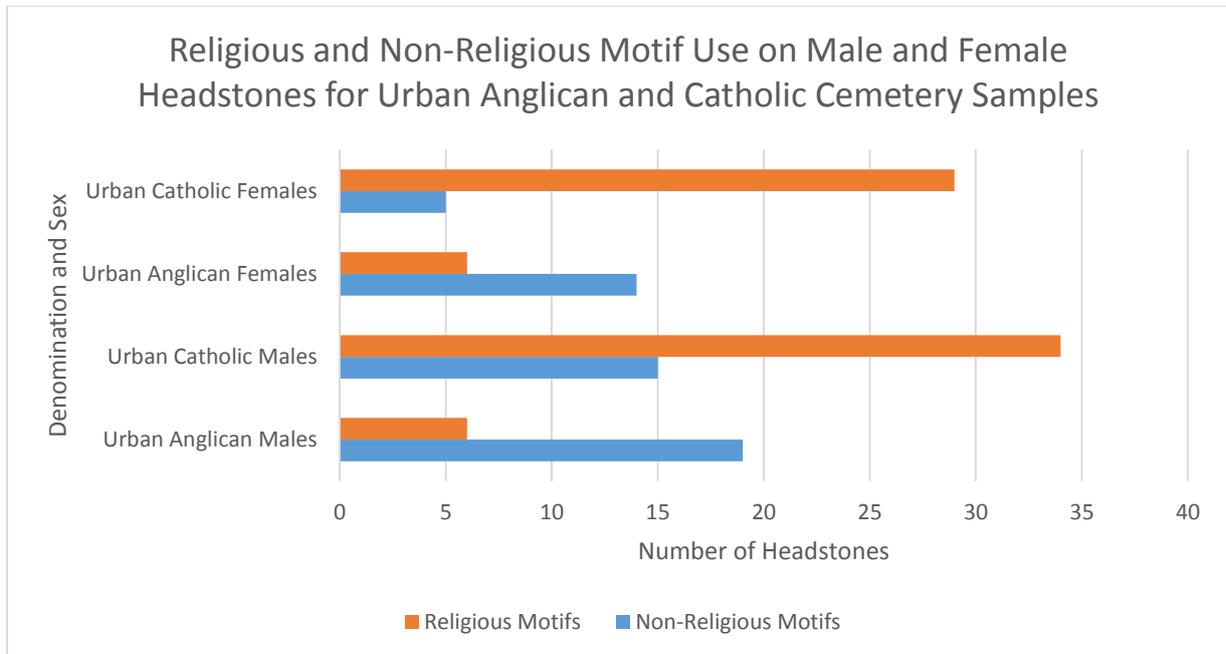


Figure 5.23 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region

5.4.5.2 Males and Females: Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic

Figure 5.24 presents a comparison of male and female religious motif use in rural Catholic and rural Anglican cemetery contexts. It shows that for both the male and female samples, religious motifs/symbols were preferred by the Catholics as the dominant choice. In contrast, the male and female Anglican headstones showed the opposite preference, for non-religious motifs. The use of religious motifs in the male Catholic sample was more dominant than in the male Anglican sample. The same preference was seen in the female sample, with more Catholic headstones showing religious motifs than Anglican headstones.

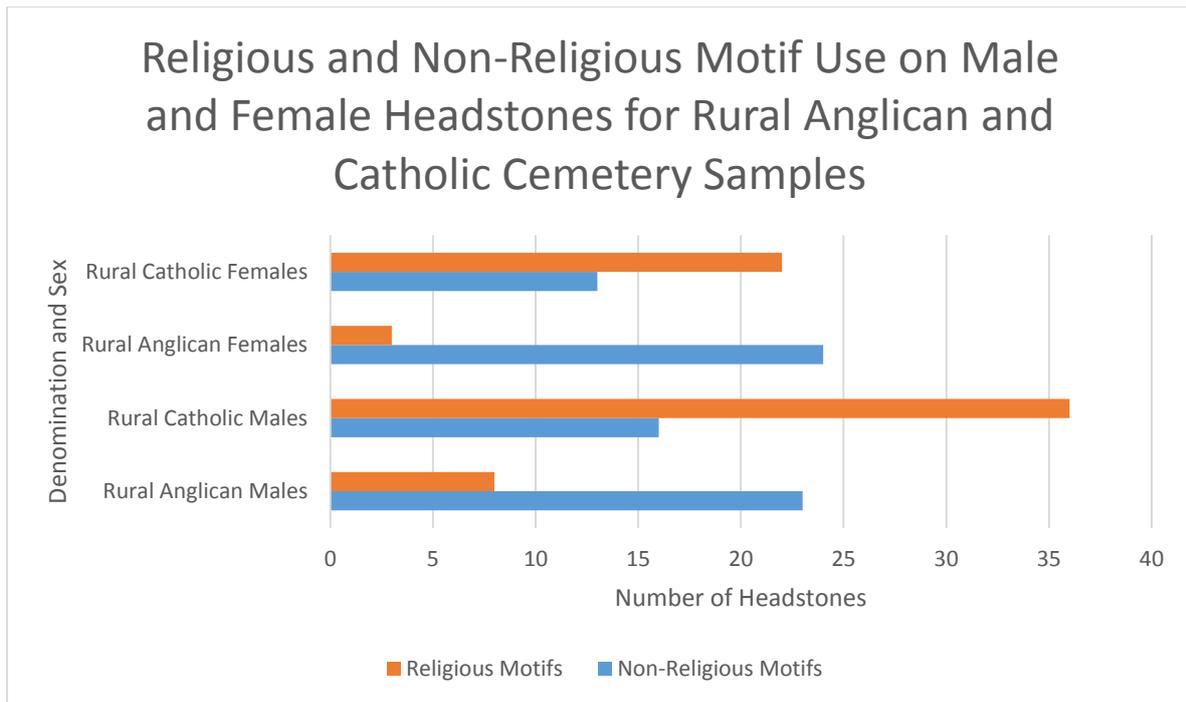


Figure 5.24 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region

5.4.6 Sex and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic

5.4.6.1 Males and Females: Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic

Figure 5.25 presents a comparison urban Anglican and rural Catholic male and female headstones with religious and non-religious motifs. Religious motif use is dominant on the male and female rural Catholic headstones in comparison to the male and female urban Anglican headstones.

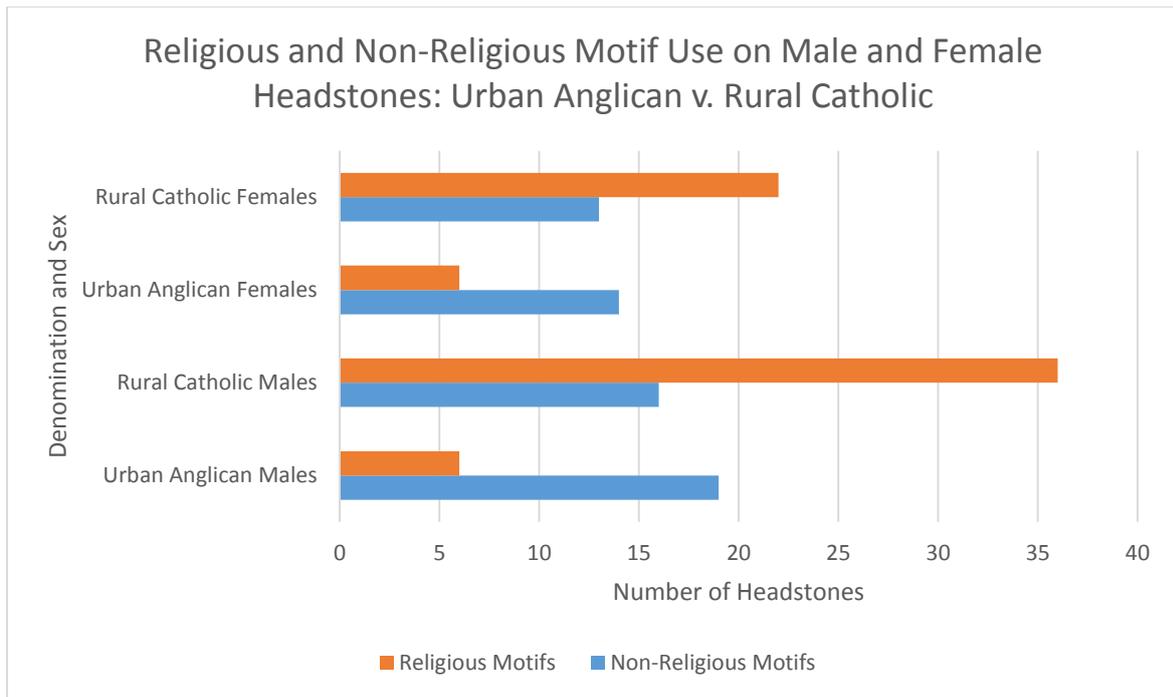


Figure 5.25 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Anglican and Rural Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region

5.4.6.2 Males and Females: Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican

Figure 5.26 details male and female use of religious and non-religious motifs in urban Catholic and rural Anglican cemetery contexts in South Australia. The use of religious motifs was the dominant preference for the male and female headstone decoration in the urban Catholic sample in contrast to the rural Anglican sample where preference was non-religious motifs. Urban Catholic male headstones were more dominant with religious symbol use compared to rural Anglican male headstones. The same preference towards religious motifs was seen in the female urban Catholic sample compared with the female rural Anglican headstones.

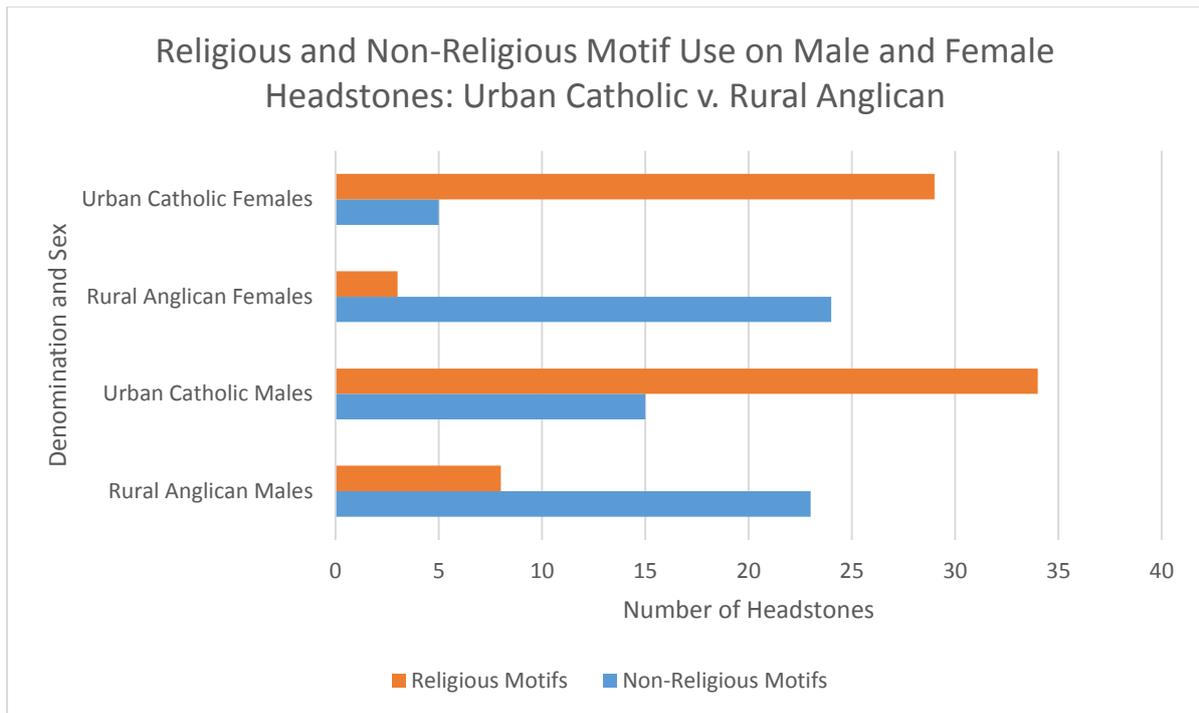


Figure 5.26 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use on Male and Female Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region

5.5 Age and Religious Symbol Use

The age of the primary individuals on the headstones have been divided into the following age groups: Infant (0-4), Child (5-14), Young Adult (15-24), Adult (25-64) and Senior (65+). The interments that did not have a date of birth or age engraved on the headstone were placed under Unknown. The focus of this section is on religious symbol use and age and as such the most common non-religious symbols are detailed in the appendices.

5.6.1 Rural Catholic

It was found that within the rural Catholic sample the majority (52.94%) of primary interments were Adults aged between 25 and 64 years (Figure 5.27). Seniors aged 65+ account for 29.41% of the individuals followed by Young Adults aged 15-24 (7.84%) and those of Unknown age (5.88%). Infants aged 0-4 and Children aged 5-14 presented on the least amount of headstones each only represented on 1.96%.

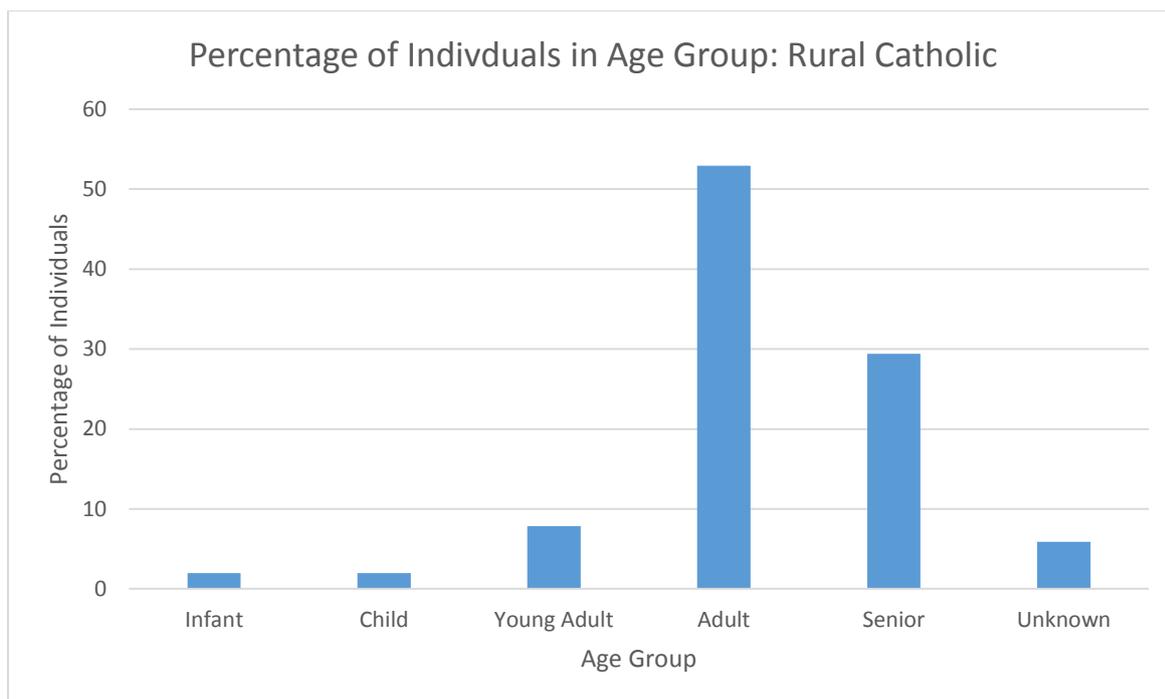


Figure 5.27 Age Groups in Rural Catholic Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.6.1.1 Religious Symbol use within Age Groups: Rural Catholic

Figure 5.28 details the number of headstones for each age group with religious motifs/symbols found in the rural Catholic cemetery sample, Adelaide region, South Australia. Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 50.91% of the Adult headstones with the dominant religious symbol being the cross (21.43%). The combination motifs with religious elements were the second most common (17.86%), followed by the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape (14.29%). IHS was found on 10.71% with IHS in lobed/circle shape and cross and flowers/foilage both present on 7.14%. The Adult age group also had five religious motifs/symbols that each represented 3.57% of the sample.

Of the Senior age group, 66.67% of the headstones were identified to have religious motifs/symbols as the decoration with the dominant motif being the cross and flower/foilage (30%). As with the Adults, the combination motifs (20%) again presented as the second most common motif/symbol grouping. IHS and the cross and IHS motif/symbols were found on an

equal percentage of Senior headstones (15% each). The remaining four motifs/symbols each account for 5%.

For the Young Adult age group, 50% of the headstones had religious motifs/symbols with combination accounting for half. The cross accounted for 25% and the cross in recessed circle/rounded shape for the remaining 25%.

All the headstones in the Child age group have religious motifs/symbols with 50% employing the cross and 50% positioning the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape.

Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 60% of the Unknown age group headstones with 33.33% using the cross. The motif of a praying angel/woman in recessed circle and a combination motif each account for 33.33%.

The Infant age group had no religious motifs/symbols present on the headstones and as such are not represented in Figure 5.28.

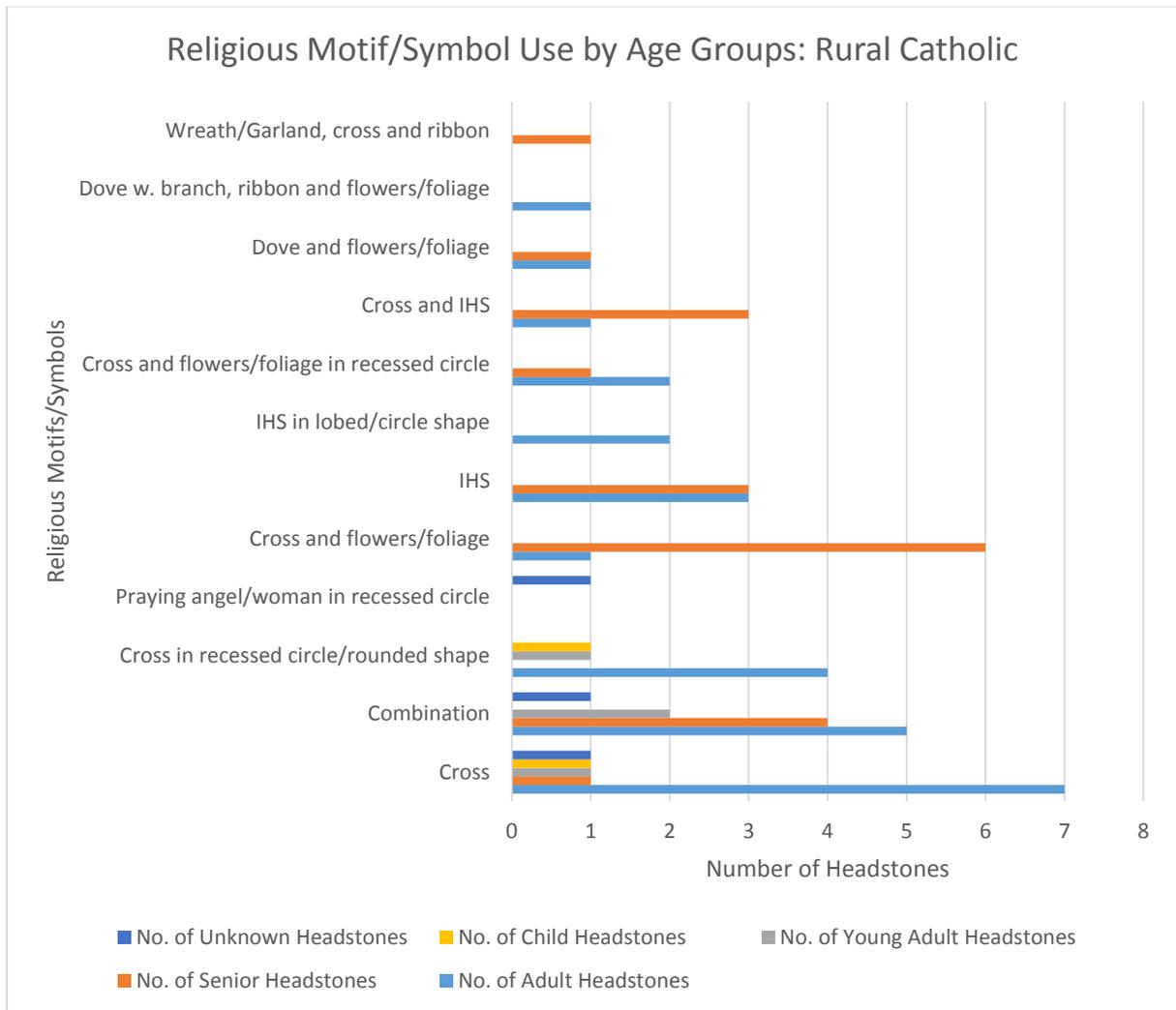


Figure 5.28 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Rural Catholic Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.6.2 Urban Catholic

In the Urban Catholic sample over half (59.41%) of the primary interments are in the Adult age group between 25 and 64 years (Figure 5.29). Seniors aged 65+ account for 18.81% of the individuals with the Young Adults aged 15-24 representing 8.91%. Both the Infant aged 0-4 and Unknown age groups account for 4.95% of individuals with Children aged 5-14 represented in the remaining 2.97%.

