An archaeology of remembering and forgetting: 'good' and 'bad' deaths on Irish mariners' memorials

Harold Mytum, University of Liverpool   hmytum@liv.ac.uk

Archaeologists interpret the past based on patterns in the physical data recovered, but negative evidence may also be informative. This paper examines factors behind the uneven representation of mariners on historic memorials, revealing how consideration of the absent should also be part of any analysis. Many individuals had their graves marked by inscribed memorials in Ireland from the late 18th century onwards, acting as both grave markers and foci for memory and commemorative practices. Mariners may have died on land, and so are interred in the grave, or at sea and their bodies have been lost. These create different issues regarding grieving and commemoration, and archaeology can examine how far this is materially represented in their memorials. Following some wider consideration of mariners' memorials, two Irish case studies are considered – one the Protestant graveyard of Donaghadee, County Down, the other the commemoration of a maritime disaster at Dun Laoghaire, County Dublin – followed by a consideration of why so few Irish Catholic mariners were explicitly commemorated on memorials. It is suggested that varied attitudes to remembering and forgetting 'bad deaths' may in part explain this silence.

Introduction

Historic graveyards serve two primary purposes – to act as a repository for human remains, and to provide a focus for memory. Linked to these are social and cultural imperatives including defining family or other group grave space, and the reinforcing of identity through monuments and practices at the grave space (Mytum 2004a). For most groups in society the use of the graveyard is at one level unproblematic. The affluent and powerful may be able to select the most prestigious locations and erect the most impressive monuments, whilst others may be more peripheral or marked with only a rough stone or simple cross, but the combination of body, grave, and locus for grieving is similar. The situation for mariners, however, is not always thus. Whilst many sailors died at home in their beds, either in retirement or between voyages, many were either lost at sea or succumbed to accident or disease in another port. Sudden losses, and those without proper preparation, were seen as 'bad deaths' and were much feared (Jalland 1996). Whilst many fishermen, sailors and mariners were within social classes that are under-represented in the memorial record, some of their families were sufficiently affluent to chose to commemorate their loss. The representation of mariners in the memorial record is remarkably uneven, however, and requires some explanation. This study comparatively considers two Protestant maritime data sets, the monuments associated with a multi-denominational tragedy, and the limited evidence for Catholic mariners, and suggests that attitudes to maritime losses based on religion is the most likely explanation for the uneven record.

Both Protestants and Catholics held to the concept of a 'good death' from the early modern period (Mac Murchaidh 2016; Wunderli and Broce 1989) and all through the 18th and 19th centuries, though what constituted such differed (Jalland 1996). For Protestants much depended on the attitude to repentance, whilst the Catholics also required absolution from a priest; a 'sudden and unprovided death' meant that the soul may not have been in a state of grace (Mac Murchaidh 2016, 162). Moreover, all desired death to be dignified, with earthly affairs in order and the family surrounding the dying member, something impossible for mariners dying away from home. For some Protestant sects such as strict Presbyterians and Quakers the location of burial was immaterial, but for others this was also an issue, as was who took the service. Thus, two features combined in the lives and deaths of mariners – the potential for a 'bad death' without suitable preparation, and the fate of the body and lack of suitable interment. Mariners' memorials reveal these fears and also demonstrate the varied ways in which some could normalise the experience, both through shared sentiments with those of other families who suffered similar tragedies, and by the role of physical markers indicating either the place of interment or recording the life of an individual even though the body was elsewhere. Moreover, some memorials associated with mariners merely state their profession as they erect monuments to their own deceased relatives, or are recording mariners who died at home in the range of circumstances that applied to the rest of the community. Nevertheless, the use of the identifier 'mariner' associates the individual with a distinctive profession, and one with an especially poignant relationship with 'good' and 'bad' deaths.

Recent archaeological research in North America and England by David Stewart (2011) examines the mariner experience as a distinctive subculture that had its own attitudes to mortality and ways of

dealing with the problem of the 'bad death'. His examples are largely Protestant, but from a wide geographical range – America, the Caribbean, and England. Some uniformity across these regions is not surprising because of the movement of crews, and indeed their often international make-up. Much, though not all, of Stewart's evidence comes from naval contexts. Earlier work in Wales (Mytum and Kilminster1987; Mytum 1990), has provided evidence for mariner memorials within largely Protestant merchant marine contexts. Stewart in particular has considered the effect of sudden, often violent, death being a constant shadow over the 18th- and 19th-century maritime community, and how this affected attitudes and behaviour on-board as well as the ways in which bodies were disposed of and, in some cases, commemorated subsequently on land. Consideration of the Irish monumental evidence allows examination of attitudes and behaviours within Catholic communities as well as Protestant ones, and whether Irish mariners who died on land were commemorated in a different way from those who died at sea. This can then be compared with the British evidence to see if there is any variation in attitudes to the 'bad death' of drowning at sea.

If the deaths were local – a drowning where the body could be recovered – there were aspects of the 'bad death' that had to be confronted, but at least the funeral, interment and commemoration could be as with normal, 'good', deaths. With the non-local death of a mariner there was a range of outcomes, each of which has an archaeological implication (Table 1). The most acceptable from the point of view of the surviving family was for the body to be recovered, preserved in some way such as by embalming, and returned for burial and a traditional funeral. This, however, was rarely possible because of logistics and costs, and only the most important individuals ever received such treatment. The best most could hope for was that the body should be interred with the full rites appropriate to their religious feelings and in a formal burial location, and even a monument commissioned to mark the grave. This could be more easily achieved where there was an established contact in that place, perhaps linked to emigrated family members, or commercial or naval contacts. This was only possible for the relatively affluent, however, because of the cost associated with such long-distance arrangements, though it did occur more often for naval officers whose colleagues could commission a memorial (Stewart 2011). A similar though less desirable outcome could occur if there were formal burial but within a burial ground of a different denomination. Disputes over the dominant control of funeral services by Anglican clergy in Britain and Ireland for much of the 19th century, even if the deceased was of a different denomination, demonstrates the strong feelings amongst the bereaved families regarding the appropriate interment of their loved ones (Connolly 1992; Tait 2002, 54-56). It is possible that some overseas locations could have been overwhelmingly Catholic, and Protestants may have been dissatisfied.

Most practices regarding mariners dying at sea, in port, or being lost overboard, were even more distant from the desired normative treatment of the deceased. Those washed up on the coast could be interred in formal burial grounds, but often were placed in unconsecrated isolated graves or informal burial areas for such purposes, and often with little if any ceremony. The body was at least intact and buried, if the beliefs of the family prioritised the intact preservation of the body for the time of the Resurrection, but there was little other consolation. This form of unceremonial and at times mass burial was also often the norm for military casualties through most of the 19th century.

The other options involved the loss of the body completely. Formal burial at sea had the consolation of friends and colleagues formally dispatching the deceased in a respectable manner, and Stewart (2011, 115-126) has analysed at length the content and implications of the burial service used in the British navy and merchant marine. Most disastrous of all was the loss of the body without any ceremony; this could be recorded in the ship's log, often with exact latitude and longitude and details of the circumstances, noted by nearby observers with some detail as to which ship and crew were lost, or be completely unrecorded – the vessel being presumed lost when it failed to arrive at its destination. In many cases sailors' bodies were cast overboard with no ceremony, especially if cause of death was disease or during a battle, with the spirit believed to be 'betwixt and between', not living but not entered into the world of the dead (Stewart 2011, 110-111). Thus, the 'bad death' of a mariner could have many different emotional, social, and commemorative results. Only some produce an archaeologically identifiable outcome – those commemorated where the cause of death is stated or the occupation is given.

