

IRISH GRAVES OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA'S MID-NORTH, 1850-1899: AN EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

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DECLARATION

‘I certify that this research project does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or a 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 is made in the text.’

Janine McEgan

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ABSTRACT

The Irish in colonial South Australia were poor, famine-affected and 90% Catholic, with many arriving on assisted passage to be labourers and domestic servants to the colony's land owners. Historical studies suggest that they readily assimilated to their new environment and willingly settled among peoples other than native Irish, thus diffusing their cultural background. Archaeological studies, however, suggest that high degrees of autonomy and difference were maintained in at least some aspects of some Irish communities. The extent to which expressions of 'Irishness' were materialised in the new colony through tangible material culture therefore provides an avenue for archaeology to explore.

Given the highly symbolic and communicative functions of cemetery material culture, one avenue in which it might be expected to find expressions of 'Irishness' is the memorialisation of death and remembrance. This project explores the degree to which cultural traditions were incorporated in the material culture of Irish graves and gravestones, and what this implies for expressions of Irishness in South Australia. The study area is the Clare Valley in the mid-north of South Australia which had considerable Irish settlement in the nineteenth century. Irish Catholic data was compared to both non-Irish Catholic and Protestant Irish gravestone data in order to isolate religious and cultural aspects of memorialisation.

Analysis of 200 headstones from graves erected between 1850 and 1899 shows that the use of overt symbols associated with Irish origins was not common. Use of Celtic crosses and shamrocks proved to be statistically significant for the Catholic Irish, but only as motifs on grave surrounds, indicating the use of shamrocks and Celtic crosses, however, shows a distinct religious leaning with the Catholic preference to these symbols.

The inclusion of place of residence of the deceased, a practice still used in Ireland, was used by both Catholic and Protestant Irish groups, indicating a cultural selection rather than any religious distinction.

The Irish of South Australia's mid-north maintained some expression of their Irish culture in their graves, though with subtle rather than overt symbolism and text. The expression of Irishness was maintained throughout the nineteenth century, with little

decline over the time period of the study thus ratifying past archaeological studies rather than the suggestions of historical investigation that the Irish merely blended into society leaving little trace of their origins.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

The Irish have left an indelible legacy on Australia's development, constituting about 25% of the nineteenth century immigrant population (Richards 1991b:2). Less than half of them arrived via assisted passages, with the majority being self-funded (Richards 1991b:3), and a significant number arriving as convicts. Two methods of emigration particularly relevant to South Australia was a system of wealthy landowners bringing tenants to live and work on private properties and, in the later part of the century, a scheme known as 'kinship assistance', where Irish who were already settled and financially secure in the colony sponsored other family members or those from their home county to emigrate (Richards 1991b:17). The mid-north of South Australia became home to a large number of these new arrivals, who had connections to numerous Irish counties (Richards 1991c: 222).

Irish migrants in South Australia have shown to adjust to their new surroundings among migrants from other nations was easily achieved, resulting in a diffusion of their culture, according to historical research. Nonetheless, archaeological investigations allude to autonomy and difference being preserved in certain facets of some Irish settlements. The degree of 'Irishness' being communicated via tangible material culture in the new colony enables a means for further archaeological exploration.

Aim

The aim of this study was to investigate the manner in which nineteenth-century Irish settlers memorialised their dead. To achieve this, the following research question was devised:

How are the Irish people memorialised in graves in South Australia's mid-north in the nineteenth century, 1850-1899?

The Clare Valley region in South Australia's mid-north encompasses this project's study area, and extends from south of Kapunda to Peterborough in the north, covering a distance of some 150 kilometres (Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1: Clare Valley region in context of South Australia.
 (Maps from <http://library.unimelb.edu.au> 2001; www.map.net.au; Google maps 2017)

The cemeteries in which graves were recorded are situated within the counties of Stanley and Light, and particularly in or near the mid-north towns of Mintaro,

Navan, Kapunda, Undalya and Saddleworth as they existed in the nineteenth century (Figures 1.2 & 1.3).

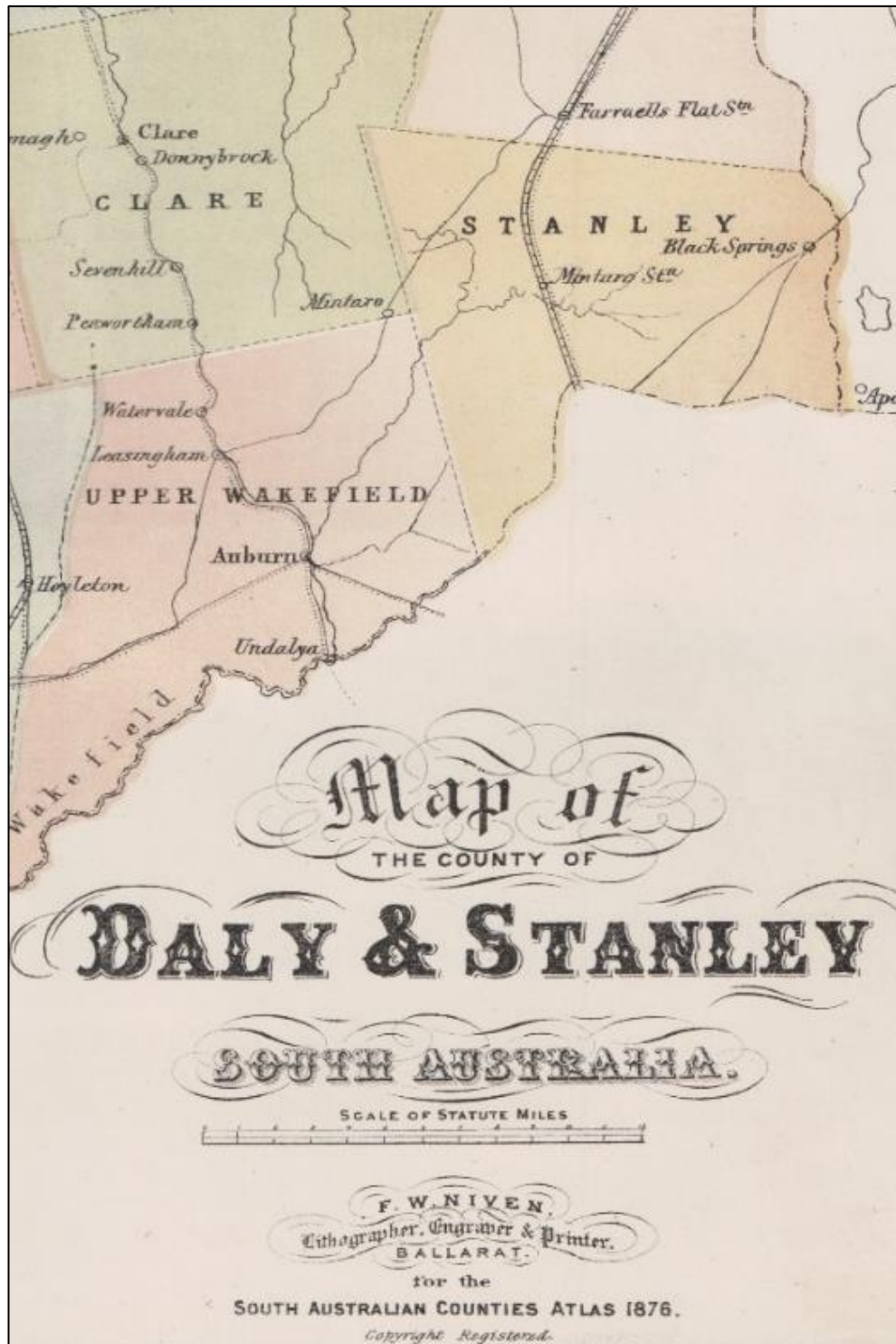


Figure 1.2: Section of County of Stanley.
(From Carroll: South Australian Counties Atlas 1876)

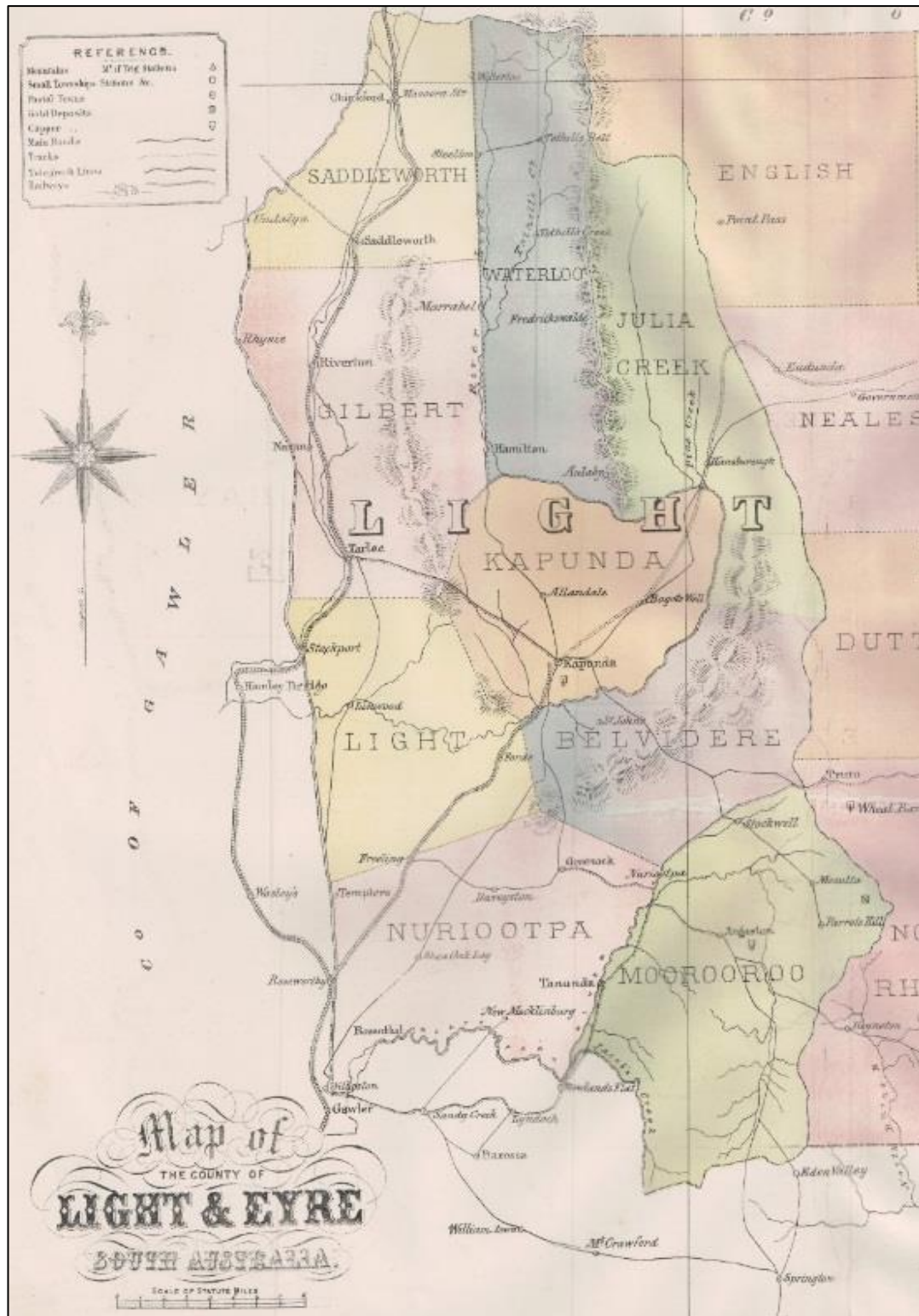


Figure 1.3: Sections of the County of Light. Note: Undalya lies on the border of the two counties. (From Carroll: South Australian Counties Atlas 1876)

As gravestones are a physical means of observing changes over time, examining the graves over a fifty year time frame enabled such changes to be ascertained.

Memorialisation includes the iconography of the grave as represented in motifs and

inscriptions, as well as the placement, form, height, style and colour of the grave marker itself. The Irish are predominantly of the Catholic faith, with only approximately 10% being Protestant (Phillips 2012:1). To determine what aspects of the data might indicate 'Irishness' as opposed to 'Catholicness', a sub-sample of Irish Protestant graves and non-Irish Catholic graves were also recorded. This allowed identifiers of religious memorialisation to be separated from other cultural traits. In order to compare change across time, memorialisation practices of first generation immigrants and two generations of their descendants were compared.

While gender is an intrinsic part of identity, it was not the focus of this study and is, therefore, not considered in the analysis of the data. Instead my analysis takes a Marxist perspective, though other methods of interpretation could be considered.

The variables recorded and analysed included:

- The primary burial, being the first-named person on the gravestone.
Understanding which interment was the primary burial was imperative to understanding the order of burial within a grave, and the relationship of stylistic choices on grave markers to other factors, such as gender, familial structure or decade.
- Motifs: symbols displayed on the grave markers
- Inscriptions: the wording used on the marker
- Form: shape of the headstone
- Material: used to form the headstone
- Size: the height, width and thickness of headstones
- Fences/surrounds: the form and material of any grave edging
- Family relationships: the number of names on a headstone or the number of markers in a plot and the relationship between the people buried
- Spatial distribution of family graves
- Orientation and size of plots

Genealogical data was gathered to determine family relationships as well as the counties in which people were born.

Significance

While there have been several historical studies of Irish cultural migration to South Australia, (Arthur 2014, James 2009, Richards 1998, 1991a, 1991b, 1986, Moore 1991, Greet 1987, Nance 1978), none have attempted to assess Irish memorialisation practices in this context. The proportion of Irish in South Australia was the lowest of all Australian colonies, constituting no more than 10% of nineteenth century immigrants (Richards 1991a:62). This relatively small population resulted in the Irish being invisible in a number of ways: their narratives are not the dominant narratives in the foundation of the state. Their Catholicism was unpopular in the dissident context of the colony's attitudes to religion, which were predominantly Anglo-Scottish Protestant, resulting in a lack of representation in historical records. Thus, this underrepresentation affords an opportunity to explore them through material evidence.

With the Irish arrivals being an important, though inconspicuous facet in South Australia's growth from fledgling colony to a self-sustaining entity, this study provides the opportunity to examine the enduring characteristics of their behaviour. Anglo-Irish settlers, such as Captain Charles Bagot and Edmund Gleeson, were influential and affluent Protestant Irishmen, who attained high government positions, while the majority of Irish emigrants were Catholic and provided much of the labour force needed to establish the colony. They were generally industrious and law-abiding, eking out a living and attempting to adapt to the society in which they lived (Greet 1987:77). The lack of historical narrative associated with the labouring Irish in South Australia warrants a study into their lives. As stated by Tarlow (1999), gravestones are a manner in which beliefs can be expressed allowing traditions to be demonstrated rather than assumed.

This study therefore provides an insight into cultural dynamics and relationships between groups, particularly in the contexts of a region's early settlement, while also contributing to archaeological knowledge of the presence of a particular group, who, though low in number, left an indelible imprint on the landscape of the colony. In particular, this study enables the evaluation of the connection between identity and memorialisation, and evaluates its strength within a particular set of Irish communities. Furthermore, it explores whether these migrants changed memorialisation practices in response to interaction with other cultural groups.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity

According to Erikson, 'identity ... connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself... and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential characteristics with others' (Erikson 1980:109, cited in Sökefeld 2001:531), while identity is considered by Goffmann (1963) to be a 'collection of characteristics', be they inherent or attributed, that are used to classify people (Goffmann 1963, cited in Sökefeld 2001:532). Goffman's is a combination of emic and etic views of identity - the mechanisms used to classify people by others, as well as the means used to understand the self. Erikson also studied identity from both perspectives.

Thus, identity presents in two ways – as one's self-perception that may or may not change over time, and as a social grouping via the perception of self and others, although it is still related to relative position within larger, socially-constructed and intersecting systems, such as age, gender, race or capitalism. For example, religion (Smedley 1998:693) and occupation place people in a particular social stratum (Smedley 1998:691), while ethnicity and gender can further entrench domination (Burke 1999:7). However, differences in characteristics such as religion and occupation can also be the cause of domination. Irish Catholics, for example, have long been derided and treated as inferior, firstly by the English when Ireland was claimed in the seventeenth century, and later as migrants to British colonies. Furthermore, the Irish rural lifestyle was demeaned by British laws with people forced into tenancy from the seventeenth century onwards (Handlin 1959:38). Sökefeld (2001) argues that ethnicity and gender have emic dimensions as local concepts 'within a culture' (i.e. as self-identity), but also etic dimensions as 'cross-cultural perspectives' determined by outside opinions, and can thus also be applicable to the ascription of a group identity (Sökefeld 2001:529). While many facets of identity are ascribed by others, meaning is created throughout the everyday lives of people (McGuire and Wurst 2002:89). Bourdieu (1977: cited in Clark 2005:449) argues that people have a subconsciously-generated bias toward particular ideas and customs, such as a gendered division of labour. This, however, may develop into a conscious approach if it becomes entrenched as the accepted procedure. Hence, part of one's self-identity is 'shaped by social practices' from a very young age (Jones 1999:225-226).

Self-identity is ever present, but is unlikely to be consciously considered until confronted by another's perceptions (Field 1994:434). Smedley suggests that personal identity relates to one's place of birth, matriarchal or patriarchal lineal descent or social position (Smedley 1998:692), akin to Bourdieu's argument of subconscious bias, and that social position can acquire attributes based on education, marriage or a further development of self-identity (See Figure 2.1). Self-identity is related, in part, to wider 'economic and power interests' (as suggested by Smedley [1998:692]), such that identity can shift dependent on the situation in which one exists (Jones 1999:224), though it is unlikely a major transformation would occur.

While the word identity is derived from the Latin *idem*, meaning 'same', group or social identity is unlikely to be homogeneous, as common traits can be shared by different groups (Jones 1999:225), and, within a group, differences exist between individuals: in other words, groups will have 'internal diversity' (Bottero and Irwin 2003:465). Individual and group identity are both expressed in various ways: through intangible actions and activities, such as spoken language, religious practices, food or music, and through the tangible material culture that derives from these. Archaeologists, in turn, and as the ultimate outside observers, use material remains of such social practices to interpret the classification of social identity. Social identity is continually evolving (Brighton 2004:157), varying in different contexts and resulting in identity being a dynamic entity that is hard to determine.

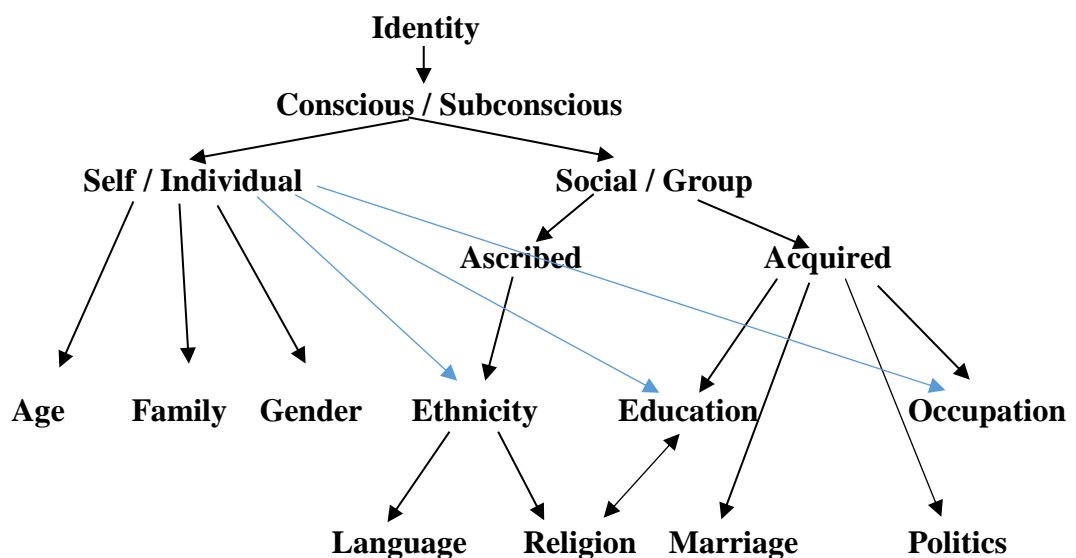


Figure 2.1: Aspects of Identity.

Capitalism, having dominated the western world since the sixteenth century, has had a significant impact on the structures of modern society. It is based on a system of

production in which one group has dominance and control, while another works to create profit for the former (Leone 1999:13, cited in Croucher and Weiss 2011:8). Burke considers capitalism to be a social process in which the dominant have 'control over things... control over labour... and control over production' (Burke 1999:6). Such influence results in an imbalance of wealth and work distribution.

The basic principles which structure capitalism stratify society into classes, with the need for subordinates to undertake the work to produce goods, and thus profits, for the dominant (Leone 1999). By definition, class is a group of people with the same economic, political or cultural positions, whereas status is acquired on the basis of marriage, appearance, sex, age, family relations and birth; so, while people may begin life within one social group, abilities and accomplishments can allow movement between these groups.

Ethnicity

An important aspect of ascribed identity is ethnicity. An ethnic group has common traits, such as language and cultural values (Sökefeld 2001:532). As defined by Barth (1969:13, cited in Sökefeld 2001:532), 'ethnic ascription...classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origins or background'. However, ethnicity is not merely cultural; it is also the manner by which social and cultural processes are integrated to make a group identifiable (Jones 1997:xiii), but is often perceived on the basis of limited traits by outside observers (Jones 1997:62), including archaeologists.

Upton construes ethnicity as a range of values and practices within a group that distinguish them from other groups (Upton 1996:1), where the identity of a culture lies 'in those values and practices from the homeland' (Upton 1996:3): For example, the 'Irishness' of emigrants as defined by the practices and values they shared, versus 'Irishness' as perceived by those of other lands, often with negative connotations, with religious differences being a major factor in these perceptions. Smedley augments this with the theory that ethnicity burdens identity with elements, such as difference from others and hostility (Smedley 1998:690), by suggesting that people of different ethnic groups compete with each other and that struggle and animosity result (Smedley 1998:691). As the English encountered various peoples in their exploration of the world, for example, an interpretation of human differences arose both within the British Isles (that is, between the British and the Irish) and between

the English and the inhabitants of the New World (Smedley 1998:694). The awareness of having different beliefs or practices becomes apparent when contact with other cultural groups occurs, particularly when this contact becomes the mechanism by which one group can be exploited by another. In her study of Kalahari San points, Wiessner (1983) found distinct differences in style between language groups, revealing the subconscious barriers that had developed between these peoples (Wiessner 1983:269), although the San people also endeavoured to characterise their craft with personal forms of decoration (Wiessner 1983:271), thus individualising the points within the group. Furthermore, Wiessner (1983:257) proposed that identity, both personal and social, is affected by 'social comparison', thus revealing similarity or difference in the resultant artefact.

Irish Ethnicity

Identity is intrinsic with class position in Ireland, along with occupation and name (Field 1994:434). Until the mid-nineteenth century, the Irish countryside was primarily populated by 'rural poor' although numerous other social levels also existed, ranging from large landholders to itinerant workers, and included families who owned land and those who did not. After 1860, the rural class structure underwent major changes, with an increase in the number of small farmers, along with a decrease in population following the Famine (Hirsch 1991:1117). Thus, an individual's place in society was well-defined in Ireland, but until a person migrates to another country, or, indeed, if one's country is invaded, then 'self-definition' is challenged (Field 1994:434). A distinct Irish identity had developed over the country's long history, but after England's invasion in 1649, the people were considered in terms of their differences to the English, particularly in terms of their religion, monetary wealth and education. When capitalism came to the fore, from the sixteenth century onwards, Irish position, and consequently identity, was altered by the development of a hierarchical structure in which power and dominance of one group over another escalated.

Emigration has been a significant contributor to the development of ethnic recognition. With the demand for 'immigrant labour and the lack of employment opportunities at home' (Fitzpatrick 1985:1), the English became the first to instigate Irish emigration, particularly from the 1820s (Lawes 2013). Busted and Hodgson used Manchester as a case study for understanding the Irish adjustment to urban life

in a new country in the nineteenth century (Busteed and Hodgson 1996:139), finding that English animosity had particular anti-Irish sentiment, being more than Catholic xenophobia, with Ireland considered politically unstable and violent (Busteed and Hodgson 1996:143). Walter considered an increasing anti-Catholic sentiment in England by the mid-nineteenth century gave rise to racial and religious discrimination, against the Irish (Walter 1986:132), with the English regarding the Catholic Church as a negative encroachment on their land. Busteed and Hodgson, however, argued that the Church offered a 'landmark of cultural identity' and leadership (Busteed and Hodgson 1996:148), being that the institution was a core to Irish identity, and thus an effective cornerstone and support to emigrants.

Field's sociological study in three north-eastern cities of the United States recognised the alienation felt by Irish immigrants in the seventeenth century, being labelled with negative stereotypes, and accused of being ignorant, drunken and violent (Field 1994:435). In contrast, Miller (1980) investigated the manner in which Irish migrants perceived themselves in the 1800s. Through newspapers and personal letters, he found they considered themselves to be in 'exile' brought on by forced migration due to 'English tyranny'; though many migrated voluntarily to improve their social and economic fortunes (Miller 1980:99-100).

Marston analysed the neighbourhoods established in Lowell, Massachusetts, in the nineteenth century, suggesting they presented an answer to the strategies which enabled the Irish to develop a political presence (Marston 1988:414). Through Irish-dominated areas and volunteer organisations, a 'political response' to discrimination developed, while living in 'residential clusters' afforded the Irish a sense of security against local discrimination (Marston 1988:419). Volunteer groups fostered the sharing of knowledge, and provided a chance to work with the rest of the community, allowing the development of ideas and beliefs and leading to the evolution of a political ideology arising from their Irish ethnicity (Marston 1988:426). Furthermore, living in enclaves allowed the development of 'ethnic solidarity', expressed in such activities as St Patrick's Day parades, which not only emphasised the significance of Ireland and being Irish, but were also public expressions of the Irish ability for community engagement (Marston 1988:427).

As discussed by Arthur (2014:16), Irishness is a term often used but never defined. Fitzpatrick (1991a:324) suggests the nature of Irishness is assumed rather than

analysed, and that nineteenth-century English observations have formed the basis for many such assumptions then and since, including the strictness of Catholicism, the simplistic rural and social society of Ireland, and the prevalence of Gaelic language (Fitzpatrick 1991a:325). Regardless of the county of origin, religion or skills, many Irish emigrants tended to be identified as ‘ignorant, dirty and primitive Paddies or Biddies’ (Fitzpatrick 1985:13). The Irish, however, saw themselves in a different light; many considered their exodus to be at the fault of English laws in Ireland, being forced into emigration by ‘political oppression’ and not as a necessity of social cataclysm (Miller 1980:99), while experiencing discrimination economically and being perceived as a threat to established morals. Furthermore, Miller (1980:108-110) identifies a central tenet of Irish Catholic society as a dependence on family and tradition, leaving little opportunity for individuality, which was further engrained by a uniformity of belief in the Church. This was in comparison with Irish Protestants, who considered individuality an important part of their identity.

Symbolism and Material Culture

A number of studies have considered ethnicity through historical archaeology. McGuire (1982) examined the means by which ethnic groups formed and changed. In an archaeological study of ethnicity in historic periods, he advocated a combination of material culture and historical documents to illustrate why some ethnic groups assimilate (thus becoming materially invisible) and others do not (McGuire 1982:159).

Material culture conveys notions of 'social-identity' by being associated with a particular group which enables significant interpretation of aspects of ethnicity and class (Brighton 2004:149-150). Orser's study of the Roscommon district in Ireland, for example, found that the area supported three social classes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries- landlords, tenants and peasants. Orser examined the manner in which the peasants expressed their identity through the locally-made ceramics found in domestic sites, even though better quality, imported English ceramics were readily available (Orser 1997:15-17).

Similarly, Reckner (2001) scrutinised Irish animosity to American patriotic motifs in Irish districts of New York as a response to American ‘nativism’ (a means of protecting the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants), akin to nationalism. His study examined the lack of American nationalist symbols, such as

the bald eagle, on clay pipes found in a district with a population of over 90% Irish immigrants from the 1850s (Reckner 2001:105), in comparison to those that displayed Irish nationalist symbols, including harps and shamrocks, particularly from the 1880s onwards (Reckner 2001:111). The nativist themes of this period were defined by anti-Catholicism and the threat of foreign-born peoples (Reckner 2001:109), with the rise of poverty, crime and disease yet again proclaimed the fault of 'Catholics', while the cheap labour of the migrants was deemed the cause of a lack of 'American' jobs (Reckner 2001:110; see also Marston 1988:419). Reckner argues that such discriminations caused a reluctance by the Irish to accept American symbols, and so to develop their own political ideologies to strengthen their standing.

Brighton (2004) found a similar correlation between the use of clay pipes with overt Irish symbols and the assertion of distinct social and political positions. Focussing on a case study in Paterson, New Jersey, a district of Irish-born Ulster immigrants and their Irish/American descendants, he demonstrated how the use of the Red Hand of Ulster on clay pipes assisted in defining the social standing of the Irish as they acquired a place in American society (Brighton 2004:161). Brighton concluded that the Red Hand symbol was used to signify Ireland's long and important history and thus portrayed the battle to develop a social order for the Irish and their progeny (Brighton 2004:161).

The studies of Reckner and Brighton suggest that political awareness and solidarity among the Irish, and first generation Irish/Americans, increased over the course of the nineteenth century. Brighton linked this to the 'Gaelic Revival' in Ireland, manifesting in an increased consciousness of Irish history and interest in Gaelic culture from the 1880s (Brighton 2004:158-159). Furthermore, having connection with homeland causes induced a confidence to strive for improved social and political standing in America, while alleviating a sense of inferiority in their new home (Brighton 2004:158). This contributed to a 'renewed sense of self, respectability and cultural strength' (O'Mahony and Delahunty 1998:77, cited in Brighton 2004:159). Morrissey (2005) further noted how such positive and distinct social identities continued into the twentieth century through the use of 'cultural signifiers' - by Irish servicemen in World War I, such as the Connaught Rangers who used shamrock badges and green flags on their uniforms (Morrissey 2005:80).

These studies demonstrate ways in which social identity can present itself as group-based, in that material culture and spatial organisation produce a connectedness when confronted with adversity. In turn, this connectedness allowed the Irish to develop a larger political philosophy that also equipped them to cope with discrimination and assert solidarity.

Religion, religious symbols and cemetery markers

Religion has long been a major consideration when discussing Irish identity, with Catholicism being regarded as the faith of the 'true' Irish (Walker 1996:37), particularly in the nineteenth century. Being such a divisive issue in Britain's domination of Ireland, with Catholics excluded from any position of importance (Keenan 1983:5), and the Irish migrating to British colonies where Irish Catholics encountered prejudice in their everyday lives, the Catholic faith and its symbolism is particularly poignant in understanding Irishness and Irish identity.

'Religion lies at the core of cultural history' (Glennie 1995:164), and death and loss is a time when lives and faith are contemplated (Mytum 2013:161). The importance and strength of faith and attitudes to death and remembrance are exhibited in the memorials. Death and its observance in the Protestant faith still revolves around judgement of life and beliefs, not on the 'hope of divine reward' (Museum of Protestantism 2014) with no improvement then possible, whereas Catholics concentrated on more engaged memorialisation in that one's faith could be enhanced through prayers by the living (Mytum 2013:162).

The external gravestone, as opposed to memorials within churches, allows not only a public demonstration of loss, but also a method of displaying beliefs (Mytum 2006:103), and insight into the deceased's identity. Mytum's study (2013) investigated the symbols and texts used on gravestones, not only in different countries, but also by different religions throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ulster Catholics who suffered persecution and prejudice, used similar symbols to Protestants, so that their faith would be less evident in the Counter Reformation Catholic church (Mytum 2013:166). Puritans of New England represented the prospect of resurrection with cherubs, but used little biblical text and Ulster Scots in New Hampshire employed mortality symbols such as coffins with hearts and a cross, as well as Presbyterian images for love (Mytum 2013:163). The Jesuit order of Germany encouraged the use of 'IHS' (one explanation of this

abbreviation is *Iesus Hominum Salvator* – ‘Jesus Savior of Mankind’ [Donnelly 2005:39]) with a cross, a symbol that developed strong associations with Irish Catholics as a symbol of prayer for the dead as well as a ‘symbol of resistance’ against the Reformation for both Irish Catholics and the vestige of the Scottish who remained with that faith (Mytum 2013:168). Furthermore, depictions of Christ’s Passion and a crucifix were popular motifs in the Irish Counties of Louth and Tipperary (Mytum 2013:168). Gravestones are particularly important means by which such beliefs can be articulated – one that may reflect people’s connections and traditions with more transparency than documented histories (Tarlow 1999:5).

Mytum has undertaken numerous studies of Irish cemeteries to analyse the spatial relationship of graves (Mytum and Evans 2002:131) and considered grave markers as artefacts with their own 'social history' (Mytum 2003/2004:111). He believes the inscription to be the most important part of the marker, as the words are not merely descriptive but also contextual, particularly with additions of progressive interments (Mytum 2003/2004:113). The monument style indicates facets of beliefs and social status, with meaning being communicated to the community who knew the deceased. County Louth characteristically displayed simple inscriptions, such as:

ERECTED BY
NICHOLAS GARVEY
GARVEYSTOWN
IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER
PATRICK GARVEY
WHO DIED 1ST AUG 1893
AGED 60 YEARS
RIP

An emphasis was often given to those who erected the memorial, displaying elements of identity, such as religious beliefs or social status, although not necessarily deliberately (Mytum 2003/2004:114). Furthermore, Mytum found Irish graves to be re-used over a number of generations, particularly from the mid-eighteenth century until the early 1900s. Over time the style of inscription reflected the era in which wording was added, while the importance of familial connection and responsibility was shown by continual re-use (Mytum 2003/2004:117).