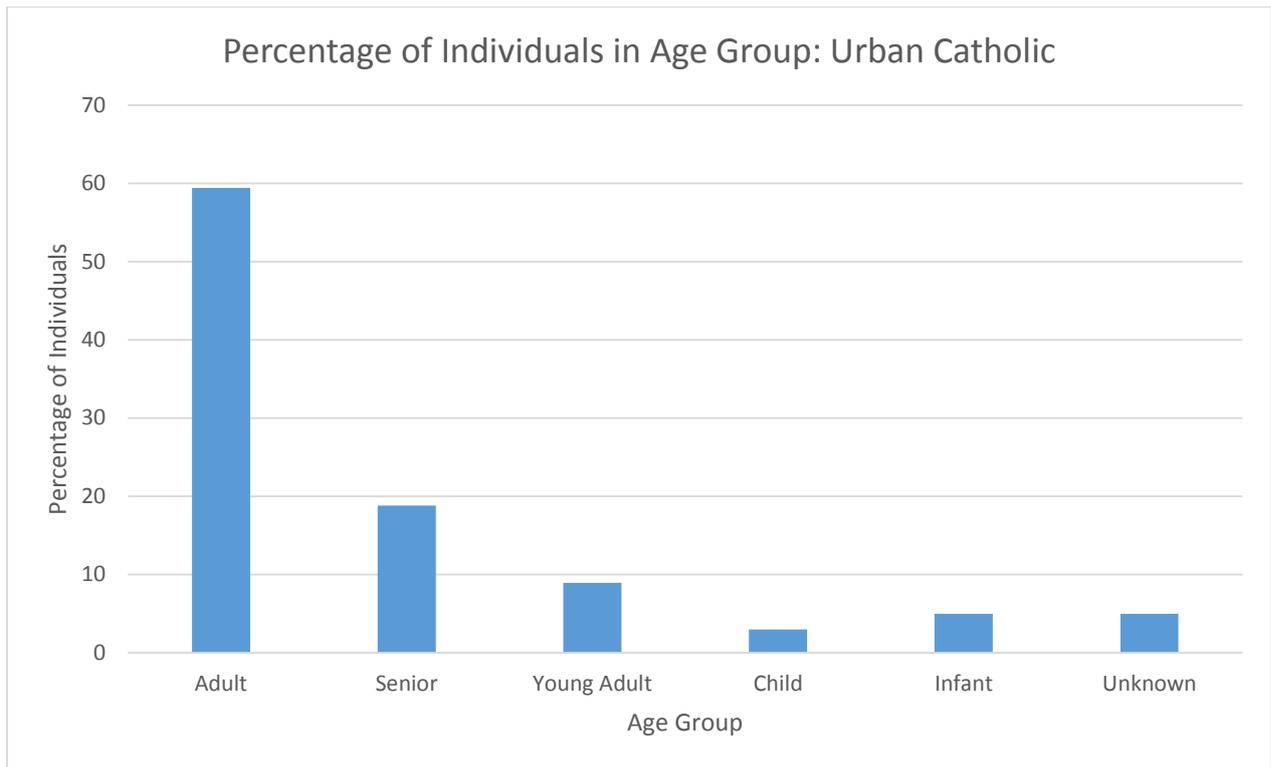


Figure 5.29 Age Groups in the Urban Catholic Cemetery, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia

5.6.2.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Catholic

Figure 5.30 details the number of headstones for each age group with religious motifs/symbols found in the urban Catholic cemetery sample, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 61.67% of the headstones with primary Adult interments and the dominant motif/symbol was the cross on 21.62% of the headstones. The religious combination motifs/symbols represent 18.91%. The motifs of the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape and the cross and IHS both represent 8.11%. Three motifs/symbols account for 5.41% with a further ten motifs/symbols individually accounting for 2.70%.

Of the headstones with primary Senior interments, 68.42% used religious motifs/symbols. The cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape was the dominant motif/symbol found on the headstones with primary Senior interments (30.77%). The motif of cross and flowers/foilage and the motif of the cross and IHS each individually represent 15.38%. A further five religious motifs/symbols each individually represent 7.69%.

For the Young Adult age group, 77.78% of the headstones used religious motifs/symbols. The cross was the dominant symbol (28.57%) and the remaining five motifs/symbols each individually account for 14.29%.

In contrast to the other age groups, the Infant age group had religious motifs/symbol on less than half (40%). This was made up of two motifs/symbols, the cross symbol and the cross in a recessed circle/rounded shape.

As with the Infants, the Unknown age group had religious motifs/symbols identified on 40% with included two motifs, the cross symbol and the cross and IHS motif.

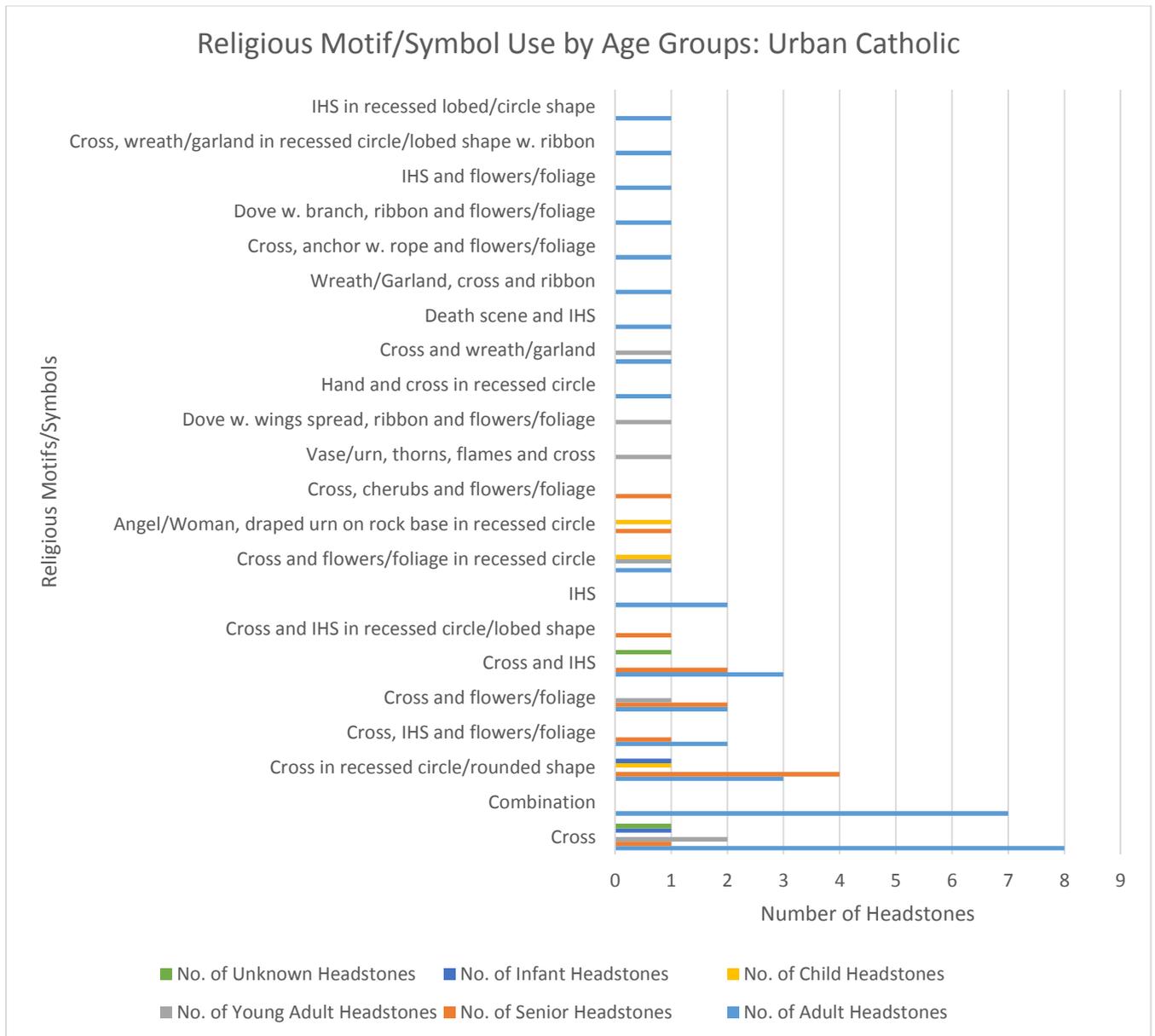


Figure 5.30 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Urban Catholic Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia

5.6.3 Catholic Age and Religious Symbol Use: Rural v. Urban

Figure 5.31 shows the number of headstones in the Adult and Senior age groups that employed religious or non-religious motifs in the rural and urban Catholic cemetery samples.

The dominant choice for all was the use of religious motifs over non-religious motifs.

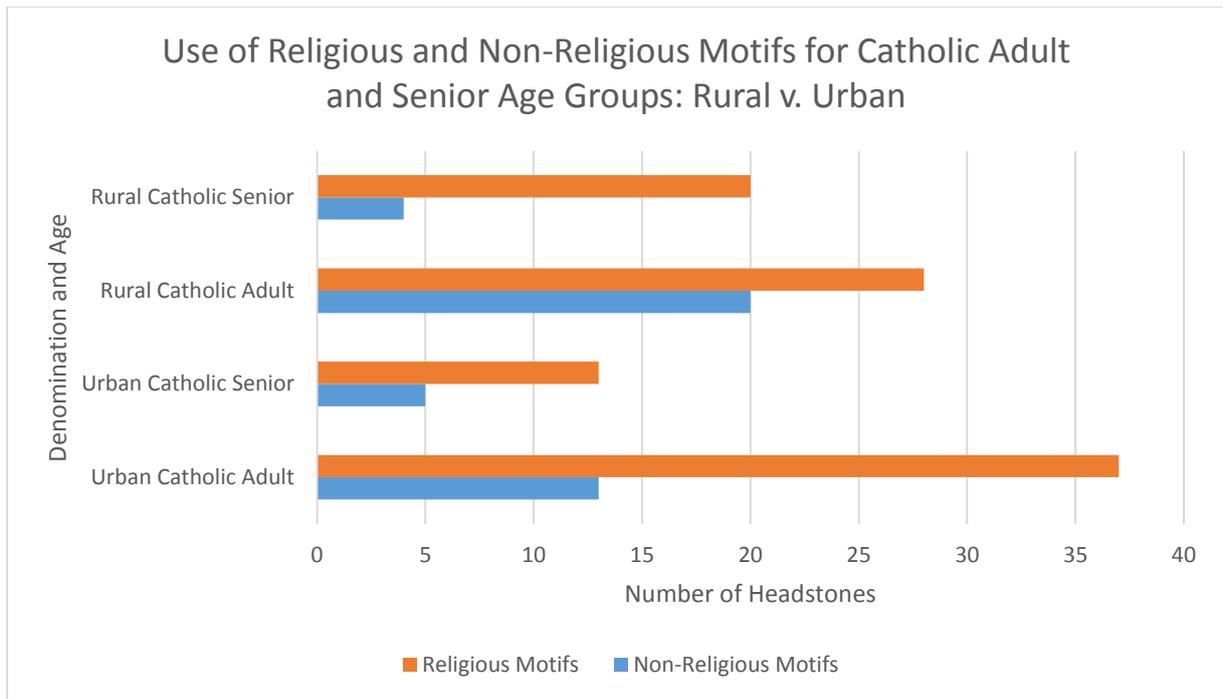


Figure 5.31 Use of Religious and Non-Religious Motifs for Catholic Adult and Senior Age Groups in Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.6.4 Rural Anglican

In the rural Anglican sample, 43.43% of the primary interments were identified as Seniors aged 65+ (Figure 5.32). Adults aged 25-64 account for 35.35% of the sample while the Young Adults aged 15-23 represent 9.09%. Children aged 5-14 account for 4.04% while Infants aged 0-4 represent 5.05% of the sample. The individuals that did not have an age or date of birth on their stone were grouped as Unknown and are represented on 3.03% of the headstones.

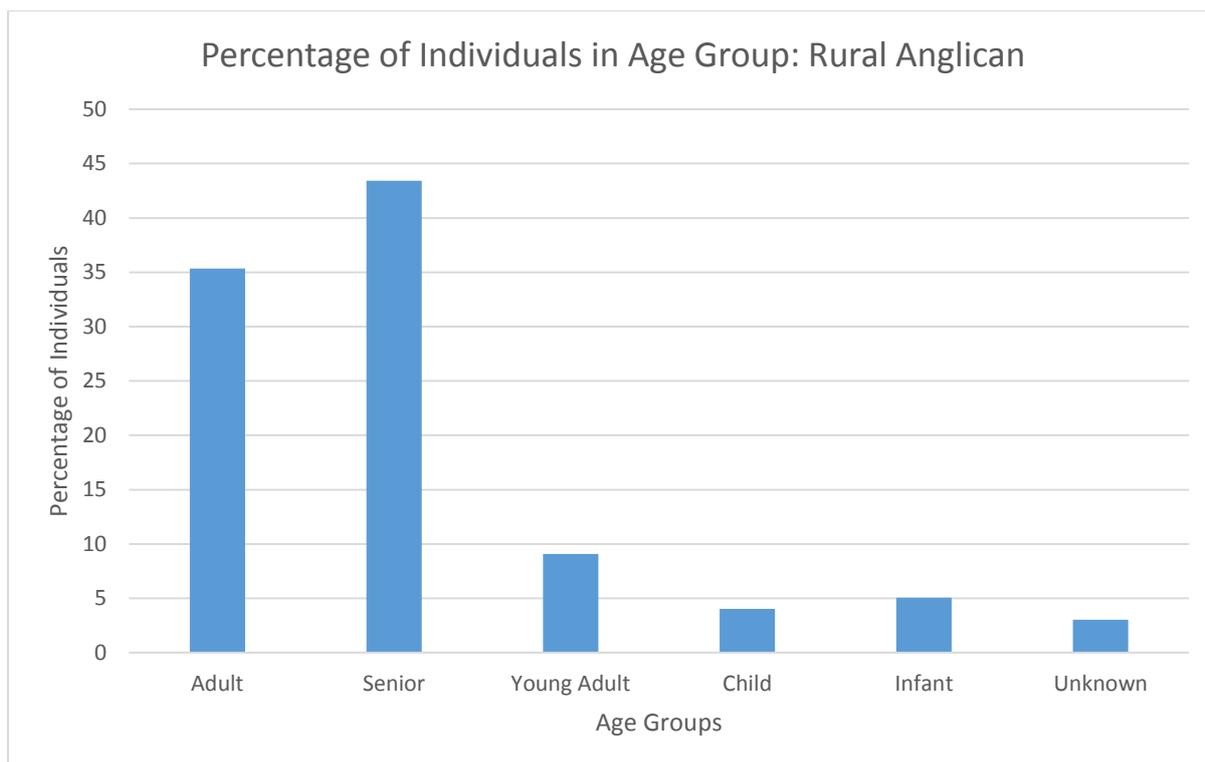


Figure 5.32 Age Groups in the Rural Anglican Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.6.4.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Anglican

Figure 5.33 details the number of headstones for each age group with religious motifs/symbols found in the rural Anglican cemetery sample, Adelaide region, South Australia. There is very little use of religious motifs/symbols in the Anglican sample, only 5.7% of the primary Adult interments showing religious symbolism using the motif of the dove and flowers/foilage.

The headstones with primary Senior interments have religious motifs/symbols on 18.60% across five different motifs/symbols. Three of the motifs individually accounted for 25% with the remaining two each accounting for 12.5% of the Senior sample.

Religious motifs/symbols were present on 11.11% of the Young Adult headstones. This equates to one headstone with the motif of the cross and flowers/foilage.

The headstones with primary Child, Infant and Unknown interments have not employed religious motifs/symbols as part of any of the decoration and as such are not represented in

Figure 5.33. Statistical analysis could not be conducted with confidence due to the small sample size.

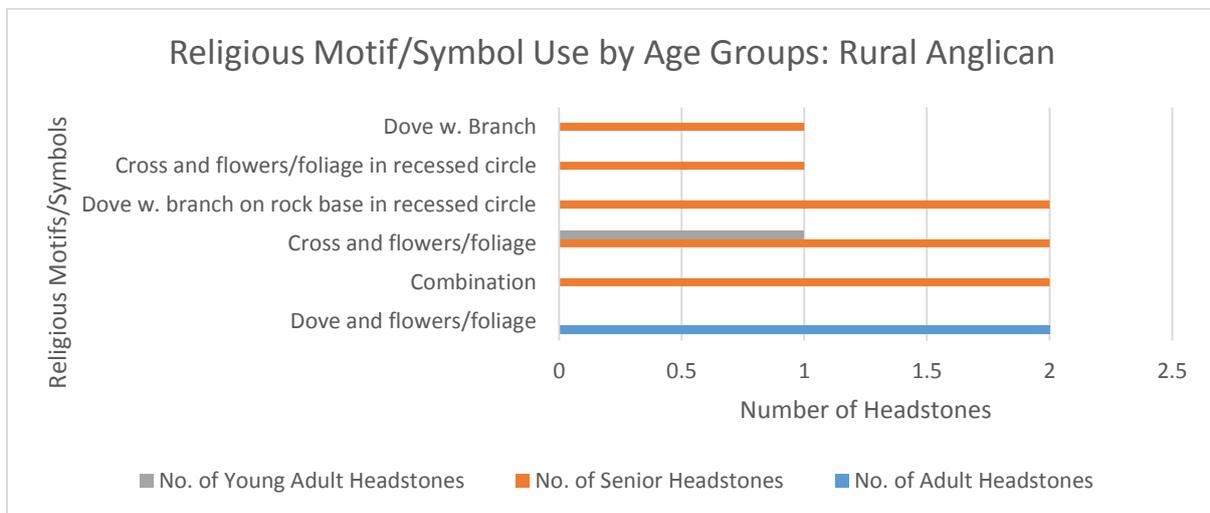


Figure 5.33 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Rural Anglican Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.6.5 Urban Anglican

The Urban Anglican sample has a dominant age group in those aged between 25 and 64 years classified as Adult accounting for 54% of the total sample. Seniors aged 65+ represent 31% while the Young Adults aged 15-23, Children aged 5-14 and Infants aged 0-4 represent 5%, 3% and 2% respectively. The headstones that did not have an age or date of birth inscribed were labelled as Unknown and represent 5% of the total sample.

5.6.5.1 Religious Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Anglican

Figure 5.34 details the number of headstones for each age group with religious motifs/symbols found in the urban Anglican cemetery sample, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide.

Religious motifs/symbols were identified on 16.67% of the Adult headstones. The combination motifs/symbols account for the largest percentage at 22.22%. The remaining seven motifs each individually represent 11.11%.

Approximately 9.68% of the Senior headstones employed religious motif/symbols with 33.33% having the dove w. shield and ribbon, 33.33% having the cross and wreath/garland in a recessed circle and the final 33.33% is represented by the angel/woman, cross and wreath/garland.

The Young Adult, Child, Infant and Unknown age groups do not have any religious motifs/symbols on their headstones and as such are not represented in Figure 5.34.