Stewart (2011, 70-83) makes a number of points that are particularly relevant here. The first is that the crew acted as a social unit, and either officers or men, or both together, saw themselves as in effect a family at sea. The other is that superstitions and rituals, combined with the formula of the service for burial at sea, provided a structure which allowed mariners to cope with the fear and

uncertainty of their trade on the one hand, and deal with the inevitable losses that such a high-risk occupation carried with it on the other. Stewart (2011, Chapter 6 passim) also considers how far this type of mentality was also part of the relatives' experience, though here is perhaps less successful in dissecting the varied perspectives no doubt held by the friends and relations of the sailors. He notes the more frequent Christian allusions on memorials raised by relatives, but does not explore further the role of the family memorial within a graveyard as a social marker in a mixed community. In seafaring communities there was greater influence from landlubbers in general and the churches in particular than obviously was the case on board ship. Whilst whole families relied heavily on their sailors for income, much of their lives revolved around the land and the people they met every day; it was with them that social conventions, cultural values, and daily practices were exchanged. Just as the sailors spent much of the time in their single-sex, physically constrained yet arduous conditions, so the families had a different experience. Moreover, land-based social conventions, church attendance, and grave visiting would have been the norm. Therefore, mariner memorials reflect a complex set of conflicts and contradictions in belief, intention, and practices that are both reflected in and partially created by the maritime-linked graveyard and all its memorials. To what extent the monuments reflected the mariners' world views and concerns, or how much are they mirrored those of the grieving families on land, set as they were in graveyards where other land-based families will also view the memorial, can at times be difficult to discern. Many of Stewart's memorials were erected by mariners for mariners, but most British and Irish monuments to mariners were erected by their families. Stewart (2011,200) notes that the bereaved took solace from their religion, but does not explore how their wider land-based social network and the influence of the local commemorative traditions and attitudes to 'good' and 'bad' deaths affected them. It would have been the families' perspectives, interests and motivations that would have been central to the presentation (or hiding) of the nature of the death and occupation of the deceased. This is explored below, using the Pembrokeshire and Donaghadee case studies.

Welsh Protestant evidence: Pembrokeshire

In Pembrokeshire, there is plentiful evidence from all the coastal burial grounds for a strong identity with the professions linked to the sea (Miles 2006). Extensive detailed recording a number of Anglican and nonconformist graveyards in the small port of Newport, north Pembrokeshire (Mytum and Kilminster 1987) and the surrounding area (Mytum 2002) was further expanded for the maritime dimension by the full recording of two graveyards to the west at Dinas Cross, and to the east at the maritime village of St. Dogmael's (Mytum 1990), creating a database of over 2,500 18th- and 19th-century memorials. While a few other occupations were recorded, the emphasis on identity was given to place of residence except for mariners where in many cases their ship was named instead. Most maritime memorials were to or erected by master mariners. Some commemorated relatives, but stated a relationship with a named mariner; others were for retired mariners who died ashore. Yet others were to those lost at sea, often giving details of the port, ocean, or in rare cases the exact latitude and longitude where they were lost. These details must have been gathered from survivors or from those on ships that witnessed the tragedy. The earlier deaths tended to be local losses, but later in the 19th century they reflect the boom in Atlantic trade with both North and South America, a pattern that one might expect to be mirrored in Ireland. The size and range of activities within these north Pembrokeshire coastal communities were similar to many of those round the Irish coast.

A few anchors are displayed, but generally there is little iconographic linkage with the sea; unlike places such as Dundee with its carved representations of ships, or some from southern England with graphic representations of wrecks. Here textual emphasis linked to identity is dominant, including the use of Welsh most frequently in Biblical quotations, but also in many cases in the main commemorative text. Mariners, despite their distant voyages in English-speaking ships, could revert to their native Welsh when back home. The heavy use of Biblical text is a common Protestant phenomenon (see Donaghgadee, below) but here has the additional feature of linguistic identity being represented, even on bilingual stones where the official biographical elements of the inscription are delivered through the medium of English (Mytum 1999).

The importance of mariner identity can be seen in the graphs of total commemorated male adult deaths by decade, compared with the subset of this which were mariners. Both the communities indicated here – the small town of Newport and the village of St. Dogmael's (Fig. 1) – reveal a very high proportion of male deaths with a marine identifier – up to over 50% in some decades. Much detailed research on these graveyards allows the display of the data in a very focussed way, comparing like with like, and the results are impressive. Not only does this demonstrate the

importance of the maritime to these economies, but also that it was an important social identifier. Whilst many were mariners and master mariners who died at home, others were explicitly stated as lost at sea, so all mariner fates could be expressed on the memorials. This does not mean that many mariners were not commemorated, and were not inscribed on family memorials if they died away from home, but the frequency of such commemorations demonstrates that there was no social convention or belief that limited that choice. The numerous 'bad deaths' commemorated suggests that this did not prevent erection of new memorials or additions to existing ones in the face of this type of loss.

A Protestant Irish example: Donaghadee, Co. Down

An example of an Irish seafaring community where the status of mariner or sailor was significant was Donaghadee, Co. Down. The Church of Ireland graveyard, used by a wide range of denominations, contains many memorials to mariners or to those drowned at sea; all its inscriptions have been published (Clarke 1976). These transcriptions, and site visits in 2006 and 2012, have allowed a significant data set to be compiled for a largely Protestant community.

Donaghadee was a significant fishing port which also benefitted from its proximity to Scotland to host the mail packet and ferry to Portpatrick, Scotland from 1662; a town plan of 1780 shows a crescent harbour (Stevenson 1920, 246). In 1778 the construction of Portpatrick pier encouraged landlord Daniel Delacherois to improve the Donaghadee facilities with a pier in 1785 (Hammond 1997,606,614-616). This was replaced with major government investment in facilities at both ends of the mail packet service from 1820 under the direction of John Rennie (Hammond 1997,615). Despite the amount of traffic in and out of the port, it could be a treacherous approach, with wrecks around the Copeland Islands just offshore, and even in the harbour itself (Stevenson 1920,351). Dangerous winds could delay the mail packet for days, a profitable opportunity for the inns and hostelries in the town. In the later 19th century, however, Larne and Belfast developed as more dominant ports and Donaghadee lost the mail packet service, but its maritime interests continued. Trade comprised exporting potatoes and importing coal and salt (Bassett 1886) Fishing, particularly the herring industry, was particularly important in the earlier part of the century (Pollock 1997,408-409) but even after the herring declined, whitefish, eels, lobsters and cod were caught. The town also became a resort for tourists who could reach the town by train from Belfast, and boat trips around the Copeland Islands provided further income for the boatmen (Bassett 1886, 309).

The numbers of memorials (represented in Fig. 2) reveals the rapid growth in commemorative practices during the later 18th and first half of the 19th century which is widely seen across the English-speaking world (Mytum 2006), with later variations reflecting more localised factors. Monuments were erected from the middle of the 17th century, much earlier than in Pembrokeshire. This reflects the earlier adoption of external commemoration seen also in Scotland, and it is notable that sailors occur from the earliest dates. The proportion of memorials with a stated mariner association was always much lower than Pembrokeshire, however, though significant numbers occur in the 19th century and this County Down example is high for Ireland. The inscriptions also reveal many of the same sentiments and range of details seen elsewhere, both in Pembrokeshire and more widely as recorded by Stewart (2011).