Mytum's and Evan’s research at Killeevan, County Monaghan, did not investigate individual grave markers, but rather the spatial relationships and 'changing physical context of commemoration' (Mytum 2003/2004:113). Being that the site was little

used after the eighteenth century, it presented a finite time frame to examine the 'spatial dynamics' of memorialisation (Mytum and Evans 2002:133). Unusual findings occurred in the study, with interesting placements of Catholic burials, normally located at the east end of the churchyard and in proximity to the church altar, found to the west, a situation they ascribed to the position of an earlier medieval church, rather than the existing building (Mytum and Evans 2002:144). More interestingly, Mytum found few family burials in this cemetery, suggesting that the practice was not universal across Ireland.

County Monaghan was also the subject of McCormick's research into headstone decoration from the eighteenth century (McCormick 1976). He found the stones to be decorated on back, front and, at times, the sides. The fronts contained an inscription, bordered by birds or foliage, with cherubs' heads and beings, who were possibly angels; the back decoration consisted of a coat-of-arms and a depiction of Adam and Eve, while the sides, when embellished, portrayed praying clergy (McCormick 1976:5). McCormick notes that dorsal engravings, particularly when accompanied by vegetation, were typical throughout Ireland (McCormick 1976:6). The motifs were associated with more general precepts of Christianity akin to Alexander's (1950) findings, rather than having distinct cultural undertones. Alexander (1950) explored the meanings of early Christian symbols, many of which are still used as grave decoration. She found that the essence of motifs has remained generally constant throughout the centuries (Alexander 1950:242). Jesus is represented by 'alpha and omega', as well as by a lamb, the latter of which also depicted the faithful, as did a fish. A phoenix or peacock depicted the resurrection, and a cross, derived from the time of Constantine, was a symbol of triumph. The initials 'INRI', the contraction for IESVS NAZAREVS, REX IVDAEORUM [Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews], are normally seen above Christ's head in crucifixion embodiments (Alexander 1950:242-247).

[Christian Burials in an Australian Context](#)

The evidence of Christian burials in Australia from the time of first settlement is quite different from that seen in Irish cemeteries. Jalland identified the significance placed on bush deaths and burials in the latter half of the nineteenth century, where the bush grave 'established a sense of belonging to the land' (Jalland 2002:254). Irish people desired to be buried with family in Ireland, but due to the tyranny of distance

that, too, was unlikely; there was a 'persistent, centuries-old preoccupation with death ... the most evident hallmark of the Irishness of Irish culture' (Witoszek 1987:207, cited in Jalland 2002:254). Jalland argued that migrants became resigned to burial in Australia, but these new connections also continued an old culture, in that the next generation, born in Australia, could visit parents' graves (Jalland 2002:254), as they would have in Ireland.

Few studies have been undertaken on Irish burials in Australia; and very little work on Irish settlers prior to the 1850s. Farrell's (2003) thesis investigated the connection of emotion in commemoration by studying the symbolism and language used on gravestones in a public and a Catholic cemetery, rather than specifically Irish graves, with a focus on the mid-north of South Australia. The Mintaro Catholic cemetery demonstrated a popularity for religious motifs, in particular the use of headstones in the shape of a cross, and inscriptions which used euphemisms for death. In contrast, the use of tablet shaped stones and the word death were more common in the public cemetery (Farrell 2003:90, 97).

Hall and Proudfoot (2007) undertook historical research of Irish graves in the Victorian town of Stawell. Though the Irish population was not large, they had a significant impact on the district. Hall and Proudfoot proposed that migrants lost the connection of place and memories when they migrated and therefore needed to create meaning in their new surrounds (Hall and Proudfoot 2007:68). Their study, however, did not indicate this trend, finding a strong connection with the immigrants' homeland depicted on the grave markers through symbols such as shamrocks and harps, a preference for certain shapes, such as the Celtic cross, and inscriptions relating to their ethnic origin (Hall and Proudfoot 2007:72-77). A particular practice found in Stawell was including the place of birth, but was more often the county of origin rather than the country of Ireland itself (Hall and Proudfoot 2007:72), indicating not all Irish were homogeneous and that county was the primary marker of identity (Hall and Proudfoot 2007:76), particularly amongst Catholics. As with Brighton's suggestion of patriotism in the United States being associated with the 'Gaelic Revival' in Ireland, Hall and Proudfoot connected place names on headstones to the 1880s to a period of growing nationalism. The Irish Protestants did not follow such a trend, however, nor did they use overtly cultural symbols, such as

shamrocks or harps or inscribe their place of birth on headstones (Hall and Proudfoot 2007:77).

Despite highlighting some suggestive markers of Irishness, Hall and Proudfoot's was an historical study and therefore relied solely on descriptive observations with no statistical analysis to determine whether the findings represented real distinctions amongst the larger population, let alone whether Protestant and Catholic graves indicated difference or similarity in terms of Irishness.

Summary

The studies of grave and cemetery trends in style, decoration and inscriptions demonstrates the worth of investigating the memorialisation of Irish settlers in South Australia. Variations in Ireland allow an understanding of the importance of local traditions in South Australia, and whether colonial developments can be identified. As much work has been undertaken in the United States and Ireland, the opportunity to expand the knowledge of the archaeological record in a new domain provides a means to further understand the early settlers, and what they deemed important to continue from their homeland.

Chapter 3: IRISH SETTLERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The Beginnings of South Australia

South Australia was a non-convict, English colony, founded on Edward Gibbon Wakefield's plan of 'systematic colonisation' (Richards 1986:5). Men with capital bought land with the promise of labour and profit (Main 1986:96), and the revenue from sales was used to pay emigrant labourers' passages (Pike 1967:52).

Furthermore, the high price of £1 per acre prevented labourers from being able to afford land for many years after their arrival, thus retaining them as a labour force. This enabled the colony to exist with two levels of society – 'men of capital' and 'labourers with free passage' – although the plan did not work as well in practice (Main 1986:97).

The founding philosophies of South Australia were 'civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions' (Pike 1967:3), with an anticipated gender balance. This ideal, however, was a marketing ploy, and did not justify such a large number of emigrants (15,000) coming to South Australia on assisted passage in the colony's first decade.

With South Australia being English in its genesis, the Irish were not the earliest arrivals. In fact, it was a calculated decision by administrators to avoid affiliating with Ireland as a source of emigrants (Richards 1991a:62-63). However, the architect of the South Australian colonisation scheme, Wakefield, considered that encouraging Irish migration could assist in alleviating the influx of Irish peasants to England, and suggested creating an emigration fund for that purpose (Richards 1991b:10). From 1835, Captain Robert Torrens, a Derry-born Protestant, vigorously crusaded to encourage Irish emigration (Moore 1991:104-105). Many of the colony's residents, however, were opposed, not only to immigration of the poor, but also to the establishment of Catholicism in the colony (Richards 1991a:67). As such, the numbers of Catholic Irish were few until the 1840s, but the South Australian Protestant Emigration Community, established in 1837, was formed to encourage Protestant Irishmen to escape the conflict and unrest in Ireland. As the need for labourers increased, Irish Catholics were recruited with men under 30 years of age offered passage at a reduced rate, with board and clothing provided. Upon arrival in the colony, they had the freedom to work for whomever they chose (Moore

1991:109). It was under these conditions that the *William Nichol* brought the first company of free Irish settlers directly from Ireland to South Australia, departing in April, 1840 (Leadbeater 2014). These came from numerous counties, thus ensuring the colony would be well publicised among the many peasant farmers across Ireland through letters from their emigrated relatives (Moore 1991:109).

A number of emigration organisations operated in the first ten years of settlement, developed to advertise South Australia as a worthwhile place in which to live and/or invest and to stimulate Irish emigration; one in particular, the Emigration and Special Survey Commission, was established in 1840 to encourage colonists to settle in special survey areas (Moore 1991:109). Few investors had taken advantage of opportunities to own land until the creation of the special surveys, by which settlers or investors in Great Britain could pay £4000 for a survey of 15000 acres. Four thousand of the surveyed acres could then be pre-emptively selected by that individual for settlement (Moore 1991:109).

The Irish in South Australia

Initial settlement of the mid-north occurred in the early 1840s, as part of one of the first special surveys; the counties of Stanley and Light were proclaimed in 1842. Three individuals, Edmund B. Gleeson, from County Clare in Ireland (Richards 1991a:84), Sir Montague Chapman of County Westmeath (Richards 1991a:69) and Colonel George Wyndham, of Sussex, England (Spencer 1998:3), acquired land under special survey. Gleeson had arrived in the colony in 1838 from Ireland via military service in India (Richards 1991a:84) and was one of the first to settle in the mid-north in 1840, establishing a homestead and sheep station in the Clare Valley, named after Gleeson's home county.

Chapman was a Protestant Irishman purchased land near the area now known as Kapunda. Wyndham, who already possessed substantial land holdings in Counties Clare, Tipperary and Limerick in Ireland invested in land at Hutt River, near Clare, to alleviate the excess of tenant farmers on his estates, while also assisting those tenants to migrate and work the lands, as did Gleeson and Chapman, who brought many Irish people to the colony to labour on their properties.

Neither Chapman nor Wyndham ever migrated to South Australia, but had managers to oversee their colonial acreages. Chapman, however, did visit his estates in 1852,

the year after transferring a sizeable proportion of land to his manager, Charles Bagot (Moore 1991:111-112).

Bagot, of Ennis, County Clare, in association with Chapman, recruited people who had been displaced by evictions and closures (Richards 1986:123), sending 213 Irish from Ireland's southern and eastern provinces of Munster and Leinster to the colony. Bagot travelled as manager of the land purchase, sailing on the *Birman* in 1840 with his family from Cork (Moore 1991:112). Two further emigrant ships sailed from Cork in 1840, the *Mary Dugdale* and the *Brightman*. Some immigrants found work on the properties of John Reid, a Protestant Irishman from County Clare (Niesingh and Shackley 2009:4-5), others worked for Bagot on land owned by Chapman at Kapunda and the River Light or for Gleeson on his property in Clare (Moore 1991:110).

Chapman, Gleeson and Bagot were typical of the earliest Irish settlers to South Australia, who were mainly Protestants, since 'no Catholic gentlemen of property were allowed to join the founders', an accusation by South Australia's first Catholic priest, William Benson, in 1843 (Richards 1991c:216). This notion of minimising Irish migrant numbers was supported by Major Thomas O'Halloran, a Protestant Irishman who claimed that the early administrators of the colony allowed twenty times more English to immigrate to South Australia than Irish (O'Halloran et al. 1849:1S).

A severe shortage of workers in the late 1840s, due to the improving economy and thus increased demand for labourers, causing the near collapse of the colony and resulting in many ex-prisoners and 'poor house' girls being brought to South Australia (Richards 1986:126). About 600 Irish Catholic female orphans arrived in South Australia between 1848 and 1850 (O'Farrell 1987:74) and, although initially not welcomed because of their religion and their lack of education, the girls were quickly employed until a downturn in available work resulted in the cessation of that particular emigration scheme (Richards 1998:83-85). The colony's Governor from 1855, Richard Graves MacDonnell, planned to spread the Catholic immigrants throughout the countryside to reduce an excess of labourers and overcrowding in the city, as there was insufficient work and accommodation in which to house them, for such an influx in Adelaide. As a result, some of the women shifted to the Clare region, which already had an Irish presence (Richards 1998:91-92). Furthermore,

more Irish girls were sent to that district as part of Caroline Chisholm's scheme (Moyle 1982:16-17) to secure accommodation and work, while arranging marriages for single Irish Catholic girls encouraged a more temperate community (Gallasch 1983:4). Chisholm, being faithful to her Catholic belief, encouraged families to emigrate together or to reunify families when a parent had initially emigrated alone (Aust. Population Association 1988:54). The St Patrick's Society, originally founded in Adelaide in 1849 (O'Farrell 1987:143), began an immigration depot in Clare to care for the single women, with a similar scheme operating in Mintaro, both of which employed strict rules to ensure the girls' safety (Lally 2006:5-6).

Various towns developed across the mid-north in response to the influx of immigrants throughout the nineteenth century (Figure 3.2). Kapunda, initially an agricultural area, advanced with the discovery of copper, while Mintaro developed from Burra's copper industry, being a transport stopover to the town of Port Henry (now Port Wakefield) (Noye 1975:20), with that village being established when Joseph Gilbert subdivided land in 1849 (DENR 1990). The discovery of slate at Mintaro in 1854 became a major factor in the town's survival after the ore transport bypassed it from 1857 onwards, while its development as an agricultural centre further enhanced its continuance (Noye 1975:125). The Irish (Catholics) tended to settle on the northern side of the town, while English (Methodists) were primarily in the town itself. As in Kapunda, the Irish presence in Mintaro resulted in a strong community, with settlers such as Peter Brady and the Dempsey family, all of County Cavan, becoming leaders in that community.

Conversely, Navan was an Irish enclave settled in the 1840s by Irish emigrants who fled the Famine, and named after a town in Co. Meath (Burrows 1965:29). By 1866 the population was 300, with a Catholic school and church adding to the services (Whitworth 1866:157). As noted by Carroll (1876:4), by 1876 Navan was considered more an agricultural district than a township, since the area had reverted mainly to farmland (Burrows 1965:29-30). The establishment of a segregated Irish community such as Navan was unusual in South Australia. Saddleworth was also settled in the 1840s, by an English farmer, James Masters, who established a sheep property and named the area after his hometown in West Riding, Yorkshire. The town did not appear to have a large Irish population, with only a handful of graves found in the Anglican cemetery, and those all belonging to one extended family. The town

developed similarly to Mintaro, being on the transport route from Burra to Adelaide (History SA). Riverton, near Navan, was also established by Masters in 1856 (Burrows 1965), but was an English community, suggesting that English migrants chose to settle away from the neighbouring Irish.

Undalya is on the border of the counties of Stanley and Light, and at the junction of the Wakefield River and Pine Creek (Whitworth 1866:256). Its two earliest settlers were Englishmen, Captain George Lambert, buried in the Undalya Catholic cemetery, and William Baker, who arrived in the district in 1848, having been a crewman on the *Emerald Isle*, the ship chartered by Gleeson when he migrated to South Australia (Moyle 1982:98). St Patrick’s Catholic Church was built in 1866 by the Jesuit priests of Sevenhill, adjacent to a Catholic school established the year before to cater for Irish immigrants (Moyle 1982:100), who, as in other districts, proved to be hard-working members of the community, although not rising to any particular historical prominence.

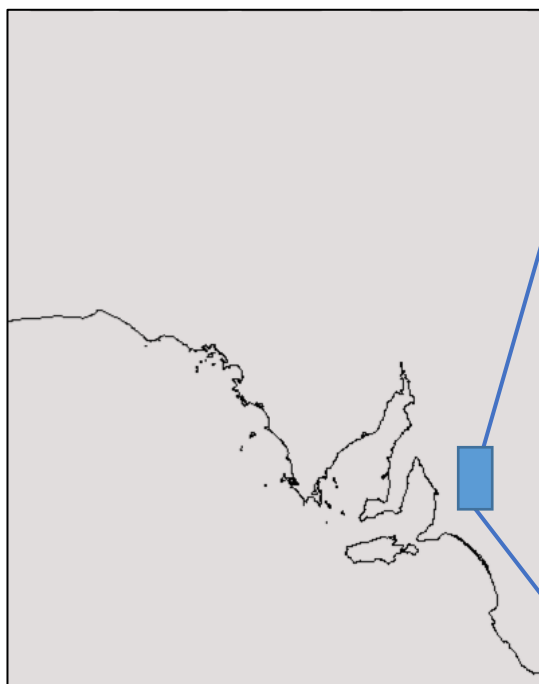


Figure 3.1: Clare Valley region of South Australia.
(Map from <http://library.unimelb.edu.au> 2001)

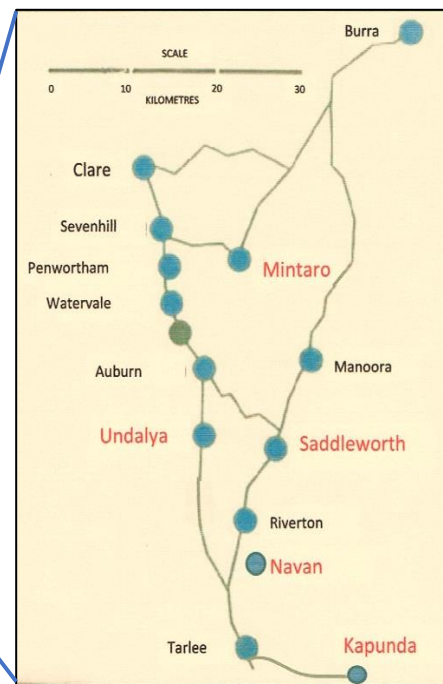
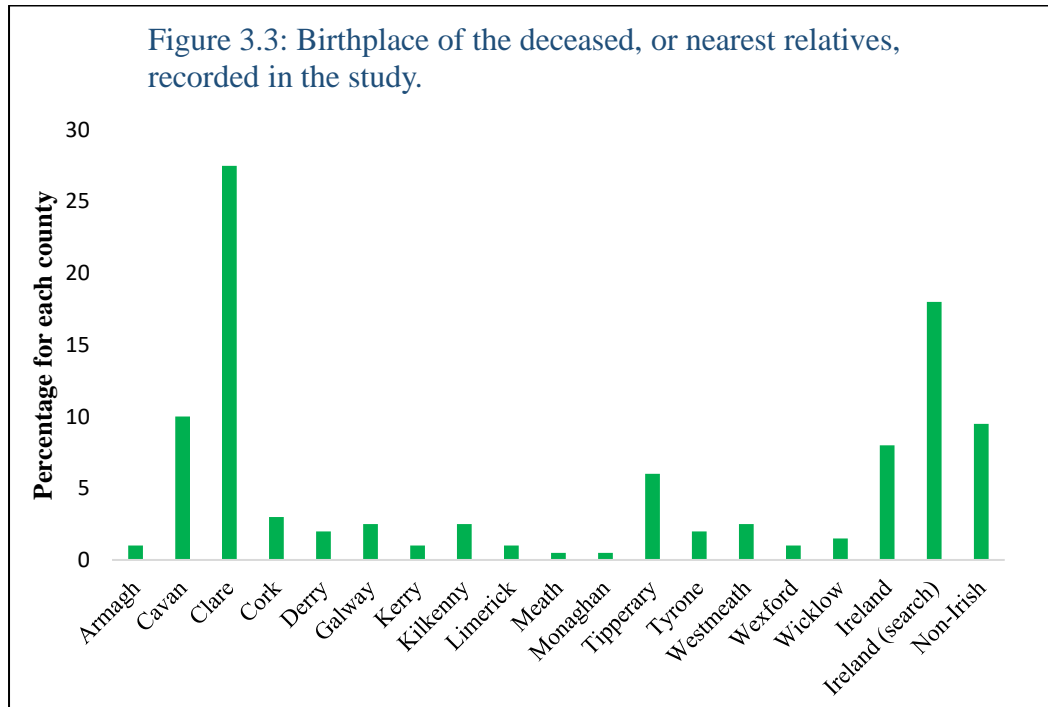


Figure 3.2: Towns of the Clare Valley.
(Map from Topic Media 2014)

The Home Counties of South Australia’s Irish Settlers

The arrival of the *Birman* in 1840 began an ongoing and significant association between County Clare and South Australia, since that county consistently provided the highest number of emigrants through the nineteenth century. Together, the

counties of Clare, Tipperary, Limerick and Cork supplied half of all assisted passage arrivals after 1850 (Richards 1991c:221), with the Irish constituting about 10 percent of the colony's population in 1861 (Richards 1991a:101) (Table 3.1). However, the distribution found in this study showed a higher percentage of Cavan immigrants compared to those from either Cork or Limerick in the mid-north (Figure 3.3).



Birthplace	Stanley					Light				
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ireland	714	1102	877	520	372	1917	1921	1124	738	539
South Australia	1995	5677	7233	7483	7540	5844	11417	10698	11460	12539
Rest of Australia/NZ	36	N/A	163	110	203	89	N/A	202	189	316
Rest of Britain	1811	2470	2232	1401	891	3622	3439	2386	1627	1038
Other countries	42	382	509	346	256	51	2983	1867	1470	1018
Other British Possessions	204	115	22	21	11	3384	194	25	18	15
At sea/unspecified	33	39	32	35	27	73	65	26	44	22
Total	4835	9785	11068	9916	9300	14980	20019	16328	15546	15487

Table 3.1: Birthplace of County Stanley and Light Residents. (1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901 SA Census)

County	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Stanley	0	13	14	9	14
Light	4	39	35	26	37
Total	4	52	49	35	51

Table 3.2: Irish deaths recorded in study in County Stanley and Light, for each decade.

Over time the counties of Stanley and Light continued to grow in population, peaking in the 1860s in Light and the 1870s in Stanley (Table 3.1), with both showing a significant influx of Irish-born migrants. A decline in population is apparent in the 1891 census, particularly among the Irish-born residents of Light, with a decrease of about 35% over the preceding decade. Stanley had about 41% fewer Irish-born in the same period (Table 3.1). The number of deaths recorded for this study (Table 3.2) followed a similar pattern to the Census data, with a greater number of deaths in the 1890s being indicative of aged migrants. The decrease in overall numbers of settlers in the counties indicates a willingness of Irish settlers to move to other areas when opportunities arose and not to be totally reliant on Irish communities.

For all these immigrants, the Catholic Church was a mainstay. With low numbers of Catholics in South Australia (6% in 1844), becoming established was difficult for the Church, as little state aid was available, being mainly due to the colony ostensibly having no ties to a particular faith, resulting in charitable and social organisations being created by the various faiths to finance their own churches and charitable causes. Jesuit priests, who built a centre at Sevenhill near Clare, were instrumental in Irish emigrants maintaining connections with their faith (Hilliard and Hunt 1986:212-213). Services were often held in private homes such as in Peter Brady's home in Mintaro prior to 1855, when the Mary Immaculate Catholic Church was built, or in Timothy Crowe's house at Undalya, where a separate room was built for religious worship, until St Patrick's Church was constructed in 1866 (Moyle 1982:107). By 1871, Catholics had grown to outnumber members of the Church of England in both counties (Table 3.3).

	Light		Stanley		Total members of the two Counties	
	1861	1871	1861	1871	1861	1871
Catholic	2163	4066	221	2794	2384	6860
Church of England	2377	2706	307	2264	2684	4970
Total people in County	14980	20019	4835	9785	10904	29804

Table 3.3: Religion by county 1861 and 1871. (SA Census: 1861 & 1871)

Chain Migration

Chain migration describes the continual arrival of migrants linked by county, or more particularly, family connections and was practised in all Australian colonies during the nineteenth century (Reid 2011:220), being most prevalent among the Irish (O’Farrell 1987:16). While categories of desired migrants, mostly labourers and servants, were determined by Britain and each colony was dependent on need, it was the families, or Irish associates, who were central to who actually migrated (Fitzpatrick 1991b:135). Family, though important in all migrant nationalities, appeared to hold a stronger bond among the Irish. Coming from a rural society where tradition and religious beliefs were paramount in everyday life, family bonds were also very strong (O’Farrell 1987:16).

Assisted passage and chain emigration systems practised in South Australia both exploited and assisted this strong sense of community among the Irish, resulting in a widespread network of relatives and friends who sustained immigrants in times of need (Richards 1991a:82). Examples in the Mintaro region were particularly evident. Peter and Daniel Brady arrived in South Australia in 1840, and established a means by which new arrivals could find employment and settle into the community, nominating more than 500 to migrate in a twenty year period (Richards 1991a:89). The Dempsey family from County Cavan also showed both the willingness of Irish emigrants to move for opportunity and the phenomenon of chain migration. Three siblings, Andrew, Bridget and Martha, migrated from County Cavan in 1849, with Andrew moving to the Ballarat Goldfields in 1851 and returning to settle in Marrabel in South Australia. Other siblings arrived in the 1850s to become bullock teamsters, with the rest of the family including aged parents arriving in 1854, and all eventually settling near Mintaro and the nearby town of Auburn. Overall, the family migration spanned a 30 year time period (Richards 1991a:85-86).

This chain emigration led to Irish regions developing in some areas of the colony, particularly the mid-north, with localities such as Kapunda and Clare having high concentrations of Irish settlers. The Irish proved to be enterprising and readily took advantage of land legislation from 1869, enabling access to credit which allowed them to expand their farms. This resulted in a willingness to relocate in order to advance economically, and thus a dispersal away from the initial enclaves, such as Navan, that were established in the mid-north.

The Irish and their relationship to other groups

While the Irish settled near fellow countrymen on arrival, they were not averse to settling in new areas in an attempt to better their lot. That is, they did not generally settle in isolated communities (Nance 1978:67), resulting in historians arguing for a dilution of any discernible influence they may have had on the developing society. The historical studies of Richards (1991a, b) and James (2009) are examples of the emphasis placed on the ordinariness of the Irish settlers, and their assimilation into society. Richards suggests the Irish avoided developing concentrated areas of kin, and that their mobility and way of living showed little distinction from British migrants, thus allowing them to assimilate (Richards 1991b: 233-234). The ‘ordinariness’ of the Irish is further considered by James (2009) to have enabled the Irish to blend into South Australian society.

Recent archaeological work in Kapunda, however, suggests that this is not the whole story. Along with Cornish and Welsh migrants to the Kapunda district, the Irish constituted more than half of Kapunda’s population (Charlton 1971:63). However, few Irish gained civil distinction in the Kapunda area, with the exception of some Protestants, such as Bagot, Dr Blood (later to become Mayor of Kapunda) and William Oldham (Charlton 1971: 64), originally the Kapunda Mine bursar, was appointed as Kapunda’s surveyor by Bagot and became a very influential member of the community (Charlton 1971:14). Kapunda saw a large influx of Irish in the 1850s with most squatting on land outside the town that became known as Baker’s Flat. Little tolerance was shown to them by the town dwellers (Charlton 1971:18) and by the 1880s, the Irish were well established, claiming ownership of Baker’s Flat because of the longevity of their residence, despite neither owning nor renting the land itself. Considerable unrest ensued between them and the owners, with the Irish women showing strong resistance (Charlton 1971:42, 43). Their strength in numbers

both gave the community a clear Irish character (Arthure 2014:48) and enabled the establishment of the Catholic Church in the region.

Arthure's investigation into the Baker's Flat settlement indicates not only a strong Irish community, but one that was established in a manner similar to the *cláchans* of Ireland itself. The range of artefacts denoting religious, folk tradition and sporting pursuits such as cricket, indicate an adherence to Irish practices in the Baker's Flat community (Arthure 2014:111). The observations of Irish customs at Baker's Flat in the nineteenth century were also reported in South Australia's Catholic newspaper, the *Southern Cross* (1936:29). Such a community and farming system reinforces the idea that the Irish at Baker's Flat kept their traditional ways. However, Richards contends that the Irish readily assimilated into South Australian communities, with high concentrations in areas such as the mid-north and southern areas of Adelaide being short-lived (Richards 1991a:233). As an historical study, Richards based his conclusions on the historical record treating South Australia as one entity rather than individual communities. The scale of his analysis emphasised similarity as did the records he relied on – for example, immigration and census documents, which are constructed on a large, impersonal scale. Hence his results were constrained by his sources.

Some historical studies, however, have revealed indicators of difference – e.g. James' (2009) study which showed that exogamous marriage was not common within the Irish community, with 98 of 101 Irish marriages in Stanley in the 1860s restricted to those of the same nationality (Irish) and the same religion (James 2009:154). Thus, James inferred limited levels of interaction between denominations and nationalities in the mid-north, with some overt political movements developing and a distinct Irish network established by the 1870s.

In terms of more explicit discrimination, there appears to have been little permanent anti-Irish/anti-pauper sentiment within South Australia. While some antipathy was shown in considering the Irish 'a dirty set' (Richards 1986:151), after the mid-1840s this generally abated, and migrants were welcomed because of the need for a labour force, although this was not the case at Kapunda. Richards argues that Irish from all areas of society, ranging from the entrepreneurial Anglo-Irish of northern Ireland to the unskilled labourers primarily from the western counties, managed to establish themselves in the community, even though education standards, particularly among

the Catholic Irish, were low (Richards 1991a: 227-232), thus suggesting that the Irish were no more maligned than other immigrant nationalities.

Arthur's findings, which emphasise the difference maintained across 70 years by at least one Irish community and James' recognition of strong communal bonds between Irish Catholics, both suggest that the Irish were distinctive in at least some ways until well into the twentieth century. By studying Irishness in more detail, including within individual communities and within individual families, the archaeology of Irish graves has the potential to provide an alternative window into the dominant historical narrative.

The mid-north of South Australia is therefore an excellent location in which to test ideas of Irish identity, as numerous Irish men and women settled in the region from many counties. Furthermore, with the large diversity of nationalities living in the region, changes in cultural practices over time due to outside influences may be identified.

Chapter 4: METHODS

Introduction

Six cemeteries in the mid-north were investigated for expressions of Irish identity in gravestones. The time frame focussed on 1850 to 1899, as emigration had dwindled by the end of the century as economic conditions in Ireland improved (Walsh 2001:33). By the end of the nineteenth century colonial status was changing within the nation as Federation loomed.

The cemeteries chosen for data collection encompass a sizeable proportion of the range of Irish settlement in the mid-north in the second half of the nineteenth century. Four cemeteries were Catholic (Mintaro [Figure 4.4], Navan [Figure 4.3, Undalya [Figure 4.1, (1)] and St John's [Figure 4.2, (1)], near Kapunda) and two were Anglican (Christchurch Anglican Cemetery [Figure 4.2, (2)] at Kapunda and Whip Street Cemetery, Saddleworth [Figure 4.1, (2)]). The Irish who migrated to the colony were predominantly Catholic; however, in an attempt to differentiate between forms of Catholic identity vs Irish identity a comparison was made to Irish Anglican (Protestant) burials, as well as non-Irish Catholic burials. To allow for a range of ages and genders, a total of 200 headstones were recorded in 177 plots, constituting a total of 352 burials (Table 4.1).

Cremations were not included in this study. Cremated remains were only present in one cemetery, Christ Church Anglican. The practice was not legalised in South Australia until 1891 and the first crematorium was only built in 1903 in Adelaide (Unknown [Australian Museum] 2010), placing cremations outside the time frame of this study. Furthermore, papal permission for priests to preside over cremations was not bestowed until 1969 (Jalland 2006: 331) nor was it a practice accepted among Catholics even when it was a legal means of body disposal.

	Mintaro	Navan	St Johns	Undalya	Christchurch	S/worth	Total
Grave markers	39	17	111	18	9	6	200
Plots	34	17	101	17	7	1	177

Table 4.1: Number of grave markers compared to numbers of burial plots.



Figure 4.1: Location of (1) Undalya and (2) Saddleworth cemeteries, in relation to each town. (Map Data © Google 2017)

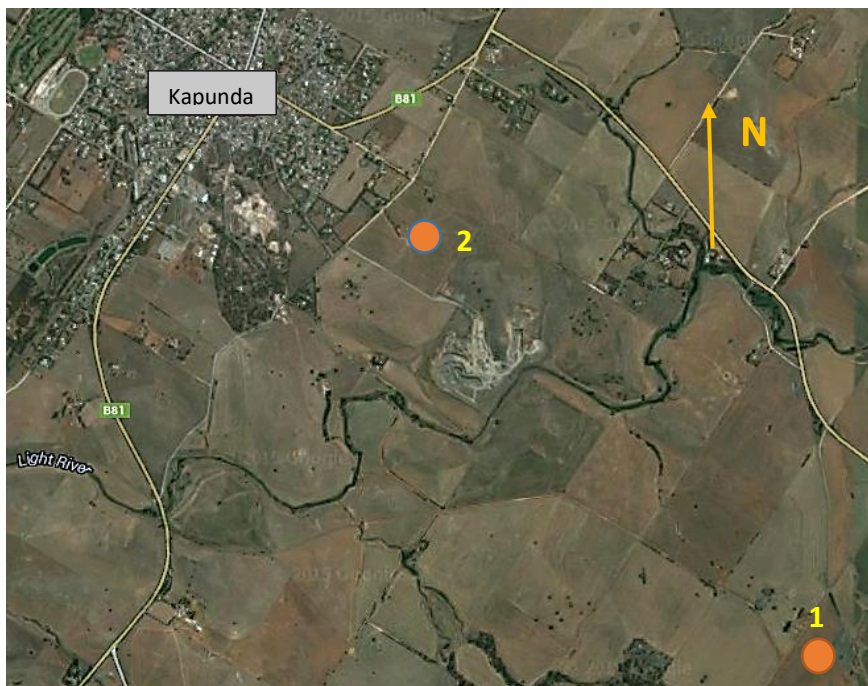


Figure 4.2: Location of Kapunda cemeteries. (1) St John's, (2) Christchurch Anglican. (Map Data © Google 2017)



Figure 4.3: Location of Navan Catholic cemetery in relation to the Riverton township. (Digital Global © Google 2015)



Figure 4.4: Location of Mintaro Catholic Cemetery. (Digital Global © Google 2015)

The proportion of Irish Catholic to non-Irish and Irish Protestant graves in each cemetery were as follows:

	Mintaro	Navan	St Johns	Undalya	Christchurch	Saddleworth
Timeframe of graves recorded	1858 ▶ 1897	1858 ▶ 1899	1859 ▶ 1899	1862 ▶ 1899	1870 ▶ 1898	1872 ▶ 1899
Irish Catholic	35	17	98	16	N/A	N/A
Non-Irish Catholic	4	N/A	13	2	N/A	N/A
Irish Protestant	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9	6
Total	39	17	111	18	9	6

Table 4.2: Distribution of religion and nationality of recorded headstones.