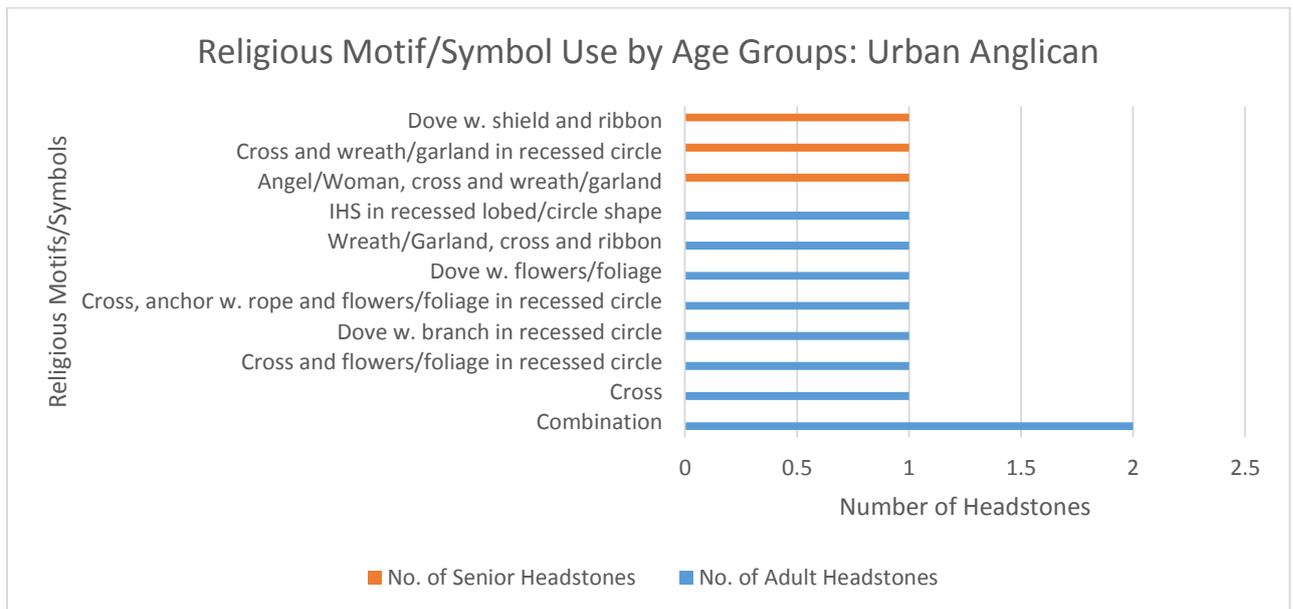


Figure 5.34 Religious Motifs/Symbols Used by Aged Groups in the Urban Anglican Cemetery sample in the Late Nineteenth Century, Main North Road Cemetery, Adelaide

5.6.6 Anglican Age and Religious Symbol Use: Urban v. Rural

Figure 5.35 shows the number of headstones in the Adult and Senior age groups that employed religious or non-religious motifs in the rural and urban Anglican cemetery samples. Overall the Adult and Senior headstones from the Anglican samples show the clear preference to the use of non-religious motifs over religious motifs.

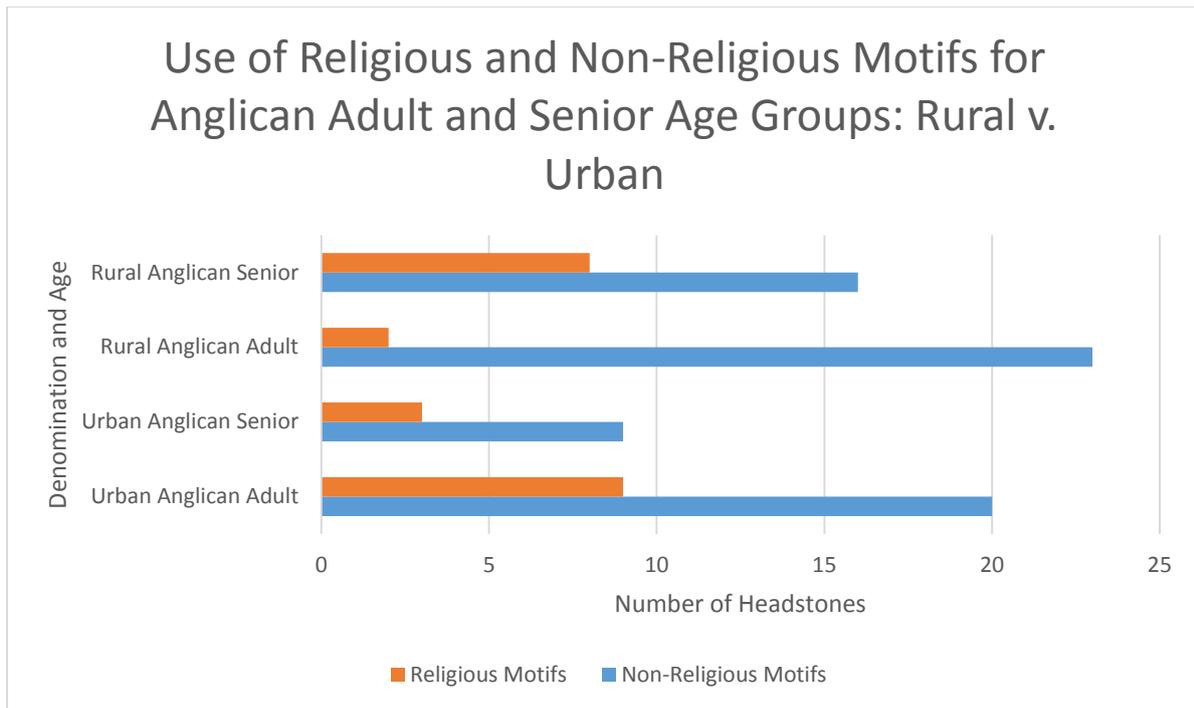


Figure 5.35 Use of Religious and Non-Religious Motifs for Anglican Adult and Senior Age Groups in Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Cemeteries, Adelaide Region, South Australia

5.7 Age and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic

5.7.1 Age and Religious Symbol Use: Anglican v. Catholic

Figure 5.36 presents religious and non-religious motif use across rural and urban Adult and Senior headstones from the Anglican and Catholic cemetery samples. This shows a clear preference towards the use of religious motifs in all the Catholic samples compared with the Anglican samples.

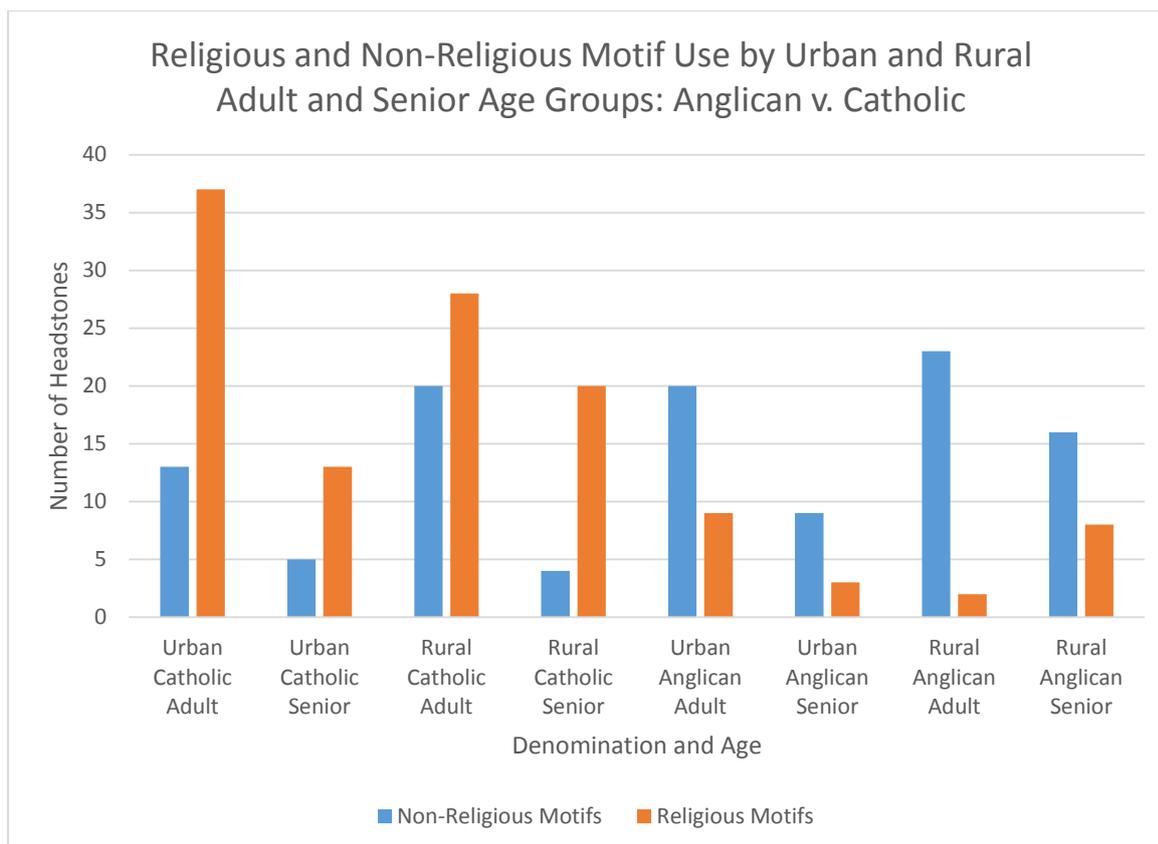


Figure 5.36 Religious and Non-Religious Motif Use by Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Adult and Senior Age Groups from late Nineteenth Cemetery Sample, Adelaide Region, South Australia

6.0 Discussion

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the use of motifs/symbols by late nineteenth century Anglicans and Catholics to memorialise their dead in urban and rural South Australian cemetery contexts. A secondary aim was to determine whether Redfield’s (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) “folk society” theory was reflected in this data with more conservative mortuary behaviours expected in the rural sample than the urban samples. To address these, the statistically significant results (Appendix 10) will be discussed in terms of Anglican and Catholic mortuary behaviours in South Australia and Redfield’s “folk society” theory.

Motif/symbol use was highly varied for both the Anglican and Catholic rural and urban samples (Figure 6.1). The largest variation was present in the urban Catholic sample where the group of motifs/symbols present on three or less headstones (other) consisted of more headstones (23 motif/symbol groups) collectively than any other motif/symbol. The rural

Catholic sample also had a high number of “other” motifs/symbols (11 motif/symbol groups) although these were outnumbered by combination motifs which were highly varied with their grouping more to do with the nature and layout of the motifs than the visual similarities.

The variation present for motif/symbol use in the overall Anglican sample was also high with regard to the motif/symbol grouping of “other” where the number of headstones was only outnumbered by the headstones with no motif. The rural Anglican sample had more motifs/symbols that were only present on a few headstones than the urban sample which is in direct contrast to the Catholic samples, although the Anglican samples had the same number of motif/symbol groups (n=18).

Motif/symbol variation was analysed in terms of comparing the number of motif/symbol groups that were religious and those that were not. Chi-square testing returned a statistically significant result for Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic religious and non-religious motif/symbol group variation ($p = 0.008419$ at $\alpha 0.05$). A statistically significant result was also returned for Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican religious and non-religious motif/symbol group variation ($p = 0.000553$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

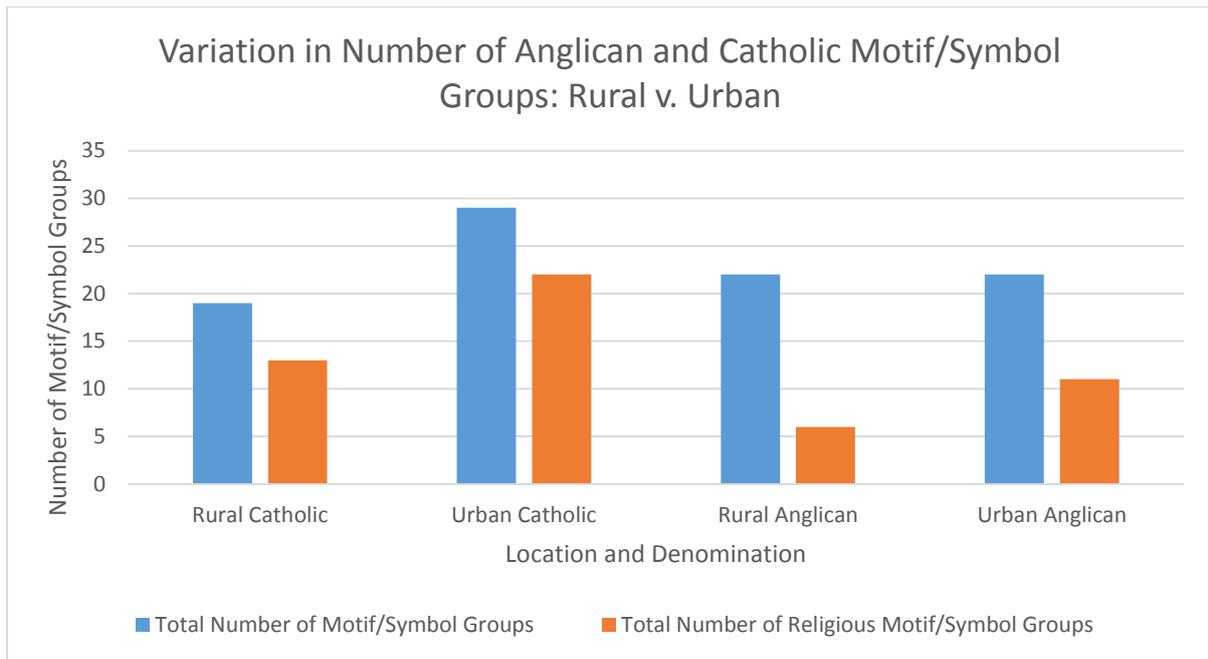


Figure 6.1 Variation in the Number of Motif/Symbol Groups for Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia

The overall use of motifs, both religious and non-religious, was preferred by the Catholic denomination in both the rural and urban localities in comparison to the Anglican denomination where the preference was split with the urban sample showing preference towards having no motif and the rural to using motifs.

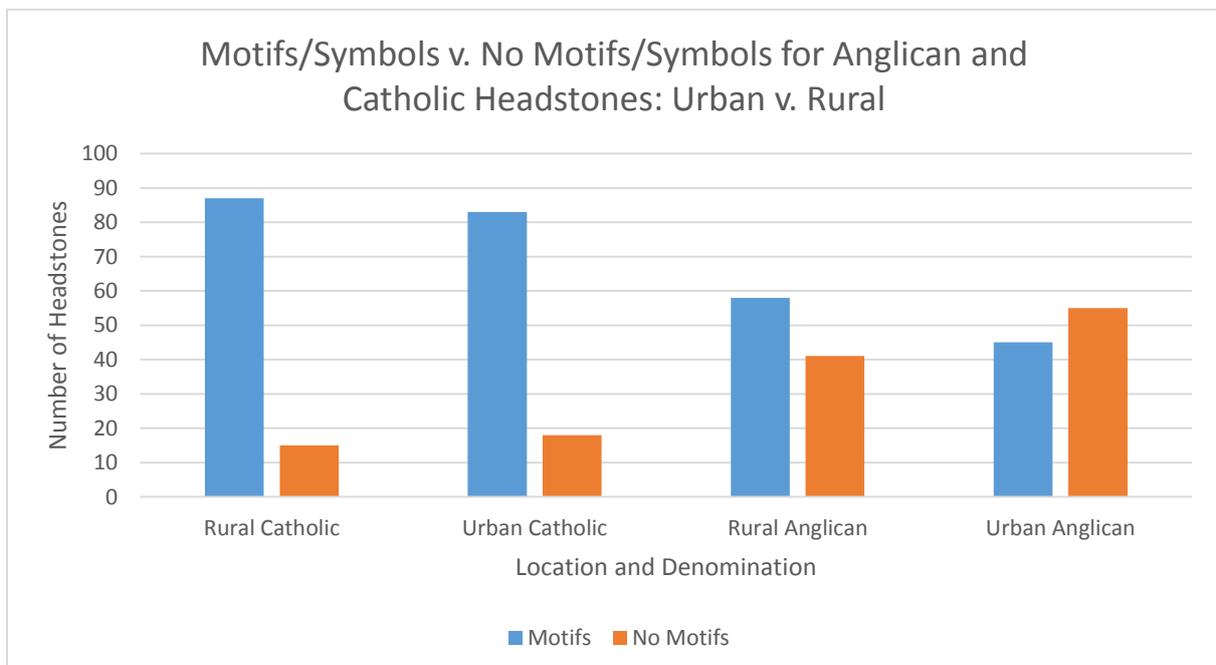


Figure 6.2 Motifs/Symbols in Comparison to No Motifs on Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Chi-square analysis comparing headstones with no motif and headstones with motifs returned four statistically significant results, all were Anglican v. Catholic. The variables with the statistically significant tests were the following: Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic ($p = 0.000024$ at $\alpha 0.05$); Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic ($p = 4.26E-08$ at $\alpha 0.05$); Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican ($p = 0.000254$ at $\alpha 0.05$); and Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic ($p = 1.7563E-09$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

When the urban and rural Catholic samples were compared for statistical significance, it was found that the correlation between urban and rural Catholic choice to have motifs/symbols was *not* significant ($p = 0.547438$ at $\alpha 0.05$). This suggests that the preference towards using motifs/symbols on headstones was not related to the location of the sample, that is, the use of motifs/symbols was not determined to be more favourable to one locality than another in the Catholic denomination. The same was seen in the overall statistical analysis of urban and rural Anglican data. The urban Anglican data show a preference to no motifs and the rural Anglican data to use of motifs/symbols which suggested that within the Anglican denomination motif/symbol use was potentially linked to location, however when tested, this proved to *not* be statistically significant ($p = 0.0551437$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

Both the rural Catholic and rural Anglican samples showed a preference towards the use of motifs/symbols although the number of Catholic headstones with motifs is significantly higher than the number of corresponding Anglican headstones (Figure 6.2). When tested, this correlation proved to be statistically significant in favour of the Catholic denomination with more decorated headstones ($p = 0.000024$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The urban Catholic and urban Anglican data show that, as with the rural Catholic data, there is a significantly higher proportion of urban Catholic headstones with motifs/symbols in comparison to urban Anglican headstones. The latter showed a higher proportion of headstones with no motifs than the urban Catholic

sample. Chi-square analysis determined the correlation between urban Anglican and Catholic and motif/symbol use to be statistically significant ($p = 4.26E-08$ at $\alpha 0.05$). To determine if the observable differences in headstones with motifs/symbols and headstones with no motif/symbol between the Rural Anglican and Urban Catholic samples were significant chi-square analysis was conducted. The correlation proved to be statistically significant ($p = 0.000254$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The rural Catholic v. urban Anglican chi-square test comparing headstones with motifs against those without is also statistically significant ($p = 1.7563E-09$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The data suggest that in both the urban and rural contexts, the Anglican denomination was seemingly more conservative in their mortuary decoration than the Catholic denomination where the mortuary decoration extended beyond headstone form. Instead of the hypothesised urban and rural differences and rural conservative behaviour being observed in the data, it seems that the differences are not due to locational variation but rather have more to do with denominational influences.

According to Hilliard (2006:14), Anglicans in South Australia were much more conservative in their public social lives with less overtly used religious symbols that could be seen in other denominations. ‘Anglicans in public life did not wear their religion on their sleeve ... Unlike (say) Baptists or Roman Catholics, their Anglicanism was rarely a part of their public life’ (Hilliard 2006:14). In comparison, Catholics used symbols more overtly, both visually and verbally and ‘nowhere more so than in worship and ritual’ (Stewart 2017). The Catholic faith revolves around the belief and understanding that prayer is intricately connected to worship and ritual. Catholic approaches to memorialisation pushed for active and engaged memorialisation on the part of the living on behalf of the dead to enhance and quicken their passing, in particular, to shorten the time spent in purgatory (Mytum 2013:162). This encouraged the use of symbols to reinforce prayer in all areas. With the particular belief

about enhancing the afterlife for the deceased, motifs/symbols on Catholic headstones would be expected and even encouraged (Mytum 2013:162-163).

In contrast, the beliefs held by Protestants and more specifically Anglicans was that there was no way to enhance or change the outcome of the deceased, and judgement would be based on how the deceased had lived their life and their faith throughout that life (Mytum 2013:162).

This suggests that there was not necessarily the same additional pressure or encouragement to use motifs in connection to memorialisation. The inference here is that, potentially, there will not be the same level of religious decoration on Anglican headstones as on Catholic headstones.

The more conservative Anglican mortuary behaviour becomes more observable when the use of religious motifs/symbols is considered (Figure 6.3). The use of religious motifs/symbols as headstone decoration was found to predominantly be used by the Catholic denomination in both urban (n=63) and rural (n=58) samples. The rural (n=11) and urban (n=12) Anglican samples had much lower numbers of headstones with religious motifs/symbols.