Two 17th-century stones have explicit statements – one memorial for the wife of a mariner, and another for a sailor (Table 2, A, C), and another (Table 2, B) makes clear from the verse an experience of the sea and ownership of ships. Here Protestant sentiments of material success through hard work and good works can be seen within the text, which also identifies the monument itself as a statement of the deceased, a fitting memorial and an example of a good life, even though the nature of the death is unstated. Another memorial (Table 2, D) is one of several showing elderly mariners, presumably now retired and dying at home. Another monument's verse explicitly mentions death at home, but uses lively marine associations and language in its verse which also reveals a theme often indicated, one of a mariner setting sail to meet his God (Table 2, E). Another uses this same sentiment, but also an understanding of an afterlife where friends and family will be reunited (Table 2, F); two related mariners' deaths separated by several decades also have a verse which uses 'we' implying a unity in death (Table 2, H). The concept of reuniting could also be of great comfort to those whose relatives have been lost far away; the body was not present to be physically reunited in the family plot and to be grieved over, but in the afterlife that coming back together could be anticipated. If the lost person's details were added to the family memorial, that could presage the heavenly reunion after the death of all.

Various forms of disaster are explicitly mentioned or even described in detail on some of the memorials. These reflect a coping strategy with the 'bad death' which clearly allows this to be remembered in a public and permanent way. Moreover, some also reveal sentiments which indicate that the manner of the death does not prevent an optimistic outcome in the afterlife. The earliest explicit loss is from a snowstorm whilst fishing (Table 2, G), where the term 'lost their lives' is used. This is a frequent phrase and in most cases this will have been through drowning, but in some cases could have been from an accident or combat; it may also imply uncertainty about the details of the death. Giving certainty where possible is demonstrated by the naming of ships; Table 2, L identifies the Bottley Wood of Belfast as the vessel, departing from Westport for Philadelphia, but where in the vast Atlantic it foundered is unknown. Drownings also get specifically mentioned, though these may not be mariners, though probably are (Table 2, W); it is also usually unclear whether the bodies have been recovered or not, but in many cases the place of the drowning is given. Many were relatively local – Belfast Lough (Table 2, J, O), Larne Lough or Cloughey Bay (Table 2, I,N) or even close to or in Donagahadee harbour (Table 2, R, V, Z) – but others are more distant including North America (Table 2, M, P, Q) or the Baltic (Table 2, K). The modern replacement of an earlier stone implies loss of the body, the others only express 'in memory', which is ambiguous. The use of that phrase allows the fate of the body to be unclear, though the explicit drowning indicates a 'bad death' and a tragedy.

A number of memorials here mention mariner and have an anchor. The anchor is a key symbol noted for mariner graves by Stewart (2011, 171-180) in both England and the Americas. Although not popular in Wales, it does seem to be much used at Donaghadee. Other symbols of identity also occur – mariner James Wilson had both anchor and Masonic symbols on his memorial erected by his wife Margaret. The anchor also means hope – hope in the resurrection – and this double meaning gave comfort to those who had lost their loved ones whether at sea or not. Donaghadee memorials depict three main styles of anchor – an early simple form which occurs both horizontally and vertically, one with a coiled rope, which is most common but not seen widely elsewhere, and one with a sinuous rope (Fig. 3). The first anchor is a form in use until 1820, and indeed occurs on memorials to deaths before this date (e.g. James Dickson, d. 1762; Robert Crawford, d. 1807), whilst the semi-circular Admiralty anchor type occurs on most of the memorials with anchors erected later. Most of the anchors are depicted on their side, and usually with the stock and ring to attach the rope to the right, but mirror images also occur. On most gravestones elsewhere anchors are shown upright or at a slight angle, and this is the case in Pembrokeshire. Although not all anchor symbols are on monuments with an explicit mariner association, many are and it is likely this is implied by the symbol itself (though only the explicitly mentioned mariner anchor stones are included on Fig. 2 for the mariner totals).

Whilst the popularity of mariner attributions at Donagahdee is high, it is nothing like as great as with the Pembrokeshire sample; St Dogmael's has twice the relative popularity of Donaghadee. Irish protestant mariners can therefore be commemorated, but in many cases whole crews were lost with no memorial at all. Both the Pembrokeshire and Donaghadee communities had vibrant maritime economies with long-standing local families owning vessels, boat yards and running successful commercial enterprises in trade and fishing. Both have burial grounds with numerous memorials, demonstrating investment in commemorative strategies, and mariner identities were demonstrated, including those of 'bad deaths', though many losses at sea are absent.

Captain Boyd and his crew - an example of a dramatic maritime loss

Major maritime accidents usually had no commemoration, but a few led to a single monument to an officer or officer and crew, erected at the expense of the officer's family or by maritime colleagues, and these are identified and discussed by Stewart (2011) from across the English-speaking world. Occasionally the emotion of the loss spread beyond the immediate family and friends, leading to communal commemorative events and monuments. An extreme Irish example, that of Captain John McNeill Boyd and his crew, is discussed below to reveal how the scale and extent of the commemoration could be of quite a different order from that normally seen with maritime losses. Indeed, in contrast the crews of many other ships lost in the same storm as Boyd, and indeed those on the ships who he failed to save, have no memorial of any kind. The role of the printed press in reporting disasters was clearly critical in creating the necessary heroism and pathos which led to selective commemoration.

Captain John McNeill Boyd, an Anglican with a brother making a successful career in the Church, was commander of the Royal Naval guard-ship Ajax, based at the East pier at Dún Laoghaire (then

Kingstown) from 1858. He had already had a series of successful commissions and was famous for writing *A Manual for Naval Cadets* (1857), which subsequently went through several editions. Boyd was responsible for the safety of ships in the Dublin district. A strong northerly gale on the 8th February 1861 led to the sinking of the Schooner *Clyde* on rocks close to the pier, though all the crew managed to reach land. During the night another schooner sank in a snowstorm on the Burford Bank in Dublin Bay with all hands lost, and the paddle steamer *Prince* was damaged. On the Saturday morning the *Clyde* wreck was washed into the harbour and broke up further, with the collier *Leven* and several ketches from Strangford being wrecked (Lowth nd). Further losses were threatened as brigantine *Industry* and brig *Neptune* failed to enter the harbour and were being smashed against the outer side of the East pier. Boyd and other members of the Ajax crew rowed round to assist those on the *Neptune* and *Industry*. One crew member from the former was saved, and all but one from the latter were rescued, though in the process Boyd and five of his crew were lost, as were ten others, including some civilians (Lowth nd). As this whole sequence of events was overlooked by the town and was witnessed by many, this undoubtedly helped the newspapers gather many details and opinions which could fuel the reports that followed (TBNL 1861). Although so many had been lost at Dún Laoghaire, and indeed many more at other wrecks in the Irish Sea from the same storm, public grief was focused on Boyd and his crew, and substantial resources were applied to finding Boyd and one of his crew whose bodies had not been recovered immediately. Seaman Alexander Forsyth was found the following Tuesday, meaning that all but Boyd lost from the Ajax crew could be buried, three being Catholic and two Protestant. They were interred in the graveyard surrounding the ruined St Mary's church, in Monkstown, County Dublin, with the band of H.M.S. Ajax playing in the cortege of gun carriages carrying the coffins, flanked by Royal Marines. All five were interred in the same plot, with the two Protestants (Forsyth and Russell) having their burial marked by a service led by Revd. Howe, chaplain for the ship, and with three volleys of shots fired over the grave.