The data collection was undertaken on four separate visits. In July 2013, a team of four recorded all graves within the 1850-1899 timeframe at Navan, Mintaro and St John's cemeteries. In September 2013 and October 2013 respectively, the graves in Undalya and Christchurch cemeteries graves were recorded, with Saddleworth recorded in June 2014 to increase the dataset of Protestant Irish burials. Christchurch cemetery had proven to contain fewer examples than expected, mainly due to a lack of original headstones. Some graves were revisited to check data which had not been accurately recorded.

The following goals were realised:

- 1) a site plan of each cemetery was produced if it did not exist;
- 2) all graves within the selected time frame had the following data recorded, descriptively and photographically:
 - the inscriptions of each headstone
 - the style of each headstone
 - the style of borders around each plot
 - the motifs on the headstones, and
 - the dimensions of each plot

Site Plans

Undalya (Appendix 6), Mintaro (Appendix 3) and the Saddleworth Whip Street (Appendix 8) cemeteries required new plans, since either no previous ones existed or proved unsuitable for this study. All were plotted using the baseline/offset method, with perimeter measurements and major dimensions recorded using a trundle wheel. The baseline was a 50 metre tape and smaller measurements recorded using 8 metre tapes. Some cemeteries, such as Mintaro and Undalya were very overgrown, which prevented their perimeters from being measured accurately.

Navan (Appendix 4), St John's (Appendix 5) and Christchurch (Appendix 7) cemeteries all had stylised plans supplied by their caretakers, allowing the outlines of the graves to be married to the names of the burials.

Recording Methods

Many graves had numerous interments. While some people had died in the project timeframe, they were not the primary burial, that is, not the first named person on the headstone. As the stylistic choices of the headstones relate to the primary burial, and not those buried earlier or later, this interment was the most relevant to the study. As a result, only those headstones with the primary burial occurring between 1850 and 1899 were recorded.

All headstones were recorded using a grave recording form (Appendix 1), based on that in Burke et al. (2009:388), allowing all stylistic choices to be recorded apart from fence dimensions. To compensate, these were written in the area for drawing the headstone shape, and easily found when entering the data in the database. The photographic record documented the photo number, grave reference and subject (Appendix 2).

Definitions of terms

The definitions of terms used in this study are in Appendix 9.

Historical Research

To complement the recorded data, historical research was undertaken to determine who of the interred were actually Irish and, if possible, when they had arrived and from which county. An insight into emigrant occupations and where they resided upon settling in the mid-north was also a focus of this research. A number of primary and secondary resources were utilised including:

- Biographical index of South Australia (Statton and SAGHS 1986)
- Births, Marriages and Death records of South Australia
- Christchurch Anglican Church burial records
- Family histories
- Internet (Trove, shipping lists, Genealogy SA database, Familysearch.org)
- Kapunda Catholic Church burial records
- Local history centres, particularly Kapunda, Riverton and Clare, providing both written and photographic sources

- State Library resources (South Australian reference sources, SA Gazette, SA Parliamentary Papers)

When no records could be found, the Irish Primary Valuation property survey was used to narrow down the area of origin for particular surnames, enabling a degree of certainty to be established over the Irish origins. This survey established which surnames were found most commonly in which counties and, while this method does not ensure true accuracy, it allows for an approximation of emigrants' origins (Table 4.3) (Ireland Valuation Office 1847). These people were grouped as 'Irish uncertain' (Table 4.3) and accounted for 18.9% of recorded interments.

	Mintaro	Navan	St Johns	Undalya	Christchurch	Saddleworth
Irish confirmed	30	11	78	14	5	7
Irish uncertain	5	6	20	2	4	1
Non-Irish confirmed	4	n/a	11	1	n/a	n/a
Non-Irish uncertain	0	n/a	2	1	n/a	n/a
Total	39	17	111	18	9	7

Table 4.3: Numbers of recorded interments with confirmed/unconfirmed nationality.

Spreadsheets

All data was entered into Excel, using the same categories as the recording forms. Further spreadsheets were created for historical research, with categories including dates of birth and death, country and/or county of origin, year of arrival in South Australia, occupation and residence, along with details of marriage and children (see Appendix 11 – electronic data).

Statistical Analysis

Statistical analysis was used to determine if any meaningful patterns could be discerned in the data, allowing the significance of individual pieces of data, and of trends in the data, to be identified.

Descriptive (percentage) Analysis

Initial patterns from the data were derived from basic descriptive statistics to give an overview of possible trends that could be examined more closely in terms of significance.

Chi-Square Test of Independence

Chi-square was employed to test the independence of two categorical variables from a population. This was achieved by determining whether a significant connection existed between them. In this case, the variables were a) Irish Catholic and non-Irish Catholic, b) Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant and c) Irish and non-Irish. Chi-square could only be used on data counts of greater than five.

The definition of terms for the testing are detailed in Appendix 9.

Limitations

A number of limitations restricted a more comprehensive analysis of the data. The historical research was impacted by the limited availability of some data.

Specifically, the shipping manifests for Irish emigrants are far from complete (Swiggum 2014), making confirmation of origins uncertain in some instances. A number of passenger lists have been lost or destroyed, while most ships departed from England with no birthplace recorded for some passengers. Only four ships sailed directly from Irish ports to South Australia, making determination of Irish origins difficult. The variations of spellings and birthdates/ages further complicated the process. If the birthdates/ages were within two or three years of that on the graves, it was assumed to be the same person. Accuracy of identification was increased by cross-checking other family members from grave inscriptions with shipping lists that included the names of family members. By cross-checking birth, marriage and death records, a degree of certainty could be ascertained. Baptismal records also assisted in determining the correlation between parents' names and shipping records.

Another constraint was the low number of non-Catholic Irish graves recorded. This did not allow a definitive comparison with the Catholic examples. About 10% of Irish who immigrated to the colony were Protestant, resulting in difficulty in finding a reasonably sized sample of graves to record. The number of Protestant graves in the data set was about 10%, but the time range was not evenly spread, meaning very few were available to compare in each decade.

Chapter 5: RESULTS

Analysis of the graves was considered in the following manner:

- The Irish buried in the four Catholic cemeteries were compared to ascertain if any regional variations in grave elements existed between different Irish communities.
- Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant burials were compared to determine the effect that religion had on burial symbolism.
- Irish (Catholic and Protestant combined) were compared to non-Irish Catholic burials, to identify qualities related to Irish identity

The results were firstly analysed together across all time periods to determine overall similarities and differences between the three categories. Secondly, the data were analysed by decade to ascertain variation across time for the motifs (both on headstones and fences), inscriptions and headstones (form and material) in order to explore whether signifiers of Irish identity existed and changed over time. As most of the decadal totals were fewer than five, descriptive statistics were used because the number was too low to test for statistical significance. Of the chi-square tests, only the statistically significant results are discussed here; for a complete list of all chi square results, see Appendix 10.

Grave Orientation

Interments in St John's and Mintaro were oriented northeast and southwest, while Navan and Christchurch had graves oriented east and west. Four cemeteries (St John's, Mintaro, Navan and Christchurch) had graves in parallel rows with their headstones back-to-back. Saddleworth had graves facing in one direction (east) and Undalya had all but three graves facing southwest. St John's contained one anomaly which was the grave of a seven year old named Caroline Meigs that was oriented perpendicular to all others in the cemetery, facing approximately east.

In terms of grave orientation as defined by cardinal direction, according to Mytum (2000:46) the traditional orientation of Christian headstones is to face east so that when the dead rose on 'Judgment Day they would be facing the sunrise' (Riordan 1997:30). As noted by Riordan (1997), grave diggers probably used the direction in which the sun rose for orientation. However, this solar orientation varied, being

dependent on the time of year and the latitude of the cemetery (Riordan 1997:30), rather than being true east or west.

The range of orientation for graves within mid-north cemeteries suggested that the traditional orientation was not adhered to with any diligence and, according to Mytum (2001:36), new cemeteries in grid formation, with paths between rows, developed in the nineteenth century throughout Europe, North America and Britain. Catholic burial grounds within Ireland were developing in the same manner and this approach was adopted in the establishment of cemeteries in South Australia.

Counties

At least 12 counties were represented in the data set (Table 5.1), though about 26.5% of the recorded graves could not be assigned to a specific county. The majority of people were from County Clare, although a large number from County Cavan were buried at the Mintaro Catholic Cemetery (35.8% or n=13), probably due to the Brady brothers' influence, as discussed in Chapter 3. The number of Irish burials was quite consistent between 1860 and 1899, but with a spike of about 25% through the 1870s (Table 3.2). One other county with a significant percentage of graves was County Derry, accounting for 66.7% of burials in the Saddleworth Anglican cemetery. This, however, represented only four grave markers from a total of six.

People whose archival records merely stated 'Ireland' as their origin were most numerous in St John's cemetery (6.5% of all Irish immigrants). Two other cemeteries had people of generic Irish backgrounds. The number of people (18.4% over the six cemeteries) whose names were likely to be of Irish origin (Irish Valuation Office 1847) did not allow for a definitive analysis of the counties represented. The individual cemeteries showing the highest percentages of likely Irish names were Navan and Christchurch, with 35.3% (n=5) and 44.4% (n=4) respectively.

Birth origins	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Armagh	-	-	-	-	2
Cavan	-	5	6	6	3
Clare	-	6	17	12	19
Cork	2	-	3	-	-
Derry	-	-	1	-	3
Galway	-	-	2	-	3
Kerry	-	1	-	-	1
Kilkenny	-	3	1	1	-
Limerick	-	-	1	1	-
Meath	-	-	-	1	-
Monaghan	-	-	1	-	-
Tipperary	-	6	2	3	1
Tyrone	-	-	1	2	1
Westmeath	-	1	2	2	-
Wexford	-	1	-	1	-
Wicklow	-	3	-	1	-
Ireland	-	7	4	2	3
Ireland (uncertain)	1	12	12	6	7
Sub-total (Irish)	3	45	53	38	41
Non-Irish/unknown	-	7	-	7	4

Table 5.1: Counties represented in graves recorded for each decade.

Family vs individual burial

The influence of family was considered in terms of the proximity of family members to each other, that is whether people were buried singly or in family groupings (Table 5.2).

	Mintaro		Navan	St Johns		Undalya		Christchurch	Saddleworth
	Irish	Non-Irish	Irish	Irish	Non-Irish	Irish	Non-Irish	Irish	Irish
Single burial (individual)	6	1	1	24	5	4	0	2	0
One headstone (multiple burials)	18	2	12	40	5	6	2	4	0
Multiple headstones (single plot)	7	0	1	16	2	1	0	1	1
Multiple plots in proximity	0	0	1	4	0	2	0	0	0

Table 5.2: Distribution of family vs individual burials (number).

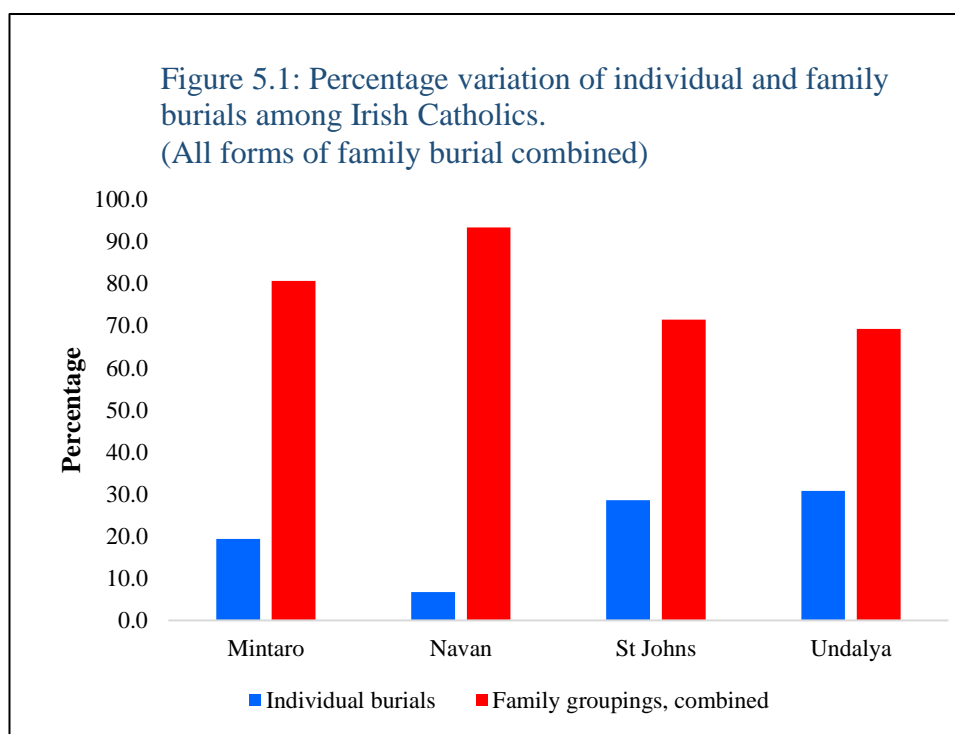
	Irish (% of total)	Non-Irish (% of total)
Single burial (individual)	24.5 (22.2)	33.3 (3.6)
One headstone (multiple burials)	52.9 (47.6)	50 (5.4)
Multiple headstones (single plot)	17.9 (15.5)	16.7 (1.2)
Multiple plots in proximity	4.6 (4.2)	0.0 (0.0)

Table 5.3: Percentage of burial type for Irish and non-Irish burials.

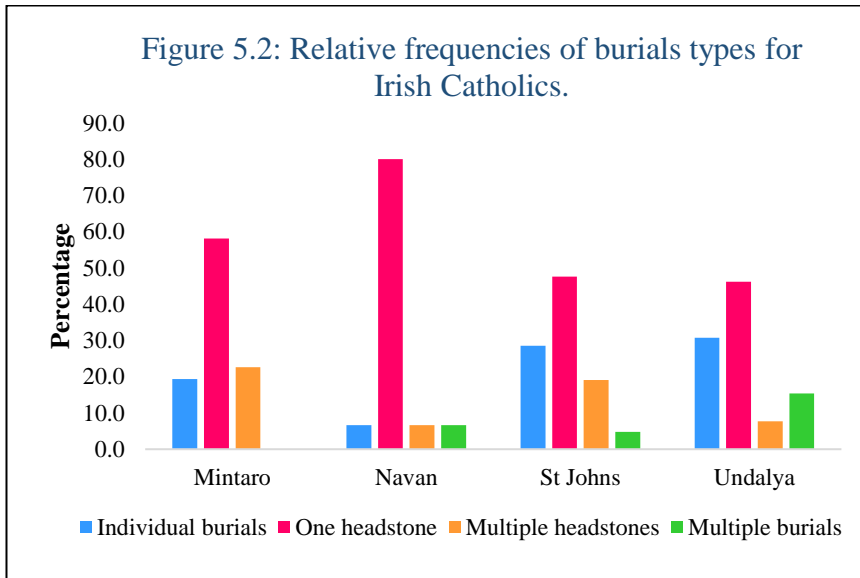
Three different groupings were noted: a single headstone with multiple entries (47.6% of Irish vs 5.4% non-Irish burials), multiple headstones in a single plot (5.5% of Irish vs 1.2% non-Irish burials) and multiple single graves in close proximity (4.7% of Irish vs 0% non-Irish burials). Each type of family grouping was counted as a single unit.

Irish Catholic

Figure 5.1 shows the frequency of single burials compared to family burials across all time periods in the Catholic cemeteries, with each having a very high frequency of families buried together (ranging from 69.2% at Undalya to 93.3% at Navan).

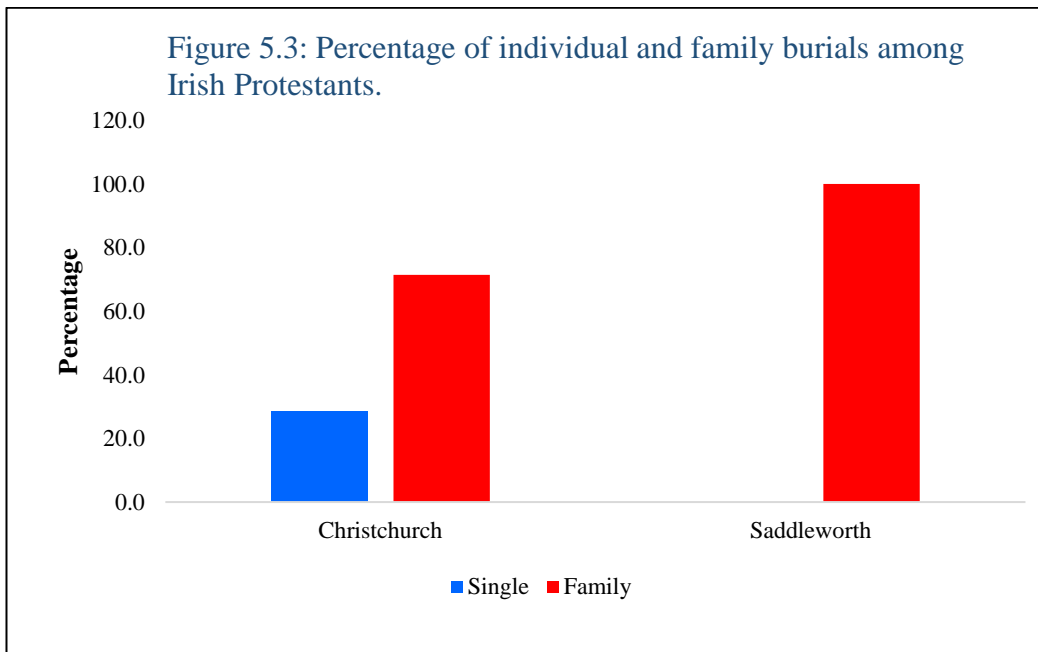


Family groupings showed a distinct preference for multiple burials with a single headstone, ranging from 46.2% at Undalya to 80% at Navan. The use of multiple headstones in one plot was more prevalent at Mintaro (22.6%) and St John’s (19%), while Undalya was the only Catholic cemetery to show a preference for multiple burials in close proximity. (Figure 5.2).



Irish Protestant

Irish Protestant graves showed a similar rate of family burials, with multiple interments (both single headstones and multiple headstones) being preferred (Figure 5.3).

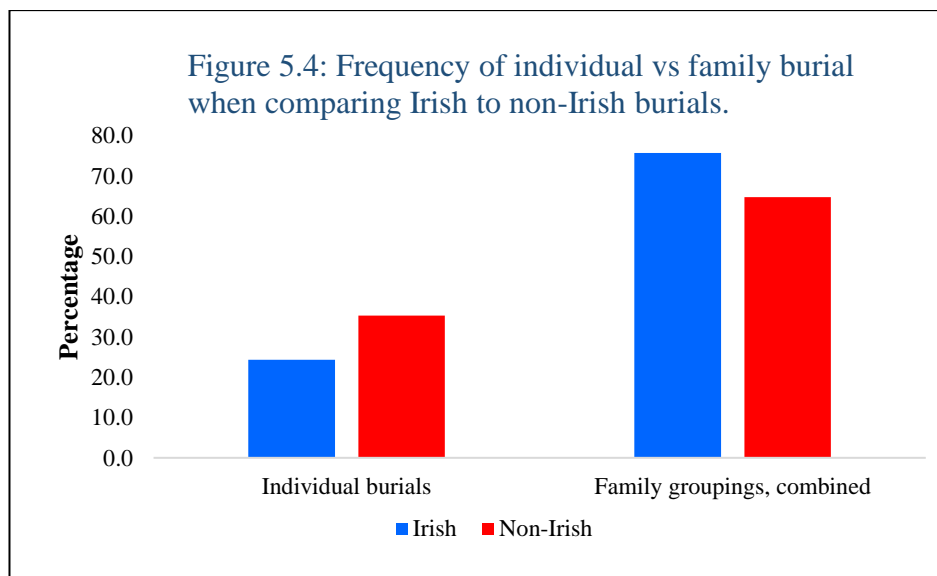


Irish - Catholic vs Protestant

Despite a perceived preference for family burials in the descriptive statistics, chi-square analysis (Table 10.1) showed no statistically significant differences between individual or family burials amongst Catholic and Protestant Irish. As found by Mytum (2001), family grouping was a common practice in burial grounds from medieval times for all religious groups. Originally, family vaults were constructed only for high status families, but the tradition subsequently developed among the less affluent, including both Catholics and Protestants, with this method of burial recorded in Scotland, and northern and southern Ireland (Mytum 2001:31-32).

Irish vs Non-Irish

Comparing Irish and non-Irish burials found minimal differences between individual and family burial (Figure 5.4), but did suggest an Irish preference for family burial. However, this did not prove to be statistically significant (Table 10.2).



Headstone Form

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 and Figure 5.5 illustrate the various headstone forms. Tablets constituted over 50% of all headstones across all cemeteries. The cross was the second most common form, being most prevalent in the Catholic cemeteries, especially St John's (32.4%) and Navan (29.4%), while Saddleworth had no cross markers. Celtic crosses were few in number, but occurred in all cemeteries except Saddleworth. Slabs and tombs appeared in four cemeteries, but in low numbers;

Mintaro had the highest frequency. Monuments/obelisks were only recorded at St John's.

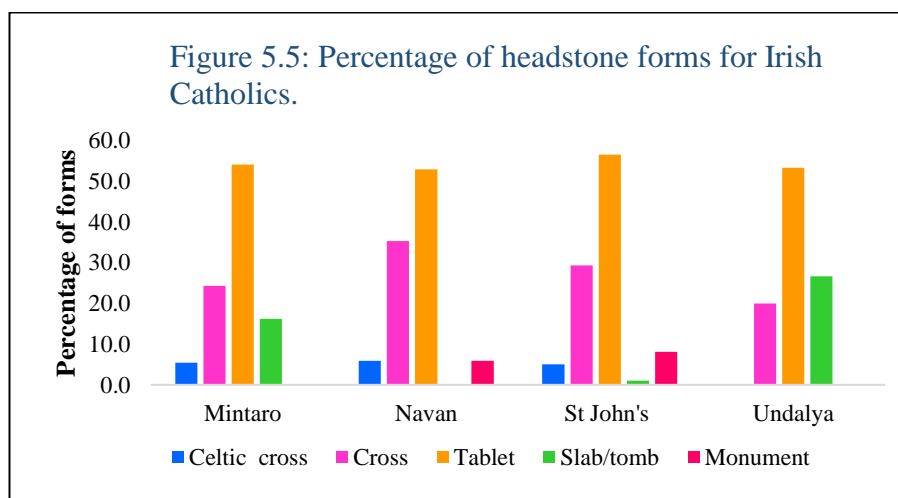
Irish Catholic

	Mintaro	Navan	St Johns	Undalya	Total
Celtic Cross	2	1	7	0	10
Cross	7	5	25	3	40
Tablet	24	11	56	9	100
Slab/tomb	8	0	1	4	13
Monument/ obelisk	0	0	8	0	8
Chapel	0	1	0	0	1
Total	41	18	97	16	172

Table 5.4: Numbers of headstone forms for Irish Catholic burials.

Irish Catholic headstones showed a similar pattern: tablets followed by crosses were the most frequent form in all four cemeteries. As noted by Tarlow (1999:69), tablets were reminiscent of bedheads, thus conjuring the idea of sleep as a euphemism for death, while crosses, similar to crucifixes, were symbolic of the Christian faith and particularly Catholicism, an association found by Smith (2001:706) to have been prevalent in nineteenth century New England, an area with a large Irish immigrant population.

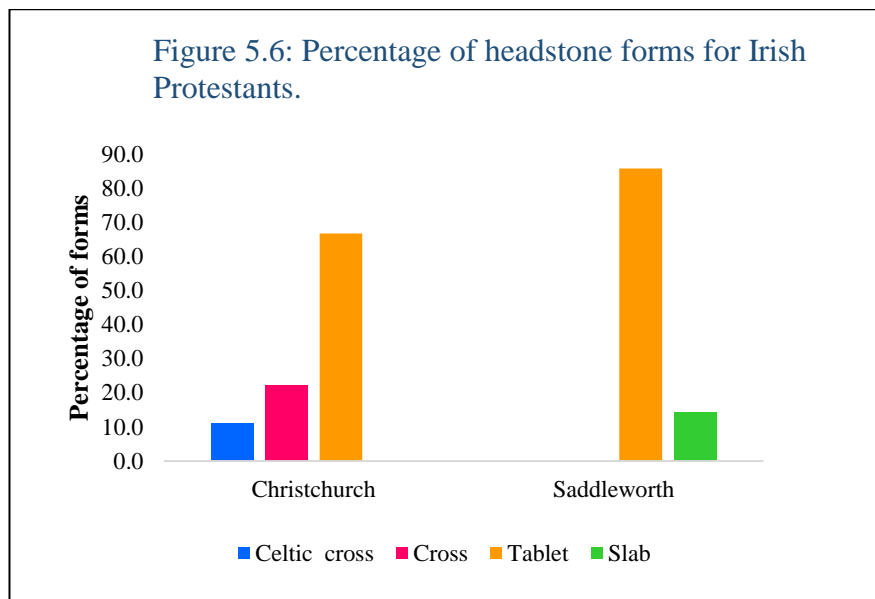
Slabs/tombs and Celtic crosses were found in three cemeteries, while monuments/obelisks were in only one cemetery (Table 5.4).



Irish Protestant

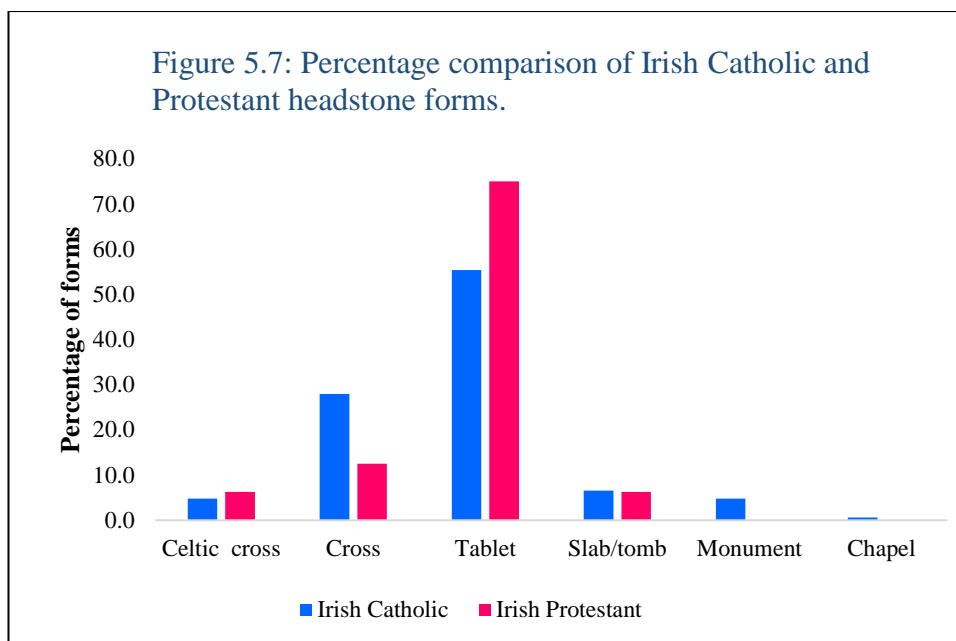
	Christchurch	Saddleworth	Total
Celtic Cross	1	0	1
Cross	2	0	1
Tablet	6	6	13
Slab/tomb	0	1	1
Total	9	7	16

Table 5.5: Numbers of headstone forms for Irish Protestant burials.



Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

Protestant cemeteries had the highest proportion of tablets (75%) (Figure 5.7), though tablets on Irish Catholic graves constituted the greater number of the 172 grave markers (Table 5.4). Crosses, however, were more common on Catholic examples. Celtic crosses occurred in similar proportions, as did slabs/tombs (Figure 5.7), with the former only in Christchurch and the latter only in Saddleworth of the Protestant cemeteries (Figure 5.6).



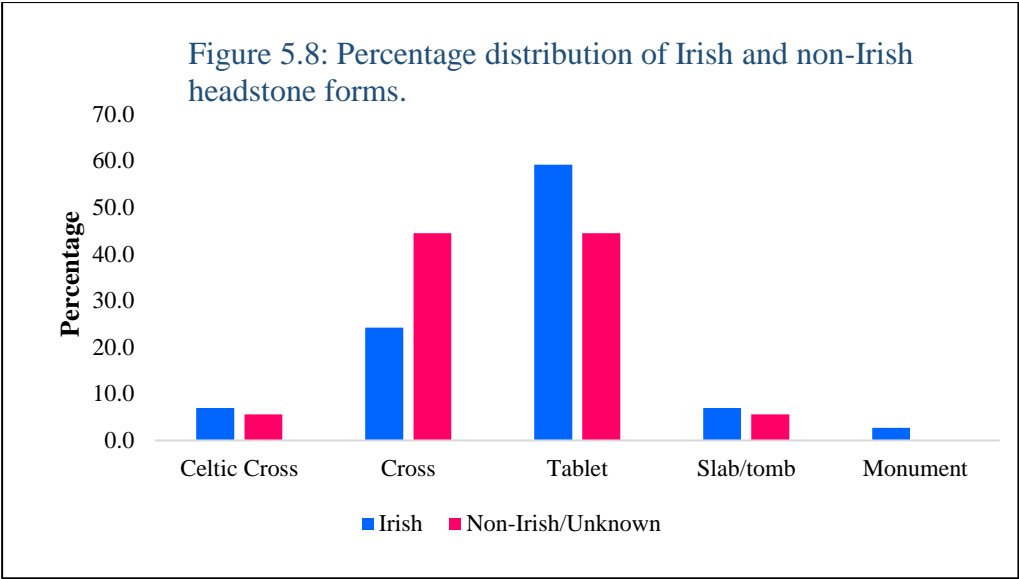
As the two most frequent headstone forms, tablets and crosses were tested for significance, as were both forms of crosses. Neither combination showed a statistically significant difference between Catholic and Protestant Irish groups (Tables 10.3 and 10.4).

Irish vs Non-Irish

	Irish	Non-Irish/Unknown	Total
Celtic Cross	11	1	12
Cross	50	9	59
Tablet	105	7	112
Slab/tomb	12	1	13
Monument/obelisk	8	0	8
Total	186	18	204

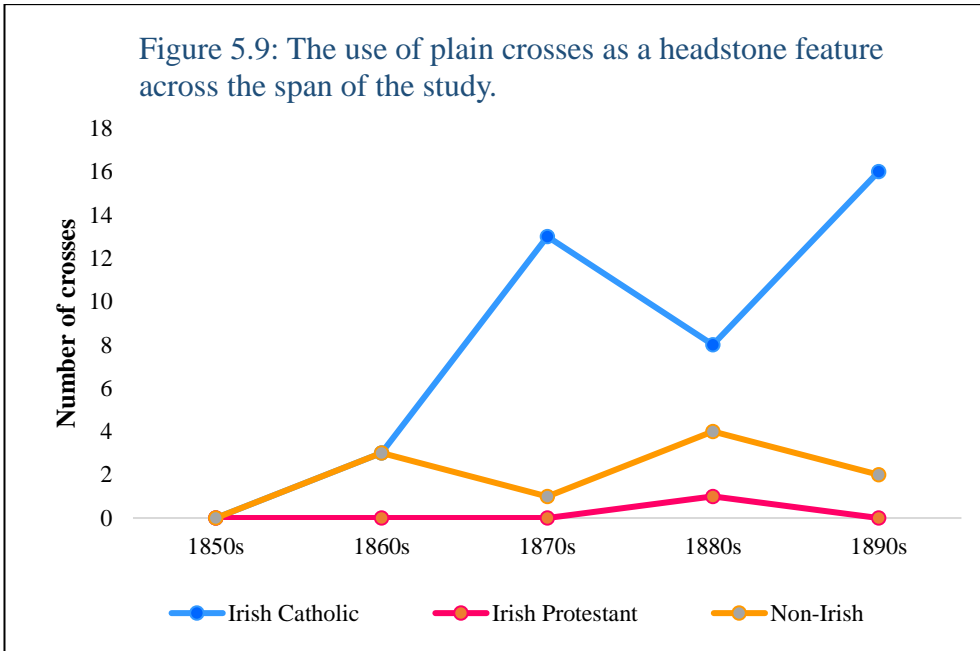
Table 5.6: Variation of headstone styles: Irish and non-Irish.