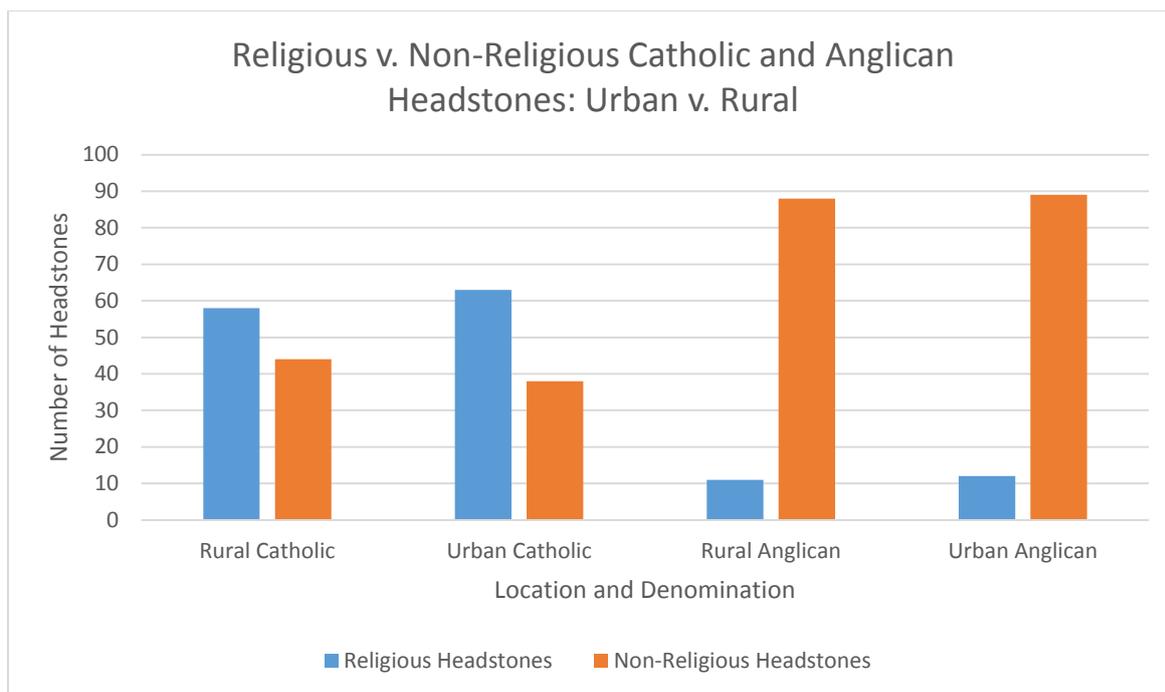


Figure 6.3 Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols Compared with Headstones with No Religious Motifs/Symbols in Late Nineteenth Century Rural and Urban Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Contexts, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Headstones that employed religious motifs/symbols (religious headstones) were compared with headstones that did not have religious motifs/symbols (non-religious headstones) and four variables returned statistically significant results: Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic ($p = 1.11089E-13$ at $\alpha 0.05$); Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic ($p = 8.14148E-12$ at $\alpha 0.05$); Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican ($p = 6.0117E-14$ at $\alpha 0.05$); and Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican ($p = 1.558E-11$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The urban Anglican data suggest that the preference was for non-religious headstones as opposed to religious headstones. This is in direct contrast to the urban Catholic data in which the trend was to have religious motifs/symbols on the headstones; however, the difference within the Catholic sample itself was not as large as in the Anglican sample. When the urban Catholic and urban Anglican data were analysed using a chi-square, the result was determined to be statistically significant in favour of religious headstone use by the urban Catholics ($p = 1.11089E-13$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The same trend can be seen when analysing the rural Catholic and Anglican data and this observable difference proved, again, to be statistically

significant with more rural Catholic headstones employing religious motifs/symbols than rural Anglican ($p = 8.14148E-12$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The statistical significance for the variables of use of religious versus non-religious headstones was also examined for the urban Catholic v. rural Anglican ($p = 6.0117E-14$ at $\alpha 0.05$) and urban Anglican v. rural Catholic contexts ($p = 1.558E-11$ at $\alpha 0.05$). Each found in favour of the use of religious headstones by Catholics, supporting the argument that the differences are not necessarily due to location but rather denominational preference towards the use of religious symbolism for headstone memorialisation.

The Catholic urban and rural samples had more religious headstones than not which seems to follow the denominational trends towards the memorialisation of the dead and the part that the living play when visiting the grave. In comparison, the urban and rural Anglican samples show that the trend for this denomination is towards less overt religious motif/symbol displays. Redfield's (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) "folk society" theory and Foster's (1953) folk-urban spectrum suggest that behaviours towards the folk end of the spectrum are traditional, strongly patterned and with a tendency towards conforming to the so called norm. It was suggested for this thesis that the pattern of conservative behaviour would be visible in the mortuary symbolism employed by the Anglican and Catholic Christian denominations in late nineteenth century rural cemeteries of South Australia. This is not supported by the data. There does not seem to be statistically significance evidence to support the hypothesis of urban and rural variation. Although some variation is visible and there is a difference in the number of motif/symbol groups between the urban and rural Catholic samples with the former employing more types of motifs/symbols, these differences are not statistically significant.

The urban v. rural analysis conducted between the Anglican and Catholic denominations suggested a statistically significant correlation between location, denomination and religious

motif/symbol use at first glance. However, instead of supporting rural conservativeness it suggests overall Anglican conservativeness and in both tests the Catholic denomination showed more innovation and variation than the Anglican denomination. In order to support Redfield's urban v rural hypothesis, the urban headstones for both the Anglican and Catholic samples should show more variation than the rural counterparts.

Male and female religious symbol use was examined to determine if there were statistically significant correlations between the sexes for the urban and rural Anglican and Catholic samples (Figure 6.4). The female urban and rural Catholic data show a statistically significant correlation between headstones with religious motifs and those without in favour of more urban Catholic female headstones than rural Catholic female headstones with religious motifs/symbols ($p = 0.03384$ at $\alpha 0.05$). This was the only intra-denominational chi-square test that returned a statistically significant result.

The urban Anglican and Catholic samples, rural Anglican and Catholic samples, rural Anglican and urban Catholic, and urban Anglican and rural Catholic variables were compared for the male and female religious and non-religious motif use. The urban and rural Catholic male samples have more headstones with religious motifs/symbols than urban and rural Anglican male samples, the differences are statistically significant (Table 6.1).

Cultural Contexts	P-Value
Urban Anglican Male v. Urban Catholic Male	0.000211
Rural Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male	0.000126
Urban Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male	0.00019
Rural Anglican Male v. Urban Catholic Male	0.000143

Table 6.1 Anglican and Catholic Male Chi-square Tests for Urban and Rural Cultural Contexts: Religious v. Non-Religious Motif Use, significant at $p < 0.05$

Having no religious motifs/symbols was the clear preference for male headstones within the Anglican denomination. The data show that more urban and rural Catholic female headstones employed religious motifs/symbols than the urban and rural Anglican female headstones and chi-square analysis determined that this is statistically significant (Table 6.2). The statistically

significant data support the hypothesis that the differences identified between Anglican and Catholic headstones are more likely a result of denominational differences/preferences than location based community behaviours.

Cultural Contexts	P-Value
Urban Anglican Female v. Urban Catholic Female	0.00004
Rural Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female	0.000038
Urban Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female	0.019039
Rural Anglican Female v. Urban Catholic Female	8.39E-09

Table 6.2 Anglican and Catholic Female Chi-square Tests for Urban and Rural Cultural Contexts: Religious v. Non-Religious Motif Use, significant at $p < 0.05$

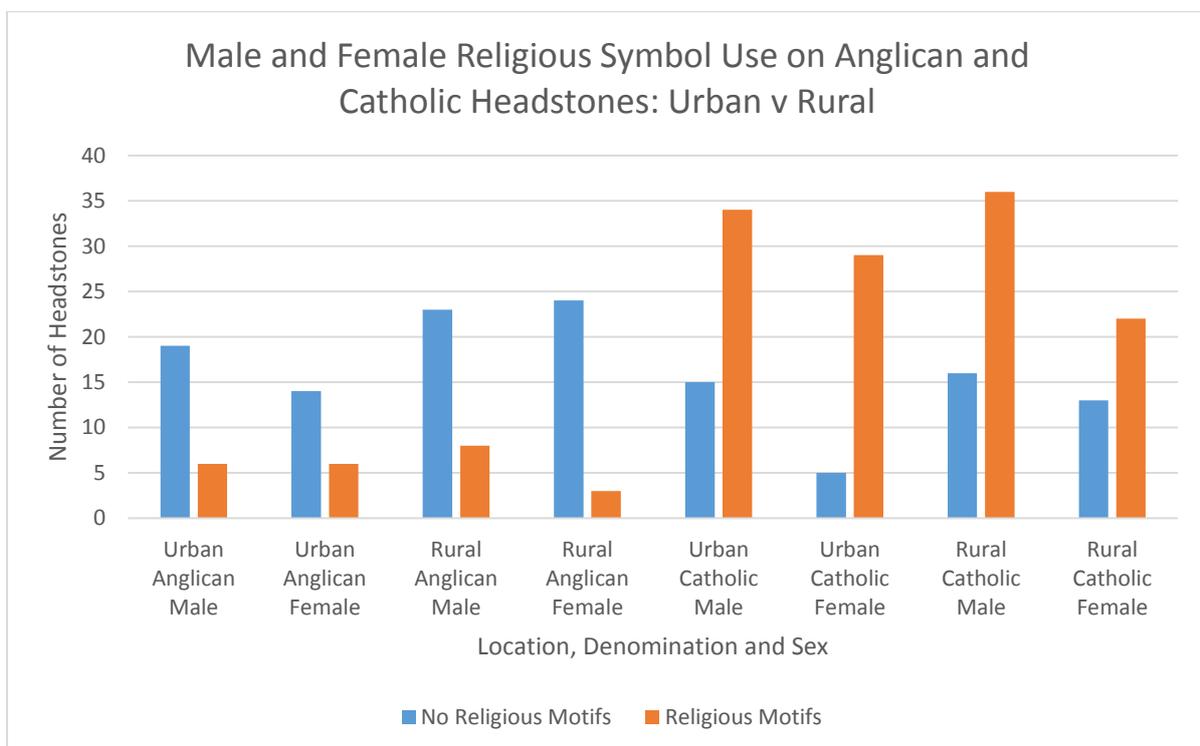


Figure 6.4 Male and Female Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia

Religious motifs/symbols were identified primarily on Adult (age 25-64 years) and Senior (age 65+ years) headstones. Young Adult (age 15-24 years) headstones with religious motifs/symbols were identified on the rural Anglican and urban and rural Catholic samples. Religious motifs/symbols were only found on the rural and urban Catholic headstones for the Child (age 5-14 years) and Unknown (no age indicator) categories. Only the urban Catholic headstones had Infant (age 0-4 years) headstones with religious motifs/symbols.

Figure 6.5 shows the number of headstones for the senior and adult age groups with religious motifs/symbols in the urban and rural Anglican and Catholic samples. The data show that in both the urban Anglican and urban Catholic samples, Adult headstones employed more religious motifs/symbols than the senior headstones. In contrast the rural Anglican and rural Catholic samples show that religious motifs/symbols were more common on senior headstones than on Adult headstones.

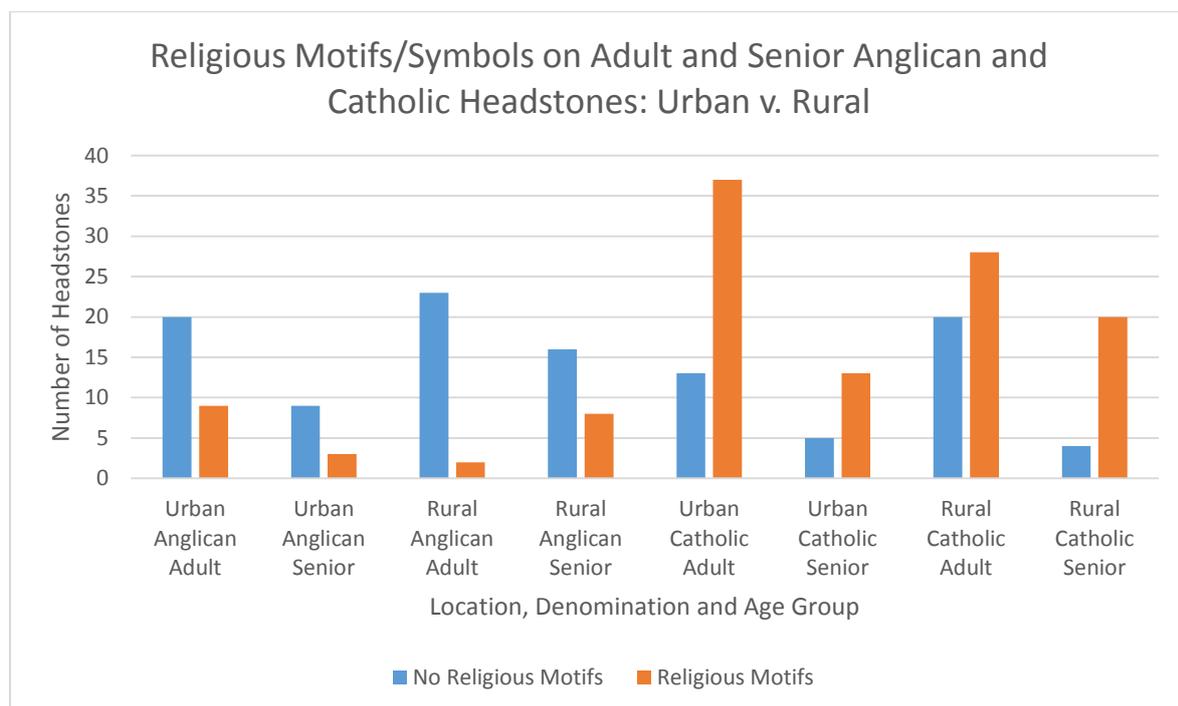


Figure 6.5 Adult and Senior Headstones with Religious Motifs/Symbols from Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Cemetery Samples, Adelaide Region, South Australia

The urban Anglican Adult headstones with religious motifs/symbols (n=9) were compared with the rural Anglican Adult headstones (n=2) and chi-square testing determined that there is a statistically significant correlation ($p = 0.036115$ at $\alpha 0.05$). This suggests that the variations in religious v. non-religious motif/symbol selection could potentially be influenced by location as well as denomination, at least for the Anglican Adult urban and rural samples.

Headstones with religious motifs/symbols were compared with the headstones that did not have religious motifs for both the urban and rural Anglican and Catholic Adult v. Adult, Senior v. Senior and Adult v. Senior variables. The Adult headstones compared with the

Senior headstones in the rural Catholic sample ($p = 0.033895$ at $\alpha 0.05$) were determined to have statistical significance, as did the Adult and Senior headstones in the rural Anglican sample ($p = 0.27869$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The proportion of urban and rural Adult Catholic headstones ($p = 0.00019$ at $\alpha 0.05$) with religious motifs/symbols is significantly higher than the proportion of urban and rural Anglican headstones, with the latter showing higher numbers of headstones without religious motifs/symbols ($p = 0.000034$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The urban and rural Senior Catholic headstones with religious motifs/symbols outnumber the urban and rural Senior Anglican headstones by more than double.

The Senior headstones for both the urban Anglican v. urban Catholic ($p = 0.01109$ at $\alpha 0.05$) and rural Anglican v. rural Catholic ($p = 0.000443$ at $\alpha 0.05$) samples returned statistically significant results. In both cases, greater use of religious symbols was associated with the Catholic denomination.

Urban v. rural comparisons were also conducted on the Adult headstones between the Anglican and Catholic samples, with the urban Adult Anglican v. rural Adult Catholic ($p = 0.020171$ at $\alpha 0.05$) and urban Adult Catholic v. rural Adult Anglican ($p = 6.9216E-08$ at $\alpha 0.05$) variables each testing as statistically significant. Of the Senior headstones only the urban Anglican v. rural Catholic variable returned a statistically significant result ($p = 6.9216E-08$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

6.1 Religious Motifs/Symbols

Several key religious symbols revealed themselves within the data and were found on headstones in both Anglican and Catholic samples: the cross, IHS, and the dove symbols. The cross is arguably the most well-known and widely used symbol, 'it is the supreme emblem of Christianity, symbolic of sacrifice and redemption' (Benson 1934:11). The sacrifice Jesus made on the cross as a sign of forgiveness, the slate wiped clean, a symbol of love and hope,

enhanced by his resurrection from the tomb three days later, offers a symbol encompassing forgiveness, love, hope and resurrection. The use of the cross in Protestant history is surrounded by some controversy, considered as not appropriate, with its use fluctuating over time (Dawn 2017; Mytum 2013:169). According to Mytum (2013:167), the cross symbol was popular with the Catholic denomination in the eighteenth century in Britain and Ireland.



Figure 6.6 Example of Cross in Recessed Circle Motif from St Joseph's Catholic Cemetery, Willunga, South Australia



Figure 6.7 Example of Cross Motif Variation from St Matthew's Catholic Cemetery, Birdwood, South Australia

The IHS and IHS and cross symbols rose from the Counter-Reformation movement with the Jesuits promoting its use with the cross becoming arguably one of the most widely known and understood symbols of devotion to the Catholic faith in Ireland (Mytum 2013; Smith 2002). With Irish and Catholic virtually synonymous in Australia and South Australia (O'Farrell 1985:3) it could be expected to find this symbol throughout the Catholic samples. The use of the IHS symbol became more popular with the Anglicans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but its use remained more dominant among Catholics.



Figure 6.8 Example of IHS Motif from St Matthew's Catholic Cemetery, Birdwood, South Australia

The dove is a Christian symbol of hope as well as a physical representation of the Holy Spirit. It was a symbol of hope sent to Noah signalling the end of the forty day and night flood. Noah sent the dove out three times to see whether the flood water had receded enough to show the land. It returned on the second day with an olive branch in its beak a symbol that God's punishment was over and the third day the dove did not return signalling that the ark could be left safely (Genesis 6-9). The dove came to Jesus on the day of his Baptism by John who preached,

After me comes he who is mightier than I, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to stoop down and untie. I have baptised you with water; but he will baptize you with

the Holy Spirit. In those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan. And when he came up out of the water, immediately he saw the heavens opened and the Spirit descending upon him *like a dove*; and a voice came from heaven, thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased (Mark 1:7-10 RVS).

This was reinforced in Matthew 3:16 RVS:

And when Jesus was baptized, he went up immediately from the water, and behold, the heavens were opened to him and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and alighting on him.



Figure 6.9 Example of Dove in Recessed Circle Motif, St Thomas' Anglican Cemetery, Balhannah, South Australia



Figure 6.10 Example of Dove Motif Variation, St Francis de Sales Catholic Cemetery, Mount Barker, South Australia

Figure 6.11 details the common religious elements and motifs/symbols found across all samples, the cross, the dove, and IHS.