On 22nd February the Lord Mayor of Dublin held a meeting at the Mansion House to consider how the tragic deaths of Captain Boyd and his crew could be most appropriately commemorated (FJDCA 1861a). Clearly many influential and wealthy individuals were motivated to initiate a number of projects. Boyd's body had not been found by the time of the meeting, but was soon after retrieved by a diver, and at once a military funeral was organised for the 1st March. Boyd lay in state on H.M.S. Ajax, painted black in mourning, for two days, with the funeral commencing at the jetty. Around 300 officers as well as sailors, soldiers and civilians processed along the East Pier to the sound of minute guns firing, arriving at Dún Laoghaire railway station (FJDCA 1861b; LM 1861). The funeral party then travelled by train to Dublin, where the coffin was placed on a gun carriage and followed by the mourners, Boyd's dog, and a seaman carrying his hat and sword (LM 1861). The funeral service took place at St. Patrick's Cathedral, attended by the Lord Mayor and many dignitaries, including the Lord Lieutenant, with interment in its graveyard.

Officers of the Royal Navy and other friends of Boyd met at the Society for Establishing Sailors' Homes in London in March, and reviewed the recommendations for commemoration made by the committee established at the Mansion House, Dublin. They were recommending £100 for a monument where Boyd and his crew lost their lives, £50 for a tablet in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and £25 for gravestones in Monkstown churchyard where the seamen are buried. The committee also proposed the establishment of a Boyd Marine Charity, to create the Boyd Asylum for shipwrecked mariners of all nations to be erected in sight of the harbour (FJDCA 1861a), but Boyd's relatives considered that this should be provided by the state, and they preferred a statue in St Patrick's Cathedral (THA 1861). The wishes of the relatives proved decisive, on the basis of the monuments that now survive.

The associated memorials

The pattern of remembering and forgetting with regard to maritime losses was largely continued with regard to the February 1861 storm. Many ships were lost across the Irish Sea and most were not commemorated at all. In contrast the crew from H.M.S. Ajax, and particularly Captain Boyd, were remembered in a number of ways. From an archaeological perspective, this reveals how the investment in material culture cannot be taken as a direct representation of past life (and indeed death) but rather a reflection of past attitudes which directed the differential application of resources to monumentality. In addition to the memorials discussed below, various medals were awarded to some of the surviving crew and to relatives of the deceased. These appropriately inscribed artefacts included the Board of Trade medal, the R.N.L.I. silver medal, and the Tayleur fund medal presented to Boyd's wife, Cordelia (ILN 1861a, Lowth nd, Went 1979).

A pale grey granite obelisk stands on Dún Laoghaire East Pier to this day, close to the spot where Boyd and his named colleagues perished (Figs. 4,5 top). This was erected under the supervision of the Royal St. George Yacht Club which collected the public subscriptions - even by the Mansion House meeting a considerable sum had been raised, and it was one of the intended monuments discussed at the London meeting. The design by Trevor Owen on the staff of the Irish Board of Works (DIA nd) was approved by the Club committee in May (West 1979, 131), and was completed that December. In the local graveyard of St Mary's Church burial ground, Monkstown, Carrickbrennan, there is a second monument to Boyd and his men (Figs. 4, 5 bottom). This example is a simple free-standing, pedestal monument of Portland stone with panels for inscription on the sides, set within a cast iron railed plot, but has the unusual feature of a broken ship's mast sculpture on top (ILN 1861b; Maritime Memorials M3199). This was erected in June 1861 where all but Boyd were buried (ITDA 1861). The complexity of the monument indicates that a considerable sum must have been raised.

Two substantial monuments were therefore erected to all these men, of whom only Boyd could probably have expected to have had a named memorial after death in normal circumstances. These monuments are notable, and form part of a developing tradition in the early 19th century also seen in military campaign and war memorials, where not only the officers are named but all those lost, whatever rank. However, Boyd was to be remembered on no less than a further five monuments in four locations, in both Ireland and England.

Boyd's burial site outside St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin had a large, simple undecorated ledger covering the grave with a simple inscribed text which mentions the tragedy and the loss of five of his (unnamed) men (Fig. 6, top). In contrast, the monument within the Cathedral which became the main focus of attention for the hero was a full sculptured representation of Boyd pointing into the sea and holding in his left hand a life-line, though neither the severity of the conditions nor the efforts that Boyd must have employed in his attempts to save lives are visible in this very static composition (Fig. 7). This monument was designed and produced by one of the most popular artists of the time, Sir Thomas Farrell, though Potterton (1975, 44) notes that his compositions are competent but unimaginative. Whilst the statue might seem to later eyes unsuccessful in conveying the message in the dramatic inscription, this monument in the Cathedral stands alongside those to many of the Irish establishment and indicates the respect of the city for the loss of such a heroic figure (Maritime Memorials M5085). The long associated text (Fig.6, bottom) was presumably composed to serve as an example of faithful service which could inspire others, though the lost crew members are not mentioned at all.

The city of Boyd's birth erected another elaborate monument. This was a wall tablet placed in St. Columb's cathedral, Derry and comprised an elaborate central scene with an overly large classical figure of Hope above, winged cherub heads below, with an oval text panel between them. Also carved by Sir Thomas Farrell, Boyd is once more standing pointing towards the sea and ordering a sailor to throw a line into the stormy waters. Sadly, this scene, though with more elements, still does not capture the violence of the storm or the heroic dynamism of the would-be rescuers, and presents a rather sanitised scene.

As if this were not enough, Boyd was also twice commemorated in England (Fig. 8). The Royal Navy officers in Portsmouth, some of whom had been at the London meeting, raised funds to erect a wall tablet in St Anne's church in the Royal Dockyard to Boyd and his (unnamed) men. A standard marble scroll design was chosen for the main part of the text, with a wreath at the top. Part of the text was below the scroll, with scallop shells beneath this (Maritime Memorials M6377).   In addition, a further wall tablet was placed within St Matthew's Church, Cheltenham (Maritime Memorials. M1804). This inland spa town appears an unlikely location for a Boyd memorial, but his brother had been perpetual curate at St Matthew's since 1842, having previously been curate at the Cathedral of Derry (Boase nd). The memorial notes his serving as minister for 18 years, indicating that it was erected soon after the tragedy, though he had by then moved to Paddington. The national publicity, combined no doubt with his brother's sense of both loss and pride, presumably encouraged the congregation to commission the memorial which displays maritime symbolism with the anchor, ropes on the sides of the main text panel, and flags, standards or sails supporting a wreath. Like the Portsmouth monument erected by officers, this memorial also mentions, though not by name, the crew lost with Boyd, but the lower part of the inscription has a focus on the character of the Captain as officer and brother.