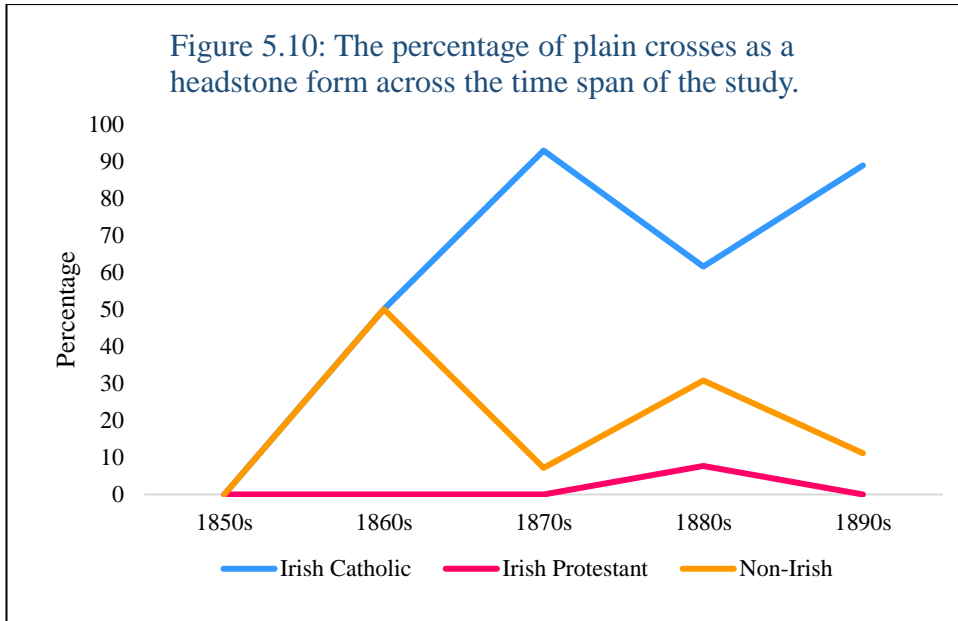
Celtic crosses were only found on Irish graves, with one possible exception; this was, however, on a grave of uncertain lineage (Table 5.6). Tablets were the dominant form of memorialisation on Irish graves, while crosses were the most common form on non-Irish graves. Slabs/tombs were also found in similar percentages in both groups, and monuments/obelisks were only found on Irish graves (Figure 5.8).



Chi-square analysis (Tables 10.5 & 10.6) showed no statistically significant differences in these choices between Irish and non-Irish groups.

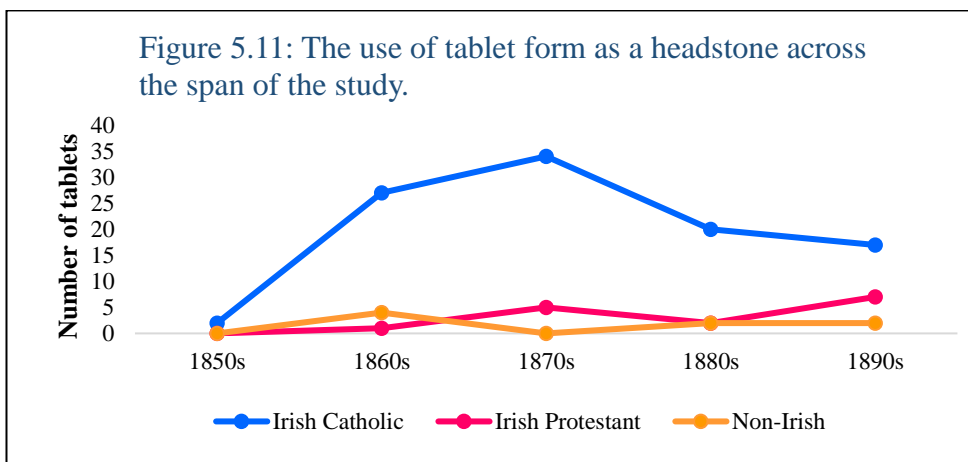
When considered across time, however, descriptive statistics for the use of the three most frequently used headstone types suggest differing trends in their use by the three groups.





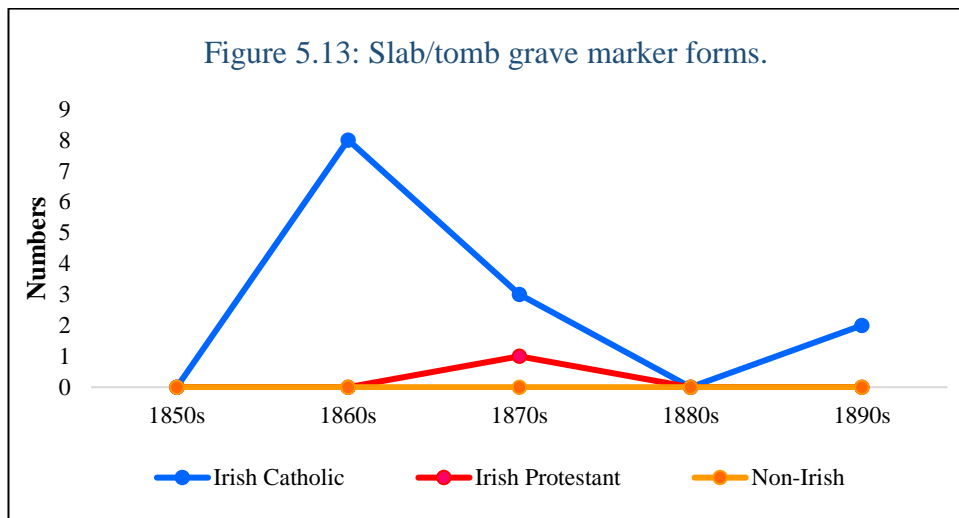
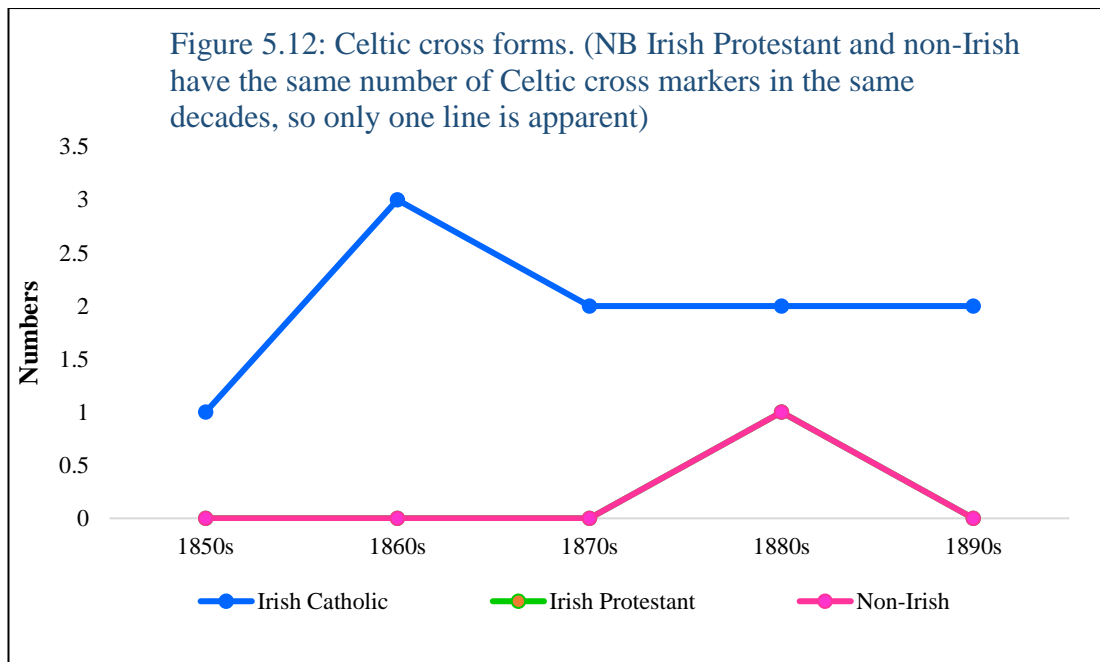
The use of cross headstones was relatively constant by the Protestants and much lower than amongst Irish Catholics, whose graves, on the other hand, showed a marked increase in the use of crosses in the 1870s, followed by a decline and then a second peak in the 1890s (Figure 5.10). In contrast, the peak in crosses amongst non-Irish occurred in the 1860s, with a second peak in the 1880s (coinciding with a smaller peak amongst Protestant Irish), at the same time that its use fell amongst Irish Catholics.

The Irish Catholics showed an increase in the use of tablets from the 1850s through to the 1870s that then declined (Figure 5.11). In contrast Irish Protestant use of tablets peaked only in the 1870s and 1890s.



Both Celtic crosses and slab/tomb markers were more popular on Irish Catholic graves, with only one slab and one Celtic cross occurring on a Protestant grave. The

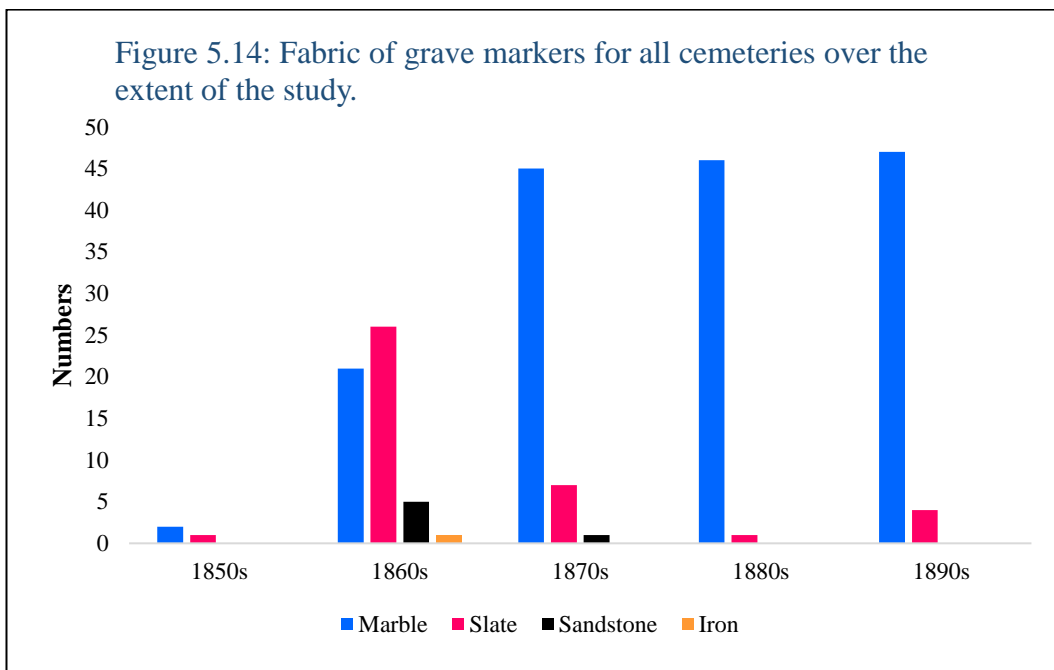
use of Celtic crosses on Catholic graves occurred at a consistent rate (Figure 5.12), while slabs/tombs were most popular in the 1860s (a total of eight); no examples were found in either the 1850s or 1880s (Figure 5.13).



Headstone Material

Headstones consisted of five materials: marble, slate, cement, sandstone and cast iron, with marble by far the most common across all cemeteries. These results were consistent with those of Muller's study (2015) at West Terrace Cemetery in Adelaide, where it was also found that slate was the dominant material in earlier (pre 1870) headstones. Marble constituted 89.2% of St John's memorials (the highest

proportion of all the cemeteries), followed by Mintaro, which also had a high proportion of slate headstones (36.4%). Other Catholic cemeteries had similar ratios of marble to slate, while Protestant cemeteries showed a greater dominance of marble. Sandstone headstones were only present in two cemeteries and all three of these were on relatively early graves from 1861, 1874 and the mid-1860s (this inscription was partially illegible), which is, again, a similar finding to Muller’s (2015:22). One cast iron marker was recorded on the grave of a blacksmith at Mintaro (Chas Hoffmann’s grave) (Figure 5.15). Only the marble headstones were composite monuments, with the main body of the headstone attached to bases of various materials, including sandstone, slate and marble (Figure 5.14).



A number of stonemasons were identified by their inscriptions. The majority were from Adelaide, but two names dominated the regional examples. Antonio Bagalini of Kapunda was prolific in the manufacture of marble headstones between 1866 and 1898 (25 examples). Only one example of his work was found in slate, this being a slab in Saddleworth cemetery from 1879. The presence of a local marble quarry, of which Bagalini became a founding shareholder with the formation of the Kapunda Marble Company in 1882 (*SA Register* 6 June 1882:6), is the likely reason behind his use of marble, though he also imported Italian marble (*SA Register* 28 October 1899:11). Twenty Bagalini headstones were in St John’s cemetery between the 1880s and 1890s. Thompson Priest, the lessee of the Mintaro slate quarry, dominated Mintaro and Undalya markers. Slate was primarily used in markers prior to 1870

with sixteen of the 39 markers in Mintaro manufactured by Priest, all but one of which was slate; the lone marble instance of his work was a headstone attached to two slate tombs (made by Priest) for Patrick Weathers and his daughter, Catherine. Undalya had four slate markers by Priest, with six other marble markers by Adelaide stonemasons. The other three cemeteries contained few named stonemasons, though Bagalini had examples of his work in each. Over time, common shapes appeared, suggesting that selection from mass-produced products became increasingly common after the mid-1860s. Examples of the same shapes and motifs were found at Undalya on the graves of Richard Morrissey (1866) and Mary Kelen (1866), (both slate). Numerous examples of a common marble headstone form also occurred, but with different motif engravings. Different stonemasons' marks were found on these, suggesting the engraving was their work rather than the headstone itself. These were particularly evident at St John's.

Choice in headstone material is indicative of the materials available within each district: marble was most common in the Kapunda area where a quarry existed from the 1870s, while the northern cemeteries of Mintaro and Undalya had a predominance of slate memorials, being near the slate quarry, though slate and marble occurred in all cemeteries. One grave at St John's and two at Navan contained sandstone headstones, and one cast iron cross was recorded at Mintaro. Muller (2006) found slate to be a dominant material for headstones in the 1860s at West Terrace cemetery, Adelaide, with a marked decline in the 1870s, a trend also apparent in the mid-north cemeteries. Marble comprised 78.9% of the headstones in the mid-north, compared to the 77% found by Muller, suggesting that availability of material was a factor, as it was quarried at a number of sites within ready proximity to both areas. Furthermore, the cost of marble was relatively cheap compared to slate (Muller 2006:57-59). However, marble had been imported from the 1850s (McDougall and Vines 2004:9), which suggests its use had other significance and was probably linked to broader trends. Brennan (2011:109) found a preference in the use of marble from 1800 in Rhode Island (US) cemeteries, while Francavaglia (1971:504-507) found in Oregon that marble, in various headstone forms, was also the fabric of choice from the 1840s to 1900, linked to a fondness for imitating classical creations from past eras.



Figure 5.15: Charles Hoffmann's cast iron grave marker, 1866, Mintaro cemetery. (Photo: J McEgan)

Motifs

A total of 46 different motifs were recorded, and categorised into seven groups since a number of symbols have similar meanings: affection, grief, religious, Irish symbols, no motif, non-specific and organisations (refer to Appendix 9 for definitions).

Motifs of affection were most common, occurring on 21.3% of headstones, while 15.6% of headstones had no motifs (Table 5.7). Known symbols of Irish culture were few, and were restricted to Celtic crosses, shamrocks and scrolls resembling triskeles.

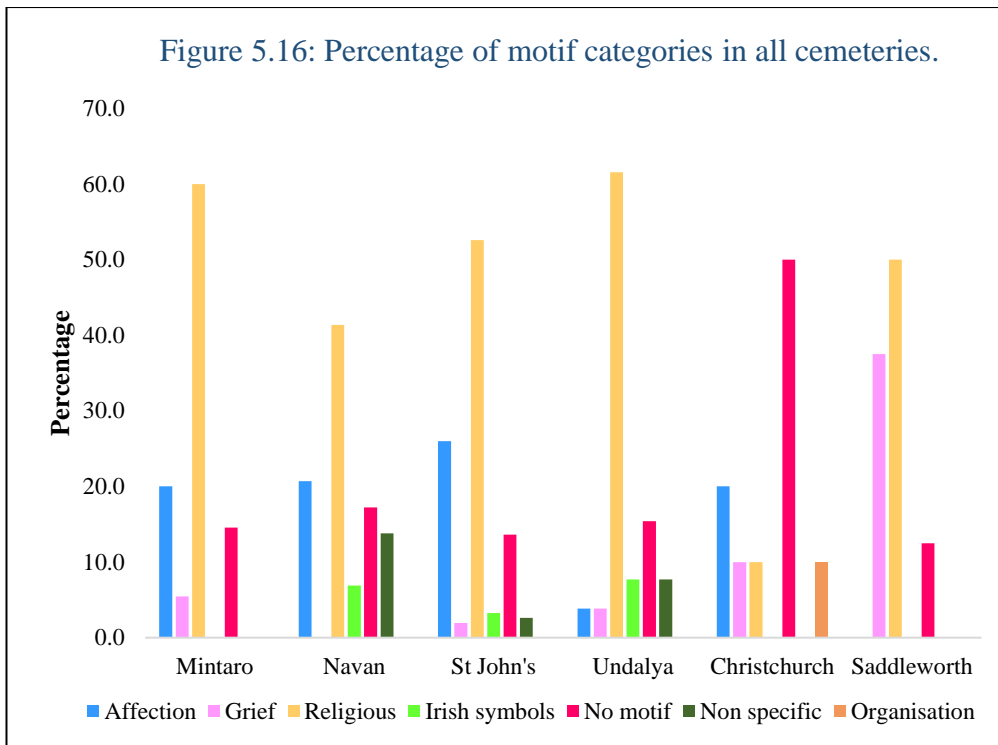
Motif category	Total percentage
Affection	21.3
Grief	3.9
Religious	52.1
Irish symbols	3.5
No motif	15.6
Non specific	3.2
Organisation	0.4

Table 5.7: Overall percentage of each motif category across all burials.

In terms of variation between cemeteries, religious motifs were most common in all cemeteries (ranging from 41.4% at Navan to 61.5% at Undalya), except Christchurch Anglican which was dominated by graves with no motifs – a typical stylistic choice for Protestant non-conformist burials. Saddleworth, however, which was also an Anglican cemetery, had a similarly high proportion of religious motifs (50%) to the Catholic cemeteries (Figure 5.16).

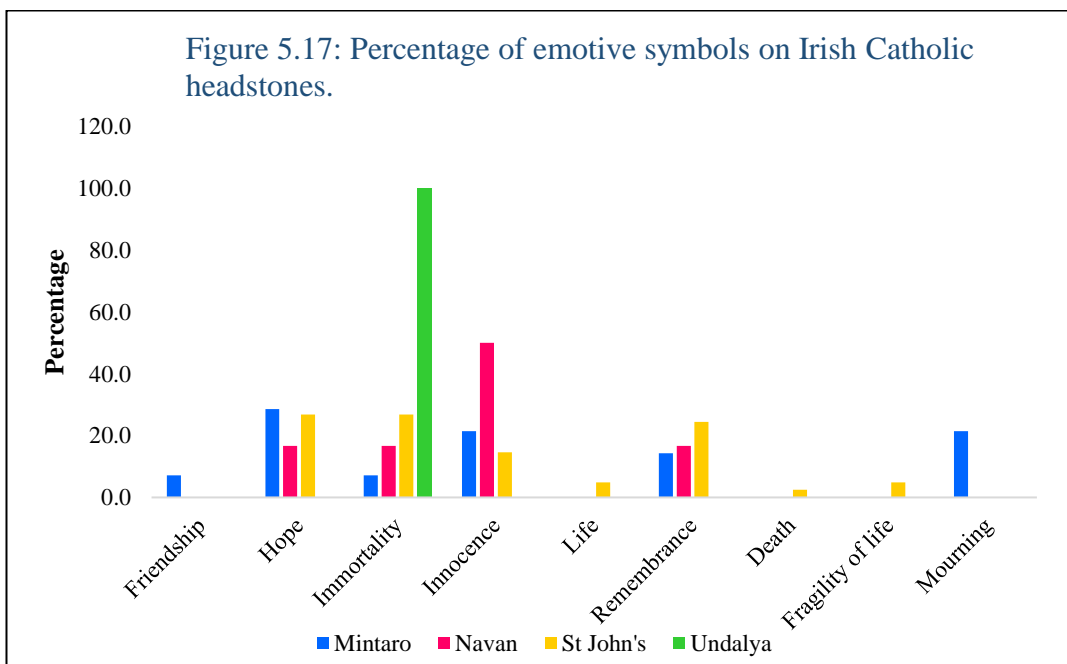
	Mintaro	Navan	St John's	Undalya	Christchurch	Saddleworth
Affection	11	6	40	1	2	0
Grief	3	0	3	1	1	3
Religious	33	12	81	16	1	4
Irish symbols	0	3	5	2	0	0
No motif	8	5	21	4	5	1
Non specific	0	3	4	2	0	0
Organisation	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	55	29	154	26	10	8

Table 5.8: Numbers of motifs in all cemeteries.

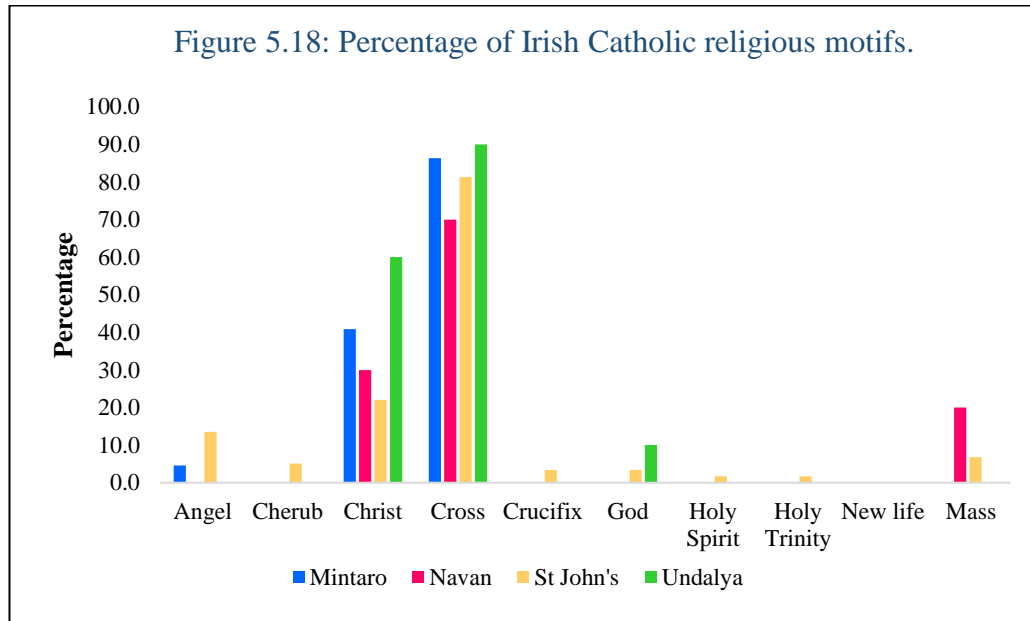


Irish Catholic

Motifs of affection were more common on Irish Catholic headstones. Hope, immortality, innocence and remembrance were the most frequent at Mintaro, Navan and St John's, while Mintaro had the only examples of mourning symbols (21.4% of its total emotive motifs). Undalya had 100% of emotive motifs relating to immortality on its Irish headstones (Figure 5.17).



Symbols representing Christ (ranging from 15.9% at St John’s to 37.5% at Undalya) and crosses (56.3% at Undalya to 65.5% at Mintaro) occurred in all four Catholic cemeteries. St John’s had three symbols associated with Mass (a chalice, rosary beads and a communion stole - a total of 4.9% of its religious motifs), and Navan had examples of a chalice and communion stole (16.7%) (Figure 5.18).

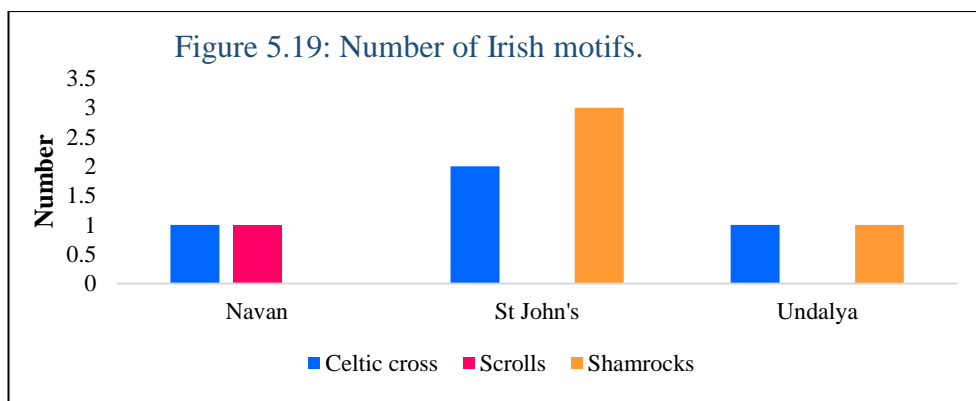


Non-specific motifs occurred in three cemeteries – Navan, St Johns and Undalya (Table 5.9).

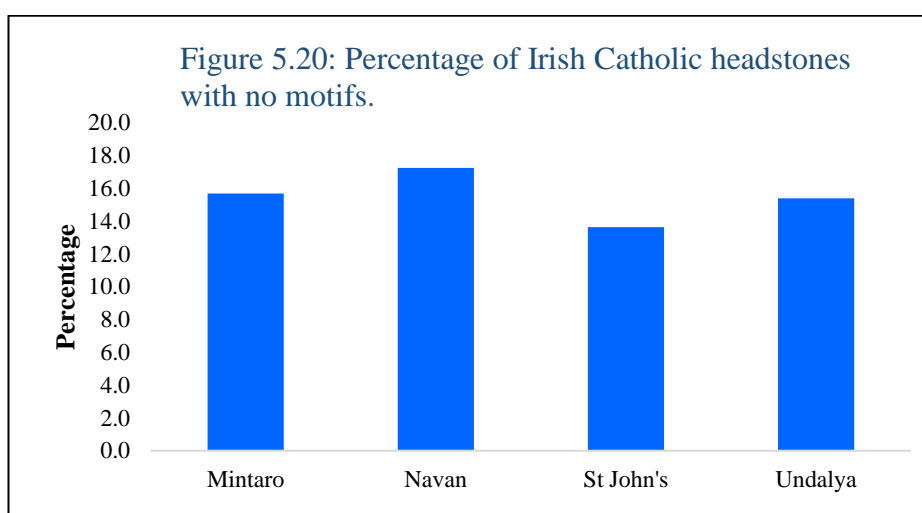
	Navan	St John's	Undalya
Foliage	3	4	1
Tulips	0	0	1
Waves	0	1	0

Table 5.9: Non-specific headstone motifs.

Irish symbols were found in Navan, which had one Celtic cross, one triskele (scroll) and a geometric design similar to examples found at Newgrange, Co. Meath, while St John’s (two crosses and three shamrocks – the highest number) and Undalya had one Celtic cross and one shamrock (Figure 5.19).



Headstones without motifs occurred at a low rate in all four Catholic cemeteries, ranging from 13.6% at St John's to 17.2% at Navan (Figure 5.20).



Irish Protestant

Irish Protestant headstones typically had few motifs. Emotive symbols were most frequent in the 1870s. Religious motifs were more common at Saddleworth, while a lack of motifs was more prevalent at Christchurch. The only symbol representative of an organisation/occupation in the study was at Christchurch cemetery, being a three-chain link, depicting an Independent Order of Oddfellows (IOOF) symbol (Table 5.10).

	Christchurch	Saddleworth
Emotive	3	8
Religious	1	4
No motif	5	1
Non specific	0	0
Organisation	1	0
Total	10	13

Table 5.10: Numbers of motifs for all categories on Irish Protestant graves.

Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

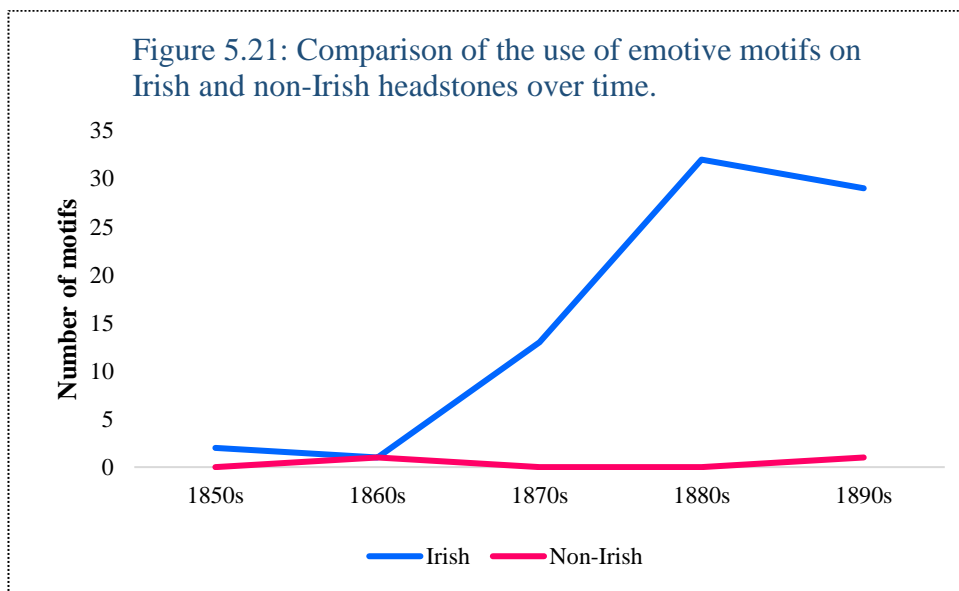
Only some symbol categories could be statistically analysed because of sample size. Chi square analysis of the use of emotive symbols between the two Irish groups proved to be statistically significant in favour of the Catholics, indicating a dependence on religion rather than country of origin (Table 10.7). The use of religious motifs by Irish Catholics was also statistically significant, compared to a lack of motifs (Table 10.8).

Irish vs non-Irish

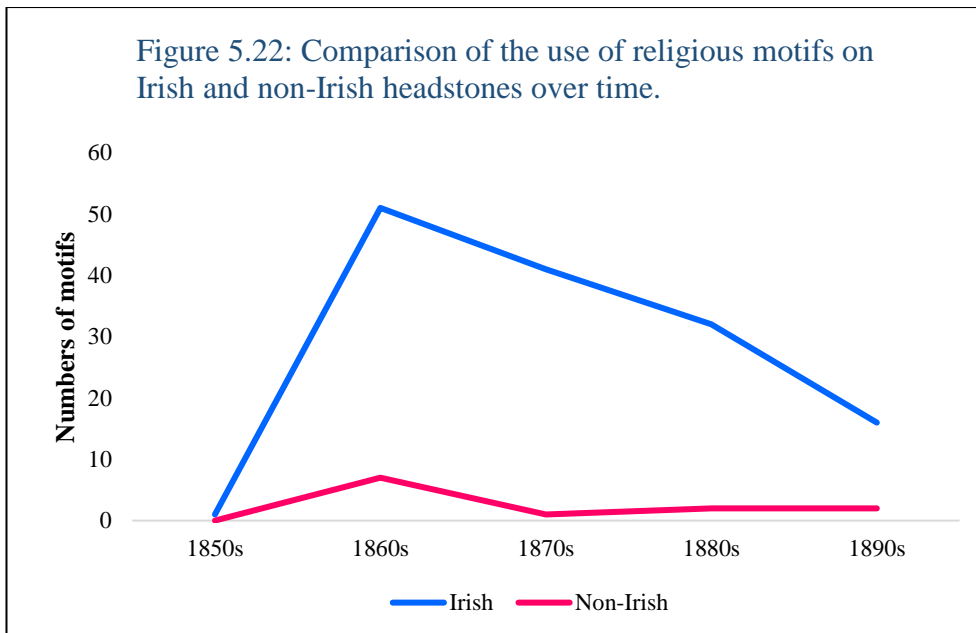
The use of emotive symbols on Irish headstones increased appreciably from the 1860s (Figure 5.21), even though Irish grave numbers remained stable through that decade and into the 1870s (Table 3.8). The non-Irish use of emotive symbols (Figure 5.28) was very low compared to the number of deaths recorded (Table 5.11).