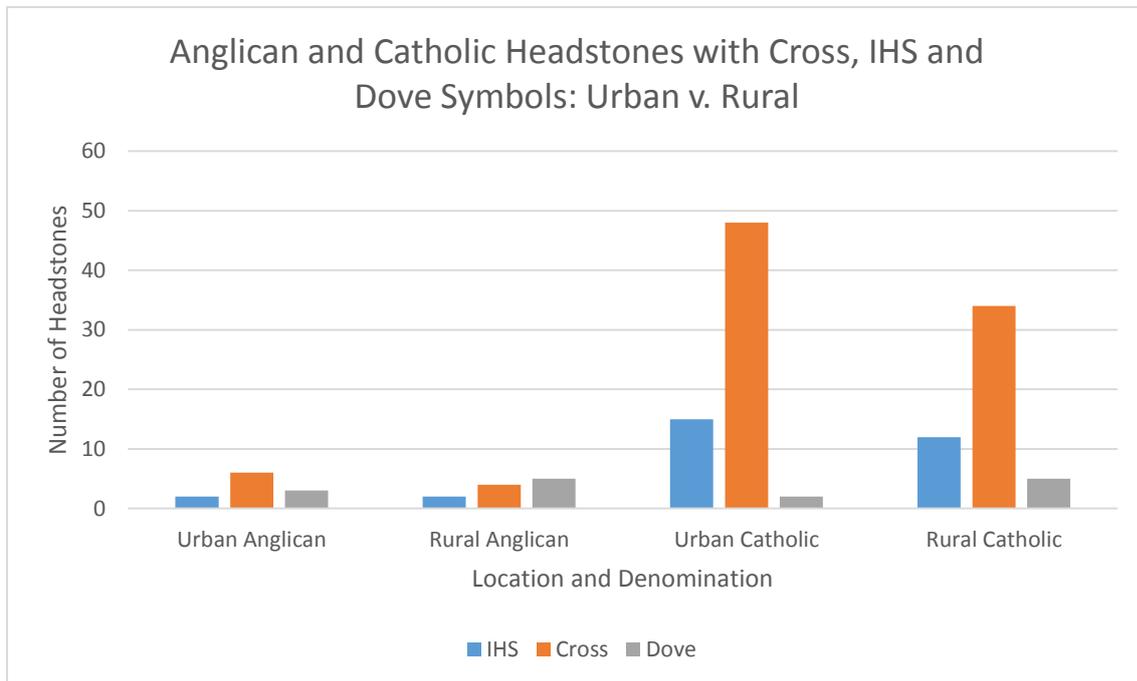


Figure 6.11 Most Common Religious Motifs/Symbols found on Late Nineteenth Century Urban and Rural Anglican and Catholic Headstones, Adelaide Region, South Australia

The urban and rural Catholic data include a number of religious motifs/symbols, the most common of which being the cross (individual), combination, cross and flowers/foilage, IHS, cross and IHS, cross in recessed circle/rounded shape, and cross and flowers/foilage in

recessed circle. Statistical analysis was conducted comparing the use of these motifs between the urban Catholic and rural Catholic samples. None proved to have statistical significance. However, when all the uses of the cross were compared to those that did not use it, this correlation was statistically significant ($p = 0.03936$ at $\alpha 0.05$) with more urban Catholic headstones ($n=48$) using the cross than rural Catholic headstones ($n=34$). The overall choice to have a cross on the headstones was not made by the majority of either the urban or rural Catholic sample, although there was only a sample number difference of five headstones between the urban Catholic data. The collective use of the dove compared with the collective use of the cross was not statistically significant.

The urban Anglican and urban Catholic data show five religious motifs/symbols that were found on headstones from each sample, with the cross, the dove, the angel/woman, combination and the IHS motifs/symbols presenting as common elements across many of the religious headstones. Unfortunately specific motifs/symbols could not be analysed between the urban Anglican and urban Catholic samples due to the low number of religious headstones in the former sample. The collective use of the cross and the dove symbols was analysed for the urban Anglican and urban Catholic sample and the result of the chi-square test determined this correlation statistically significant ($p = 0.003628$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The headstones that employed the cross were compared with the headstones with no cross with the preferences clear for each sample. The urban Catholic sample showed that headstones with the cross were favoured more so than the urban Anglican sample. Overall the headstones with no crosses outnumbered the number of headstones with crosses for both samples. This comparison proved to be statistically significant ($p = 3.0942E-11$ at $\alpha 0.05$). Comparisons were also conducted on the IHS symbol found on both urban Anglican ($n=2$) and urban Catholic ($n=15$) headstones where use of the symbol was dominated by the

Catholic sample. When compared with headstones that did not use IHS, chi-square analysis determined statistical significance ($p = 0.00106$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The rural Anglican and rural Catholic data show that headstones have four religious motifs/symbols in common. There are common elements such as the cross and the dove symbols. The IHS symbol was found in both samples with a more dominant showing in the rural Catholic sample.

The rural Catholic and Anglican data show that the cross symbol was used by both denominations as headstone motif; however, the Anglican headstones employed it far less than the Catholic headstones. The cross was used a total of four times within the entire rural Anglican sample ($n=99$), and a total of 34 times within the entire rural Catholic sample ($n=102$). Chi-square analysis conducted comparing the headstones that employed the cross as motif and those that did not employ the cross returned a statistically significant result for the rural Anglican and Catholic data ($p = 1.1334E-07$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The headstones with the dove motif were compared with the headstones with the cross motifs for the rural Anglican and rural Catholic samples. For both the dove and the cross, the rural Catholic headstones outnumbered the rural Anglican headstones and this difference is statistically significant ($p = 0.004433$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The IHS symbol was again favoured by the Catholic denomination ($n=12$) over the Anglican denomination ($n=1$), although both samples had a significantly higher number of headstones that did not use this symbol. Chi-square analysis determined a statistically significant correlation between these factors for the rural Catholic and Anglican samples ($p = 0.00194$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The religious motif/symbol data were also analysed in terms of Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic and Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican. There were seven motifs/symbols common to both the urban Anglican and rural Catholic samples and each was more numerous on the

Catholic headstones than the Anglican. However, religious elements were once again common throughout the samples such as the cross, IHS and the dove. Statistically significant results were returned for chi-square analysis comparing headstones that used the cross and headstones that did not use the cross with the rural Catholic sample showing a far higher number of headstones with the cross than the urban Anglican sample ($p = 0.000001$ at $\alpha 0.05$). Significant results were also determined for headstones with the IHS symbol and headstones without the symbol, the use of this symbol in favour of Catholic headstones compared to Anglican ($p = 0.006294$ at $\alpha 0.05$). Chi-square analysis of headstones with the dove compared with headstones with the cross for the urban Anglican and rural Catholic samples was *not* statistically significant ($p = 0.136641$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

There are only three motifs/symbols that were found on headstones from both the urban Catholic and rural Anglican samples, with the common elements of the cross, the dove and IHS across many of the motif/symbol groups. The low number of rural Anglican headstones with religious motifs/symbols meant that individual motif/symbol analysis could not be conducted for the majority of the samples. Headstones with the cross and flowers/foilage motif/symbol and the combination motif/symbol were analysed but are not statistically significant for the urban Catholic v. rural Anglican variable. Headstones with the cross, favoured by urban Catholics, were compared against those without the cross, favoured by rural Anglicans, with these differences proving to be statistically significant ($p = 2.3899E-12$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The same test was conducted comparing the headstones with the IHS symbol against without, and is statistically significant ($p = 0.000309$ at $\alpha 0.05$). The dove motif compared to the cross motifs proved to be statistically significant in favour of the cross for the urban Catholic sample ($p = 0.000011$ at $\alpha 0.05$).

The data show that the cross was a dominant symbol that was used in many different motif groups and was a major component of the religious motifs/symbols in the urban and rural Catholic samples. In contrast, the cross was not as dominant on the Anglican urban and rural headstones; however, overall the number of headstones with religious motifs/symbols was just over ten percent for both samples. This indicates that there may be a wider denominational reason that is not specific to the use of the cross symbol itself but rather to do with religious decoration of headstones in general.

With the significance placed on the IHS symbol in the literature as a well-known symbol of Catholic devotion, it was thought that this symbol would be more dominant throughout the Catholic samples. Collectively, the symbol in all its variations only accounted for 23.80% of the urban religious sample and 14.85% of the total urban Catholic sample. Of the Catholic rural religious sample, IHS collectively accounted for 20.68% and 11.76% of the total rural Catholic sample. While not as dominant as predicted, IHS is still clearly a symbol associated with Catholicism in the Adelaide region of South Australia, particularly when compared against the urban and rural Anglican samples for the same area.

The trend identified by Mytum (2013) for the growing popularity of the IHS symbol with the Protestants and Anglicans in Britain and Ireland is not one that is supported the South Australian data. Instead the Anglican use of the IHS symbol seems to be present as an outlier in the sample; however, a larger Anglican sample is required to determine South Australian Anglican trends for this symbol. The dove, while not present on many headstones, was a common element for both the Anglican and Catholic samples and in contrast to the other symbols, it occurred on more Anglican than Catholic headstones in the urban sample, and it occurred equally between the rural Anglican and Catholic samples.

7.0 Conclusions

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was an air of competitive status display within mortuary behaviours in South Australia (Denny 1994). With no changes in mortuary reform taking place in South Australia until the turn of the century, much of the attitudes towards death focused on creating as big a spectacle as could be afforded from the coffin to the funeral procession to the headstone and grave surrounds (Curl 1972; Nicol 1985, 1986, 1992). This was born out of the desire to re-establish the British customs, fashions and practices of Victorian status display (Denny 1994:4).

South Australian Anglicans adjusted to the removal of state funding the church had previously been afforded, and grew into the new colony, becoming part of ‘every place and in every class’ (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212). The shifting trend of South Australian social leadership towards Anglican members meant the number of Anglican upper class members also grew (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212). Large proportions of Anglican adherents were found in the larger country towns such as Mount Gambier and Gawler as well as in the upper class suburbs of Adelaide surrounds (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212). In a time of competitive status display, it would follow that the Anglicans would employ the use of more ostentatious displays to demonstrate their wealth and high social standing. It could also be argued that the struggle the Anglican denomination had to establish itself to the previous standard of that experienced in Britain in the religiously free and diverse colony of South Australia would potentially incite the desire and need to differentiate the Anglican denomination from others. However, Hilliard (2006:14) has suggested that this was not necessarily the case as he argues that Anglicans were much more conservative with their religion in their public social lives, not wearing ‘their religion on their sleeve’.

The data from this thesis support Hilliard's (2006) account of Anglican behaviour as being more conservative and not showing their religious devotion in overt and ostentatious ways. The urban Anglican data show that the number of headstones with motifs/symbols was outnumbered by the number of headstones without motifs/symbols and the rural Anglican data demonstrate that in this sample the opposite was true. When the motifs/symbols were investigated for religious symbols, both samples had less than 15% of the headstones employing these religiously associated symbols. This indicates that there was seemingly no denominational or personal desire to promote their Anglican beliefs or differentiate their headstones from others by using religious motifs/symbols.

The Catholic denomination has a documented history of suppression, discrimination and persecution preventing religious displays through rituals and worship as well as symbols in public and private life (Marin 1999; Mytum 2013; O'Farrell 1987). According to O'Farrell, the Irish, being 'virtually synonymous with Catholic' (O'Farrell 1985:3), in Britain had not been able to show 'visible external signs of Catholicism – a distinctively garbed priesthood, nuns, convents, processions – ... since the seventeenth century' (1987:17).

A people so long denied wealth and the opportunity to pursue it, so long inured to hardship and deprivation, had made a virtue of this necessity and they believed their religion confirmed such values (O'Farrell 1987:21).

With the arrival of Catholicism in a colony built on the promise of religious freedom and diversity the door was open to show the beliefs and rituals long suppressed in overt and physically visible ways. The Catholic denomination, in comparison to Anglicanism, was more overt in its use of symbols, particularly in the rituals and worship, with the churches filled with images and symbols of the Catholic saints (Stewart 2017).

The data from this thesis supports the idea that the Catholic denomination employed visibly overt and ostentatious symbol use. Both the urban and rural Catholic data show that the number of headstones with motifs/symbols as decoration far outnumber the headstones without motifs/symbols (Urban 83:18, Rural 87:15). When the headstones were analysed for religious symbols, over 50% had employed religiously associated symbols. This indicates a Catholic denominational preference for the use of motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols in particular on their headstones as a means of showing religious devotion to the Catholic faith.

South Australia was built from the capital city of Adelaide out to the surrounding country areas developing the urban centre before there was rural economy. The data do not support Redfield's (1940, 1947, 1953, 1955) theory of distinct and visible differences between urban centres and rural communities particularly within patterns of behaviour. Analyses conducted investigated urban v. rural variations between the Catholic denomination and the Anglican denomination as well as within each denomination e.g. Catholic v. Catholic and Anglican v. Anglican. While there were statistically significant correlations found between urban and rural Anglican and Catholic samples, these did not lend to the concept of urban v. rural variations and conservative rural behaviour but rather towards denominational variations. The reason for this was that each analysis demonstrated greater use of headstone symbolism among the Catholic samples, both rural and urban, compared to the Anglican samples. The Catholic samples showed more motif/symbol use and more variation on their headstones.

Religious motifs/symbols were present on more Catholic headstones than Anglican headstones. No religious symbol presented as specific to either denomination as even the widely known and recognisable Catholic IHS symbol was found on headstones from both the Anglican and Catholic samples. There were overall motif differences in how certain symbols were used and in the way they were presented on the headstones resulting in overall motif

variations between the urban and rural Catholic and Anglican samples. The lack of consistency in their use and the fact that many of these motifs were only present on one or two headstones suggests that while there is significance in the use of specific symbols such as the cross, dove and IHS, there is less emphasis on how they are used.

The collective use of the cross identifies it as the most common religious symbol for the urban Catholic, rural Catholic and urban Anglican samples, while the collective use of the dove identified it as the most common religious symbol for the rural Anglican sample. The cross is arguably the most well-known and widely used Christian symbol in the world. It fell in and out of favour with the Protestant and Anglican adherents over time and it seems that although a popular symbol on the small number of religious Anglican headstones, it was not in high favour as headstone decoration during the 1870-1899 period in South Australia.

The IHS symbol was found on headstones from both Anglican and Catholic samples. It was more common on headstones from the urban and rural Catholic samples, although given the strong Catholic association it was expected to be found across more of the Catholic samples. The IHS symbol was found on a small number of Anglican headstones with religious motifs, two urban Anglican and one rural Anglican headstone. Analyses determined that there was a statistically significant correlation between the having IHS and not having IHS in favour of the Catholic urban and rural samples over the urban and rural Anglican samples. It does not seem that the trend towards Anglican use of the IHS symbol on their headstones identified in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and Ireland was translated to use on South Australian Anglican headstones. The dove is another widely known and utilised Christian symbol with an equal number of headstones employing its use in the rural Catholic and rural Anglican samples although it was the only religious symbol that appeared on more urban Anglican headstones than urban Catholic.

The male and female data support the theory that the differences between rural and urban Anglican and Catholic religious symbol use are more likely to do with denominational factors than location based community behaviours. Urban and rural male and female Catholic headstones showed greater use of religious motifs/symbols than the corresponding Anglican samples. Male headstones show more religious motifs/symbols in the rural Anglican and Catholic samples compared with the urban, in contrast, the female headstones show more religious motifs/symbols on the urban Anglican and Catholic headstones. However, the female urban and female rural Catholic sample suggest a possible trend within Catholic mortuary headstone decoration, religious v. non-religious, which may be influenced by locational factors. However, further research using more sex focused data (male v. female) is required to determine the extent of variations between urban and rural female headstones.

The use of religious motifs/symbols in the urban Catholic and Anglican samples was more dominant on the Adult headstones compared to the Senior headstones, while the opposite trend was observed in the rural samples. The data suggest that the use of religious motifs/symbols on Anglican and Catholic Adult and Senior headstones was not connected to the rural or urban location but rather to the behaviour of the wider denominational community. One potential exception to this was the urban Adult and rural Adult Anglican headstones where the correlation between the religious and non-religious motifs/symbols and Anglican sample location was statistically significant. Catholic preference to the use of overt and ostentatious religious motif/symbol display on the headstones was found across both samples with the Anglican denomination seemingly shying away from the overt displays of memorialisation, potentially due to the differences in beliefs about death and the afterlife.

Overall, the dominant Anglican and minority Catholic denominations did not employ different symbols to identify and differentiate members of their religious group on the headstones, instead the identification and differentiation focused on the use of religious

motifs/symbols as a whole. It seems that while the Catholic denomination produced more overt and ostentatious religious headstone decorations, the Anglican denomination preferred to not employ motifs/symbols, religious or otherwise, on their headstones. This held true for both the urban and rural samples for each denomination with religious elements being predominantly a Catholic pattern. Between the urban and rural samples, the latter does not seem to be more conservative with regard to headstone decoration than the former within each denomination. However there are indications that a potential trend exists between the Urban Catholic and Rural Anglican samples when looking at the number of religious motif/symbol groups and the number of non-religious motif/symbol groups, in favour of high variation in the urban Catholic sample and low variation in the Rural Anglican sample. The trends seem to be primarily associated with Anglican and Catholic religious traditions and beliefs than rural and urban variations.

This research attempted to address the gap in current cemetery research by investigating religious symbols on headstones from rural and urban Anglican and Catholic South Australian cemeteries. Religion and religious symbol use as decoration and differentiation on headstones is not an area that has previously been explored in detail. With current and previous cemetery research focussing more on the social, economic and physical landscapes of cemeteries my thesis presents an important contribution as it shows that within South Australia denominational distinction and differences were present in the urban and rural Anglican and Catholic samples.

7.1 Future Research Directions

The Anglican and Catholic denominations within South Australia had a deep history entwined with the development of the state and its growth as a religiously free and diverse land. The Methodist denomination was a part of this history with a fast growth in South Australia where in some areas, the adherents of Methodism was more than the adherents of

Anglicanism and Catholicism. Future research investigating differences and similarities between these three denominations, their mortuary behaviour and use of motifs/symbols as decoration and differentiation on the headstones could expand on religious trends in rural versus urban contexts within South Australia. This could also be addressed by using more remote and regional South Australian cemetery samples to determine potential urban v. rural differences within a wider geographical context. Introducing a temporal element to the research into urban versus rural denominational motifs/symbol use would allow for spatial and temporal typologies in the way of Deetz and Dethlefsen to potentially be created.

8.0 References

- Adamson, M. 2011 *Sex and Death: The Female Grave in Colonial South Australia (1836-1936)*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Humanities, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Adelaide Hills Parish nd *St Matthews, Birdwood*. Retrieved 24 January 2018 from < <http://adelaidehillsparish.com.au/our-churches/history-of-our-churches/?view=mobile> >.
- Anonymous a. December 21 1839 New township near Mount Barker. *South Australian Register (Adelaide, SA: 1839-1900)*, p.2. Adelaide. Retrieved 11 November 2017 from < <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27441063> >.
- Anonymous b. January 19 1839 Settlement at Mount Barker. *South Australia Gazette and Colonial Register (Adelaide, SA: 1836-1839)*, p.2. Adelaide. Retrieved 11 November 2017 from < <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/2052597> >.
- Anson, T.J. 2004 *The Bioarchaeology of the St. Mary's Free Ground Burials: Reconstruction of Colonial South Australian Lifeways*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anatomical Sciences, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Australian Data Archive 2012a *Abstract of Census Returns, 1844*. Retrieved 17 February 2016 from < http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/SA-1844-census-01_1 >.
- Australian Data Archive 2012b *HCCDA Document 'SA-1901-census' page 362*. Retrieved 17 February 2016 from < http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/SA-1901-census-01_362 >.
- Bauer, A., J.T. Hannibal, C.B. Hanson and J.V. Elmore 2002 Distribution in time, provenance, and weathering of gravestones in three North-eastern Ohio cemeteries. *Ohio Journal of Science* 102(4):82-96.
- Baughner, S.B. and R.F. Veit 2014 *The Archaeology of American Cemeteries and Gravemarkers*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Benson, G.W. 1934 *The Cross: Its History and Symbolism*. Buffalo: Privately Printed.
- Catholic Parish of Willunga 2018 *Parish Cemeteries*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from < http://www.willungaparish.org.au/parish_cemeteries.html >.
- Curl, J.S. 1972 *The Victorian Celebration of Death*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- Curthoys, P. 2002 State support for the Churches 1836-1860. In B. Kaye (ed), *Anglicanism in Australia*, pp.31-51. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press.
- Dawn, R.P. 2017 *Religion Library: Anglican/Episcopalian*. Retrieved 2 June 2017 from < <http://www.patheos.com/library/anglican> >.
- Denny, M.L. 1994 *Gravestone Iconography and Social Class*. Unpublished Honours thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Humanities, Flinders University, Adelaide.