Boyd was therefore provided with a total of seven memorials when, heroic though his death was, it was merely a localised storm rather than some great triumph in the cause of the Empire. It does, however, reflect the essence of comradeship within the maritime community, and also the power of the press to disseminate tragedy and the desire of the Victorian public to seize on examples of heroism. Indeed, Stewart (2011) notes that the intense community built up within a ship (or indeed the Royal Navy at large) led to frequent commemorations after losses, whether military or in accidents, but this case also shows community interests in Dún Laoghaire pier, Dublin and Derry, and an element of familial loss at Cheltenham, though even here the congregation subscribed for the memorial reflecting a community reaction. Class differentiates the degree of detail on the memorials – all mention Boyd by name but only two closest to the scene of the tragedy name the other sailors. Indeed, it is notable that the ledger on his grave at St Patrick's cathedral mentions 'five of his gallant sailors', but they get no mention in the effusive text on the interior monument (Fig. 6), though they are remembered on the personal monuments in England.

Catholic Irish mariner memorials

It is surprisingly rare to find Catholic gravestones with mariners explicitly mentioned, particularly for the 18th and 19th centuries. Having recorded many graveyards that would be expected to contain the graves of mariner families, and visited many more, the rarity of such associations is notable compared with Wales. Such attributions are not absent, just present at a very low level. Ad hoc examples could be quoted, but no site has been located where a systematic study would create a data base sufficient for analysis as with the case of Donaghadee, let alone the Pembrokeshire examples. An extensive study of the extant memorials of Dublin and its immediate region surveyed 2,500 memorials from the 18th century, with 560 of these recording occupations representing a cross section of the city's workforce (Parnell 2016). Although a few memorials indicate those associated with aspects of the maritime world including revenue officers, anchor smiths, rope makers and a shipwright (Parnell 2016, 136), mariners are not included.

Whilst the Church of Ireland controlled burial for the 18th and much of the 19th century and so could theoretically have some influence over burials in the graveyards they controlled (Rafaussé 2016), there is very little evidence that they attempted control over the iconography or texts on the numerous headstones and ledgers erected by Catholics in these locations. A rare example of a controversy concerns a late 18th-century memorial to Paddy Ward which had most of its irreverent rhyme removed by the Rev. James Powderly in the 1870s, but was then reinstated by Owen Markey and can be read to this day is at Glebe East Mayne, Co. Louth (Mallon and Ross 1984,354). Many Irish Catholic memorials begin with the phrase 'Pray for the Soul of' or "Erected by X in memory of Y", both of which would be suitable for those not necessarily interred within the grave space. Indeed, this is explicitly the case with many who had emigrated but were still commemorated on the family monument. Whereas they had presumably benefitted from a 'good death' and were appropriately interred elsewhere, this was not the case with the missing mariner. Lost relatives could be added to existing memorials without comment, and so may be present, remembered but not in terms of their passing, but that is different from the tradition seen on a number of Protestant memorials. It is likely that the fear of the 'bad death' and the lack of absolution made the loss at sea far more traumatic for Catholic families, and reference to a 'bad death' was either avoided in the commemoration, or no commemoration took place at all. The degree of forgetting is increasingly being recognised as culturally significant (Connerton 1989, 2008, 2011); archaeology tends to record remembering, but forgetting – absences – are more challenging to identify and then interpret, yet can be as culturally significant.

The burial at sea service used in the British naval and mercantile marine was non-denominational but with a Protestant slant, conducted often by the captain or if there were a priest he was highly likely to be Anglican. Therefore, even the formalised services that might have placated the worst fears of other seamen, who could communicate this to surviving relatives of the deceased on their return, would provide little comfort for the Catholic bereaved. This therefore leaves the option that many were not formally commemorated at all, or this took place in effect in a covert form that hid from the official, lasting inscribed text the cause of the death.

The fear of the 'bad death' lasts to this day as seen on many contemporary memorials that state 'died in an accident' and by the numerous roadside memorials (MacConville 2010, MacConville and McQuillan 2005, 2010). In the past it would seem silence rather than statement of the type of loss was the common strategy employed, but now monuments to unborn and unbaptised children and recent

losses at sea have begun to appear. The maritime examples include both cases remembering historic disasters not previously commemorated, as well as contemporary ones (Fig. 9), suggesting that cultural attitudes are indeed changing in Ireland. Moreover, the desire to erect public monuments to those lost some time ago indicates a recognition that a discrimination against such fatalities should now be ameliorated. There are exceptions, but considering the losses and the role of the sea in many communities it seems that for the 18th and 19th centuries Catholic mariners were less well represented in graveyard commemorations than those in Protestant communities, whether in Ulster or in Wales, but that this is no longer the case.

Conclusions

Mariners are represented, albeit in smaller numbers than in some other places such as Pembrokeshire, in the graveyards of some Irish coastal Protestant communities. The appellation sailor indeed appears very early, from at least the 1660s, just as early modern external commemoration beyond the elite is beginning in Ireland. But as maritime activity expands in the 18th and 19th centuries the proportion of mariners commemorated rises only slightly. This was related partly to identity – which in most Irish graveyards is mainly centred around family and place of abode. Whilst Pembrokeshire memorials traditionally link family to a place, often a farm or street in a town, master mariners used their ship similarly, even if retired and dying in old age at home, and mariners more often identified their profession than any other occupation. This occurs in Ireland, but not nearly so frequently; the role of the maritime identity seems less in Ireland, even in Protestant Ulster communities.

The 'bad death' of dying at sea, without absolution and without a fitting burial with all its Catholic rites, cast a shadow over commemorative strategies for the overwhelming majority of Irish people. If sailors were added to memorials to form part of the remembered and prayed-for family, their fate is not often recorded along with their name; the biographies of Irish memorials selectively represented family biographies (Mytum 2004a, 2004b). While many sailors would have been from families too poor to have a memorial, this was not the case with master mariners, and a significant number of mariner and sailor commemorations can be seen at Donaghadee, so the rarity in graveyards with overwhelming Catholic majorities is notable. It would seem that most of those lost at sea were hidden from public commemoration, and those mariners who died at home generally did not align themselves with their maritime heritage but with their land-based family and residence. Although later than the period considered here, the 1901 census data reveals the significant numbers of those with maritime occupations in port at the time, and their religion. For example, County Down had 141 mariners (14% Catholic), 326 sailors (41% Catholic), and 389 fishermen (38% Catholic) and County Dublin had 154 mariners (49% Catholic), 500 sailors (84% Catholic), and 390 fishermen (87% Catholic). Having the resources to invest in a memorial was largely (though not exclusively) limited by class, but it is notable that a significant number of the mariners, and indeed those styled master mariners within this group, were Catholics. Given that families of weavers and small farmers could, if they wished, erect a headstone, there is no reason why more of those involved with shipping could not have done so and noted their profession.