	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Non-Irish deaths recorded	0	7	1	7	4

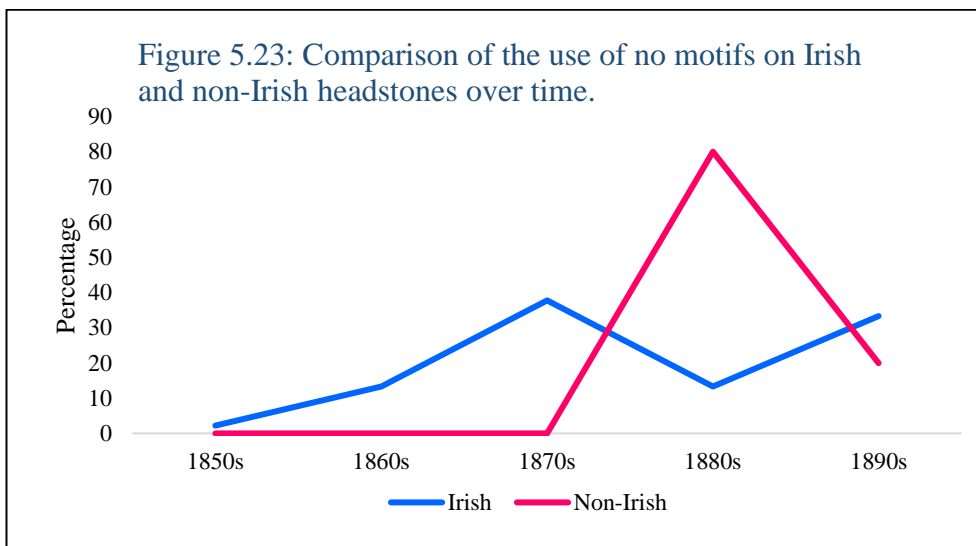
Table 5.11: Number of non-Irish deaths recorded in study.



Religious motifs' usage declined on Irish headstones after the 1860s, with a small increase of these motifs on non-Irish graves occurring in the study's last two decades (Figure 5.22).

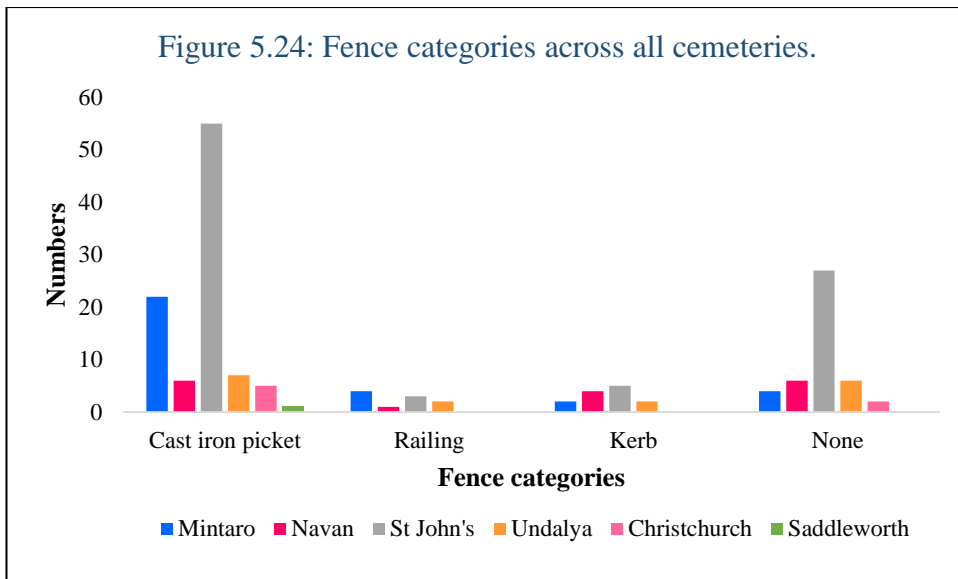


The number of Irish graves without motifs rose steadily from the 1850s through to the 1870s. However, a marked decline occurred in the 1880s before a further increase in the 1890s. Conversely, a lack of motifs on non-Irish headstones increased in the 1880s, with a decline in the 1890s (Figure 5.23).



Fences/borders

Four types of borders were identified. As there was only one example of a chapel being incorporated into the surround for a grave, it was not afforded a separate category. Most prolific was cast iron fencing which occurred in all cemeteries, with 107 of the 165 plots having some form of cast iron surround (Figure 5.24).



Two manufacturers of cast iron fencing were recorded: Mellor and Stewart & Harley, both of Adelaide (Figure 5.25). In Britain, cast iron fencing, both pickets and railings, originally enclosed family plots containing large monuments and was more common amongst affluent families during the nineteenth century (Mytum 2001:35). With the development of techniques (Linden-Ward 1990:39), fencing became more affordable, allowing poorer families to use this method.



Figure 5.25: Fencing manufacturers' labels.
(Photos by J McEgan & M McEgan)

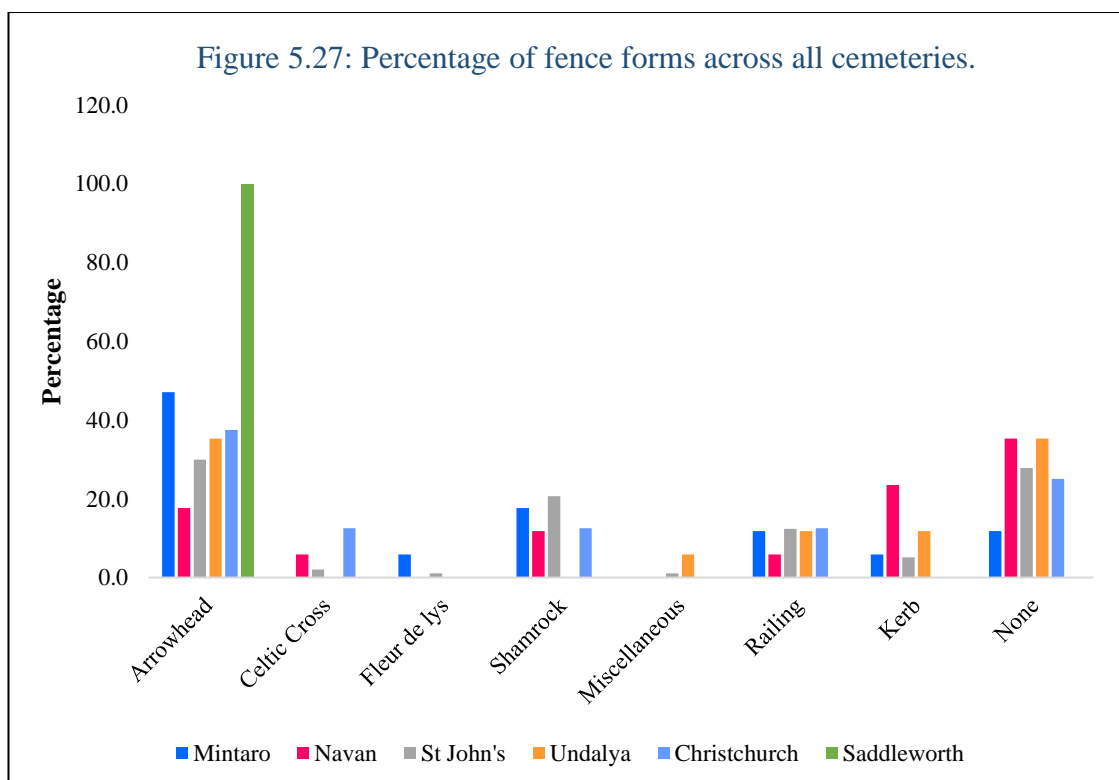
Two examples of a clay tile border were found: one with the stamped maker's name of J. C. Koster in Christchurch cemetery, where it was incorporated beneath a cast iron fence (Figure 5.26), and another at St John's without a maker's mark.



Figure 5.26: Clay tile from grave border at Christchurch cemetery.
(Photo by M McEgan)

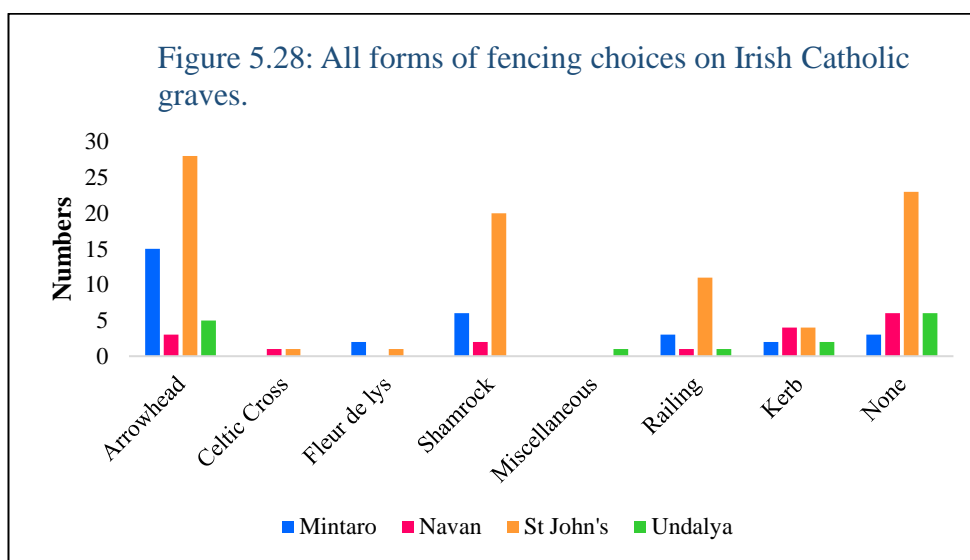
Having no border on graves was very common (occurring in 27% of all graves). St John’s had the greatest percentage of borderless graves, constituting 28.1% of its recorded plots. Kerbs were few in number with only thirteen being recorded, none of which were in Protestant cemeteries (Figure 5.27).

Figure 5.27 indicates the prevalence of cast iron fencing in all cemeteries. In terms of the motifs used on fence pickets, the Fleur de Lys appeared in two cemeteries. The Celtic cross spearhead had equal representation at Navan and Christchurch, while a shamrock occurred in four cemeteries (St John’s 20.6%, Navan 11.8%, Mintaro 17.6% and Christchurch 12.5%). St John’s had the widest range of motifs (n=6).



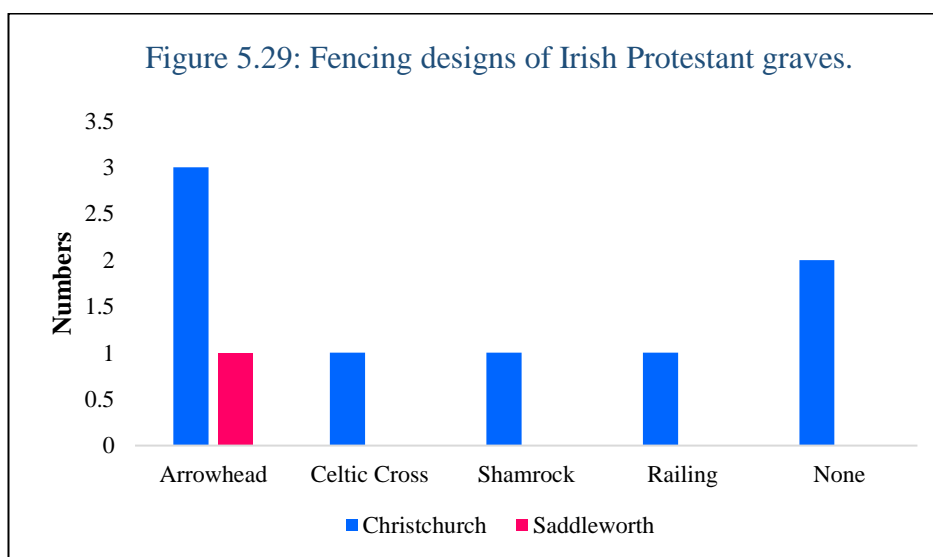
Irish Catholic

The cast iron picket fence with an arrowhead was most common at Mintaro (15 examples) and St John's (28). The shamrock spearhead was used in three cemeteries (Mintaro, Navan and St John's). Six graves at Navan and Undalya and twenty-three graves at St John's had no defined border. Cast iron railings were at all cemeteries but in low numbers, as was kerbing (made of stone or concrete) (Figure 5.28).



Irish Protestant

Five forms of grave surrounds – i.e. cast iron picket (three forms), cast iron railing or no border – were found in the two Protestant cemeteries. Arrowhead designs were the most numerous at Christchurch (n=3), with one at Saddleworth. One example of the other designs occurred at Christchurch (Figure 5.29).

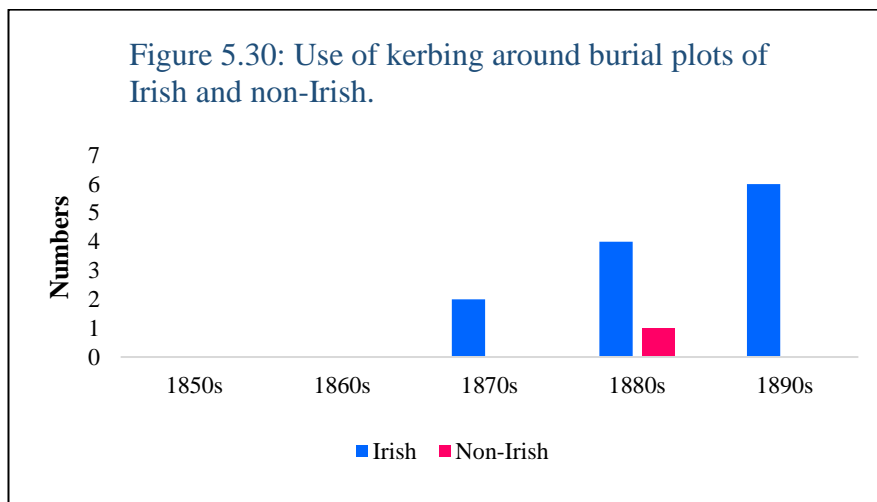


Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

No statistically significant differences in the choice of picket versus railing surrounds were indicated (Table 10.11) between the Irish religious populations, and similarly, between pickets and no border (Table 10.13) and a kerb border and no border (Table 10.14).

However, Celtic cross and shamrock spearheads used by Irish Catholics were statistically significant (Table 10.12).

Irish vs Non-Irish



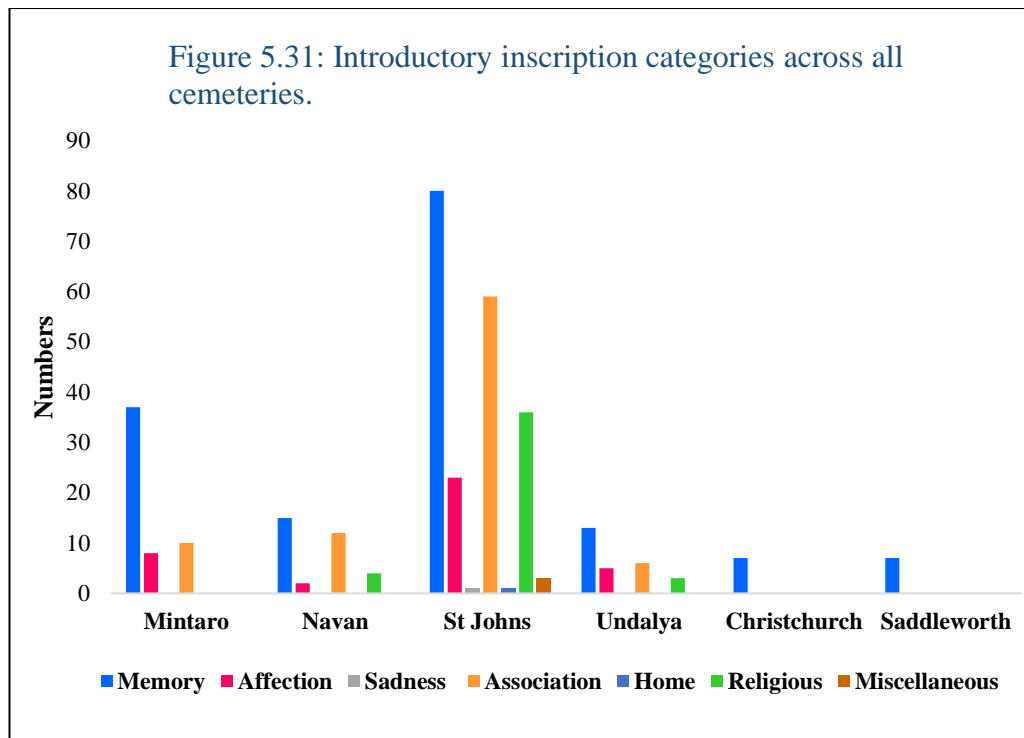
In Britain, kerbing around graves has been recorded from the 1830s, and grew in popularity over the nineteenth century (Mytum 2001: 36). A similar trend is indicated by the Irish graves in this study, with a steady increase in the 1870s to the 1890s, while non-Irish plots had just one example in the 1880s. However, no statistically significant differences were indicated (Table 10.15) in the choice of a kerb surround versus no border, or a Celtic cross and shamrock spearheads between Irish and non-Irish graves (Table 10.16).

Inscriptions

Introductory inscriptions

Figure 5.31 illustrates the variety of introductory inscriptions. Memory (ranging from 72.2% at Undalya to 100% at both Christchurch and Saddleworth) and affection (11.8% at Navan to 27.8% at Undalya) in the emotive category and association with the deceased in the biographical category, were the most frequent, while religious phrases were more common at St. John's. 'Pray for the soul/repose of

the soul’ and ‘Gloria in Excelsis Deo’ accounted for 33.3% and 44.4% respectively of the religious phrases at St John’s, which also had the only sad introductory inscription (Figure 5.31).

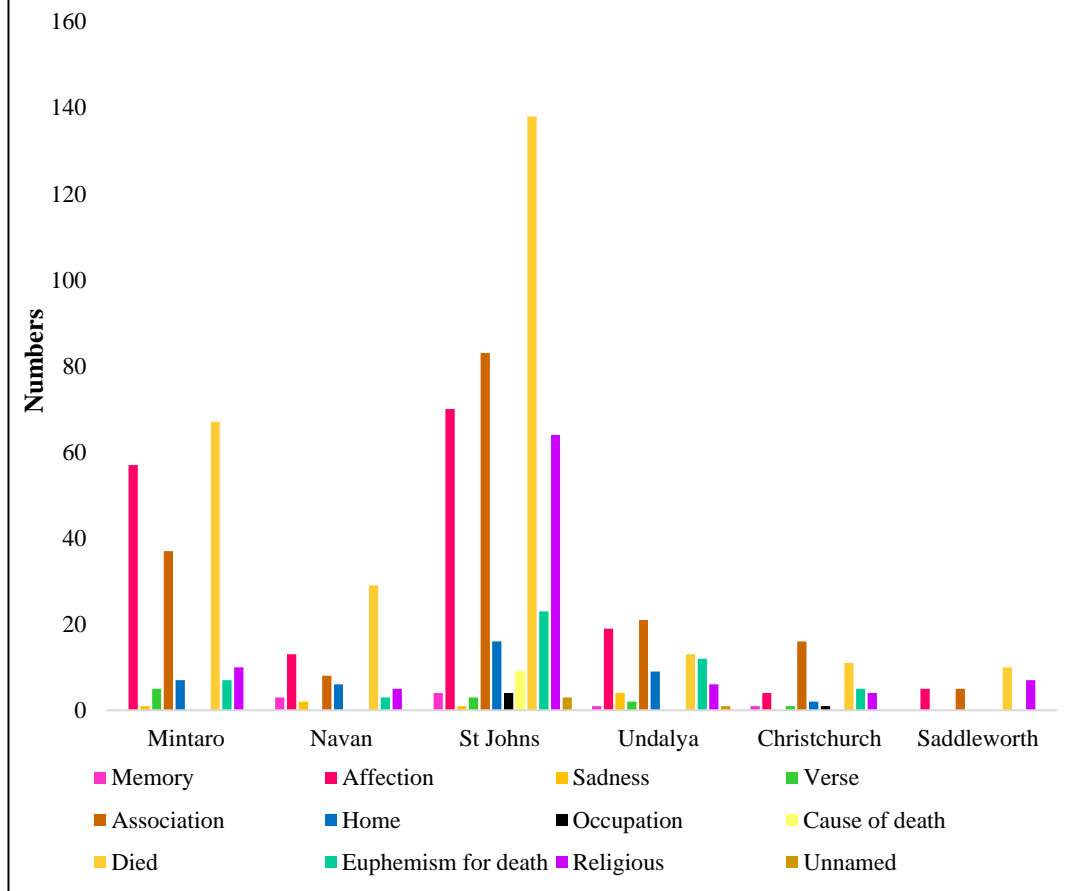


Epitaphs

In terms of the epitaph, words of affection were the most common, with all of the epitaphs in Saddleworth and 72.2% of those in Navan expressing some words of affection. In the biographical category, association with the deceased was most common, with 83 examples at St John’s. The word ‘died’ was the most prevalent term for the passing of the deceased (n=100 at Saddleworth). ‘Departed from this life’ was the most frequent euphemism in the other five cemeteries. Cause of death was only found on three headstones (all at St John’s), one of which was for a family of seven who perished in a bushfire. Religious verses or phrases occurred at all cemeteries with St John’s having the highest number (n=36). ‘Amen’ was the most commonly used religious word (Figure 5.32).

Four cases of unnamed burials occurred, with three at St John’s of children who died in infancy, and one at Undalya that was simply inscribed as ‘my dear mother’ without any further personal information. Dates for death, birth or age at death occurred a total of 640 times for the 350 burials recorded.

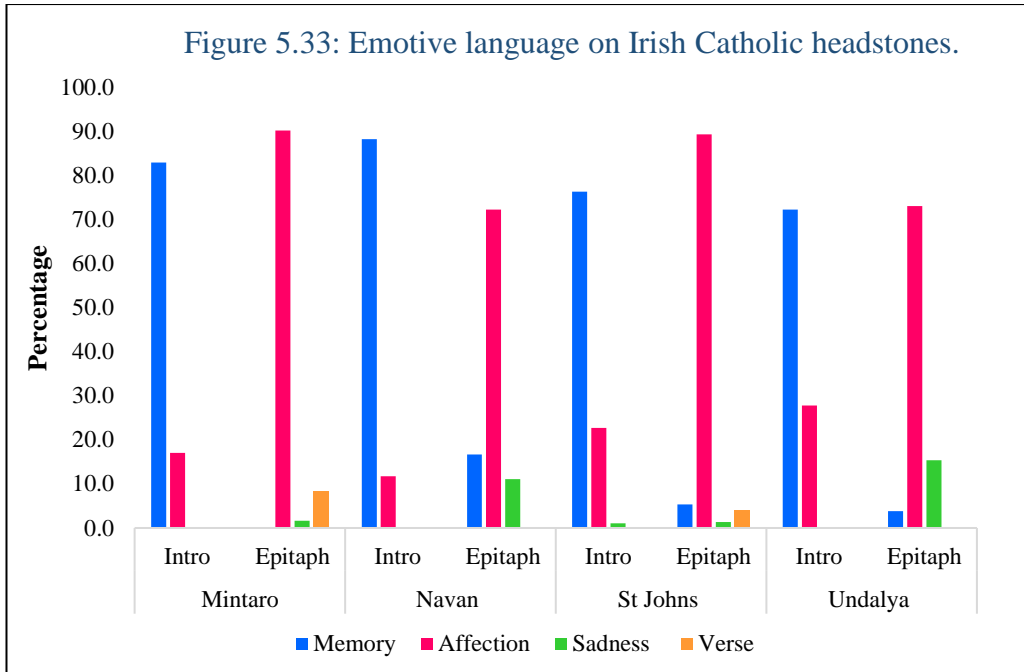
Figure 5.32: Inscription categories of epitaphs for all cemeteries.



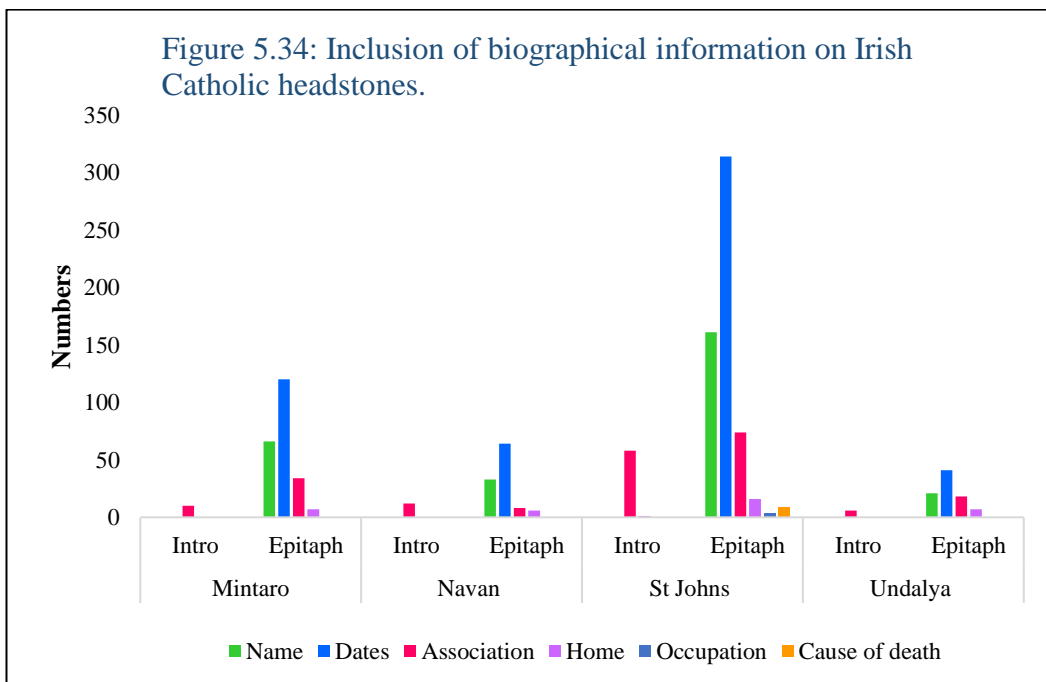
Irish Catholic

Introductory inscriptions

Words relating to memory occurred most frequently in Irish Catholic inscriptions, ranging from 77.2% at Undalya to 88.2% at Navan. Affection was most prevalent at Mintaro (90.2%). The use of poetic verse was a rare occurrence and was only found at Mintaro and St John’s (Figure 5.33).



Biographical data found in Irish Catholic introductory inscriptions was that of association with the deceased person via the words ‘erected by’ and a description of the relationship, occurring in all Catholic cemeteries. Mintaro had the only headstones that did not include a date of death in the inscription (n=8). Occupations were rarely included (2.5%), being only ‘M.D.’ and ‘Rev^d’ at St John’s and ‘Capt’ at Undalya. Mention of country of birth, county of birth, residence or time in Australia were grouped under the ‘Home’ category and were similarly rare, occurring only once at St John’s (Figure 5.34).

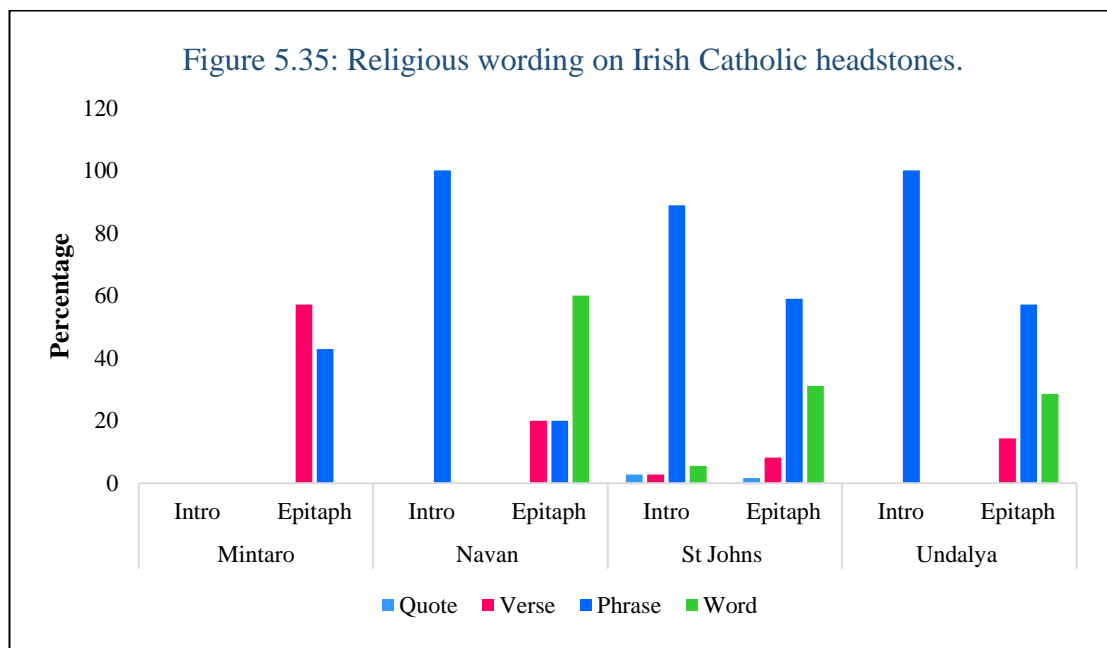


Religious phrases were not used in introductions at Mintaro, but were particularly numerous at St John’s (n=32), and were the only religious wording used at Navan and Undalya.

Epitaphs

It is noted by Griffin and Tobin (1982: 54) that a significant part of social history is written in gravestone inscriptions, allowing a means of determining aspects of life such as settlement, marriage or migration. Furthermore, religious text is often found with biographical information, as confirmed in the study.

Religious phrases dominated the epitaphs at St John’s (59%) and Undalya (57%), while single words, such as ‘Amen’ and ‘Pray’ were more common at Navan (60%). Religious verses were most common at Mintaro (57%) (Figure 5.35).



Euphemisms for death were unusual on Irish Catholic headstones, with ‘died’ being the most common term (ranging from 13 [65%] at Undalya to 29 [90.5%] at Navan). ‘Departed this life’ was the only euphemism used at three of the cemeteries and Undalya contained the only example of ‘sleep’ (Table 5.12).

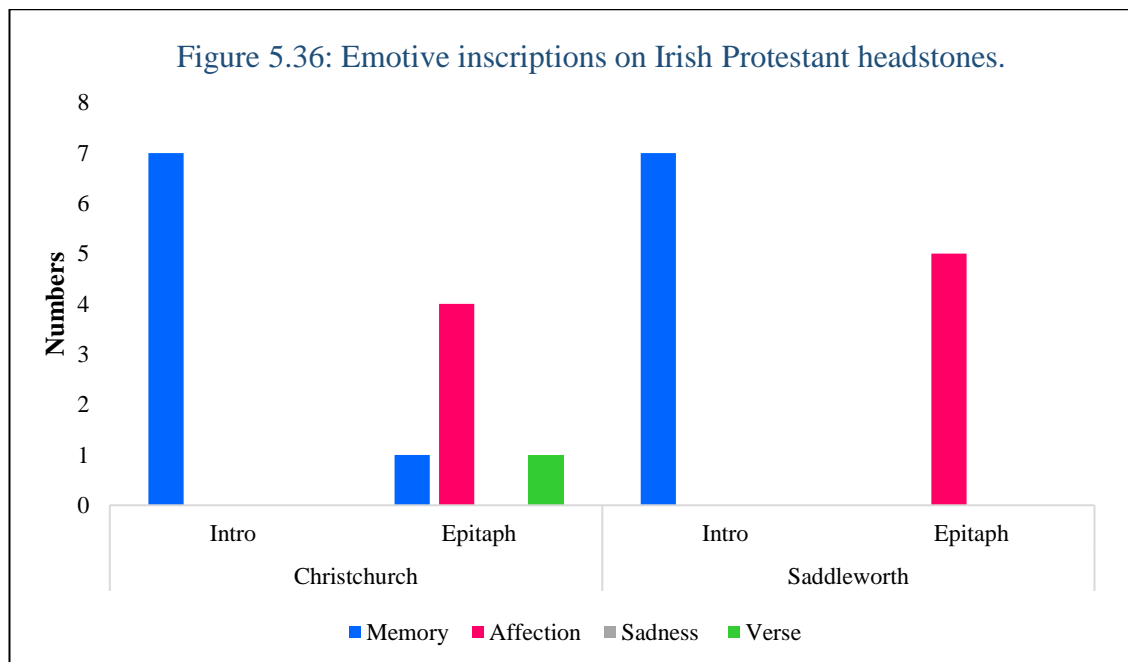
	Mintaro	Navan	St Johns	Undalya
Died	62	29	123	13
Departed this life	7	3	22	6
Sleep				1
Total	69	32	145	20

Table 5.12: Euphemisms for death on Irish Catholic headstones.