- Deetz, J. 1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing.
- Dethlesfen, E.S. 1969 Colonial gravestones and demography. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 31:321-334.
- Dethlefsen, E.S. 1981 The cemetery of change: Archaeological focus and ethnographic perspective. In R.A. Gould and M.B. Schiffer (eds), *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, pp.137-160. New York: Academic Press.
- Dethlefsen, E.S. and J. Deetz 1966 Death's heads, cherubs, willow trees: Experimental archaeology in colonial cemeteries. *American Antiquity* 31(4):502-510.
- Dethlefsen, E.S. and J. Deetz 1971 Some social aspects of New England colonial mortuary art. *Memoirs of a Society for American Archaeology* (25):30-38.
- Donovan, P. and B. Rowney 1991 Salisbury Heritage Survey: Department of Environment and Planning. Unpublished report prepared for the City of Salisbury, Salisbury.
- Farrell, Z.K. 2003 Sacred to the Memory: An Archaeological Investigation into Emotion and Ideology within two Regional Cemeteries. Unpublished BArch(Hons) thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Fitts, R.K. 1990 *Puritans, yankees, and gravestones: A linguistic analysis of New England gravestones inscriptions*. Columbia: University of South Carolina.
- Fletcher, B. 2002 The Anglican ascendancy 1788-1835. In B. Kaye (ed), *Anglicanism in Australia*, pp.7-30. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press.
- Funnell, D.C. 1988 Urban-rural linkages: Research themes and directions. *Human Geography* 70(2):267-274.
- Foster, G.M. 1953 What is folk culture? *American Anthropologist* 55(2):159-173.
- Gargett K. and S. Marsden 1996 *Adelaide: A Brief History*. Adelaide: Van Gastel Printing Pty. Ltd.
- Gibbs, R.M. 1984 *A History of South Australia: From Colonial Days to the Present*. Hong Kong: Peacock Publications.
- Gorman, F.J.E. and M. DiBlasi 1981 Gravestone iconography and mortuary ideology. *Ethnohistory* 28(1):79-98.
- Hall, D.D. 1977 The gravestone image as Puritan cultural code. In *Puritan Gravestone Art: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings Vol. 1*, pp.23-33. Boston: Boston University Press.
- Harvey, T. 2006 Sacred spaces, common places: The cemetery in the contemporary American city. *Geographical Review* 96(2):295-312.
- Hems, O. 2016 Dominant Ideologies: A Study of Social Class and Status in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, South Australia.

Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Education, Humanities and Law, Flinders University, Adelaide.

- Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 2012 *Document SA 1881 Census*. Retrieved 17 February 2016 from < http://hccda.adelaide.edu.au/pages/SA-1881-census-02_220 >.
- Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 2012 *Document SA 1901 Census*. Retrieved 17 February 2016 from < http://hccda.adelaide.edu.au/pages/SA-1901-census-01_362 >.
- Heinrich, A.R. 2003 “Remember me...” but “be mindfull 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.
- Hilliard, D. 2000 The Catholic church and the community in Adelaide. In F. Gale, *Making Space: Women and Education at St Aloysius College Adelaide 1880-2000*, pp.1-20. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.
- Hilliard, D. 2006 Anglicans in South Australian public life. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 34:5-16.
- Hilliard, D. and A.D. Hunt 1986 Strands in the social fabric: Religion. In E. Richards (ed), *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. 1*. Pp-194-234. Netley; Wakefield Press.
- Hilliard, D. nd *The Catholic Church in South Australia*. Retrieved 3 March 2017 from < <http://www.adelaide.catholic.org.au/our-people/archbishop-wilson/history> >.
- Jose, G.H. 1937 *The Church of England in South Australia 1836-1856*. Adelaide: Church Office.
- Keister, D. 2004 *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith.
- Marcus, A. 2012 “Gone but not Forgotten”: A Study of Gravestone Imagery and Iconography in Southwest Virginian Cemeteries. *Undergraduate Research Awards, Hollands University Department of Sociology* (12):1-20.
- Marin, P. 1998 Gravestones and Graveyards: An Archaeological Examination of Commemoration Practices in South Australia: 1836-1979. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Cultural Studies, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Marsden, S. 1986 Metropolitan Adelaide: A short history. In J. Walker (ed), *South Australia's History*, pp.87-100. Netley: Department of Environment and Planning and Government Printing Division.
- Martin, V.S. 1892 *Mostly Mount Barker in South Australia: Aspects of the Early History of the District Including Blakiston*. Adelaide: Gillingham Printers Pty Ltd.
- Matic, A.M. 2003 ‘Here I Lie because I am Poor’: The History and Archaeology of the St. Mary’s Anglican Churchyard Pauper Cemetery. Unpublished MA thesis, Department

- of Archaeology, School of Education, Humanities, Law and Theology, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- McEgan, J. 2017 Irish Graves of South Australia's Mid-North, 1850-1899: An Examination of Cultural Significance. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Education, Humanities and Law, Flinders University, Adelaide
- McGuire, R.H. 1988 Dialogues with the dead: Ideology and the cemetery. In M.P. Leone and P.B. Parker (eds), *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, pp.435-480. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Morris, R. 2013 *Mt Barker-Strathalbyn Catholic Parish: Our History*. Retrieved 11 November 2017 from < <https://www.barkerstrathcatholic.com/parish-history.html> >.
- Muller, S.W. 2006 Colonial Experiences of Death and Burial: The Landscape Archaeology of West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Unpublished Honours thesis, Department of Archaeology, School of Education, Humanities and Law, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Murray, L. 2003 'Modern innovations?' Ideal vs. reality in colonial cemeteries of nineteenth-century New South Wales. *Mortality* 8(2):129-143.
- Mytum, H.C. 2004 *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period*. New York: Plenum.
- Mytum, H.C. 2009 Mortality symbols in action: Protestant and Catholic memorials in early-eighteenth-century West Ulster. *Historical Archaeology* 43(1):160-180.
- Mytum, H.C. 2013 Faith in action: Theology and practice in commemorative traditions. In J. Symonds, A. Badcock and J. Oliver (eds), *Historical Archaeologies of Cognition: Explorations into Faith, Hope and Charity*, pp.161-175. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd.
- National Trust 2009 Guidelines for Cemetery Conservation. Unpublished report prepared for the Heritage Council of New South Wales.
- Nicol, R. 1987 Aspects of Death and Burial in the Colony of South Australia 1836-1901. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Nicol, R. 1992 *The Ritual of Death in Colonial South Australia*. Adelaide: Cummins Society.
- Nicol, R. 1994 *At the End of the Road: Government, Society and the Disposal of Human Remains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd.
- O'Farrell, P. 1985 *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*. Kensington: New South Wales University Press.
- O'Farrell, P. 1987 *The Irish in Australia*. Kensington: New South Wales University Press.

- Onkaparinga City 2010a *Willunga: European History and Heritage – Suburb Profile*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from <
http://onkaparingacity.com/onka/discover/history_heritage/history_of_onkaparinga/suburb_profiles/history_profile_willunga.jsp >
- Onkaparinga City 2010b *European History and Heritage – Suburb Profile*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from <
http://onkaparingacity.com/onka/discover/history_heritage/history_of_onkaparinga/suburb_profiles/history_profile_morphett_vale.jsp >
- Onkaparinga City 2010c *Built Heritage Property Details: Site of Mary help of Christians (St Mary's) Catholic Church*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from
 < http://www.onkaparingacity.com/builtheritage/heritage_details.asp?ID=39 >
- Onkaparinga City 2010d *Built Heritage Property Details: Site of St Stephen's Church & Willunga Cemetery*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from
 < http://www.onkaparingacity.com/builtheritage/heritage_details.asp?ID=347 >.
- Onkaparinga City 2010e *Built Heritage Property Details: Site of St Ann's Anglican Church*. Retrieved 23 January 2018 from
 < http://www.onkaparingacity.com/builtheritage/heritage_details.asp?ID=108 >.
- Pate, D. 2006 Population Expansion in Early Colonial Adelaide as Reflected in Gravestones and Cemetery Monuments, 1836-1865. In P. Smith, D. Pate and R. Martin (eds), *Valleys of Stone: The Archaeology and History of Adelaide's Hills Face*, pp.56-68. Belair: Kopi Books.
- Peake, A.G. 1986 *The History and Records of West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide*. Australia: Author published.
- Pike, D. 1967 *Paradise of Dissent*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Pty Ltd.
- Pope, A. 2003a Torrens Valley Heritage Survey – Part 2 – Local Heritage Recommendations. Unpublished report prepared for the Adelaide Hills Council, Adelaide Hills.
- Pope, A. 2003b Onkaparinga Valley Heritage Survey (Revised Edition, 2003) Part 1. Unpublished report prepared for the Adelaide Hills Council, Adelaide Hills.
- Pope, A and C. Booth DC Mount Barker Heritage Survey (2004) Part 1. Unpublished report prepared for the District Council of Mount Barker, Mount Barker.
- Press, M.M. 1986 *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836 to 1905*. Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Redfield, R. 1940 The folk society and culture. *American Journal of Sociology* 45(5):731-742.
- Redfield, R. 1947 The folk society. *American Journal of Sociology* 52(4):293-308.
- Redfield, R. 1953 The natural history of the folk society. *Social Forces* 31(3):224-228.
- Redfield, R 1955 The social organisation of tradition. *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15(1):13-21.

- Ryan, J. 1992 *The Egyptian Obelisk as a Tombstones in Two New England Cemeteries*. Unpublished MA thesis, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Sayer, D. 2010 Who's afraid of the dead? Archaeology, modernity and the death taboo. *World Archaeology* 42(3):481-491.
- Smith, J.C. 2002 *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- State Library of South Australia 2005 *St James Church, Blakiston*. Retrieved 24 January 2018 from < <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+7662> >.
- State Library of South Australia 2016 *Blumberg*. Retrieved 24 January 2018 from < <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning/pn/b/blumberg.htm> >.
- Stangroom, J 2018 *Chi-square Calculator*. Retrieved 10 December 2017 from < <http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/chisquare/Default2.aspx> >.
- Stewart, C. 2017 *Religion Library: Roman Catholic*. Retrieved 2 June 2017 from < <http://www.patheos.com/library/roman-catholicism> >.
- Stone, G. 2009 Sacred landscapes: Material evidence of ideological and ethnic choice in Long Island, New York, gravestones, 1680-1800. *Historical Archaeology* 43(1):142-159.
- Thomas, D. 1990 The edge of the city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 15(2):131-138.
- Trigger, B. 2006 *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Viet, R.F., S.B. Baugher and G.P. Scharfenberger 2009 Historical archaeology of religious sites and cemeteries. *Historical Archaeology* 43(1):1-11.
- Watkins, M.G. 2002 The cemetery and cultural memory: Montreal, 1860-1900. *Urban History Review* 31(1):53-63.
- Willunga Parish 2016 *Catholic Parish of Willunga: St Joseph's*. Retrieved 2 March 2016 from < <http://www.willungaparish.org.au/willunga.html> >.
- Zelinsky, W. 2007 The gravestone index: Tracking personal religiosity across nations, religions and periods. *Geographical Review* 97(4):441-466.

9.0 Appendices Part A

9.1 Headstone Recording Form

CEMETERY RECORDING FORM			DENOMINATION:		GRAVE No (or REF No.):			
SITE/LOCATION: <input style="width:100%;" type="text"/>			<input type="checkbox"/> Catholic <input type="checkbox"/> Uniting <input type="checkbox"/> Anglican <input type="checkbox"/> Jewish <input type="checkbox"/> Presbyt. <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Baptist <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> Methodist					
RECORDER/S: <input style="width:100%;" type="text"/>					MAIN FAMILY NAME			
DATE OF RECORDING: <input style="width:100%;" type="text"/>								
PLOT TYPE:		LIST OF BURIALS:		DATE OF DEATH:		MARKER FORM:		
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual (Single) <input type="checkbox"/> Double (2 people) <input type="checkbox"/> Group (>2) Total number of interments in this plot: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> Total number of headstones in this plot: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/>		1..... 2..... 3..... 4..... 5..... 6..... 7..... 8.....		<input type="checkbox"/> Tablet (upright slab) <input type="checkbox"/> Horizontal slab <input type="checkbox"/> Block <input type="checkbox"/> Obelisk/pillar <input type="checkbox"/> Statue/sculpture <input type="checkbox"/> Cross <input type="checkbox"/> Combination Other: Nat. Trust Guide No.: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/>		MARKER SHAPE (sketch): <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100%;"></div>		
								OTHER ASSOC. PLOTS? <input type="checkbox"/> No Name/Ref. No: <input style="width:100%;" type="text"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes
MONUMENT SIZE:			COLOUR OF HEADSTONE:					
TOTAL HEIGHT: <input style="width:100%;" type="text"/> (cm)		Plinth: Height: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> (cm) Depth: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> (cm) Headstone/monument: Height: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> (cm) Depth: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> (cm) Width: <input style="width:50px;" type="text"/> (cm)		<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> Pink <input type="checkbox"/> Grey				
MATERIAL:		FENCE/BORDER:		FENCE/BORDER HEIGHT:		INCLUDES FOOTSTONE:		
<input type="checkbox"/> Slate <input type="checkbox"/> Sandstone <input type="checkbox"/> Marble <input type="checkbox"/> Brick <input type="checkbox"/> Granite <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete/Cement <input type="checkbox"/> Cast iron <input type="checkbox"/> Timber <input type="checkbox"/> Tile <input type="checkbox"/> Other:		<input type="checkbox"/> NONE <input type="checkbox"/> Cast iron picket <input type="checkbox"/> Timber picket <input type="checkbox"/> Brick border <input type="checkbox"/> Stone border <input type="checkbox"/> Tile border <input type="checkbox"/> Other:		<input style="width:100%;" type="text"/> (cm) LETTERING: <input type="checkbox"/> Engraved <input type="checkbox"/> Lead <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> Engraved & Painted <input type="checkbox"/> Painted only		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Photos <input type="checkbox"/> Plantings <input type="checkbox"/> Statues <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> Tiles <input type="checkbox"/> Shells		
MOTIFS: <input type="checkbox"/> NONE		<input type="checkbox"/> Ribbon <input type="checkbox"/> Ivy <input type="checkbox"/> Masonic <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please list): <input type="checkbox"/> Angel <input type="checkbox"/> Dove <input type="checkbox"/> Other foliage <input type="checkbox"/> War service <input type="checkbox"/> Wreath <input type="checkbox"/> Flowers <input type="checkbox"/> Book <input type="checkbox"/> Pillar/urn <input type="checkbox"/> Hands <input type="checkbox"/> Tree <input type="checkbox"/> Cross <input type="checkbox"/> Anchor		Detail of motifs (i.e type of flower/leaf/cross etc):				
INSCRIPTION (Please record exactly as it reads, i.e. line by line and in same spatial order):				STYLE OF LANGUAGE:		KEY WORDING		
				<input type="checkbox"/> Emotive <input type="checkbox"/> Biographical <input type="checkbox"/> Factual <input type="checkbox"/> Religious		(select more than one if required): <input type="checkbox"/> Sacred to the memory of <input type="checkbox"/> In loving memory of/ In memory of <input type="checkbox"/> Beloved <input type="checkbox"/> Re-union/re-united <input type="checkbox"/> Resting/sleeping <input type="checkbox"/> Religious <input type="checkbox"/> Personalised inscription <input type="checkbox"/> Passed away/leaving <input type="checkbox"/> War Service <input type="checkbox"/> No embellishment <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):		
				TENSE/AUTHOR:		BURIAL(S) DESCRIBED IN RELATION TO:		
				<input type="checkbox"/> Written in first person ('I', 'me') <input type="checkbox"/> Written in third person ('He', 'she') <input type="checkbox"/> Written by spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Written by children <input type="checkbox"/> Written by friend/other <input type="checkbox"/> War Service		<input type="checkbox"/> Family patriarch <input type="checkbox"/> Order of death <input type="checkbox"/> Position within family unit (e.g. mother, son, wife) <input type="checkbox"/> Unrelated to others		
				PHOTOS:		MASON:		
						TOWN:		

9.2 Common Headstone Symbols

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION

PART TWO - WHAT

LIST OF GRAVE SYMBOLS

Acorn	- English descent
Angel	- Messenger of God
Anchor	- Hope or security; <u>or</u> a sailor's grave
Arrow	- Mortality
Bible	- Charity or piety
Book	- Learning, scholarship, prayer; <u>or</u> a writer or bookseller
Broken Chains	- Family love broken in death
Broken Circle	- Life has ended
Broken Column	- Life cut off by death
Candle being snuffed	- Loss of life
Chalice	- Sacraments
Cherub	- Innocence; soul's departure
Circle	- Eternity
Circle with Wings	- Immortality
Cloud	- Heaven
Coffin	- Mortality
Column	- Sky or God
Compass	- Divine measuring of the world; - Architect's or surveyor's grave;
Compass & square	- A Freemason
Crescent	- Probably the grave of a Muslim
Cross	- Faith; redemption.
Crown	- Glory, sovereignty
Crown of Thorns	- Passion of Christ
Dawn (sunrise)	- Resurrection; reunion in Heaven
Dove	- The Holy Spirit; love; spiritual peace

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART TWO - WHAT

Dove with olive sprig	- A new and better world
Drapery	- Mourning
Eagle	- Liberty (military)
Eye, often inside the Sun	- All seeing Eye of God
Flame (fire)	- Light, life and eternity, creation and destruction
Fleur de Lis	- Life
Flower with broken stem	- Early death (eg a child)
Grieving widow	- Mourning
Griffin	- Power, a guardian, watchfulness
Grim Reaper	- Death personified
Hand Emerging from a heavenly cloud	- Symbolises a blessing from God.
As above, heart in the palm	- Charity.
Hands (clasped)	- Reunited in Heaven (the cuffs are usually those of a male and female and are used on husband and wife monuments, <u>or</u> where the departed was a widow or widower.)
Hands (pair)	- Prayer and/or supplication
Harp	- Praise to God
Heart	- Piety, love or charity
Heart on palm of hand	- Manchester Unity lodge member
Hour glass	- Time running out
Hour glass with wings	- Time passing
Hour glass & scythe	- The certainty of death
Ivy	- Clinging to memory
Lamb	- Lamb of God (Jesus); Innocence of children
Lily	- Purity
Menorah	- Emblem of Judaism
Oak leaf	- English descent; endurance
Obelisk	- Eternal life, fertility, regeneration and resurrection

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION

PART TWO - WHAT

Obelisk (broken)	- Life cut short
Open Book	- Perfect knowledge
Poppy	- Sleep
Ring	- Completeness and perfection
Rod or Staff	- Comfort
Rope	- Eternity
Rose	- English descent
Scallop Shell	- Pilgrimage
Scroll	- Life and time, honour and commemoration
Scythe	- Death
Shamrock	- Irish descent
Spade	- Death
Skeleton/skull	- Death
Serpents Trampled	- Triumph over sin and death.
Serpents eat their tails	- Old Celtic symbol of eternity
Shell	- Life and resurrection (old fertility symbol)
Spiral	- Progressive development and movement
Spire	- Religious aspiration
Star of David	- International symbol of Judaism (Mogen David)
Sun with eye or face	- God is watching
Thistle	- Scottish descent
Torch	- Immortality
Torch (reversed)	- End of life's race
Triangle	- The Trinity
Trumpet	- Resurrection
Um	- Death and mourning
Um with flame	- Undying remembrance
Vase	- Death and mourning
Weeping willow	- Sorrow

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION

PART TWO - WHAT

- Wheat - Bread; life goes on
Wreath - Triumph (over death)

1.5.6 Kerbing and grave fencing

A very important but often underestimated feature of cemeteries is the grave surrounds. These usually consist of kerbing and/or fencing of some kind. On individual graves the surrounds are obviously part of the original design. Where a kerb or fence links a number of adjacent plots it defines family relationships far better than where adjacent graves may or may not represent kinship. Even a case where a large surround has only one monument may be significant, suggesting either that other bodies are unmarked, or that a family has left the district.



Fences around one or more graves are as much part of the monument as the headstone

1.5.7 Grave furniture and ornaments

The grave surround and covering, immortelles, vases and flowers all contribute to the character of a grave, and therefore to its meaning and social value. Together they can be important features of a cemetery, and their significance should not be ignored just because they are small, or mass-produced, or movable. Apart from aesthetic significance they always add social context to whatever else is present.