Some disasters, such as Boyd and his crew at Dún Laoghaire, led to memorials that were far more lavish than the individuals would have received in normal circumstances, a pattern Stewart (2011) found elsewhere, and in this regard Ireland matches the international trend. The Boyd and crew memorials are an unusually diverse and dispersed manifestation of this phenomenon, even though here the 'bad death' of drowning was moderated by the recovery of the bodies, the symbolically elaborate funeral ceremonies, and appropriate burial locations. This exception should not hide a distinctive aspect of Irish identity revealed in commemorative traditions. The choice of silence is demonstrated by an unusually low presence – in effect an absence – of maritime death commemorations, a form of forgetting in terms of public display. This marked a set of attitudes and practices that were distinctive from many other parts of the English-speaking world, though in recent decades it is notable that this pattern has been reversed, and many forms of 'bad' deaths – traffic as well as maritime accidents and the burial of unbaptised infants – are now mentioned on standard memorials, or deserving of special monuments by the roadside or at the harbour. Some past disasters are now receiving monumental attention, and other memorials are being erected to all those – known and unknown – lost at sea. But most Irish mariners of the 18th and 19th centuries will remain forgotten, reflecting both attitudes and practices of their families and communities at that time. The missing elements in a pattern of material culture can therefore be as important in archaeological interpretation

as that which is present, and some elements that are over-represented need to be considered in terms of the attitudes and resources of those who created them.

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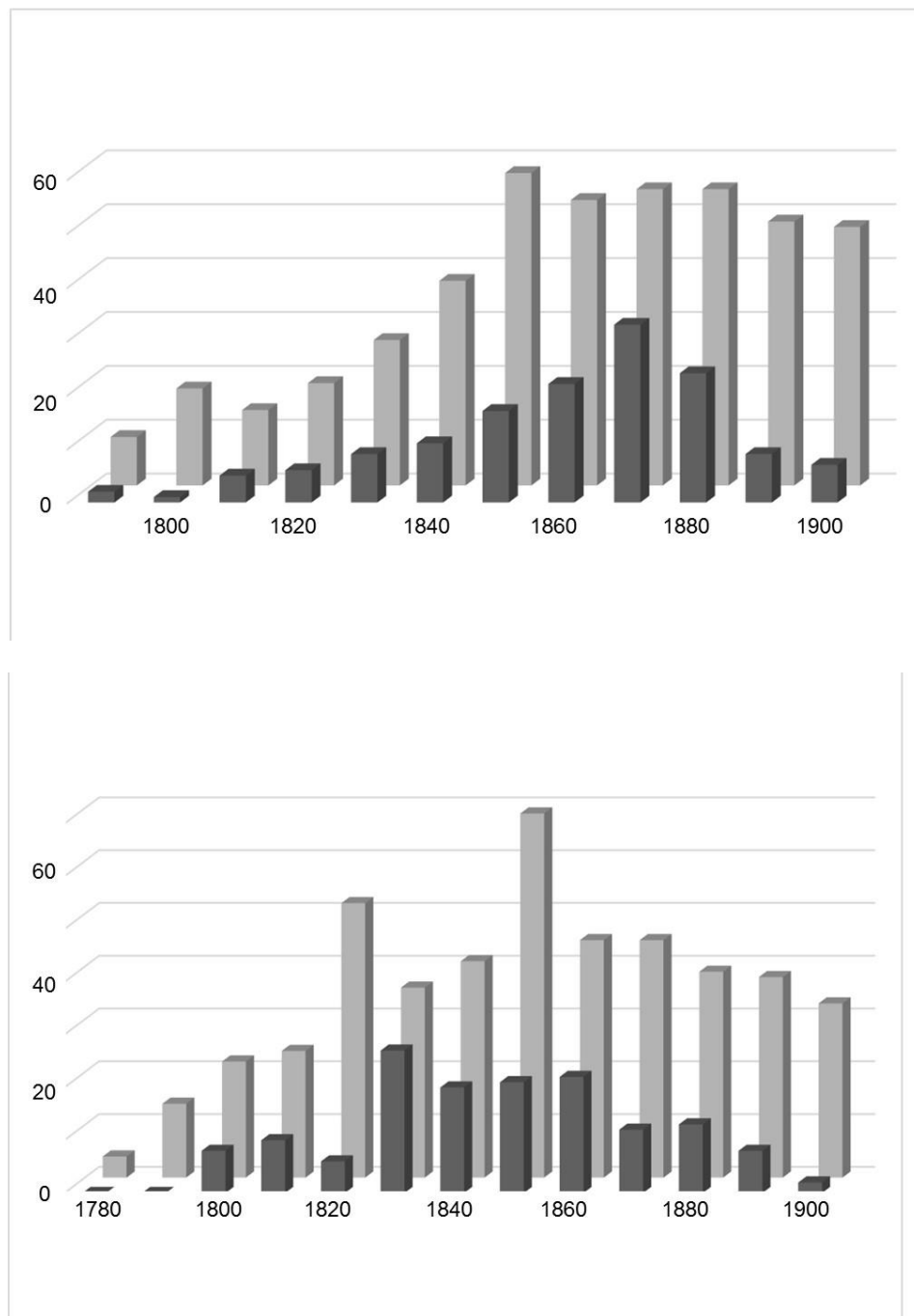
Figures

Fig. 1. Bar charts of adult male deaths by decade in light tone, with those recording mariners also shown in dark tone. Top: Newport, Pembrokeshire. Bottom: St. Dogmael's, Pembrokeshire.
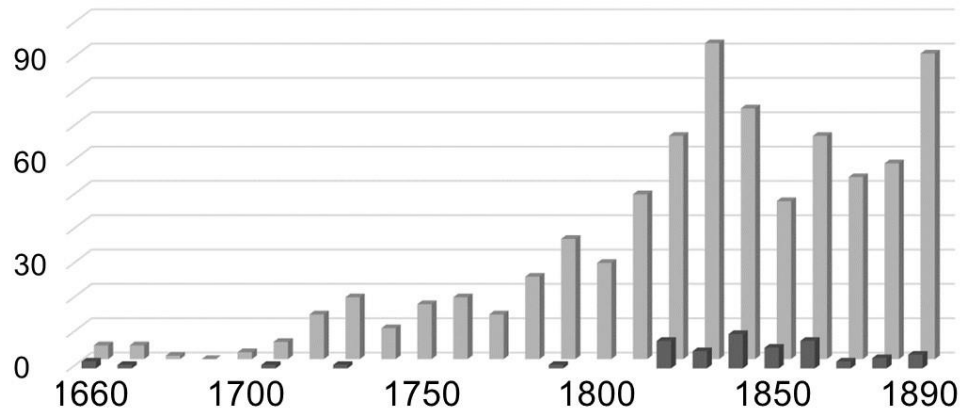
New data based on Clarke 1975

Fig. 2. Bar chart of memorials by decade based on the first death mentioned in light tone, with those recording or mentioning mariners also shown in dark tone, Donaghadee, Co. Down.
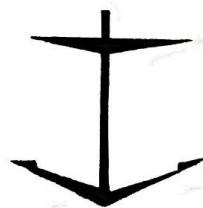

Fig. 3. Anchor symbols used on Donaghadee, Co. Down memorials.

Fig. 4. Monuments near the scene of the disaster. Top: Obelisk on East Pier, Dún Laoghaire. Bottom: St Mary's Church burial ground, Monkstown, Carrickbrennan, from *Illustrated London News* 5th October 1861, 357.