Irish Protestant

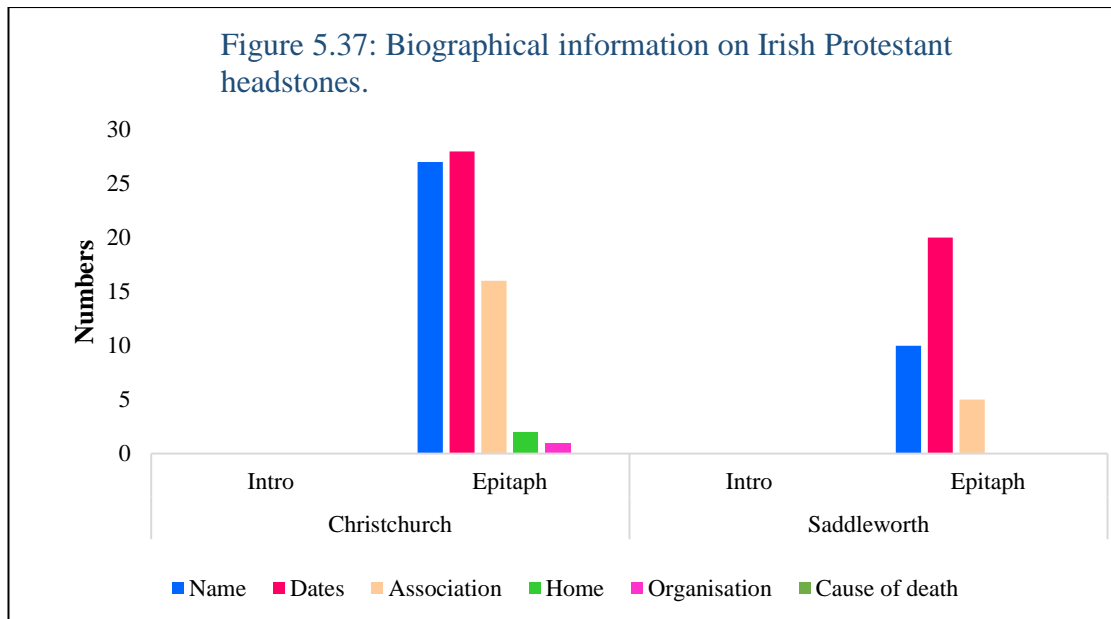
Introductory inscriptions

Memory was the most common wording in Irish Protestant introductory inscriptions, occurring on seven of the nine graves at Christchurch and on all six headstones at Saddleworth. Memory, however, only occurred in Christchurch epitaphs once, with words of affection being more common (n=4 at Christchurch and n=5 at Saddleworth). A verse appeared once at Christchurch (Figure 5.36).

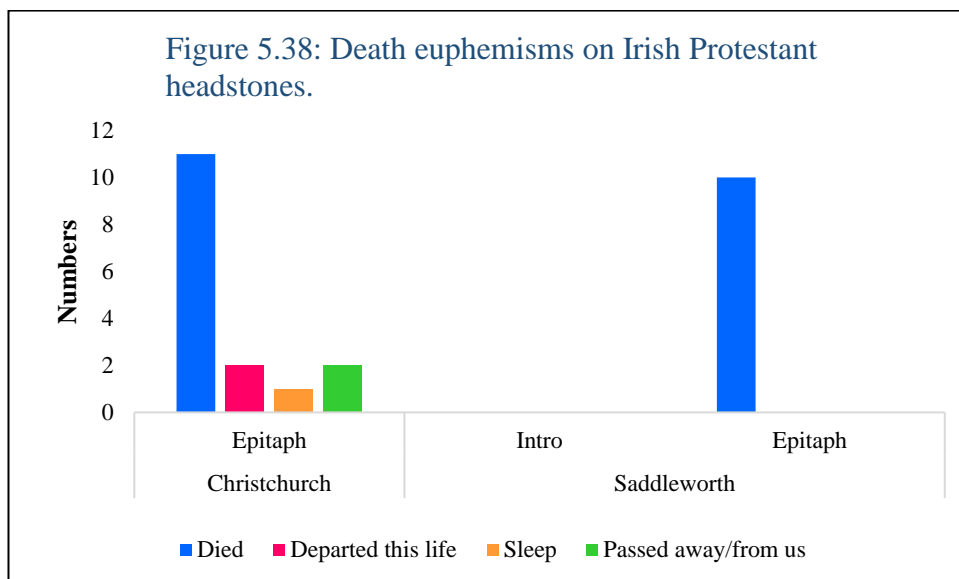


Epitaphs

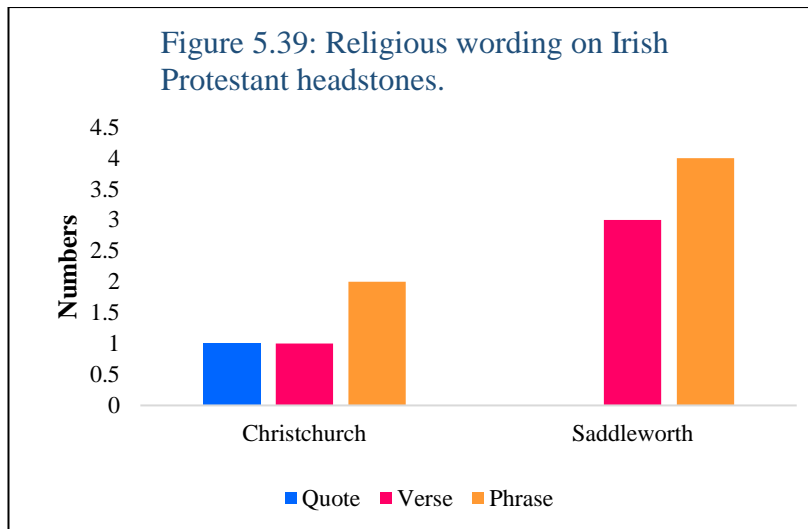
Biographical information was restricted to name, dates (age or date of death of each interred person) and association with the deceased (five examples) at Saddleworth. Christchurch headstones had 27 instances of names, 18 death dates and nine examples of age at death. Mention of 'home' appeared twice at Christchurch, with one example of connection to an organisation (the IOOF) (Figure 5.37).



As with the Irish Catholic headstones, use of the word ‘died’ was preferred in Irish Protestant cemeteries. ‘Departed this life’, ‘passed’ and ‘sleep’ were only used at Christchurch (Figure 5.38).



Religious wording (particularly phrases) occurred in the epitaphs at Christchurch (n=2) and Saddleworth (n=4). The use of verse and a biblical quote appeared once each at Christchurch, and three times at Saddleworth (Figure 5.39).



Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

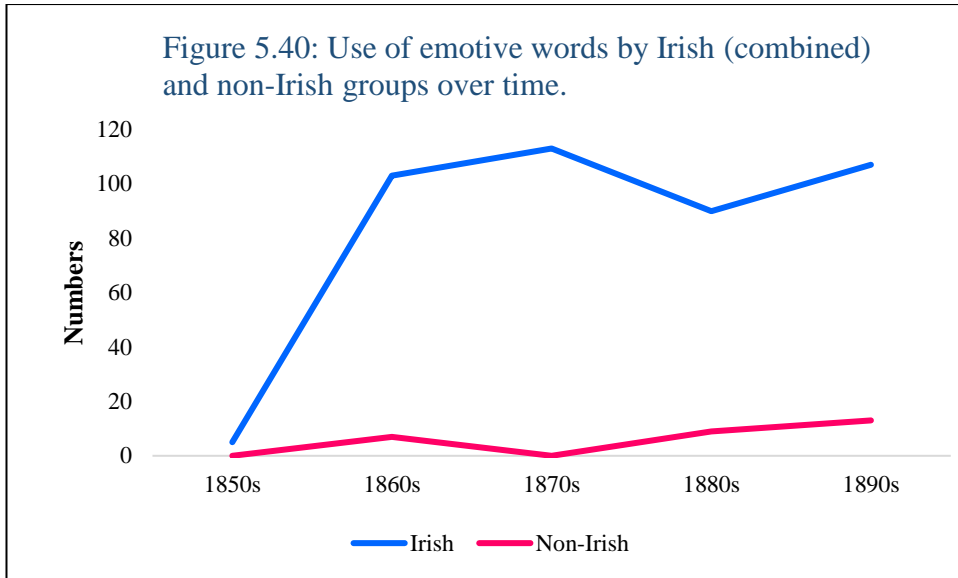
There were no statistically significant differences in the choice of emotive words in either introductory or epitaph inscriptions (Table 10.17) between Irish religious populations.

Mytum (2001:35) noted that recording one’s place of residence became an accepted tradition on headstones in nineteenth century Ireland, but this was not statistically significant in the mid-north (Tables 10.18 and 10.19).

A significant difference in the use of religious wording by Catholics compared to biblical quotes by Protestants, however, was indicated (Table 10.23).

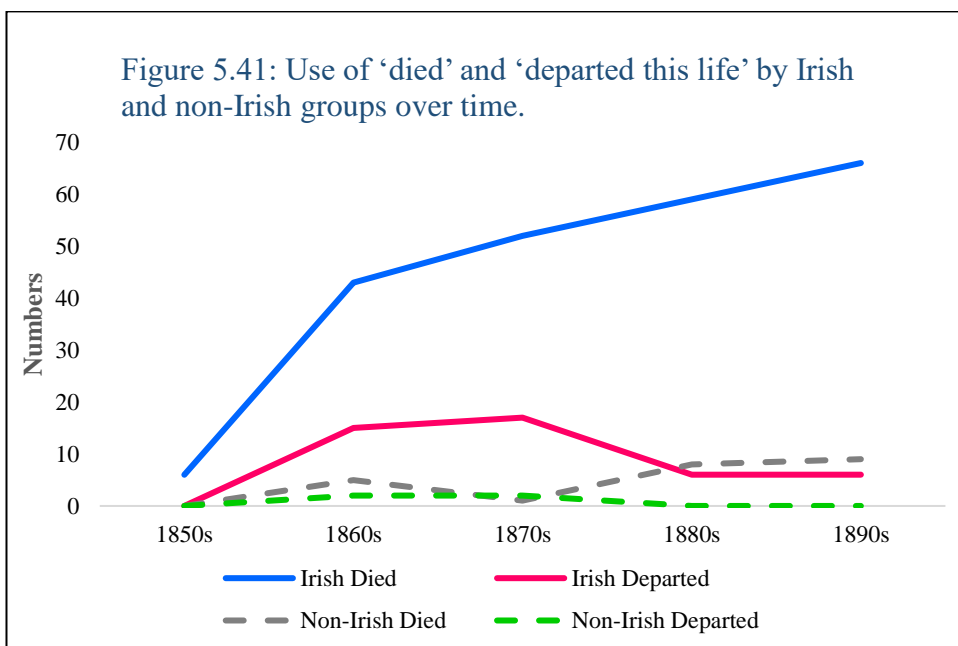
Irish vs Non-Irish

Irish headstones had a similar tendency to use emotive words in introductory inscriptions and epitaphs, with comparable changes over time. Non-Irish graves had few examples of either. Emotive language in epitaphs only occurred in the 1880s (n=4) and 1890s (n=3) (Figure 5.40).

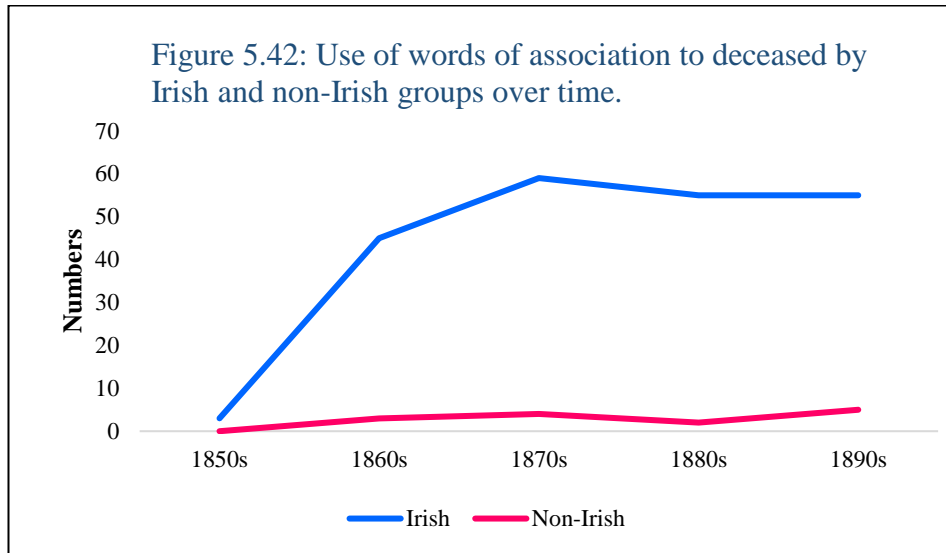


Chi square analysis showed that choice in the use of emotive wording in the introduction and the epitaph by the Irish was statistically significant compared to the non-Irish (Table 10.24).

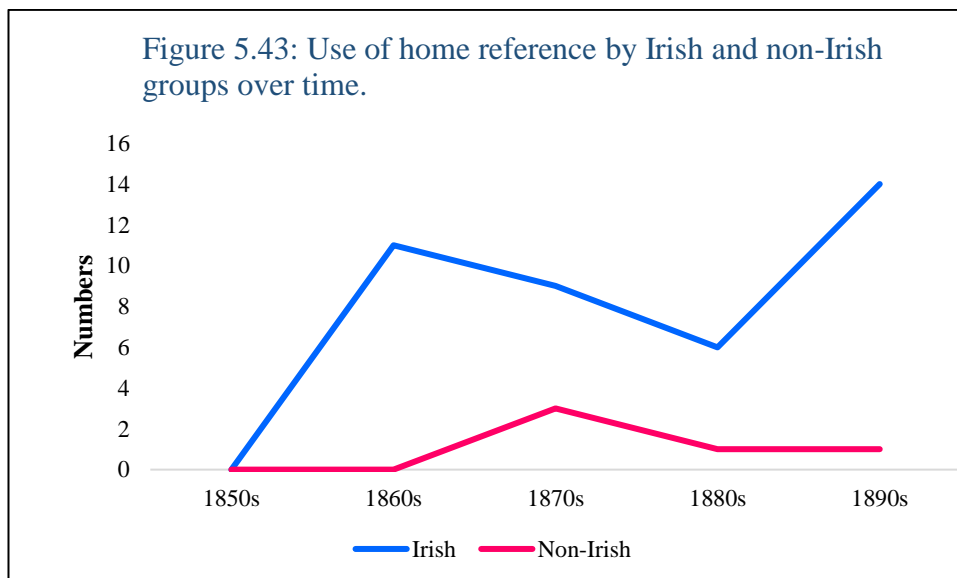
There was a substantial increase in the use of the word ‘died’ and the phrase ‘departed this life’ on Irish inscriptions from the 1850s. ‘Died’ declined in the 1880s, with only six recorded and then remained steady, while other euphemisms were always few in number. Non-Irish inscriptions also favoured the word ‘died’ in the 1860s (n=6), but its use declined in the 1870s before regaining popularity in the 1880s. Use of ‘departed this life’ was low, throughout the 1860s and 1870s, and disappeared in the 1880s (Figure 5.41).



Irish headstones showed a steady rise in the mention of relationships to the deceased (Figure 5.42). Familial connection was the most common social identifier on graves in Ireland, particularly by the later nineteenth century, when larger memorials with family names became common, although this trait also occurred in Scotland, America and Europe (Mytum 2001:35) (Figure 5.42).



The use of words relating to birthplace, residence or time lived in Australia peaked in the 1860s and 1890s on Irish headstones. In comparison, non-Irish headstones showed a lesser peak in the use of such referents in the 1870s (Figure 5.43).



None of these choices proved to be statistically significant.

Summary

Of all the variables analysed in this study, only six proved to be statistically significant. In terms of differences between the two Irish groups (Catholic vs Protestant), inscriptions appeared to be influenced by religion, with the use of biblical verses and religious phrases favoured by Irish Catholics. The use of individual religious words was less common, but still more apparent on Catholic graves, with no examples found on Protestant graves.

Words of affection used by Catholics compared to words of grief used by Protestants, as well as the very large number of religious symbols appearing on Catholic graves, were also significant. Catholic use of shamrock and Celtic cross motifs on cast iron grave surrounds also proved to be significant.

Only one chi-square test gave a significant result between Irish and non-Irish populations: the use of emotive words in introductions and epitaphs by the Irish.

Chapter 6: DISCUSSION

This study aimed to investigate the manner in which nineteenth century Irish settlers memorialised their dead. To achieve this, the following research question was devised:

How are the Irish people memorialised in graves in South Australia's mid-north in the nineteenth century, 1850-1899?

To answer this, the statistically significant results will be analysed in terms of the construction of Irish identity over time.

Irish Settlement

Stereotypically, the Irish are often portrayed as an exclusive and cohesive group (see, for example, Campbell 1996:25), and a comparison of two Irish rural settlements in the nineteenth century — one in Minnesota, United States and the other in south western New South Wales — shows similarities in both settlement patterns and the degree of integration with other migrant groups (Campbell 2008, 1998, 1996). In both cases, Irish emigrants tended to work and live in urban communities prior to settling into an agricultural life. Any exclusion of other cultural groups was not intentional, but more a by-product of living in proximity to relatives or friends for support. In the northern United States, and particularly in Lowell, Massachusetts, (Marston 1988) and Five Points, New York City, (Brighton 2004, 2011; Reckner 2001) the Irish lived in close-knit communities, partially to combat anti-immigrant / anti-Catholic sentiment of native-born Americans. Such environments resulted in fostering overtly Irish political ideologies and to some extent emphasised isolation from the broader community. However, as found by Brighton (2011, 2004), from 1880 an 'identity shift' began to appear, with an Irish-American identity developing. This resulted in a move away from overtly Irish characteristics, while retaining a sense of identity in the practice of Catholicism and political responses to their situation (Brighton 2011:46). In NSW, Campbell argues that, while the Irish settlements were motivated by opportunity, many arrived in Australia as convicts. Land grants enabled freed convicts to develop communities far from Sydney, thus facilitating Irish communities (Campbell 1998:52), whereas Irish migrants to the United States were restricted to the cities, having little money to venture into rural areas.

Patrick O'Farrell (1987) suggested that the scale of 'Irish activity' in colonial Australia was dependent on few people. With the expanse of the country and the resultant distribution of Irish settlers across many different communities, few Irish traditions were continued, save perhaps the celebration of St Patrick's Day. Further displays of 'Irishness' were avoided to prevent alienation or derision from the general populace (O'Farrell 1987:173). Within South Australia, the historian Eric Richards has argued that, unlike their counterparts in Britain and North America, the Irish were not obviously marginalised, did not settle in segregated communities and were largely indistinguishable from their British equivalents (Richards 1991a:233-234, 1991b:92-93, 1991c:216). More detailed historical studies in the mid-north, on the other hand, found strong evidence for networking amongst Irish settlers that created family precedents for chain migration (James 2009:94-95, 209-210), distinct traces of spatial clustering throughout the 1860s and 1870s (James 2009:209) and entrenched patterns of endogamous marriage within the Irish and Catholic communities throughout the nineteenth century (James 2009:21-22, 210, 221). This means that, in contrast to the situation that Campbell has argued for NSW, the Irish in the mid-north of SA were largely insular, tending to marry only other Catholics, and mostly Irish Catholics, and lived in spatially separate communities. However, with time, the Irish moved to further their opportunities and did not stay within the close confines of Irish settlements.

In addition, in South Australia's mid-north there were few distinctions drawn between Protestant and Catholic Irish in terms of their national loyalties (James 2009:208-209, 221). Perhaps even more importantly for archaeology and heritage, and particularly for understanding the ongoing construction of colonial narratives, James also argued that being Irish did not remain important for South Australia's Irish population and therefore Irish heritage was not retained in local memory. While a clear distinctiveness was maintained until at least the turn of the twentieth century in some areas, she noted a parallel neglect after 1870, erasing an earlier 'strong Irish imprint' in areas such as the Clare Valley (James 2009:8, 211). Similarly, findings of cultural unity by Marston (1988), Brighton (2011, 2004) and Reckner (2001) in the United States were followed by a shift away from a distinct Irish signature from the 1880s.

In this study, the general pattern of similarity identified by Richards holds true in most areas of burial symbolism. There is, however, some archaeological evidence for distinctiveness and separation between denominations and between the Irish and the others around them. Given the small number of statistically significant results from this analysis, areas of comparison and contrast will be explored further here in three ways: through the use of motifs of affection and grief, motifs related to religious beliefs, and overtly Irish symbols of identity. The use of motifs showed a marked decline in the 1880s overall, but when motifs were present religious symbols were most common on Irish Catholic graves, while the use of emotive symbols identified Irish graves. The expression of affection and grief via symbols, however, distinguished Irish Catholics from Irish Protestants.

Motifs of affection versus grief

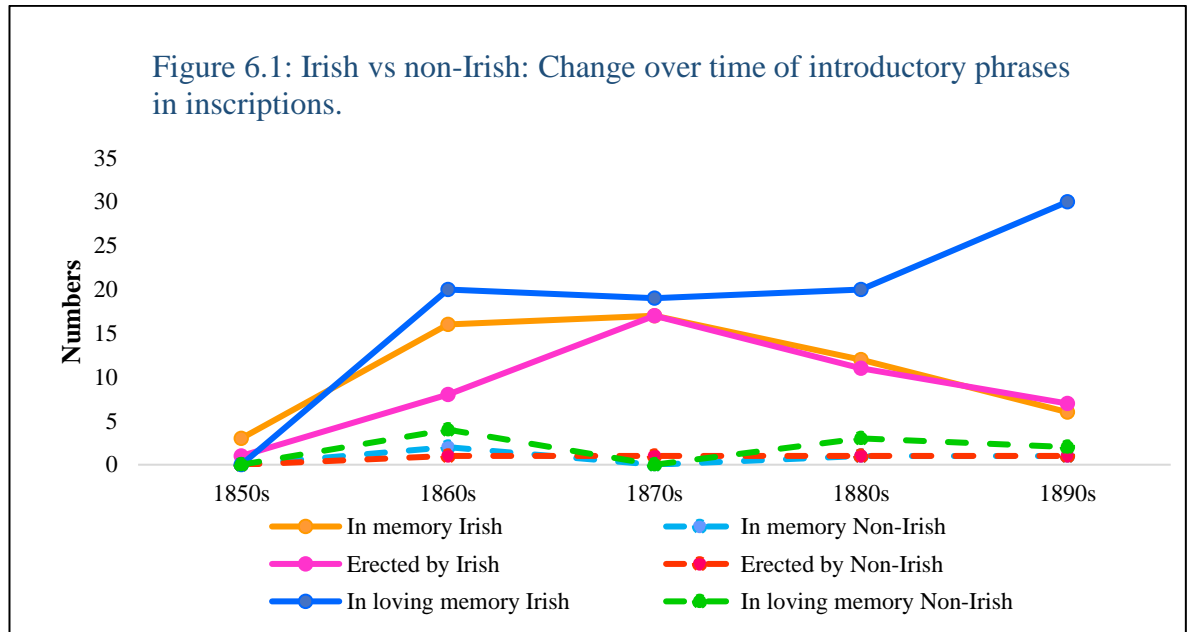
Motifs signifying affection and grief proved to have a strong religiously-based difference (Table 10.7), with Irish Catholic graves displaying the vast majority of motifs representing affection. The use of flora was particularly dominant. Roses as a symbol of hope, and daisies, which represent innocence, were the most frequently used, especially by those buried in the Mintaro and St John's cemeteries. Wreaths (of both flora and foliage) and forget-me-nots, both portraying remembrance, were also found at the same two cemeteries.

In contrast, Irish Protestant graves had more austere headstones with fewer motifs. Christchurch cemetery had just three emotive symbols, two of which represented grief. These were a lily with a broken stem and morning glory flowers, while Saddleworth cemetery had an equal number of affection and grief symbols (n=6).

When looked at over time, the use of emotive symbols amongst Irish Catholics became more popular towards the end of the 19th century. Fewer than five were recorded in each of the first two decades of the study, and prior to the 1880s only 12 emotive designs, ranging from flowers to urns draped with a cloth, were found on Catholic headstones. There was a steady escalation of such symbols, particularly those of affection, into the 1880s (31 examples), followed by a decline to 20 in the 1890s. In contrast, only one or two were found on non-Irish graves in every decade. While no more deaths occurred in the 1880s than other decades, the loss of the early migrants, and thus a direct connection with Ireland, could have accounted for a surge

in using emotive symbols. This was, however, a choice adopted distinctively by Irish Catholics rather than Irish Protestants.

The emotional experience of death was also carried through in the language of headstone inscriptions (Dethlefsen 1981:140), although this was something that was shared by both Irish Catholics and Protestants.



As a collective, Irish Catholic and Protestant graves showed a statistically significant difference in the use of emotive words compared to non-Irish burials (Table 10.24), when the categories for words of affection and grief were considered as one in both the introductory and epitaph inscriptions (Figure 5.47). Figure 6.1 illustrates this difference, showing little use of emotive inscriptions by non-Irish, but a recognisable change in the Irish use of inscriptions relating to affection, over time. So, while a choice between symbolic motifs of affection and grief distinguished Catholics from Protestants, when considered together, the use of emotive terms linked the two groups and separated them from the non-Irish around them. In other words, while Irish Catholics tended to use more affectionate terms and Irish Protestants more terms of grief, the Irish as a single group tended to be much more overtly emotive in comparison to the non-Irish. Irish headstones had a similar tendency to use emotive words in the introductory inscriptions and epitaphs, with comparable changes in their uses over time. Emotive language in epitaphs only occurred in the 1880s (n=4) and 1890s (n=3) (Figure 5.47). Non-Irish graves had few examples of either.

This shift is similar to that noted by Tarlow on Orkney graves. She found the use of more emotive phrases, such as ‘In loving memory’ or ‘Sacred to the memory’, had supplanted earlier phrases such as ‘In memory’ by the end of the 1880s (Tarlow 1999:66).

Religious motifs

A lack of motifs on graves in comparison to religious motifs proved to be statistically significant when analysing Irish Catholics and Protestants. Perhaps not surprisingly, symbols representing Christ (Appendix 9) (Figure 6.2) and the cross were predominant on Catholic graves, accounting for 88% of all religious symbols (Figure 5.20). In comparison, the few religious motifs found on Protestant graves related to God and the Holy Spirit. Over time the use of religious motifs by Catholics peaked in the 1860s, particularly at St John’s (n=11), with a steady decline throughout the rest of the century (Figure 5.29). The 1860s saw the greatest use of religious words on Catholic headstones, while there were none on Protestant headstones, and Protestants only used religious symbols in the 1870s.



Figure 6.2: Engraved stone of the Sacred Heart on Ellen Crowe’s grave, 1895, Undalya Catholic cemetery. (Photo: J McEgan)

These results complement Mytum’s (2013:162) observations on 19th century Protestant observances of death, which concentrated on the judgement of a life lived, with no prospect of improvement in any afterlife, thus few religious symbols were included on headstones. Smith (2001) found a similar avoidance of the cross in Protestant churches in nineteenth century America, as this symbol was particularly affiliated with the Catholic faith, a restraint also obvious in Protestant graves in this study. Catholics, however, attempted to shorten the path through Purgatory by a variety of means, including the use of religious motifs on Catholic graves to aid a more ‘active’ memorialisation. Furthermore, the use of ‘IHS’ on a cross was encouraged by Jesuit fathers (Mytum 2013:167), an order well-established in South

Australia's mid-north. Not surprisingly, Irish Catholics adopted the use of these symbols in the mid-north following the general trend from the European influence of the Austrian Jesuits. The maintenance of such strong faith-based imagery in contrast to Protestant belief may have connoted more adherence to Catholic orthodoxy.

One other chi-square test on parts of the grave inscriptions confirmed religious-based differences (Tables 10.22 & 10.23). The use of a single religious word (e.g. 'Amen') and biblical quotes by the two Irish groups were compared. Irish Catholics used the word 'Amen' while biblical quotes only occurred on three graves (Protestant n=1 and Catholic n=2). Finally, while not proving to be statistically significant, the use of a plain cross as a headstone form suggested interesting oppositional trends amongst sectors of the Irish population (Figures 5.12 & 5.13). Specifically, the use of the cross as a monument form declined amongst Irish Catholics in the 1880s, while Irish Protestant' use of this form increased marginally. Both groups reversed this trend in the 1890s, suggesting that something distinctive may have been occurring in the choices that each group were making. There are two possibilities to explain these choices: that the use of the cross between Catholics and Protestants was a result of adherence to particular religious beliefs or injunctions, or that it was an expression of wider political ideologies that opposed these two groups.

While the Catholic Church exerted influence over the political environment in Ireland, there is no indication that it advised its followers to change their manner of memorialisation away from the use of symbols such as the cross, nor does the *Dei Filius* from the First Vatican Council of 1869-1870 (Unknown [inters.org] 1870) indicate any directive to abandon it as a means of memorialisation. However, the Irish societies representing 'Liberalism' and 'Socialism', for example, were condemned by Pope Pius IX for being 'anti-religious' in 1864 (McCartney 1968:13). Such antipathy towards the stirrings of Irish independence caused some conflict for the Irish who revered their faith, thus strengthening a separation of Irish Catholics from Rome (McCartney 1968:13-14). This may have resulted in some Catholics choosing not to use the cross as a headstone form, although the cross continued to be used as a motif across the decades of the study, as was the 'IHS' symbol representing Christ.

As a descendant of Irish immigrants, Terry Trainor recalls a parish priest (an Irish expatriate himself) singing and playing music of the Irish rebellion, while Mr

Trainor's father owned a book with strong sentiments of Irish rebellion, Catholicism and Irish self-rule (T. Trainor pers. comm. 2015). Such occurrences suggest that the Catholic Church and Irish independence were closely intertwined and, as such, unlikely to be expressed as separate entities in the depiction of memorials.

In terms of a connection between crosses and wider political beliefs, Daniel O'Connell's founding of the Repeal Association to gain independence from Britain in 1840 firmly identified nationalism with Catholicism in order to unite the majority of the Irish Catholic people (Sheehy and Mott 1980:29). Irish nationalist political movements spread across the world, but while some partiality toward such beliefs existed, Australian Irish migrants seemed more concerned with loyalty to family and their county of birth than with nationalist connections (O'Farrell 1980:116, cited in Campbell 1996:33). This attitude was far removed from that of Irish/American immigrants, who, according to Brown (1966), were desperate to improve their lives to overcome 'a pervasive sense of inferiority, intense longing for acceptance and respectability...' Miller (1980:104), suggests that the Irish considered they were 'in forced exile' from English rule, leading to a tenacious nationalism in America.

Little archaeological evidence of Irish nationalism has been found in Australia as attested to by the excavation of political prisoner William Smith O'Brien's cottage in Port Arthur, Tasmania in 1983. While he was a leading political figure in nineteenth-century Britain, O'Brien's presence in Australia from 1849 has left little physical testimony other than changes to the structure to accommodate an eminent convict (Egloff and Morrison 2001).

An alternative explanation for the fall in popularity of cross headstones amongst Catholics in the 1880s may be more prosaic. The economic state of South Australia could have influenced the manner in which the departed were memorialised. South Australia suffered significant droughts in the 1880s, resulting in many insolvencies (James 2012:110). Being that the mid-north was an agricultural area, and many of the Irish settlers were farmers, the aftermath of such weather events would have resulted in the loss of, or reduced cash flow for the properties. A reduction in the number of cross-form headstones, being they were amongst the largest and therefore most costly, could have been due to economics, as could the increasing plainness of headstones from the 1880s (see Figure 5.30), as fewer engraved motifs presumably translated to lower cost. While O'Farrell (1987:173) found Celtic crosses to have

increased in popularity on graves from about the 1880s in Australian Catholic cemeteries, they were generally connected with more affluent migrants, and thus the lack of examples in this study could be a further indication that the financial state of South Australia influenced headstone choices.

Irish symbols

The use of overtly Irish symbols spanned the timeframe of this study, indicating that time away from their homeland did not necessarily dampen the connection with Ireland. These symbols included the Celtic form of the cross and shamrocks. From the data recorded in this study, the use of such symbols to demonstrate Irish association was primarily used by first generation immigrants (Figure 6.3), with the lone example of a Celtic cross headstone from the second generation belonging to a nineteen year old whose parents (themselves first generation migrants) erected the marker. Motifs of shamrocks and Celtic crosses proved to be the same, with only one of five graves bearing Irish-type motifs belonging to a second generation Irish person, whose parents also erected the memorial (Figure 6.4).

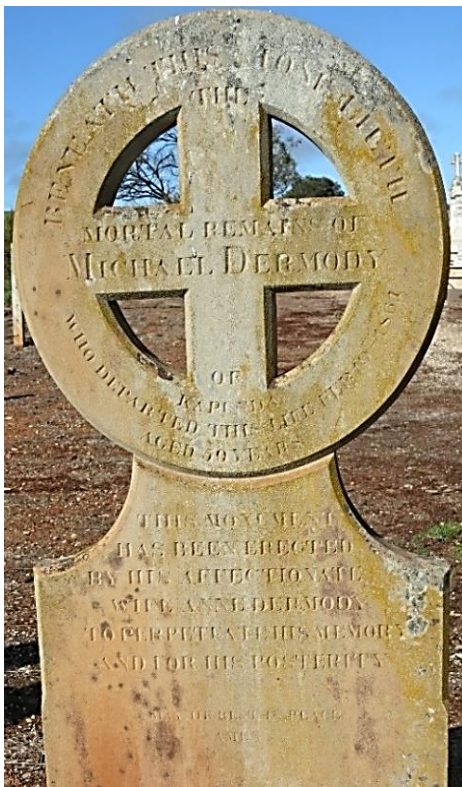


Figure 6.3: Michael Dermody's Irish Catholic grave 1861. (Photo: M. McEgan)



Figure 6.4: John Guiney's Catholic grave 1883, showing shamrock motifs and adjacent Celtic cross. Headstone erected by his parents. (Photo: J. McEgan)

Celtic crosses and shamrocks also figured prominently as motifs on the cast iron surrounds of graves, and were again statistically significant when the Catholic and Protestant Irish were compared. The shamrock occurred more often on Catholic graves and the Celtic cross symbol on Catholic grave fences, while Protestant graves had only one example of each. The shamrock is a trefoliate leaf (Deas 1898:104), long associated with St Patrick, Ireland's patron saint. The plant's three leaflets are purported to have been used as a metaphor for the Holy Trinity by St Patrick on his quest to convert the Celts of Ireland to Christianity (Unknown [Ulster Journal of Archaeology] 1857:12), with specimens being worn in hats to commemorate St Patrick on his Holy day, as noted by Dr. Caleb Threlkeld in 1726 (Frazer 1894:133). Furthermore, there is some speculation that Celts themselves revered the plant for its trefoil form, with the numeral 'three' found in many forms in Celtic history, such as the triskele (Figure 6.9) and the triquetra (Figure 6.7), as well as the shamrock (Figure 6.8). As noted by Mac Mathúna (1999: 174, 177), Irish folklore had an inherited concept of the cosmos involving a triad of three divisions of the universe being *nem* (sky), *talam* (sea) and *muir* (earth), indicating the importance of the number 'three', a belief also held by the Druids (Deas 1898:105). Christian belief in the Holy Trinity in many ways co-opted such beliefs and entrenched them still further.