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR – APPENDICES

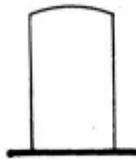
Appendix 4. Gravestone terminology

SUGGESTED TERMINOLOGY FOR GRAVESTONE STYLES

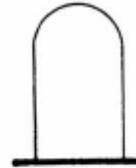
A. UPRIGHT SLABS/STELAE



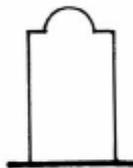
1. Rectangular



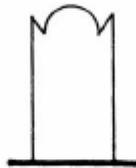
2. Cambered



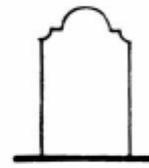
3. Semicircular



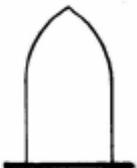
4. Semicircular with shoulders



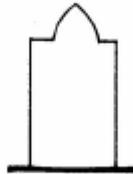
5. Semicircular with acroteria



6. Semicircular with cut away shoulders



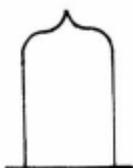
7. Gothic



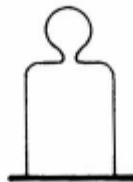
8. Gothic with shoulders



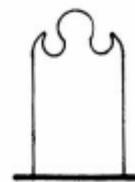
9. Gothic with acroteria



10. Ogee

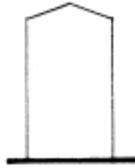


11. Anthropomorphic



12. Anthropomorphic with peaked shoulders

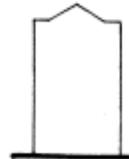
GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR – APPENDICES



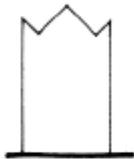
13. Gabled



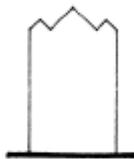
14. Pedimented



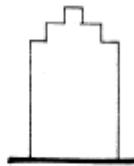
15. Gabled with shoulders



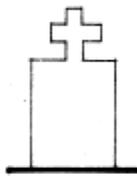
16. Gabled with peaked shoulders



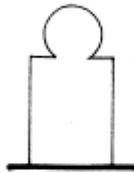
17. Stepped



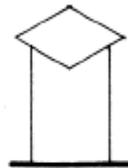
18. Cruciform



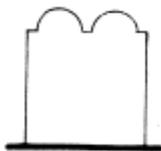
19. Cross surmount with shoulders



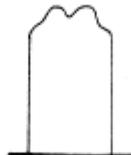
20. Circular surmount with shoulders



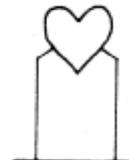
21. Diamond



22. Double



23. Stylised double



24. Miscellaneous
e.g. Heart

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

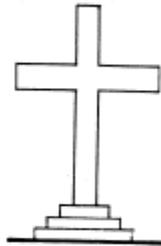
B. CROSSES



1. Circular Latin



2. Rustic Latin



3. Roman/Latin
(with 3 steps - Calvary)



4. Celtic



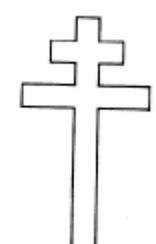
5. Saxon



6. Cornish



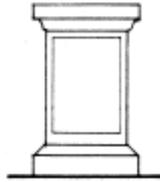
7. Eastern/Russian
Orthodox



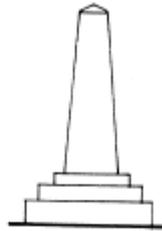
8. Lorraine

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

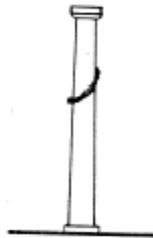
C. PILLARS



1. Pedestal
(Chamfered base)



2. Obelisk
(Stepped base)



3. Column



4. Broken Column

D. SCULPTURES



1. Urn



2. Draped Urn



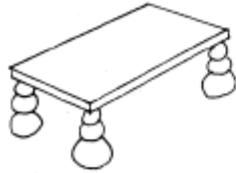
3. Angel



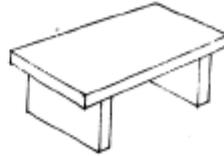
4. Composite - Angel and Cross

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR – APPENDICES

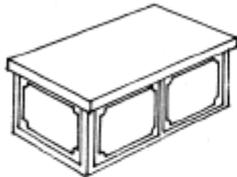
E. HORIZONTAL SLABS



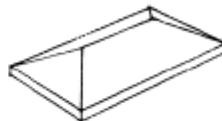
1. Table



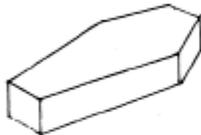
2. Table



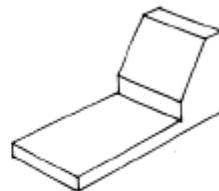
3. Altar



4. Sarcophagus

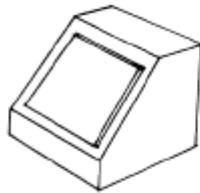


Coffin

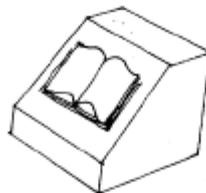


6. Slab and desk

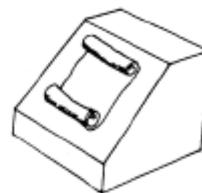
Desk Decoration:



i) Tablet



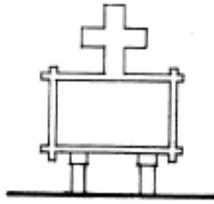
ii) Book



iii) Scroll

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

F. MISCELLANEOUS



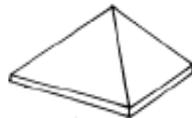
1. Iron 'Etna'



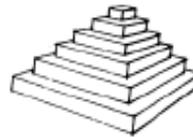
2. Cairn



3. Rustic pedestal



4. Pyramid



5. Stepped Pyramid

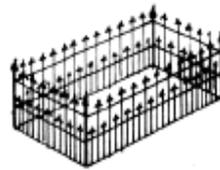
G. SURROUNDS

These are usually distinguished by material and motif.

Examples:	Cast iron	Wood	Arrowheads
	Wrought iron	Concrete	Fler de Lys
	Stone	Brick	Floral Motif



i) Timber Picket



ii) Iron Picket

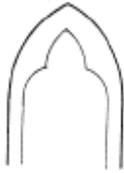


iii) Stone

GUIDELINES FOR CEMETERY CONSERVATION
PART FOUR -- APPENDICES

H. EMBELISHMENT

Architectural terms should generally be used.



i) Cusps



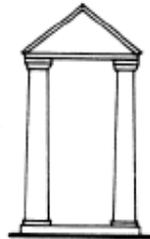
ii) Dentils



iii) Crockets



iv) Columns
(separate)



v) Pilasters (relief)

9.5 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Catholic Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol
Combination	16.39	10
Cross	14.75	9
None	14.75	9
Flowers/foilage	11.48	7
Cross and flowers/foilage	9.84	6
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	6.56	4
Flowers/Foliage in recessed circle	6.56	4
Other	19.67	12
	Total	61

Table 9.1 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Males on Rural Catholic Headstones from Late Nineteenth Century Cemeteries

9.6 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Catholic Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol
Combination	19.51	8
None	14.63	6
Flowers/Foliage	12.20	5
IHS	9.76	4
Cross	7.32	3
Flowers/Foliage in recessed circle	7.32	3
Other	29.27	12
	Total	41

Table 9.2 Common Motif/Symbol used by Females on Rural Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.7 Most Common Symbols Use on Male Urban Catholic Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	19.67	12
Cross	13.11	8
Flowers/Foliage	11.48	7
Combination	9.84	6
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	6.56	4
Other	39.34	24
	Total	61

Table 9.3 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.8 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Catholic Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	15	6
Cross	12.5	5
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	12.5	5
Cross and IHS	10	4
Flowers/Foliage	10	4
Cross and flowers/foilage	7.5	3
Combination	5	2
Cross and wreath/garland	5	2
Other	22.5	9
	Total	40

Table 9.4 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on Urban Catholic Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.9 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Rural Anglican Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	39.22	20
Flowers/foilage	13.73	7
Cross and flowers/foilage	5.88	3
Flowers/foilage w. ribbon	5.88	3
Combination	5.88	3
Other	29.41	15
	Total	51

Table 9.5 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.10 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Rural Anglican Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	43.75	21
Flowers/Foliage	16.67	5
Combination	6.25	3
Flowers/foilage w. ribbon	6.25	3
Urn w. flames, flowers/foilage and drapery	4.17	2
Wreath/Garland	4.17	2
Flowers/Foliage in recessed circle	4.17	2
Other	14.58	7
	Total	48

Table 9.6 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on rural Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.11 Most Common Symbol Use on Male Urban Anglican Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Male Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	55.36	31
Combination	12.5	7
Flowers/Foliage	7.14	4
Scroll	5.36	3
Other	19.64	11
	Total	56

Table 9.7 Common Motif/Symbol used by Males on Urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.12 Most Common Symbol Use on Female Urban Anglican Headstones

Common Motif/Symbol	Percentage of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol	Number of Female Headstones with Motif/Symbol
None	54.55	24
Flowers/Foliage	6.82	3
Flowers/Foliage in recessed circle	4.55	2
Flowers/Foliage w. ribbon	4.55	2
Combination	4.55	2
Other	25	11
	Total	44

Table 9.8 Common Motifs/Symbols used by Females on urban Anglican Headstones from the late Nineteenth Century

9.13 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Rural Catholic

The most common motif/symbol within the Adult age group was found to be the combination motifs (18.18%) while within the Senior age group it was a tie between having no motif and having the cross and flowers/foilage each on 20%. Flowers/foilage was found to be the most common motif/symbol (37.5%) within the Young Adult age group. The Infant age headstones did not employ any motifs/symbols. In comparison, the Child and Unknown age groups there was no preference shown towards the use of one motif over another with all the headstones within each group showing a different motif/symbol.

9.14 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Catholic

Within the Adult group, it was found that it was most common to have no motif/symbol as added decoration (16.67%). The second most common motif/symbol found on the headstones with primary Adult age interments was tied between the cross (13.33%) and the more complex combination (13.33%). The Senior age group favoured the cross and flowers/foilage in circle (21.05%) while the Young Adult age group also had a tie between the cross and those with no motif/symbol each representing 22.22%. There was no dominant motif for the Child age group with each of the headstones presenting a different motif/symbol which are as

follows: Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape; Angel/woman and draped urn on rock base in recessed circle; and Cross and flowers/foilage in recessed circle. For both the Infant and Unknown age groups, it was most common to have no motif with these headstones representing 60% and 40% respectively.

9.15 Most Common Symbol Use with Age Groups: Rural Anglican

For all age groups, Adult (28.57%), Senior (44.19%), Young Adult (44.44%), Child (50%), Infant (80%) and Unknown (66.67%) it was determined that it was the most common choice to have no motif/symbol. The second most common motif/symbol group was the combination for both the Adult and Senior age groups representing 20% and 16.28% respectively. The wreath/garland was the second most common motif/symbol (22.22%) for the Young Adult age group. The scroll and the six point star/flower inside recessed circle motifs each represent 25% of the headstones in the Child age group. In the Infant age group there is only one motif of the compass star that accounts for the remaining 20% of the sample. Similarly, the Unknown age group headstones also had only one motif/symbol of the five point star/flower accounting for the remaining 33.33%.

9.16 Most Common Symbol Use within Age Groups: Urban Anglican

The most common choice made within the Adult age group was to have no motif/symbol or additional decoration on the headstone with 46.30% showing this. The second most common motif/symbol the combination motifs which decorated 9.26% of the Adult headstones. It was also the most common choice to have no motif/symbol which evident on 61.29% of the Senior headstones. Flowers/foilage and the combination motifs/symbols was the second most common additional decoration with each individually representing 9.78% of the Senior headstones. Approximately 80% of the headstones in the Young Adult age group had no motif/symbols recorded with a combination motif accounting for the remaining 20%.

On the headstones within the Child age group 33.33% had no motif/symbol, 33.33% had flowers/foilage in a recessed circle and the final 33.33% had flowers/foilage with ribbon. Approximately 50% of the Infant headstones had no motif/symbol and 50% had flowers/foilage in a recessed circle/lobed shape. All of the headstones grouped together of Unknown age had no recorded motif/symbol or added decoration.

10 Appendices Part B – Chi Square Test Tables

Stangroom’s (2018) chi-square test calculator and excel formulas were used to generate the results.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	55 (48.24) [0.95]	41 (47.76) [0.96]	96
Motif	45 (51.76) [0.88]	58 (51.24) [0.89]	103
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	99	199 (Grand Total)

Table 10.1 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 3.6775. P-Value = 0.0551437. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	18 (16.42) [0.15]	15 (16.58) [0.15]	33
Motif	83 (84.58) [0.03]	87 (85.42) [0.03]	170
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	102	203 (Grand Total)

Table 10.2 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 0.3619. P-Value = 0.547438. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	41 (27.58) [6.53]	15 (28.42) [6.34]	56
Motif	58 (71.42) [2.52]	87 (73.58) [2.45]	145
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	99	102	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.3 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi square = 17.8306. P-Value = 0.000024. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	55 (36.32) [9.61]	18 (36.68) [9.51]	73
Motif	45 (63.68) [5.48]	83 (64.32) [5.43]	128
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	101	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.4 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic headstone decoration: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 30.0304. P-Value = 4.26E-08. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	18 (29.8) [4.67]	41 (29.2) [4.76]	59
Motif	83 (71.2) [1.95]	58 (69.8) [1.99]	141
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	99	200 (Grand Total)

Table 10.5 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 13.3801. P-Value = 0.000254. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic	Urban Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Motif	15 (35.35) [11.71]	55 (34.65) [11.95]	70
Motif	87 (66.65) [6.21]	45 (65.35) [6.34]	132
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	102	100	202 (Grand Total)

Table 10.6 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: no motif/symbol and motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 36.2045. P-Value = 1.7563E-09. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	38 (40.8) [0.19]	44 (41.2) [0.19]	82
Religious Headstones	63 (60.2) [0.13]	58 (60.8) [0.13]	121
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	102	203 (Grand Total)

Table 10.7 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square = 0.6407. P-Value = 0.423448. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	89 (89.38) [0]	88 (87.62) [0]	177
Religious Headstones	12 (11.62) [0.01]	11 (11.38) [0.01]	23
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	99	200 (Grand Total)

Table 10.8 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square = 0.0291. P-Value = 0.864477. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	89 (63.5) [10.24]	38 (63.5) [10.24]	127
Religious Headstones	12 (37.5) [17.34]	63 (37.5) [17.34]	75
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	101	202 (Grand Total)

Table 10.9 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square = 55.1603. P-Value = 1.11089E-13. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	88 (65.01) [8.13]	44 (66.99) [7.89]	132
Religious Headstones	11 (33.99) [15.55]	58 (35.01) [15.09]	69
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	99	102	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.10 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square = 46.6468. P-Value 8.4148E-12. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	38 (63.63) [10.32]	88 (62.37) [10.53]	126
Religious Headstones	63 (37.37) [17.58]	11 (36.63) [17.93]	74
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	99	200 (Grand Total)

Table 10.11 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square 56.3674. P-Value 6.0117E-14. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic	Urban Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Headstones	44 (66.83) [7.8]	89 (66.17) [7.87]	133
Religious Headstones	58 (35.17) [14.82]	12 (34.83) [14.96]	70
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	102	101	203 (Grand Total)

Table 10.12 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: non-religious headstones and religious headstones.

Chi-square = 45.4503. P-Value 1.558E-11. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Male	Rural Catholic Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	15 (15.04) [0]	16 (15.96) [0]	31
Religious Motif	34 (33.96) [0]	36 (36.04) [0]	70
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	49	52	101 (Grand Total)

Table 10.13 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motif/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.0003. P-Value = 0.98636. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Female	Rural Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	5 (8.87) [1.69]	13 (9.13) [1.64]	18
Religious Motif	29 (25.13) [0.6]	22 (25.87) [0.58]	51
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	34	35	69 (Grand Total)

Table 10.14 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 4.5028. P-Value 0.03384. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Male	Urban Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	15 (11.81) [0.86]	5 (8.19) [1.24]	20
Religious Motif	34 (37.19) [0.27]	29 (25.81) [0.39]	63
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	49	34	83 (Grand Total)

Table 10.15 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Urban Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbol and religious motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 2.7767. P-Value = 0.095647. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic Male	Rural Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	16 (17.33) [0.1]	13 (11.67) [0.15]	29
Religious Motif	36 (34.67) [0.05]	22 (23.33) [0.08]	58
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	52	35	87 (Grand Total)

Table 10.16 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.3824. P-Value 0.536312. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Male	Rural Anglican Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	19 (18.75) [0]	23 (23.25) [0]	42
Religious Motif	6 (6.25) [0.01]	8 (7.75) [0.01]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	31	56 (Grand Total)

Table 10.17 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Rural Anglican Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.0241. P-Value = 0.876666. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Female	Rural Anglican Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	14	24	38
Religious Motif	6	3	9
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	20	27	47 (Grand Total)

Table 10.18 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 2.6478. P-Value = 0.103696. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Male	Urban Anglican Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	19 (18.33) [0.02]	14 (14.67) [0.03]	33
Religious Motif	6 (6.67) [0.07]	6 (5.33) [0.08]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	20	45 (Grand Total)

Table 10.19 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Urban Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.2045. P-Value = 0.651077. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Male	Rural Anglican Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	23 (25.12) [0.18]	24 (21.88) [0.21]	47
Religious Motif	8 (5.88) [0.76]	3 (5.12) [0.88]	11
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	31	27	58 (Grand Total)

Table 10.20 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Male v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motif/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 2.0278. P-Value = 0.154445. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Male	Urban Catholic Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	19 (11.49) [4.91]	15 (22.51) [2.51]	34
Religious Motif	6 (13.51) [4.18]	34 (26.49) [2.13]	40
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	49	74 (Grand Total)

Table 10.21 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Urban Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 13.7311. P-Value = 0.000211. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Male	Rural Catholic Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	23 (14.57) [4.88]	16 (24.43) [2.91]	39
Religious Motif	8 (16.43) [4.33]	36 (27.57) [2.58]	44
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	31	52	83 (Grand Total)

Table 10.22 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 14.7025. P-Value 0.000126. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Female	Urban Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	14 (7.04) [6.89]	5 (11.96) [4.05]	19
Religious Motif	6 (12.96) [3.74]	29 (22.04) [2.2]	35
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	20	34	54 (Grand Total)

Table 10.23 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Urban Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 16.8826. P-Value = 0.00004. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Female	Rural Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	24 (16.11) [3.86]	13 (20.89) [2.98]	37
Religious Motif	3 (10.89) [5.71]	22 (14.11) [4.41]	25
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	27	35	62 (Grand Total)

Table 10.24 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 16.9604. P-Value = 0.000038. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Male	Rural Catholic Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	19 (11.36) [5.13]	16 (23.64) [2.47]	35
Religious Motif	6 (13.64) [4.28]	36 (28.36) [2.06]	42
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	52	77 (Grand Total)

Table 10.25 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Male v. Rural Catholic Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 13.9311. P-Value 0.00019. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Female	Rural Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	14 (9.82) [1.78]	13 (17.18) [1.02]	27
Religious Motif	6 (10.18) [1.72]	22 (17.82) [0.98]	28
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	20	35	55 (Grand Total)

Table 10.26 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Female v. Rural Catholic Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 5.4979. P-Value = 0.019039. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Male	Rural Anglican Male	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	15 (23.28) [2.94]	23 (14.72) [4.65]	38
Religious Motif	34 (25.72) [2.66]	8 (16.27) [4.21]	42
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	49	31	80 (Grand Total)

Table 10.27 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Male v. Rural Anglican Male: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 14.4616. P-Value = 0.000143. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Female	Rural Anglican Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	5 (16.16) [7.71]	24 (12.84) [9.71]	29
Religious Motif	29 (17.84) [6.99]	3 (14.16) [8.8]	32
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	34	27	61 (Grand Total)

Table 10.28 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Female v. Rural Anglican Female: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 33.2073. P-Value = 8.39E-09. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Adult	Rural Catholic Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	13 (16.84) [0.87]	20 (16.16) [0.91]	33
Religious Motif	37 (33.16) [0.44]	28 (31.84) [0.46]	65
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	50	48	98 (Grand Total)

Table 10.29 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 2.6913. P-Value 0.100897. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Senior	Rural Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	5 (3.86) [0.34]	4 (5.14) [0.25]	9
Religious Motif	13 (14.14) [0.09]	20 (18.86) [0.07]	33
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	18	24	42 (Grand Total)

Table 10.30 Urban Catholic Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.7542. P-Value = 0.385147. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic Adult	Rural Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	20 (16) [1]	4 (8) [2]	24
Religious Motif	28 (32) [0.5]	20 (16) [1]	48
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	48	24	72 (Grand Total)

Table 10.31 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Adult v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 4.5. P-Value = 0.033895. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Adult	Urban Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	13 (13.24) [0]	5 (4.76) [0.01]	18
Religious Motif	37 (36.76) [0]	13 (13.24) [0]	50
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	50	18	68 (Grand Total)

Table 10.32 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Urban Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square 0.0215. P-Value = 0.883448. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Adult	Rural Anglican Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	20 (23.09) [0.41]	23 (19.91) [0.48]	43
Religious Motif	9 (5.91) [1.62]	2 (5.09) [1.88]	11
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	25	54 (Grand Total)