ERECTED BY MEMBERS OF THE
ROYAL ST GEORGE YACHT CLUB
TO COMMEMORATE
THE HEROISM OF
CAPTN J. MC NEIL BOYD R.N.
H.M.S. AJAX
WHO PERISHED NEAR THIS SPOT
WITH FIVE OF HIS SHIPS COMPANY
THOMAS MURPHY JOHN CURRY
JOHN RUSSELL JAMES JOHNSON
ALEXANDER FORSYTH
IN A NOBLE ATTEMPT TO RESCUE
THE CREW OF THE BRIG NEPTᴹᴺUNE
WRECKED DURING THE STORM
IX FEBRUARY MDCCCLXI

In memory of Captain John McNeill Boyd R.N.; John Curry, Able Seaman; Thomas Murray, Able Seaman; John Russell, ordinary seaman, James Johnson, ordinary seaman; Alexander Forsythe, ordinary seaman; who lost their lives on the outside of the east pier at Kingstown, in noble efforts to rescue the crew of the wrecked brig Neptune, during a fearful gale from the E.N.E. on the 9th February 1861.

————————————

To commemorate the death of six brave sailors of H.M.S. Ajax this monument is raised. The providence of God ordained that they should die, not on board their ship defending their country, but as Christian men seeking to save their perishing brethren. They glorified God, whose waves went over them, by a death not unmeet for Christian Brethren. "Greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his friends" John IV. 13.

————————————

Erected by the Commodore Hastings R Yelverton, C.B. Controller-General of the Coast Guard, the officers and men of the ship's company (including tender) of H.M.S. Ajax, and the officers and men of the Kingstown district Coast Guards.

Fig. 5. Inscriptions on monuments near the scene of the disaster. Top: Obelisk on East Pier, Dún Laoghaire. Bottom: St Mary's Church burial ground, Monkstown, Carrickbrennan. Horizontal lines separate inscriptions on different sides of the monument. Note: this inscription has not been checked and the burial ground is locked; the transcriptions in ITDA and Maritime Memorials M3199 are slightly different, and neither indicates line breaks, but most details are identical.

BENEATH
LIE THE REMAINS OF
CAPTAIN JOHN M^cNEILL BOYD
COMMANDING H.M.S. AJAX
WHO SHARED THE FATE OF FIVE OF HIS GALLANT SAILORS
ATTEMPTING TO RESCUE FROM DESTRUCTION
CREWS OF TWO VESSELS WRECKED
ON THE ROCKS OF KINGSTOWN
FEBRUARY 9TH 1861

THE BRAVE ACT OF HUMANITY
IN WHICH HE MET HIS HONOURABLE DEATH
WAS IN CHARACTER
WITH THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUE
FOR WHICH HE WAS REMARKABLE IN LIFE
HE FEARED HIS GOD
AND KNEW NO OTHER FEAR

THE HIGH TRIBUTE OF A PUBLIC FUNERAL
AT WHICH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ROYALTY ATTENDED
AND THE ERECTION OF A STATUE IN THE
CATHEDRAL OF S^T PATRICK
DECLARED THE APPRECIATION IN WHICH THIS
ACT OF SELF DEVOTION WAS HELD BY HIS COUNTRY MEN
AND THEIR DESIRE THAT HIS MEMORY
SHOULD BE KEPT IN UNDYING REMEMBRANCE
AGED 49 YEARS

ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN,
TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN McNEILL BOYD, R.N.
CAPTAIN H.M.S. AJAX,
BORN AT LONDONDERRY 1812,
AND LOST OFF THE ROCKS AT KINGSTOWN
FEB 9TH 1861, IN ATTEMPTING TO SAVE
THE CREW OF THE BRIG NEPTUNE.

SAFE FROM THE ROCKS, WHENCE SWEPT THY MANLY FORM
THE TIDES WHITE RUSH, THE STEPPING OF THE STORM
BORNE WITH A PUBLIC POMP, BY JUST DECREE
HEROIC SAILOR FROM THAT FATAL SEA.
A CITY VOWS THIS MARBLE UNTO THEE,
AND HERE IN THIS CALM PLACE, WHERE NEVER DIN
OF EARTHS GREAT WATERFLOODS SHALL ENTER IN:
WHEN TO OUR HUMAN HEARTS TWO THOUGHTS ARE GIVEN,
ONE, CHRISTS SELF-SACRIFICE, THE OTHER HEAVEN:
HERE IS IT MEET FOR GRIEF AND LOVE TO GRAVE
THE CHRIST-TAUGHT BRAVERY THAT DIED TO SAVE
THE LIFE NOT LOST, BUT FOUND BENEATH THE WAVE.

"ALL THY BILLOWS AND THY WAVES PASSED
OVER ME: YET I WILL LOOK AGAIN TOWARD
THY HOLY TEMPLE".

Fig. 6. Captain Boyd: Inscriptions at St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin. Top: on the ledger stone over the grave. Bottom: on the internal monument.

Fig. 7. Captain Boyd: Monument by Sit Thomas Farrell inside St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.

IN MEMORY OF
CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL BOYD
OF HER MAJESTY'S SHIP AJAX
AND COMMANDING THE DUBLIN DISTRICT
OF THE IRISH COAST GUARD
WHO PERISHED WITH FIVE OF HIS CREW
WHEN NOBLY ENDEAVOURING TO SAVE THE LIVES OF
SHIPWRECKED SEAMEN
IN A STORM AT KINGSTOWN, IRELAND
FEBRUARY 9TH 1861
_____

THIS TABLET
HAS BEEN ERECTED IN HIGH APPRECIATION OF HIS SERVICES
AND ADMIRATION FOR HIS CHARACTER
BY HIS BROTHER OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S NAVY

IN MEMORY OF
CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL BOYD,
OF H.M.S. AJAX
AND COMMANDING THE DUBLIN DISTRICT
WHO WITH FIVE OF HIS BRAVE SAILORS
PERISHED AT KINGSTOWN, IRELAND
IN A GALLANT EFFORT TO RESCUE FROM DESTRUCTION
THE CREWS OF TWO VESSELS
DRIVEN ON THE ROCKS BY THE HURRICANE OF
THE 9TH OF FEBRUARY 1861.
_____

TO RECORD
THIS HEROIC ACT OF SELF SACRIFICE AS WELL AS THAT RARE UNION OF QUALITIES
WHICH ENDEARED THE WARM FRIEND, THE MANLY CHRISTIAN, THE INTERPID SAILOR
AND THE CONSIDERATE COMMANDER TO ALL WHO KNEW HIM,
THIS MONUMENT
IS ERECTED BY THIRTY MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION OF THIS CHURCH IN WHICH
HIS BROTHER MINISTERED FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS.

Fig. 8. Captain Boyd: Inscriptions in England. Top: St. Anne's Church, Naval Dockyard, Portsmouth. Inscription on wall monument – main text on marble scroll, lower portion on panel beneath. Bottom: St. Matthew's Church, Cheltenham. Inscription on wall monument – main text on main panel, lower portion on rectangular panel beneath flags.

Fig. 9.   Example of recent memorials to bad deaths, Cleggan harbour, Co. Galway. Top: Maritime memorial to a past disaster. Bottom: Individual contemporary memorial.

Table 1

Alternative practices, with their archaeological implications, for mariners dying away from home

Practice	Archaeological implications	Acceptability to the bereaved
Embalming or other preservation and return home for burial with appropriate denominational rites	Interment in home burial ground	Desirable
Full burial with appropriate denominational rites	Interment in formal burial ground near the place of death	Acceptable
Full burial with rites in consecrated ground of	Interment in formal burial ground near the place of death with a memorial commissioned	Less acceptable but another denomination
Full burial with rites in consecrated ground of another denomination	Interment in formal burial ground near the place of death	Less acceptable
Burial in an informal burial ground or merely ad hoc burial	Scattered, probably unrecorded interment	Unacceptable
Burial at sea with traditional maritime service; no priest	Body untraceable	Unacceptable
Loss at sea	Body untraceable	Unacceptable

Table 2

Selected mariners' inscriptions, Donaghadee, County Down, listed in chronological order; only the relevant parts of inscriptions provided here (Clarke 1976; most do not show line breaks within the inscription)

A 1662 Heere lyeth Martha Mountgomerie wife to Archibald Mil[in] of Dounadie mariner, she deceased the 17 March [1662].