The dominance of the shamrock imagery on Catholic graves in the mid-north suggests strongly that the connection with religion (and thus St Patrick) was the over-riding factor in its use on Irish Catholic graves. The Celtic Revival of nineteenth century Ireland is primarily associated with the Protestant Irish (Hutchinson 2001:505), in which symbols such as the Celtic cross were used 'to establishan Irish national identity' (Hutchinson 2001:510). In contrast, traditional symbols like the shamrock and harp were well-represented among the Catholic population (Hutchinson 2001:510). However, the symbols represented different ideas of an Irish heritage: Protestants used them as a means to connect with Ireland as many had descended from Anglo-Scottish settlers, whereas Catholics associated the images with a chance to reclaim Ireland from the English and restore traditional Irish culture (Hutchinson 2001:513-514). The results of this study substantiate such observations, as shamrocks were the dominant choice on Irish Catholic graves compared to Celtic crosses or other symbols, with the Holy Trinity being a more probable connection than Celtic association. Celtic crosses, however,

have a probable connection with early Christianity. The shape is suggested by Bryce (1989) to have evolved from a symbol common in fourth century Christianity – the ‘chi-rho’ an ‘X’ (chi) overlaid with a ‘P’ (rho), being the Greek letters of the first two letters of ‘Christ’ (See figures 6.5 & 6.6), and used in combination to represent Christ. Hence, the use of Celtic crosses on the Irish Catholic graves had associations with early Christianity in Britain.

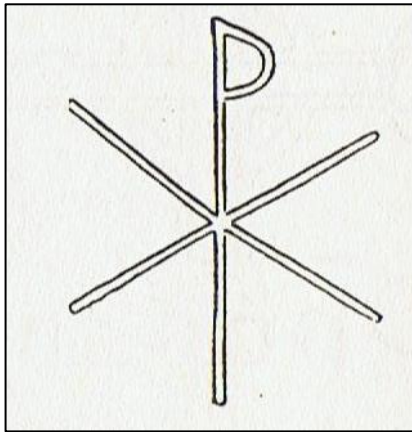


Figure 6.5: Chi-rho symbol in Dorsetshire.

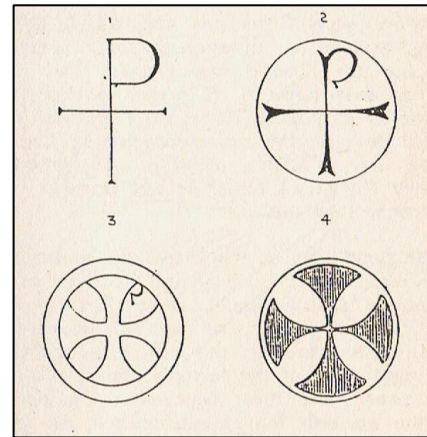


Figure 6.6: The development of the Celtic cross from ‘chi-rho’ symbol.

(From Bryce: Symbolism of the Celtic Cross 1989)



Figure 6.7: Triquetra.
(Image from Fulford & Gilbert 2008)



Figure 6.8: Shamrock.
(Image from M. Russell 2015)



Figure 6.9: Newgrange, Co. Meath showing triskele designs on entrance stone. (Photo: S. Arthure)

Spatially, there was little variation in the way in which Irish settlers memorialised the dead in the mid-north. Headstone forms were relatively consistent in representation across the six cemeteries. Fencing designs also showed little diversity over the study area, as did inscription categories. Motifs had the greatest fluctuation in form – religious symbols ranged from 40 to 60% in the Catholic cemeteries, but were much less frequent on Protestant graves. Motifs of affection had the greatest spread from 5% at Undalya to 40% at Saddleworth, while the other cemeteries comprised about 10%. Irish symbols accounted for less than 10% in all cemeteries. The greatest variation was in headstone fabric, with marble being most common in the Kapunda cemeteries and slate at Mintaro and Undalya. This deviation was most likely simply due to the proximity of quarries for the stone used.

Four early grave markers were unique in style, three of which were Catholic burials at the Navan cemetery (O’Sullivan, O’Brien and Fahey) and one of which was a non-Irish Catholic burial at the Mintaro cemetery (Hoffmann) (Figure 5.15). Two of the Navan headstones, from 1858 (Fahey) (Figure 6.10) and 1863 (O’Sullivan) (Figure 6.12), had the same shape, but were very different to other forms. The O’Brien tablet from the 1860s (Figure 6.11) was the only example that appeared to be completely hand-carved. The shape of the headstone was not symmetrical, while the shapes carved around the edges were irregular. The legible text was neat, but not even in size or distribution across the lines. Furthermore, there were spelling errors evident, specifically: the words ‘REAST’ and ‘AMN’. The O’Sullivan headstone had distinctive designs not seen on the other three, with two spirals decorating the space above the epitaph (Figure 6.12 & 6.13). These also appear to be hand carved, as they are irregular. The rest of the O’Sullivan headstone had consistently sized text, though

some letters had been made smaller to fit on a line, and the additional motifs were regular in their form, similar to those on the Fahey stone (Figure 6.10).

Three forms of foliage decorated the O'Sullivan headstone (Figures 6.12 & 6.13), while the base of the O'Brien headstone (Figures 6.11 & 6.14) included a geometric chevron design between a cross and a chalice. It was the only example in the database to have a painted motif, while it also bore fern-like engravings similar to those on the O'Sullivan headstone. There is no indication of who carved these headstones and they are assumed to have been made locally, by an unnamed mason. The O'Sullivan and Fahey headstones may have been made by the same person, since they are the same shape, are both carved with Bodonee crosses inside the rounded finials at the top of the headstone and include the same recessed panel in the centre of the epitaph. They each have unique variations, however, that also differentiate them, indicating that they were not made to precisely the same pattern. The possibility that these were purchased from the main producer in Mintaro (Priest) or from an Adelaide firm is unlikely being that in the 1860s the residents of Navan were recently arrived from famine-affected Ireland and thus unable to afford such items. The early age of these three headstones and their uniqueness, is likely to be indicative of a lack of a locally established masonry industry. All three examples display evidence of hand-worked symbols and inscriptions and personal inclusions representative of overt Irish symbolism. The connections made to family, with so much detail of relationships and places of birth, continued the connection with Ireland, while the symbols resembling those of Celtic ancestry, particularly the spirals and geometric designs found on the O'Sullivan and O'Brien graves, highlighted the Irish identity of these arrivals in the colony.



Figure 6.10: Fahey headstone 1858, Navan Catholic cemetery.
(Photo: J. McEgan)

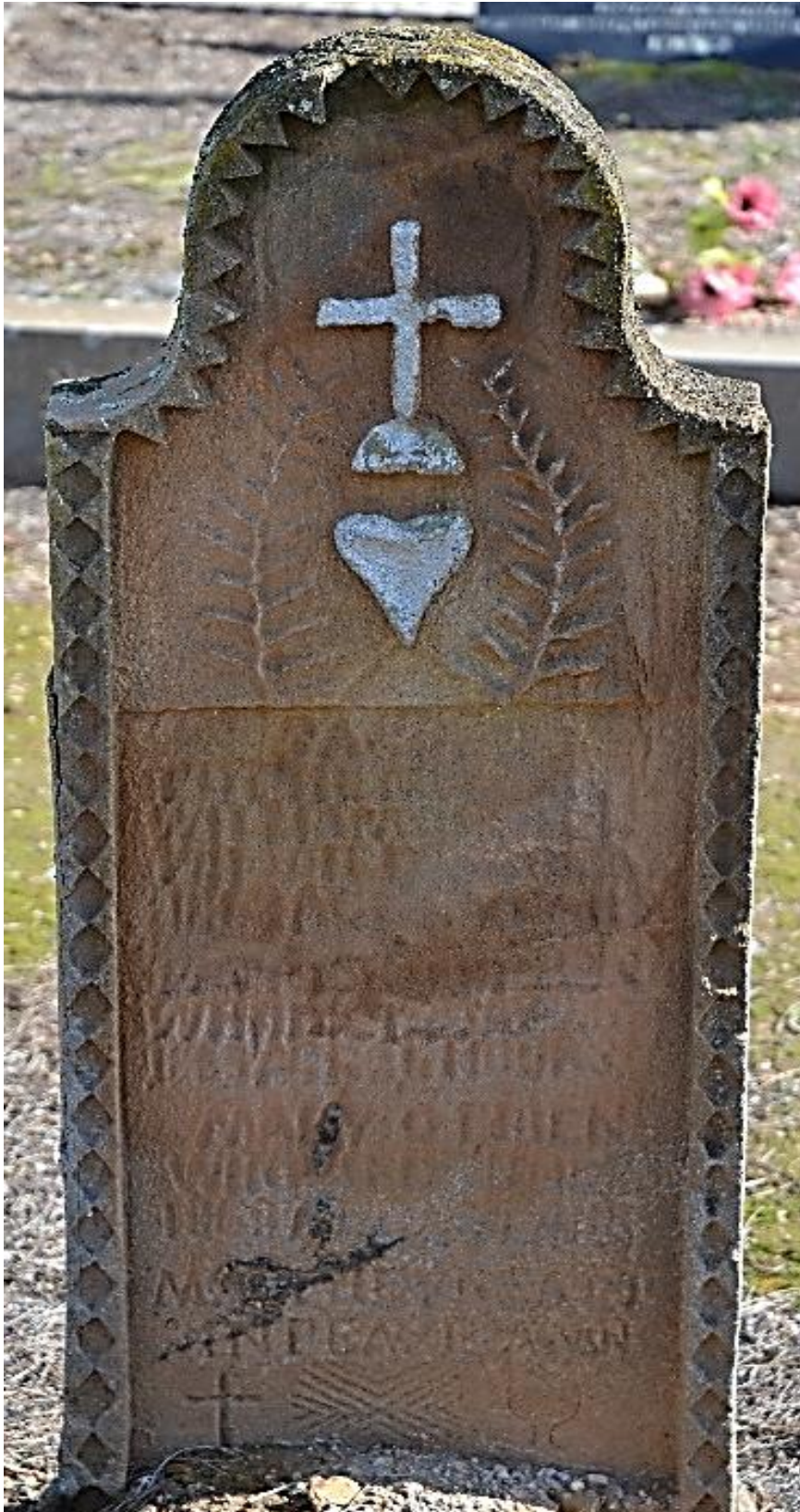


Figure 6.11: O'Brien headstone 1860s, Navan Catholic cemetery.
(Photo: J McEgan)



Figure 6.12: O'Sullivan headstone 1863, Navan Catholic cemetery (Photo: J McEgan)

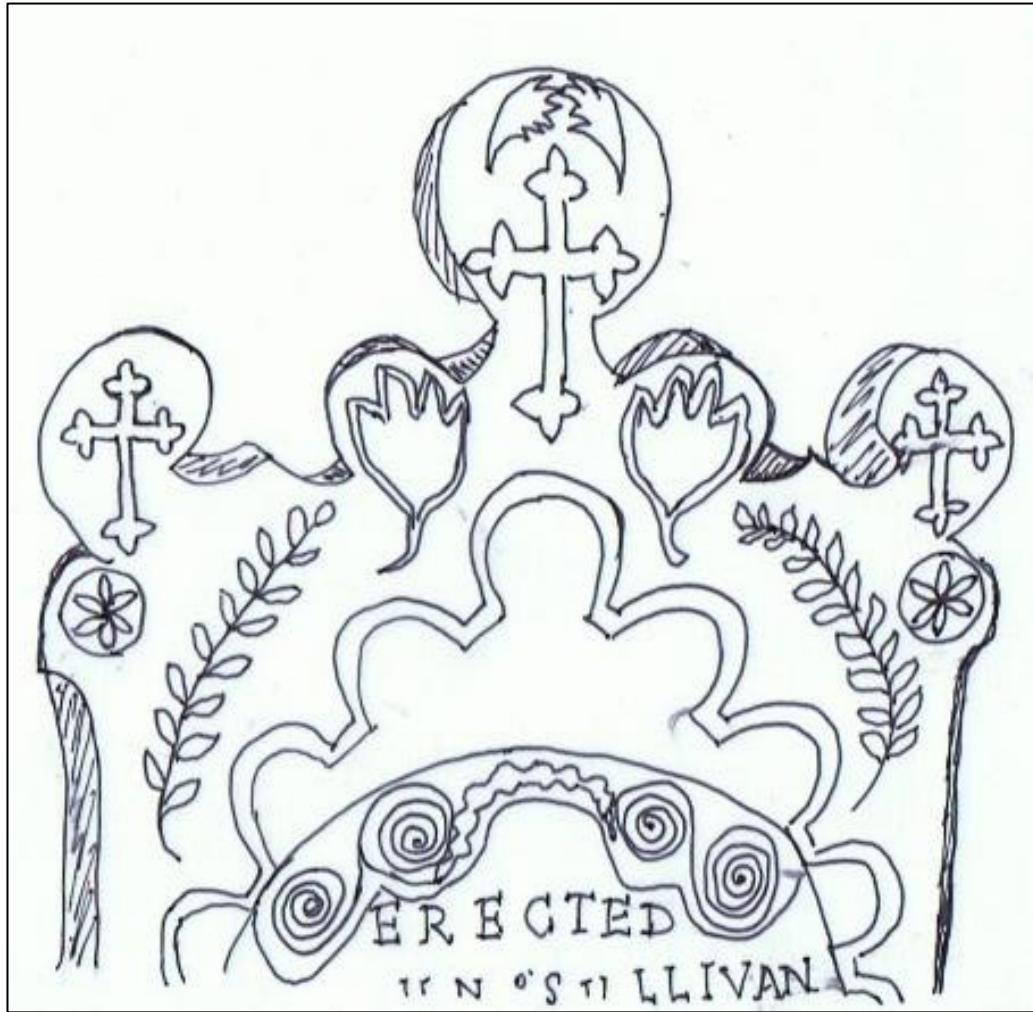


Figure 6.13: Motifs on the top section of the O'Sullivan headstone 1863, Navan Catholic cemetery.

(Note: non-specific motifs and possible Irish spirals)

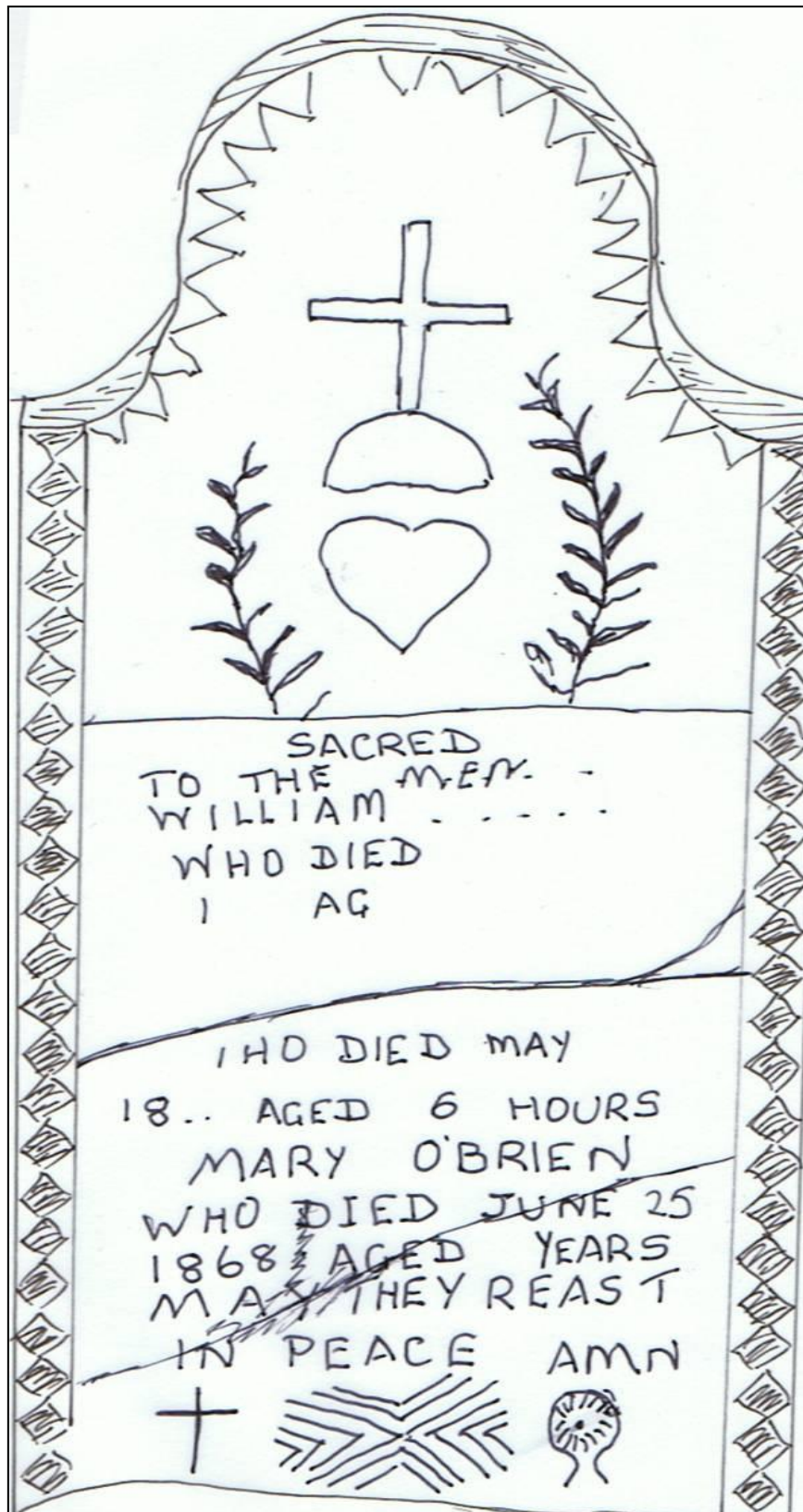


Figure 6.14: Sketch of the O'Brien headstone, 1860s, Navan Catholic cemetery, showing geometric design at base.

Irishness in the mid-north

Irish migrants to South Australia represented strong connections with family in their graves. Relationships to the dead featured regularly among the Irish population as a whole, particularly in inscriptions on headstones. This association increased from the 1850s to the 1870s (Fig. 5.49), while the mention of the deceased's home varied across the timeframe of the study, with a decline in the 1860s but an upward trend in the 1890s. Unlike James (2009:8, 211), who indicated a decrease in Irish cultural association in her study from the 1870s, the results of this study indicate a continuance of such practices with either a general increase or stability in various overtly 'Irish' grave features compared to the non-Irish population.

Religious differences between the Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant populations were also apparent, presented mainly through the choice of motifs. Representations of Catholic faith were significant in their use by Irish Catholics, while symbols of grief were more common on Protestant headstones. Irish Protestants only used the symbol of God and the Holy Spirit and symbols of new life in the 1870s and 1880s (n=4). The use of religious motifs steadily declined among the Irish Catholics.

For both groups, emotion proved to be a distinctive Irish trait in a number of ways. Symbols of emotion were common in both Irish populations, though affectionate motifs were more prevalent on Catholic graves. Emotion proved to be a significant difference between the Irish and non-Irish in the wording of inscriptions on headstones. In both introductory phrases and epitaphs, bonds within families were apparent in the wording used, with phrases such as 'loving memory' increasing over time.

Overtly Irish symbols, such as shamrocks and Celtic crosses, being representative of religious and Celtic traditions, were few in number, but including residence at time of death, a practice still prevalent in Ireland today, was a subtle use of tradition from the homeland.

Hall and Proudfoot (2007), in their study of Irish graves at the Stawell cemetery in Victoria, suggested that Irish Catholics were more inclined to use Celtic Revival symbolism than their Protestant countrymen – an erroneous statement considering Hutchinson's (2001) findings of a greater association between these symbols and the Protestant population. Hall and Proudfoot found that symbols used on Irish graves in

Stawell were representative of their former lives in Ireland. They used this to argue that Irish settlers had a greater attachment to Ireland than those who remained at home. Hall and Proudfoot argue that greater use of Irish symbolism on headstones after 1890 meant that ethnic identity was greater for Irish Catholics after this date but no such commemoration was found on Irish Protestant graves. They suggest an increase in the use of Celtic crosses, along with other symbols such as shamrocks and harps, in Catholic sections of cemeteries Australia-wide, but do not justify the statement with data.

The only significant result in this study with regards to Celtic Revival Irish symbolism occurred in the use of shamrocks and Celtic crosses on iron fencing by Catholics, connoting, as they did, religious affiliations with St Patrick and the Holy Trinity. Such designs were readily found on early stone monuments throughout Celtic lands.

Hall and Proudfoot also made much of the inclusion of place of residence at the time of death on headstones in the Stawell cemetery, but, again, no data for the frequency of these inscriptions is given, merely the occurrence of place of birth which was no more prevalent among the Irish settlers than other British migrants. Again, Hall and Proudfoot used this to argue that Irish settlers had a greater attachment to Ireland than those who remained at home. Unfortunately, there was no indication that Hall and Proudfoot undertook any statistical analysis to demonstrate that these results were not just an outcome of their sampling strategy rather than a representation of 'real' differences amongst the larger population. While stating that shamrocks and place of birth were significant, and thus representing a group identity for Irish migrants to that region, the data provided does not substantiate such claims, and thus their argument may be flawed. Had they conducted a statistical analysis, their outcomes may have been very different.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

While the general concept of Irish people is one of strong ties to their homeland displayed in overt ways, the memorialisation of Irish graves in the mid-north does not support such an obvious scenario. In reality, the Irish immigrants used more subtle symbolism in motifs or words to invoke an understanding of their origins, which, however, do link to the wider stereotypes of the Irish being openly emotional and steadfastly Catholic.

The three headstones at Navan that display personal influences were not mimicked in any later headstones, or at other cemeteries. The lack of stonemasons would have influenced the need to manufacture a grave marker, but more so the personal symbols and detail of lives and origins was particularly poignant. The inclusion of symbols associated with Celtic origins (scrolls on the O'Sullivan headstone and the geometric shape on the O'Brien marker) are indications of these early Irish migrants maintaining connections with a pre-English past. The detail with which the deceased and their origins were recorded further indicates the need for these people to continue associations with Ireland. Even the Fahey grave, while a simpler memorial, detailed the names, ages and dates of death for each member who died. The individuality of these graves indicates the opportunity for personal memorialisation which diminished in some aspects with the later standardisation of memorials. With mass production, only the choice of wording retained some individuality, while the physical presentation of monuments became more uniform. This in itself could create a dilemma for archaeologists in determining the individual contribution of the family and the 'Irishness' of material culture.

The significance of the use of emotion and connection to family in this study, along with the use of Celtic cross and shamrock symbols, however, shows that the Irish of South Australia's mid-north emphasised their Irish identity in particular ways, even if not always in the overt manner usually associated with them. Unlike James' study (2009), which stated that a decline in Irish association was apparent after the 1870s, the archaeology indicates a stability in the number of symbols and/or words associated with the Irish after this time. The number of graves recorded in each decade from the 1870s varied little from the other decades, as did the number of recorded examples in each category. Emotive text and connection with Ireland or to residence in South Australia also changed little, but both categories declined slightly

in the 1880s before increasing again. Mentioning relationships with the deceased remained relatively stable over the last four decades of the study. Religious wording, however, decreased from the 1870s. Motifs representing emotion and Ireland both increased over time, and as with the text, religious affiliation decreased. Hence, this study and the archaeology of the graves indicates that representations of Irish culture did not diminish over the duration of the nineteenth century.

The initial settlement patterns of Irish migrants indicated a preference to be near fellow countrymen, but with time they were willing to disseminate throughout South Australia. While historians have argued that the Irish blended into society without a trace, this study shows otherwise: that the Irish still displayed aspects of their origins, and displayed them differently according to whether they were Catholic or Protestant.

Although the differences in memorialisation appear to follow a religious divide (Irish Catholic versus Irish Protestant) rather than a national one (Irish versus non-Irish), the distinction may in fact be more of a political inclination. The Protestants tended to be wealthier (e.g. Capt. Charles Bagot) and/or from the northern climes of Ireland, thus more likely to be descended from an Anglo-Scottish heritage, resulting in a greater affiliation with England. This contrasts to the Catholics who tended to be of traditional Irish (Gaelic) ancestry. Furthermore, Miller (1980:108-110) identifies a central tenet of Irish Catholic society as a dependence on family and tradition, leaving little opportunity for individuality, which was further engrained by a uniformity of belief in the Church. This was in comparison with Irish Protestants, who considered individuality an important part of their identity.

The social identity of the Irish in the mid-north was conveyed in different ways, depending on the material remains examined. Arthure (2014) found the houses of Baker's Flat to be closely clustered, suggesting a tightknit community whereas the graves in this study suggest that the Irish were interspersed with other ethnicities. Religion was a dominant factor, however, in both studies. The elements of Irishness found by Arthure were more related to the spatial arrangement of the settlement rather than specific items associated with the Irish. This grave study, while not having large numbers of Celtic-related symbols, does show a greater inclination to overtly Irish images and thus a greater degree of ethnicity being apparent, with religion being an evident factor. Mass produced items such as headstones reduced

the opportunity to express Irishness in material culture, but the migrants found other ways to do so through the settlement patterns at Baker's Flat and the use of text and motifs on graves.

With the idea that a person's self-perception can change with time, it is to be expected that variation in results over the time frame would occur in this study. As stated by Jones (1997), traits may be shared by different groups. This is apparent in the lack of diversity in many aspects of the recorded graves. The proximity of family members proved to be an insignificant factor among the three groups, as did the form of the headstones. However, as stated by Bottero and Irwin (2003), differences can occur within a group (in this case, the Irish as a whole) where the type of motifs incorporated on the headstones was a point of religious difference between the two Irish groups. Affectionate symbols were favoured by the Catholics and expressions of grief by the Protestants, while religious motifs were prevalent among the Irish Catholics but not their Protestant countrymen.

As suggested by Brighton (2004), social identity evolves over time - a concept that is apparent in this study. While religion was more obviously depicted in Catholic memorialisation, a variation of this transpired with a decline in the use of crosses in the 1880s. The land wars and Home Rule movement in Ireland at the time may have temporarily diverted concern from religion and thus the social identity of the Irish adjusted to different ideals.

The individuality of the graves at Navan Catholic cemetery (O'Sullivan, Fahey and O'Brien) are examples of 'assertive' style, while the similarities of wording and motifs in the three groups represent 'emblemic' style among the social groupings. These three unique graves with the detail of family and origins expressed in great detail is in agreement with Miller's argument (1980) in which he determines a commonality in Irish Catholic society of the importance of family and tradition. However, these three graves do express a distinctiveness in style and motif use compared with later memorials in the study.

While such individuality in graves was not apparent after the 1860s, the inclusion of family and relationships in inscriptions does show an adherence to traditions. Furthermore, the continued use of graves and headstones occurred throughout the duration of the study period. Mytum found that graves in Ireland were often used

over a number of generations, particularly from the mid-eighteenth century until the early 1900s. Over time the style of inscription reflected the era in which wording was added, while the importance of familial connection and responsibility was shown by continual re-use (Mytum 2003/2004:117). This study found similar re-use of graves though most used the same font in the inscriptions. Some notable exceptions were that of the Marron brothers' grave at St Patrick's Catholic cemetery, Undalya, which used lead lettering for James (1878) and an engraved script for Patrick (1896). A number of font variations for different interments occurred in the Navan Catholic cemetery, while the Donoghue grave (James, 1887) had a different surname spelling for the wife's memorial (O'Donohue, 1892).

Future Directions

The number of Irish emigrants arriving in Australia over its first hundred years of settlement was significant, suggesting that much knowledge can be garnered from the memorials of these settlers. Furthermore, South Australia as a colony of free settlers does not encompass the lives of those who migrated unwillingly as convicts. Investigating differences between free and convict Irish settlers adds a further branch future study, while an expanded timeframe from the beginnings of white settlement in the colonies allows for other approaches to Irish settlement to be examined.

The significance of emotion used to commemorate lost family is an avenue that could be pursued in further studies, with difference in memorialisation of gender being one to pursue, as well as additional investigation of religious and ethnic differences of memorialisation.

The opportunity to investigate the Irish through archaeology and fit more pieces of Australia's vast influx of immigrants into its complex past enables the archaeological record to be further enhanced, and ensures that the lives and contributions of the early settlers will not be lost.