Table 10.33 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 4.3916. P-Value = 0.036115. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Senior	Rural Anglican Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	9 (8.33) [0.05]	16 (16.67) [0.03]	25
Religious Motif	3 (3.67) [0.12]	8 (7.33) [0.06]	11
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	12	24	36 (Grand Total)

Table 10.34 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.2618. P-Value = 0.608874. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Adult	Rural Anglican Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	20 (19.7) [0]	16 (16.3) [0.01]	36
Religious Motif	9 (9.3) [0.01]	8 (7.7) [0.01]	17
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	24	53 (Grand Total)

Table 10.35 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.0319. P-Value = 0.85835. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Adult	Rural Anglican Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif	23 (19.9) [0.48]	16 (19.1) [0.5]	39
Religious Motif	2 (5.1) [1.89]	8 (4.9) [1.96]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	24	49 (Grand Total)

Table 10.36 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Adult v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 4.838. P-Value = 0.027869. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Adult	Urban Anglican Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	20 (20.51) [0.01]	9 (8.49) [0.03]	29
Religious Motifs	9 (8.49) [0.03]	3 (3.51) [0.07]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	12	41 (Grand Total)

Table 10.37 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Urban Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.1493. P-Value = 0.699204. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Adult	Urban Catholic Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	20 (12.11) [5.13]	13 (20.89) [2.98]	33
Religious Motifs	9 (16.89) [3.68]	37 (29.11) [2.14]	46
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	50	79 (Grand Total)

Table 10.38 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Urban Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 13.9304. P-Value = 0.00019. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Senior	Urban Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	9 (5.6) [2.06]	5 (8.4) [1.38]	14
Religious Motifs	3 (6.4) [1.81]	13 (9.6) [1.2]	16
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	12	18	30 (Grand Total)

Table 10.39 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Urban Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 6.4509. P-Value = 0.01109. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Adult	Rural Catholic Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	23 (14.73) [4.65]	20 (28.27) [2.42]	43
Religious Motifs	2 (10.27) [6.66]	28 (19.73) [3.47]	30
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	25	48	73 (Grand Total)

Table 10.40 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 17.2039. P-Value = 0.000034. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican Senior	Rural Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	16 (10) [3.6]	4 (10) [3.6]	20
Religious Motifs	8 (14) [2.57]	20 (14) [2.57]	28
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	24	24	48 (Grand Total)

Table 10.41 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 12.3429. P-Value = 0.000443. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Adult	Rural Catholic Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	20 (15.06) [1.62]	20 (24.94) [0.98]	40
Religious Motifs	9 (13.94) [1.75]	28 (23.06) [1.06]	37
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	48	77 (Grand Total)

Table 10.42 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Adult v. Rural Catholic Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 5.3971. P-Value = 0.020171. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican Senior	Rural Catholic Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	9 (4.33) [5.03]	4 (8.67) [2.51]	13
Religious Motifs	3 (7.67) [2.84]	20 (15.33) [1.42]	23
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	12	24	36 (Grand Total)

Table 10.43 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican Senior v. Rural Catholic Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 11.7993. P-Value = 0.000593. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Adult	Rural Anglican Adult	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	13 (24) [5.04]	23 (12) [10.08]	36
Religious Motifs	37 (26) [4.65]	2 (13) [9.31]	39
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	50	25	75 (Grand Total)

Table 10.44 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Adult v. Rural Anglican Adult: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 29.0865. P-Value = 6.9216E-08. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic Senior	Rural Anglican Senior	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motifs	5 (3.86) [0.34]	4 (5.14) [0.25]	9
Religious Motifs	13 (14.14) [0.09]	20 (18.86) [0.07]	33
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	18	24	42 (Grand Total)

Table 10.45 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic Senior v. Rural Anglican Senior: non-religious motifs/symbols and religious motifs/symbols.

Chi-square = 0.7542. P-Value 0.385147. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	94 (94.97) [0.01]	95 (94.03) [0.01]	189
Use of Cross	6 (5.03) [0.18]	4 (4.97) [0.18]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	99	199 (Grand Total)

Table 10.46 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.

Chi-square = 0.4003. P-Value = 0.526947. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	53 (60.2) [0.86]	68 (60.8) [0.85]	121
Use of Cross	48 (40.8) [1.27]	34 (41.2) [1.26]	82
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	102	203 (Grand Total)

Table 10.47 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.

Chi-square = 4.2449. P-Value = 0.03936. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	94 (73.13) [5.95]	53 (73.87) [5.89]	147
Use of Cross	6 (26.87) [16.21]	48 (27.13) [16.05]	54
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	101	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.48 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Cross motifs and no cross motifs.

Chi-square = 44.0982. P-Value = 3.0942E-11. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	95 (80.28) [2.7]	68 (82.72) [2.62]	163
Use of Cross	4 (18.72) [11.57]	34 (19.28) [11.23]	38
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	99	102	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.49 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross motif and no cross motif.

Chi-square = 28.1181. P-Value = 1.1334E-07. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	94 (80.2) [2.38]	68 (81.8) [2.33]	162
Use of Cross	6 (19.8) [9.62]	34 (20.2) [9.43]	40
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	102	202 (Grand Total)

Table 10.50 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: No use of cross and use of cross.

Chi-square = 23.7554. P-Value = 0.000001. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of Cross	53 (74.74) [6.32]	95 (73.26) [6.45]	148
Use of Cross	48 (26.26) [18]	4 (25.74) [18.36]	52
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	99	200 (Grand Total)

Table 10.51 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: No use of cross and use of cross.

Chi-square = 49.1346. P-Value = 2.3899E-12. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	98 (98.49) [0]	98 (97.51) [0]	196
Use of IHS	2 (1.51) [0.16]	1 (1.49) [0.16]	3
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	99	199 (Grand Total)

Table 10.52 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 0.3283. P-Value = 0.566652. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	86 (87.57) [0.03]	90 (88.43) [0.03]	176
Use of IHS	15 (13.43) [0.18]	12 (13.57) [0.18]	27
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	102	203 (Grand Total)

Table 10.53 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 0.4193. P-Value = 0.517273. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	98 (92.6) [0.32]	90 (95.4) [0.31]	188
Use of IHS	1 (6.4) [4.56]	12 (6.6) [4.43]	13
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	99	102	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.54 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 9.6055. P-Value = 0.00194. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	98 (91.54) [0.46]	86 (92.46) [0.45]	184
Use of IHS	2 (8.46) [4.93]	15 (8.54) [4.88]	17
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	101	201 (Grand Total)

Table 10.55 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 10.7191. P-Value = 0.00106. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	98 (93.07) [0.26]	90 (94.93) [0.26]	188
Use of IHS	2 (6.93) [3.51]	12 (7.07) [3.44]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	100	102	202 (Grand Total)

Table 10.56 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 7.4642. P-Value = 0.006294. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
No Use of IHS	86 (92.92) [0.52]	98 (91.08) [0.53]	184
Use of IHS	15 (8.08) [5.93]	1 (7.92) [6.05]	16
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	101	99	200 (Grand Total)

Table 10.57 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: IHS motif and no IHS motif.

Chi-square = 13.0139. P-Value = 0.000309. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	9 (7.78) [0.19]	6 (7.22) [0.21]	15
Cross and flowers/foilage	5 (6.22) [0.24]	7 (5.78) [0.26]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	14	13	17 (Grand Total)

Table 10.58 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape and cross and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.8975. P-Value = 0.343446. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross	12 (13.95) [0.27]	13 (11.05) [0.35]	25
Combination	12 (10.05) [0.38]	6 (7.95) [0.48]	18
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	24	19	43 (Grand Total)

Table 10.59 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Catholic: Cross (Individual) and combination.

Chi-square = 1.4786. P-Value = 0.223994. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross	12 (11.25) [0.05]	13 (13.75) [0.04]	25
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	6 (6.75) [0.08]	9 (8.25) [0.07]	15
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	18	22	40 (Grand Total)

Table 10.60 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Catholic: Cross (Individual) and Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape.

Chi-square = 0.2424. P-Value = 0.622461. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Urban Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Combination	2 (2.29) [0.04]	2 (1.71) [0.05]	4
Dove and flowers/foilage	2 (1.71) [0.05]	1 (1.29) [0.06]	3
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	4	3	7 (Grand Total)

Table 10.61 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Urban Anglican: Combination and Dove and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.1944. P-Value = 0.659243. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross and flowers/foilage	3 (3.57) [0.09]	7 (6.43) [0.05]	10
Dove and flowers/foilage	2 (1.43) [0.23]	2 (2.57) [0.13]	4
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	9	14 (Grand Total)

Table 10.62 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross and flowers/foilage and Dove and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.4978. P-Value = 0.480478. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross and flowers/foilage	3 (2.08) [0.4]	7 (7.92) [0.11]	10
Combination	2 (2.92) [0.29]	12 (11.08) [0.08]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	19	24 (Grand Total)

Table 10.63 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Cross and flowers/foilage and combination.

Chi-square = 0.8734. P-Value = 0.35002. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross	1 (1.91) [0.43]	13 (12.09) [0.07]	14
Combination	2 (1.09) [0.76]	6 (6.91) [0.12]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	3	19	22 (Grand Total)

Table 10.64 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Cross and combination.

Chi-square = 1.3784. P-Value = 0.240366. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic	Urban Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross (Individual)	12 (11.56) [0.02]	1 (1.44) [0.14]	13
Combination	12 (12.44) [0.02]	2 (1.56) [0.13]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	24	3	27 (Grand Total)

Table 10.65 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic v. Urban Anglican: Cross (individual) and combination motifs.

Chi-square = 0.2967. P-Value = 0.585957. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross (Individual)	13 (11.36) [0.24]	12 (13.64) [0.2]	25
IHS (Individual)	2 (3.64) [0.74]	6 (4.36) [0.61]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	15	18	33 (Grand Total)

Table 10.66 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (Individual) and IHS (Individual).

Chi-square = 1.782. P-Value = 0.181904. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Combination	6 (5.54) [0.04]	12 (12.46) [0.02]	18
IHS (Individual)	2 (2.46) [0.09]	6 (5.54) [0.04]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	8	18	26 (Grand Total)

Table 10.67 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and IHS (Individual).

Chi-square = 0.1806. P-Value = 0.670896. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross (Individual)	13 (12.16) [0.06]	12 (12.84) [0.05]	25
Cross and flowers/foilage	5 (5.84) [0.12]	7 (6.16) [0.11]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	18	19	37 (Grand Total)

Table 10.68 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.3466. P-Value = 0.556067. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Combination	6 (6.6) [0.05]	12 (11.4) [0.03]	18
Cross and flowers/foilage	5 (4.4) [0.08]	7 (7.6) [0.05]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	11	19	30 (Grand Total)

Table 10.69 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and Cross and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.2153. P-Value = 0.642636. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Individual)	2 (2.8) [0.23]	6 (5.2) [0.12]	8
Cross and flowers/foilage	5 (4.2) [0.15]	7 (7.8) [0.08]	12
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	7	13	20 (Grand Total)

Table 10.70 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.5861. P-Value = 0.443939. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross (Individual)	13 (13.57) [0.02]	12 (11.43) [0.03]	25
Cross and IHS	6 (5.43) [0.06]	4 (4.57) [0.07]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	19	16	35 (Grand Total)

Table 10.71 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Cross (Individual) and Cross and IHS.

Chi-square = 0.1842. P-Value = 0.667779. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Combination	6 (8.18) [0.58]	12 (9.82) [0.48]	18
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	9 (6.82) [0.7]	6 (8.18) [0.58]	15
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	15	18	33 (Grand Total)

Table 10.72 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Combination and cross recessed circle/rounded shape.

Chi-square = 2.3467. P-Value = 0.125551. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Individual)	2 (3.83) [0.87]	6 (4.17) [0.8]	8
Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape	9 (7.17) [0.46]	6 (7.83) [0.43]	15
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	11	12	23 (Grand Total)

Table 10.73 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Individual) and Cross in recessed circle/rounded shape.

Chi-square = 2.5614. P-Value = 0.109504. This results is *not* significant at $p > 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross and flowers/foilage	5 (5.5) [0.05]	3 (2.5) [0.1]	8
Combination	6 (5.5) [0.05]	2 (2.5) [0.1]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	11	5	16 (Grand Total)

Table 10.74 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Cross and flowers/foilage motif and combination motif.

Chi-square = 0.2909. P-Value = 0.589639. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	2 (1.85) [0.01]	1 (1.15) [0.02]	3
Cross (Collective)	6 (6.15) [0]	4 (3.85) [0.01]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	8	5	13 (Grand Total)

Table 10.75 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: IHS (Collective) and Cross (Collective).

Chi-square = 0.0433. P-Value = 0.835099. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	15 (15.61) [0.02]	12 (11.39) [0.03]	27
Cross (Collective)	48 (47.39) [0.01]	34 (34.61) [0.01]	82
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	63	46	109 (Grand Total)

Table 10.76 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: IHS (Collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.074. P-Value = 0.785598. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	2 (1.92) [0]	15 (15.08) [0]	17
Cross (Collective)	6 (6.08) [0]	48 (47.92) [0]	54
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	8	63	71 (Grand Total)

Table 10.77 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.0055. P-Value = 0.940751. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	1 (1.27) [0.06]	12 (11.73) [0.01]	13
Cross (Collective)	4 (3.73) [0.02]	34 (34.27) [0]	38
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	46	51 (Grand Total)

Table 10.78 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.088. P-Value = 0.766764. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	2 (2.07) [0]	12 (11.93) [0]	14
Cross (Collective)	6 (5.93) [0]	34 (34.07) [0]	40
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	8	46	54 (Grand Total)

Table 10.79 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.0042. P-Value = 0.948373. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
IHS (Collective)	15 (14.82) [0]	1 (1.18) [0.03]	16
Cross (Collective)	48 (48.18) [0]	4 (3.82) [0.01]	52
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	63	5	68 (Grand Total)

Table 10.80 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: IHS (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.0374. P-Value = 0.846729. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Denomination Specific Motifs	2 (3.47) [0.63]	9 (7.53) [0.29]	11
Non- Denomination Specific Motifs	4 (2.53) [0.86]	4 (5.47) [0.4]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	6	13	19 (Grand Total)

Table 10.81 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Denomination specific motif/symbol and non-denomination specific motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 2.1702. P-Value = 0.140711. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Denomination Specific Motifs	6 (7.67) [0.36]	17 (15.33) [0.18]	23
Non-Denomination Specific Motifs	5 (3.33) [0.83]	5 (6.67) [0.42]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	11	22	33 (Grand Total)

Table 10.82 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Denomination specific motif/symbol and non-denomination specific motif/symbol.

Chi-square = 1.7935. P-Value = 0.180503. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Catholic Male	Rural Catholic Female	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Cross (Individual)	9 (9.6) [0.04]	3 (2.4) [0.15]	12
Cross and flowers/foilage	7 (6.4) [0.06]	1 (1.6) [0.23]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	16	4	20 (Grand Total)

Table 10.83 Chi-square test, Rural Catholic Male v. Rural Catholic Female: Cross (Individual) and cross and flowers/foilage.

Chi-square = 0.4688. P-Value = 0.493563. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	7 (7.85) [0.09]	6 (5.15) [0.14]	13
Religious Motif Groups	22 (21.15) [0.03]	13 (13.85) [0.05]	35
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	19	48 (Grand Total)

Table 10.84 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 0.3218. P-Value = 0.570501. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	11 (13.5) [0.46]	16 (13.5) [0.46]	27
Religious Motif Groups	11 (8.5) [0.74]	6 (8.5) [0.74]	17
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	22	22	44 (Grand Total)

Table 10.85 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 2.3965. P-Value = 0.121606. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Urban Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	7 (10.24) [1.02]	11 (7.76) [1.35]	18
Religious Motif Groups	22 (18.76) [0.56]	11 (14.24) [0.74]	33
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	22	51 (Grand Total)

Table 10.86 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Urban Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 3.6638. P-Value = 0.055607. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	16 (11.8) [1.49]	6 (10.2) [1.73]	22
Religious Motif Groups	6 (10.2) [1.73]	13 (8.8) [2]	19
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	22	19	41 (Grand Total)

Table 10.87 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 6.9421. P-Value = 0.008419. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	7 (13.08) [2.83]	16 (9.92) [3.72]	23
Religious Motif Groups	22 (15.92) [2.32]	6 (12.08) [3.06]	28
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	22	51 (Grand Total)

Table 10.88 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 11.9285. P-Value = 0.000553. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Non-Religious Motif Groups	7 (7.85) [0.09]	6 (5.15) [0.14]	13
Religious Motif Groups	22 (21.15) [0.03]	13 (13.85) [0.05]	35
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	29	19	48 (Grand Total)

Table 10.89 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Non-religious motif groups and religious motif groups.

Chi-square = 0.3218. P-Value = 0.570501. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Urban Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (0.76) [6.56]	2 (4.24) [1.18]	5
Cross (Collective)	6 (8.24) [0.61]	48 (45.76) [0.11]	54
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	9	50	59 (Grand Total)

Table 10.90 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Urban Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 8.461. P-Value = 0.003628. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Rural Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	5 (1.88) [5.21]	5 (8.12) [1.2]	10
Cross (Collective)	4 (7.12) [1.37]	34 (30.88) [0.32]	38
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	9	39	48 (Grand Total)

Table 10.91 Chi-square test, Rural Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 8.0972. P-Value = 0.004433. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (1.5) [1.5]	5 (6.5) [0.35]	8
Cross (Collective)	6 (7.5) [0.3]	34 (32.5) [0.07]	40
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	9	39	48 (Grand Total)

Table 10.92 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 2.2154. P-Value = 0.136641. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	2 (5.93) [2.61]	5 (1.07) [14.48]	7
Cross (Collective)	48 (44.07) [0.35]	4 (7.93) [1.95]	52
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	50	9	59 (Grand Total)

Table 10.93 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 19.3872. P-Value = 0.000011. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	2 (3.93) [0.95]	5 (3.07) [1.22]	7
Cross (Collective)	48 (46.07) [0.08]	34 (35.93) [0.1]	82
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	50	39	89 (Grand Total)

Table 10.94 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 2.3523. P-Value = 0.125095. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (4) [0.25]	5 (4) [0.25]	8
Cross (Collective)	6 (5) [0.2]	4 (5) [0.2]	10
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	9	9	18 (Grand Total)

Table 10.95 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and cross (collective).

Chi-square = 0.9. P-Value = 0.342782. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (3.33) [0.03]	5 (4.67) [0.02]	8
Combination	2 (1.67) [0.07]	2 (2.33) [0.05]	4
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	7	12 (Grand Total)

Table 10.96 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and combination.

Chi-square = 0.1714. P-Value = 0.678845. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	2 (2.24) [0.03]	5 (4.76) [0.01]	7
Combination	6 (5.76) [0.01]	12 (12.24) [0]	18
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	8	17	25 (Grand Total)

Table 10.97 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and combination.

Chi-square = 0.0525. P-Value = 0.818733. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (1.82) [0.77]	5 (6.18) [0.23]	8
Combination	2 (3.18) [0.44]	12 (10.82) [0.13]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	17	22 (Grand Total)

Table 10.98 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and combination.

Chi-square = 1.5622. P-Value = 0.211346. This results is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	5 (3.27) [0.92]	2 (3.73) [0.8]	7
Combination	2 (3.73) [0.8]	6 (4.27) [0.7]	8
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	7	8	15 (Grand Total)

Table 10.99 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and combination.

Chi-square = 3.2334. P-Value = 0.07215. This result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Anglican	Rural Catholic	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	3 (1.82) [0.77]	5 (6.18) [0.23]	8
IHS (Collective)	2 (3.18) [0.44]	12 (10.82) [0.13]	14
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	5	17	22 (Grand Total)

Table 10.100 Chi-square test, Urban Anglican v. Rural Catholic: Dove (collective) and IHS (collective).

Chi-square = 1.5622. P-Value = 0.211346. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

	Urban Catholic	Rural Anglican	<i>Marginal Row Totals</i>
Dove (Collective)	5 (5.38) [0.03]	2 (1.62) [0.09]	7
IHS (Collective)	15 (14.62) [0.01]	4 (4.38) [0.03]	19
<i>Marginal Column Totals</i>	20	6	26 (Grand Total)

Table 10.101 Chi-square test, Urban Catholic v. Rural Anglican: Dove (collective) and IHS (collective).

Chi-square = 0.1629. P-Value = 0.686494. This result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.