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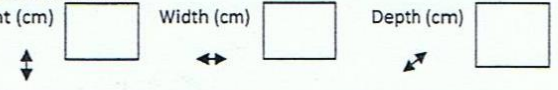
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APPENDIX 1: Site Recording Form

CEMETERY RECORDING FORM			
SITE: <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> RECORDER: <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> DATE: <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/> PHOTO NOS.: <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/>	GRAVE REF. NO.: <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> SURNAME: <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> DENOMINATION: Catholic <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant <input type="checkbox"/>		
GRAVE TYPE <input type="checkbox"/> Individual <input type="checkbox"/> Double Plot <input type="checkbox"/> Group Plot <input type="checkbox"/> No. of Interments	FORM <input type="checkbox"/> Tablet <input type="checkbox"/> Block <input type="checkbox"/> Obelisk <input type="checkbox"/> Statue <input type="checkbox"/> Cross <input type="checkbox"/> Slab <input type="checkbox"/> Combination <input type="checkbox"/> Other.....	ORIENTATION <input type="checkbox"/> North <input type="checkbox"/> South <input type="checkbox"/> N/East <input type="checkbox"/> S/West <input type="checkbox"/> East <input type="checkbox"/> West <input type="checkbox"/> S/East <input type="checkbox"/> N/West	
SIZE OF HEADSTONE: Height (cm) <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> Width (cm) <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> Depth (cm) <input style="width: 40px;" type="text"/> 		OTHER ASSOCIATED PLOTS?: <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Name/No. <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>	
MATERIAL: <input type="checkbox"/> Slate <input type="checkbox"/> Granite <input type="checkbox"/> Marble <input type="checkbox"/> Cast Iron <input type="checkbox"/> Timber <input type="checkbox"/> Tile <input type="checkbox"/> Sandstone <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete/Cement <input type="checkbox"/> Other.....	FENCE/BORDER: <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.....	FENCE/BORDER HEIGHT: (cm) <input style="width: 60px;" type="text"/> LETTERING: <input type="checkbox"/> Engraved <input type="checkbox"/> Lead <input type="checkbox"/> Other..... <input type="checkbox"/> Painted <input type="checkbox"/> Engraved & Painted	FOOTSTONE: <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes OTHER ITEMS ASSOCIATED WITH GRAVE: <input type="checkbox"/> Vase <input type="checkbox"/> Tiles <input type="checkbox"/> Shells <input type="checkbox"/> NONE <input type="checkbox"/> Statues <input type="checkbox"/> Plantings <input type="checkbox"/> Personal Items <input type="checkbox"/> Glass Covered Display <input type="checkbox"/> Other.....
MOTIFS: <input type="checkbox"/> NONE <input type="checkbox"/> Ribbon <input type="checkbox"/> Foliage <input type="checkbox"/> Masonic <input type="checkbox"/> Angel <input type="checkbox"/> Pillar/Urn <input type="checkbox"/> Flowers <input type="checkbox"/> Book <input type="checkbox"/> Wreath <input type="checkbox"/> Cross <input type="checkbox"/> Dove <input type="checkbox"/> Other.....		MASON: <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> TOWN: <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>	
INSCRIPTION (Please record exactly as it reads on stone, i.e. line by line and spatial order): 		SPECIFIC SHAPE OF GRAVE: 	

Appendix 3: Mintaro Catholic Cemetery Site Plan

MINTARO CATHOLIC CEMETERY, MINTARO

SITE PLAN







Drawn by R M STONE

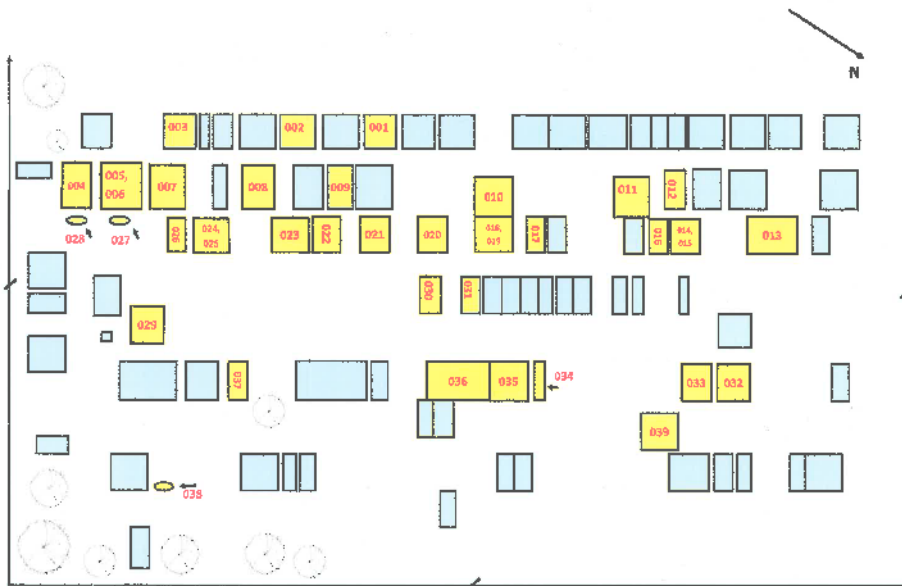
July 9, 2013

Scale 1:200 metres



LEGEND

-  Recorded graves
-  Fence
-  Headstone
-  Tree/shrub
-  Unrecorded graves
-  Reference number



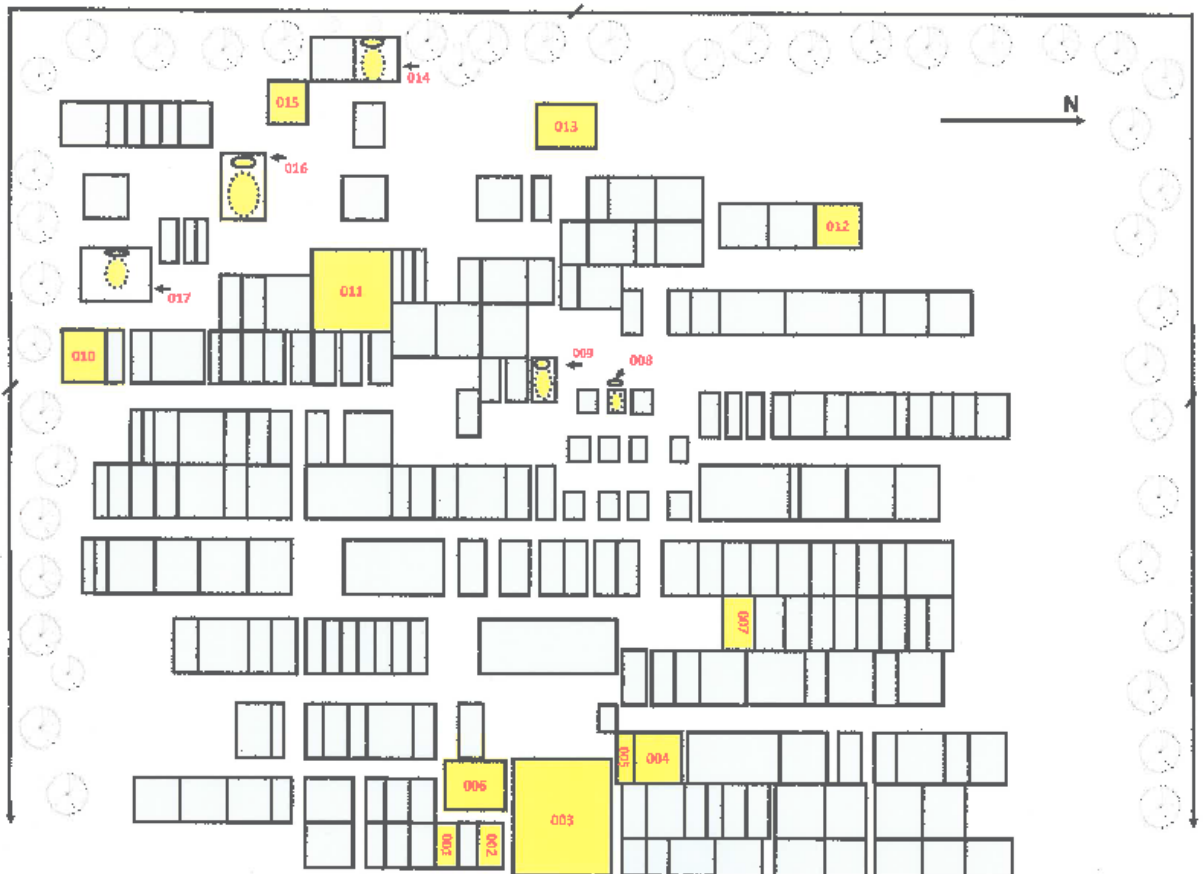
Appendix 4: Navan Catholic Cemetery Site Plan

NAVAN CATHOLIC CEMETERY, near RIVERTON
SITE PLAN

Drawn by P CONNELL,
Modified BY J MCEGAN

Not to Scale

- LEGEND**
-  Recorded graves
 -  Burial mound
 -  Fence
 -  Headstone
 -  Tree/shrub
 -  Unrecorded graves
 - 001** Reference number



Appendix 5: St John's Catholic Cemetery, Kapunda, Site Plan



ST JOHN'S CATHOLIC CEMETERY, KAPUNDA
SITE PLAN

Drawn by J SWANN,
Modified by J MCCORMAN
Not to Scale

Appendix 6: St Patrick's Catholic Cemetery, Undalya, Site Plan

ST PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CEMETERY, UNDALYA SITE PLAN

Drawn by J MCEGAN

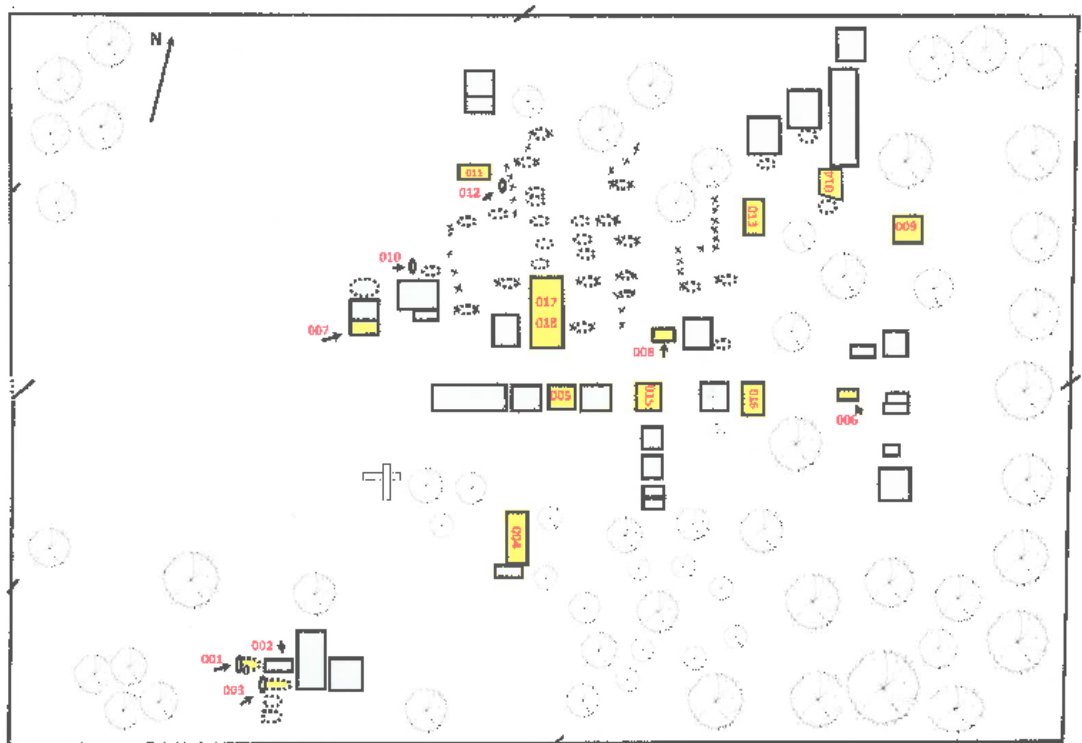
July 30, 2014

Scale 1:200 metres

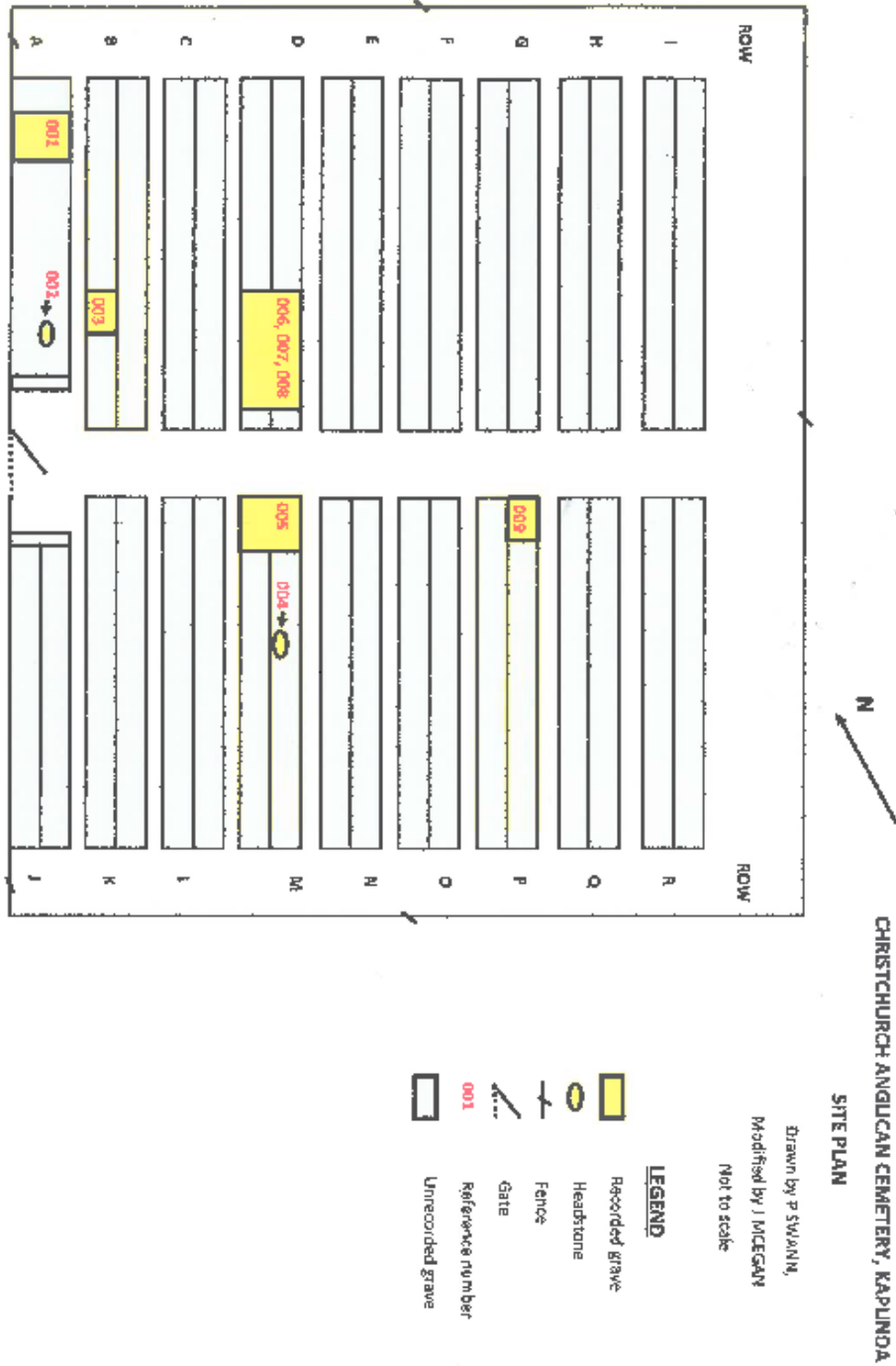


LEGEND

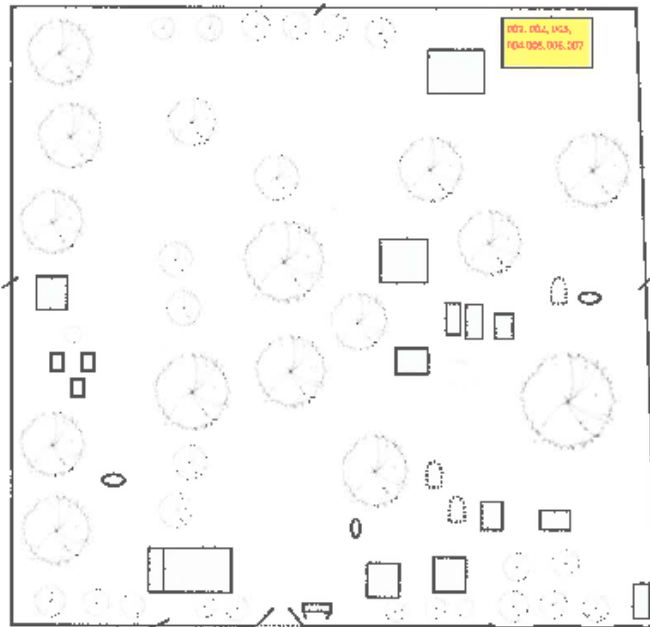
- Recorded graves
- Burial mound
- Fence
- Gate
- Headstone
- Tree/shrub
- Unrecorded graves
- Stone marker
- Reference number
- Memorial stone



Appendix 7: Christchurch Anglican Cemetery, Kapunda, Site Plan



Appendix 8: Whip Street Anglican Cemetery, Saddleworth, Site Plan



WHIP ST ANGLICAN CEMETERY, SADDLEWORTH, SITE PLAN

Drawn July 18 2014

by L BIGGILL and J MCGAN

0 1 2 3 4 5

Scale 1:200 metres

LEGEND

-  Recorded grave
-  Headstone
-  Burial mound
-  Tree/shrub
-  Gate
-  Fence
- 001 Reference number
-  Sign
-  Unrecorded grave

Appendix 9

Definition of terms

Irish – first generation migrant and two generations of their descendants

Grave Orientation

The direction in which the headstone faced, for example, if the head of the body was situated at the eastern end of the grave the grave and the headstone were oriented west. This was also considered and related to that of any church structure that may have existed.

Family vs Individual Burial

Family proximity was considered in four ways: as a single burial, as a number of family members buried in the same plot with multiple headstones, and as a single headstone with multiple entries and as a number of single plots from the same family who were buried adjacent to each other.

Headstones

Headstone shapes were categorised following Mytum (2000) as (Figure 9.1):

- Celtic cross
- Cross (all crosses other than Celtic)
- Monument/Obelisk (tall structure atop stone base)
- Slab/chest tomb
- Tablet (Upright slab of stone)

Shape was assigned on the main feature of the headstone, e.g. if a tablet had a cross as part of the structure, it was included in the cross section because it was a central feature of the marker; similarly, this was adopted for a monument/obelisk, or similar, with crosses at its apex.



Celtic cross

Cross

Monument

Tablet



Slab



Tomb

Figure 9.1: Key headstone shapes. (Photos by J McEgan)

Motifs

Motifs on the graves were defined as any decorative element and images, but not wording. The letters, 'IHS' were included as they are representative of the Greek words for 'Jesus', but are not a word in themselves. Words were included in the inscription category. All motifs associated with the grave were recorded, including those on the headstone, footstone surrounding fencing.

The variation in motifs was extensive, requiring categorisation into groups of similar sentiment according to the meanings of the individual motifs (Frei 2014; Schulze 2014; Unknown [Grave Secrets] 2013). The categories were as follows:

- Emotive, which included affection, grief or loss. Motifs associated with affection included those representing hope (e.g. anchors, or a cross that represents Christ), remembrance (e.g. wreaths) and friendship (e.g. ivy, which also represents immortality). Flowers denote innocence or

immortality, while death and loss were represented by motifs such as weeping cherubs or an urn covered with a cloth, and the fragility of life, or a shortened life, was illustrated by a lily with a broken stem.

- Irish symbols: Symbols known to have Irish connection, such as Celtic crosses and shamrocks were included in this category. Examples of geometric chevron design and scrolls (triskele) reminiscent of those at Newgrange, County Meath (Figure 5.16) were also included.
- No motifs (i.e. the headstone contained no decorative motifs)
- Non-specific: Motifs with no apparent meaning were included in this category. Examples were geometric designs, generic foliage (other than ivy as previously mentioned or other significant species), waves and tulips.
- Organisation/occupation: Any symbol associated with a particular organisation, such as three linked chains for IOOF, or a symbol such as guns for a soldier.
- Religious: Symbols with Christian connotations, for example crosses, angels, hands in prayer, crucifixes, chalices, rosary beads and the letters ‘IHS’.

The following groupings were devised for the numerous motifs which were recorded, though some motifs, such as ivy, have two meanings (Table 9.1). Such motifs were included in only one group.

Emotive

Affection	Motifs
Friendship	Urn with a flame
Hope	Anchor, Rose
Immortality	Ivy, Rope, Rocks
Innocence	Daisy, Lily, Lily of the Valley
Life	Lit candle, Tree
Remembrance	Forget me not, Pansy, Wreath
Grief/loss	
Death	Urn draped with cloth
Fragility of life	Lily with a broken stem
Mourning	Draped cloth, Morning glory

Table 9.1: Emotive symbols and meanings.

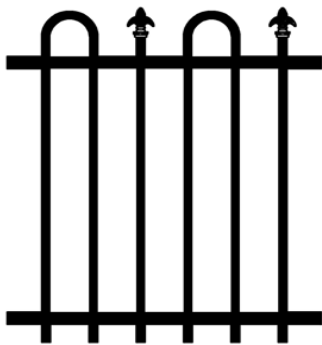
Religious

This category had a number of depictions representing similar ideas. For example, angels appeared in different poses but were all considered to be representative of spirituality.

Motif	Different depictions
Angel	Pointing to heaven, praying, bowing, wings
Cherub	Holding torch, Weeping
Christ	Anchor & cross, IHS, Sacred heart
Cross	Being held, on rocks, with kangaroo and sunrise
Crucifix	
God	Sun, Rays
Holy Spirit	Dove
Holy Trinity	Fleur de Lis
New life	Scythe, Bundle of wheat
Objects associated with Mass	Chalice, Communion stole, Rosary beads

Table 9.2 Religious motifs and meanings.

Fencing



Bow and Picket, illustration from Chicora Foundation



Railing (Photo: J McEgan)



Spear head design
Photo: J McEgan

Figure 9.2: Elements of cast iron fencing.
(After Chicora Foundation 2008)

To simplify discussion of motifs represented in cast iron, motifs were grouped according to the spear design on the fence under five collective headings. As no definitive names for most of the cast iron spear designs were found, nominal titles were given in order to distinguish them analytically. The variations were named, as below, with the range in each category listed (See Figure 4.3 for some examples):

- Arrowhead
 - a) Arrowhead picket and bow
 - b) Arrowhead picket within bow
 - c) Arrowhead/inverted Fleur de Lis picket
 - d) Arrowhead top railing, stylised Canterbury cross in body of fence
 - e) Double row, stylised arrowhead picket
 - f) Stylised arrowhead picket
 - g) Stylised arrowhead within bow.
- Celtic cross
 - a) Celtic cross top railing
 - b) Double row, Celtic cross picket.
- Fleur de Lis
 - a) Double row, stylised Fleur de Lis picket
 - b) Fleur de Lis picket within bow
 - c) Fleur de Lis top railing,
 - d) Stylised Fleur de Lis picket.
- Shamrock
 - a) Double row, Shamrock picket
 - b) Shamrock and bow
 - c) Shamrock picket
 - d) Shamrock picket within bow
 - e) Shamrock top railing, stylised Canterbury cross in body of fence.



Celtic Cross



Shamrock



Fleur de Lys Spear, photo from Chicora Foundation



Stylised Arrowhead

Figure 9.3: Examples of spear design fencing styles. (Other photos: J McEgan)

Results and discussion use the group name, as individual fence styles were numerous, and variations not considered to be significant to this study. The individual elements followed the descriptions given by the Chicora Foundation (2008). (See Figure 4.2).

- Railings
 - a) Double railing with marble corner posts
 - b) Double railing with metal corner posts
 - c) Double railing with wooden corner posts.

Fencing styles without a spear design were categorised as miscellaneous. This included

- a) Stylised Canterbury cross (Figure 4.4, left)
- b) Inverted heart (Figure 4.4, right)
- c) Stylised heart picket
- d) Stylised cross.

All of these designs were in the body of the fences.



Stylised Canterbury
Cross

Inverted Heart

Figure 9.4: Miscellaneous fence styles. (Photos: J. McEgan)

The cornerstones and plinths beneath the structures were recorded for the sake of completeness, but were not discussed in the results.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions were classified into five categories, with all wording analysed:

- Emotive which was further divided into two sections: closeness and sadness. Each included words, phrases and verses with sentimental connotations. Closeness included examples such as ‘in loving memory’, ‘beloved’, ‘rest in peace’. Sadness included words such as ‘loss’, ‘grief’, or ‘lamented’.
- Euphemisms of death: phrases such as ‘departed from this life’, ‘asleep’, ‘gone home’, ‘passed from us’ and the word, ‘died’.
- Biographical: basic information about the person/s buried including name, date of birth/age at death/date of death, country of birth, relationship to deceased, who erected the grave marker, time in Australia and occupational or organisational membership.
- Religious: any reference to Christian beliefs, such as God, Mary, Jesus, heaven, souls and prayer. These occurred as phrases, verses or biblical quotes, as well as the individual words of ‘pray’ and ‘Amen’.
- Memento Mori: Literal evocations of death and the decay of the body These were:
 1. Beneath this stone lieth the mortal remains.....
 2. Here lies all that is mortal....
 3. Here lies the body...

Each of these phrases occurred in the introduction of an inscription, and were all at St John's cemetery.

The following, with similar meanings, were grouped as follows:

Emotive

Sentiment	Examples used
Affection	Beloved, loved, dear, fond, rest in peace
Memory	In memory, memoriam, loving memory, remembrance, sacred to the memory
Sadness	Grief, loss, sorrowing, mourning, bereaved, lamented
Verse	Various length poems

Table 9.3: Emotive wording and meanings.

Religious

Form	Examples used
Phrase	Containing words: God, Jesus, Mary, souls, other words with Christian connections
Quote	From Bible with reference
Verse	Rhyming verse with Biblical wordings
Word	Amen, pray

Table 9.4: Religious wording and meanings.

Biographical

Form	Examples used
Name	Deceased's name
Dates	Birth, death, age at death
Residence	Born, time in Australia, home when died
Association	Erected by, relation to deceased
Cause of death	Lightning, drowned, burnt
Occupation/organisation	Rev., M.D.

Table 9.5: Biographical wording used.

The inscription was considered in two sections — the introduction (introductory inscriptions), defined as any wording before the deceased person’s name, and the epitaph, which included all wording from the name to the end of the inscription.

Chi-square test

The test required a sampling method for data collection with distinct variables. Four steps were required to enable a Chi-square calculation to be performed:

1. Stating hypotheses
 - a. null hypothesis: variables A and B are independent
 - b. alternative hypothesis: variables A and B are not independent
2. Devising a plan of analysis to determine if the data rejects or accepts the hypotheses, by
 - a. defining a significance level: 0.05 was used
 - b. having a test method which determined if a connection existed between variables
3. Analysing the data by producing
 - a. Degrees of freedom
 - b. Expected frequencies
 - c. Test result: chi-square variable
 - d. P-value: the probability of a sample result as extreme as the test result
4. Interpreting the results by comparing the probability to the level of significance. If it is less, the null hypothesis is rejected.

The formula to calculate the Chi-square is shown below:

$$\text{Chi - square} = \text{Sum of } \frac{(\textit{observed} \times \textit{frequency} - \textit{expected} \times \textit{frequency})^2}{(\textit{expected} \times \textit{frequency})}$$

The observed is the actual data of a feature.

Expected Frequencies

The expected frequency is the total of the features for a variable, multiplied by the total of a particular feature divided by total of the sample, as seen by the following formula,

$$\frac{\text{Row total} \times \text{Column total}}{\text{Total } n \text{ for table}}$$

Degrees of Freedom

Degrees of freedom were calculated by the following method. The number of degrees is 'equal to the number of columns in the table minus one multiplied by the number of rows in the table minus one' (Weiss and Sosulski 2002/2003). For example, the rows in this study were two (variables) and the columns were also two (features, such as types of headstones), thus

$$df = (2-1)(2-1) = 1$$

P-value

This is the probability that the chi-square statistic having the degree of freedom is more extreme than the test result.

(Weiss and Sosulski 2002/2003; Unknown [Stattrek] 2014)

Appendix 10

The chi-square test used a calculator after Stangroom (2014).

Family vs individual burial

Irish - Catholic vs Protestant

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Individual burials	35 (34.81) [0.00]	2 (2.19) [0.02]	37
Family groupings, combined	108 (108.19) [0.00]	7 (6.81) [0.01]	115
Column Totals	143	9	152 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.0233. P-Value = 0.878568. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.1: Chi-square test, Family vs individual of Irish Catholic vs Protestant

Irish vs Non-Irish

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Individual burials	37 (38.67) [0.07]	6 (4.33) [0.65]	43
Family burials	115 (113.33) [0.02]	11 (12.67) [0.22]	126
Column Totals	152	17	169 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.9668. P-Value = 0.325484. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.2: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish types of interment.

Headstone Form

Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Cross	47 (44.55) [0.14]	2 (4.45) [1.35]	49
Tablet	93 (95.45) [0.06]	12 (9.55) [0.63]	105
Column Totals	140	14	154 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 2.182. P-Value = 0.139629. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.3: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: two most prevalent headstone forms.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Celtic cross	8 (8.53) [0.03]	1 (0.47) [0.61]	9
Cross	47 (46.47) [0.01]	2 (2.53) [0.11]	49
Column Totals	55	3	58 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.766. P-Value = 0.381457. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.4: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: Celtic cross and other cross forms.

Irish vs Non-Irish

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Tablet	110 (109.95) [0.00]	8 (8.05) [0.00]	118
Slab/tomb	13 (13.05) [0.00]	1 (0.95) [0.00]	14
Column Totals	123	9	132 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.0026. P-Value = 0.959345. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.5: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish headstone forms: tablet and slab/tomb.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Tablet	110 (106.96) [0.09]	8 (11.04) [0.84]	118
Cross	45 (48.04) [0.19]	8 (4.96) [1.86]	53
Column Totals	155	16	171 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 2.9812. P-Value = 0.084236. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.6: Chi-square tests, Irish vs non-Irish headstone forms: tablet and cross

Motifs

Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Affection	58 (55.47) [0.12]	7 (9.53) [0.67]	65
Grief	6 (8.53) [0.75]	4 (1.47) [4.38]	10
Column Totals	64	11	75 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 5.9167. P-Value = 0.014998. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.7: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: affection and grief.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Religious	143 (139.18) [0.10]	4 (7.82) [1.87]	147
No motif	35 (38.82) [0.38]	6 (2.18) [6.69]	41
Column Totals	178	10	188 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 9.0341. P-Value = 0.0265. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.8: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: religious motifs and no motifs.

Irish vs Non-Irish

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Affection	65 (64.29) [0.01]	1 (1.71) [0.30]	66
Grief	10 (10.71) [0.05]	1 (0.29) [1.79]	11
Column Totals	75	2	79 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 2.1389. P-Value = 0.143606. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.9: Chi-square tests, Irish vs non-Irish: affection and grief.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Religious	146 (145.02) [0.01]	12 (12.98) [0.07]	158
No motif	44 (44.98) [0.02]	5 (4.02) [0.24]	49
Column Totals	190	17	207 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.3378. The P-Value is 0.561121. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.10: Chi-square tests, Irish vs non-Irish: religious motifs and no motifs.

Fences/borders

Irish – Catholic and Protestant

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Cast iron picket	85 (84.32) [0.01]	6 (6.68) [0.07]	91
Railing	16 (16.68) [0.03]	2 (1.32) [0.35]	18
Column Totals	101	8	109 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.451. P-Value = 0.501866. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.11: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: cast iron picket and railing.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Celtic cross	2 (2.81) [0.23]	1 (0.19) [3.52]	3
Shamrock	28 (27.19) [0.02]	1 (1.81) [0.36]	29
Column Totals	30	2	32 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 4.1441. P-Value = 0.041781. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.12: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: Celtic cross and shamrock as fencing spearheads.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Cast iron picket	85 (85.44)[0.00]	6 (5.56) [0.04]	91
No border	38 (37.56) [0.01]	2 (2.44) [0.08]	40
Column Totals	123	8	131 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.123. P-Value = 0.725765. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.13: Chi square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: cast iron picket border and no border.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Kerb	12 (11.54) [0.02]	0 (0.46) [0.46]	12
No border	38 (38.46) [0.01]	2 (1.54) [0.14]	40
Column Totals	50	2	52 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.624. P-Value = 0.429565. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.14: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: kerb border and no border.

Irish vs Non-Irish

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Kerb	12 (11.61) [0.01]	1 (1.39) [0.11]	13
No border	38 (38.39) [0.00]	5 (4.61) [0.03]	43
Column Totals	50	6	56 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.1616. P-Value = 0.687668. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.15: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: kerb border and no border.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Celtic cross	3 (2.74) [0.02]	0 (0.26) [0.26]	3
Shamrock	29 (29.26) [0.00]	3 (2.74) [0.01]	32
Column Totals	32	3	35 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.3076. P-Value = 0.579146. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.16: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: Celtic cross and shamrocks as fencing spearheads.

Inscriptions

Irish – Catholic vs Protestant

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Introduction	173 (174.63) [0.02]	14 (12.37) [0.22]	187
Epitaph	180 (178.37) [0.01]	11 (12.63) [0.21]	191
Column Totals	353	25	378 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.4565. P-Value = 0.499249. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.17: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: emotive words in inscription introductions and epitaphs.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Birth place	9 (9.74) [0.06]	2 (1.26) [0.00]	11
Residence	22 (21.26) [0.03]	2 (2.74) [0.20]	24
Column Totals	31	4	35 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.7228. P-Value = 0.395243. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.18: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: birth place and residence in inscription.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Birth place	9 (9.53) [0.03]	2 (1.47) [0.19]	11
Time in Australia	4 (3.47) [0.08]	0 (0.53) [0.53]	4
Column Totals	13	2	15 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.8392. P-Value = 0.359637. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.19: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: birth place and time in Australia in inscription.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Died	227 (228.19) [0.01]	21 (19.81) [0.07]	248
Departed	38 (36.81) [0.04]	2 (3.19) [0.45]	40
Column Totals	265	23	288(Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.5637. P-Value = 0.452786. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.20: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: 'died' and 'departed this life'.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Sleep	1 (0.50) [0.50]	1 (1.50) [0.17]	2
Passed	0 (0.50) [0.50]	2 (1.50) [0.17]	2
Column Totals	1	3	4 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 1.3333. P-Value = 0.248213. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.21: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: death euphemisms – ‘sleep’ and ‘passed’.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Biblical verse	17 (18.45) [0.11]	4 (2.55) [0.82]	21
Religious phrase	77 (75.55) [0.03]	9 (10.45) [0.20]	86
Column Totals	94	13	107 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 1.1648. P-Value = 0.280468. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.22: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: biblical verses and phrases.

Results			
	Irish Catholic	Irish Protestant	<i>Row Totals</i>
Religious word	29 (28.09) [0.03]	0 (0.91) [0.91]	29
Biblical quote	2 (2.91) [0.28]	1 (0.09) [8.76]	3
Column Totals	31	1	32 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 9.9785. P-Value = 0.001584. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.23: Chi-square test, Irish Catholic vs Protestant: biblical words and quotes.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Introduction	194 (201.44) [0.27]	22 (14.56) [3.80]	216
Epitaph	221 (213.56) [0.26]	8 (15.44) [3.58]	229
Column Totals	415	30	445 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 9.264. P-Value = 0.002337. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.24: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: emotive words in introductions and epitaphs.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Died	226 (226.36) [0.00]	23 (22.64) [0.01]	249
Departed this life	44 (43.64) [0.00]	4 (4.360) [0.03]	48
Column Totals	270	27	297 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.0398. P-Value = 0.841952. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.25: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: ‘died’ and ‘departed this life’.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Introduction	55 (52.47) [0.12]	1 (3.53) [1.82]	56
Epitaph	138 (140.53) [0.05]	12 (9.47) [0.68]	150
Column Totals	193	13	206 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 2.6634. P-Value = 0.102684. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.26: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: words of association with deceased in introductions and epitaphs.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Relationship	193 (193.18) [0.00]	13 (12.82) [0.00]	206
Erected by	48	3 (3.18) [0.01]	51
Column Totals	241	16	257 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.0128. P-Value = 0.909759. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.27: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: relationship with the deceased and who erected the headstone.

Results			
	Irish	Non-Irish	<i>Row Totals</i>
Birth place	11 (11.33) [0.01]	1 (0.67) [0.17]	12
Residence	23 (22.67) [0.00]	1 (1.33) [0.08]	24
Column Totals	34	2	36 (Grand Total)

Chi-square = 0.2647. P-Value = 0.606905. The result is *not* significant at $p < 0.05$.
 Table 10.28: Chi-square test, Irish vs non-Irish: mention of birth place and residence at death.

Appendix 11: Grave Data and Historical Research Data

The grave data and photographs are attached in electronic files:

- Folder named Grave Data containing Excel files of recorded graves
- Folder named Genealogical Data containing Excel files of historical research
- Folder named Grave Reference Numbers containing Word files
- Folder named Photographs containing 395 cropped images in jpg format