B 1668 This inscription does not mention mariner but the verse suggests that profession:

Here Archibald Miling buried [lyes]

In hopes that at last he shall joyfully rise

Blest in his children and wlth heretofor

But he lately ceased happie … arr more.

By land and by sea well trusted and known

But Heaven was the haven he [aimed] at alone

Both elements cary the effects of his panes

Proclaiming his industry great as his [gains].

His houses and barkes as well as his grave

Shows to win credit he nothing would save

The [thoughts] of his hand provided this st[one]

His good works will speak long after he's gone.

Let his memory live tho' his body be dead

And may his name flourish whilst this can be read.

Obit … 1668.

C 1671 Here lyeth the body of Oughtrie MecCosh, sailer in Dennaughadie who departed this life the 3 of March in the year of God 1671.

D 1715 Here lies the body of Capn. Archibald Montgomery, mariner, who departed this life Novb. The 5th 1715 aged 82 years.

E 1820 Beneath this stone lies Daniel Saul

Who round the world's terraqueous ball

Has sailed to every land was known

Now under hatches lies at home.

Anchor'd amongst his kindred mould

Dreads neither storms nor seas that roll

Brought to be deaths correcting rod

Sets sail again to meet his God.

He died 24th August 1820 aged 42 years.

F 1828 This stone was erected by Eleanor Murray of Donaghadee to the memory of her dearly beloved husband and children. Here lieth the body of Peter Murray, mariner, who departed this life 24th November 1828 aged 38 years. …

Here Murray rest, escap'd this mortal strife

Above the joys, beyond the woes of life.

Yes we must follow soon, will glad obey

When a few suns have roll'd their cares away.

Tir'd with vain life, will close the willing eye.

Tis the great birthright of mankind to die.

Blest be the bark that wafts us to the shore.

Where death-divided friends shall part no more.

To join thee here, here with thy dust repose

Is all the hope thy hapless partner knows.

G 1830 Erected by Jon Monk of Ballywilliam in memory of his two sons, voz Hugh aged 35 and Samuel 24 years who lost their lives by a snow storm when fishing of Ballintrae 6th February 1830.

H 1832/1862   … Also her son John McQuoid, master mariner, who departed this life 16th October 1832 aged 28 years. Also the above named George McQuoid of Donaghadee, master mariner, who departed this life the 11th May 1862 aged 68 years.

Tho' Bora's blast and Neptun's waves

Have tossed us too and fro,

But now at length by God's decree

We anchor here below.

Tho' now at anchor here we lie

With many of the fleet

But yet once more we must set sail

Our Saviour Christ to meet.

I 1844   Erected by Mary Bailie of Donaghadee in memory of her husband John Bailie who was drowned in Larne Lough the 22th Feby. 1844 aged 32 years.

J 1844/1849… Also his son Robert Gibson, mariner, who was drownd in Belfast Lough on the 24th January 1844 aged 19 years. And likewise in memory of his second son William Gibson also mariner who died at New Orleans on the 14th day of September A.D. 1849 aged 29 years.

K 1844/1846   … Samuel B. Walker, mate of the Emerald of Donaghadee who was drowned off the South coast of Sweden on the 19th Sep. 1844 aged 24 years.

The Baltic is the restless sea

Where wave resounds to wave

Tho' oer my head its billows roll

I know the Lord can save.

… David C. Walker who was likewise lost with the Emerald on the Island of Bornholm, 30th Novr. 1846 aged 23 years.

L 1838/1847 … And also in memory of the above named Matthew Gibson, master mariner, together with his son Matthew who lost their lives with the Bottley Wood of Belfast; she sailed on the 23rd day of February 1847 from Westport, Ireland, bound for Philadelphia. They foundered in the Atlantic Ocean, the father aged 36 years, the son in the 16th year of his age.

M 1848/1851 Erected by Henry Rainey of Donaghadee in memory of his wife Sarah Rainey alias Nelson who departed this life the 24th March 1841 aged 50 years. … Also the mortal remains of the above named Henry Rainey, master mariner, who departed this life on the 13th day of March 1848 aged 60 years. And in memory of his son James Rainey, mariner, who died at St. Johns. N.B. on the 17th day of December A.D. 1851 aged 28 years.

N 1850 …   And also the mortal remains of the above named Robert McTeer, mariner, who lost his life in Cloughey Bay on the 30th day of March A.D. 1850 aged 49 years.

O 1822/1850 This stone was erected by Peter Murray, mariner, sacred to the memory of his children. … Here also lieth the body of Peter Murray, a young naval officer of great promise who lost his life by the upsetting of a boat in Belfast Lough while on a pleasure excursion. He was beloved and mourned

by all who had the pleasure of intimately knowing him. He was born in December one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight and died in August one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

P 1852   … Also the above John Henderson, mariner, who lost his life in New York harbour the 29th July 1852 aged 27 years, and is interred in New York Siminary.

Q 1862   … Also that of his son John Kennedy, mariner. He was born on the 9th day of October 1843, was drowned on the 28th day of October 1862 on his passage from Quebec home.

R 1863 Beneath this stone are interred the remains of Griffith Williams of Barmouth, master mariner, who departed this life on board of his vessel off this harbour MarR, ch 9th 1863 aged 53 years. I'm not lost but gone before.

S 1867/1869 … And in memory of his brother Robert Ross who was lost at sea the 13th September 1867 aged 44 years. Also his nephew Hugh McPeake, lost on the Huron U.S. 14th August 1869 aged 22 years.

T 1869 Erected by James Murdock in memory of his beloved children:- James who died 24th June 1865 aged 6 years and John Charles, 2nd officer in merchant service, who was drowned at sea 2nd July 1869 in his 22nd year.

U 1870 … Also her son Samuel aged 28 years, engineer of the S.S. Cambria, who was drowned by the wreck of the above steamer on the 19th Oct. 1870.

V 1875 Erected by Andrew Lindsay, Donaghadee, in memory of his father Andrew Lindsay who was drowned in Donaghadee Sound 11th of July 1875 aged 61 years.

W 1883 Erected by Anna Barnes in memory of my dear beloved husband John Barnes who was drowned at sea 6th Feb. 1883 aged 29 years.

X 1887 Also his son Francis [Lindsay] aged 19 years who died on board S.S. White Head 16th Augst. 1887 in lat. 57. 41. N lon. 2.50 W.

Y 1890   … In loving memory of the above Capt. Wm. Campbell, ship Lord Raglan, lost at sea April 1890 aged 43 and with him his wide Mary Heron aged 39 and their three children Alexander aged 9, H. Catherine aged 5 and Oliver Raglan aged 3 years. "And they shall be mine saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels" Mal. III, 17.

Z 1894 Erected by J. McWilliams of D.Dee in memory of his beloved son Adam who was accidentally drowned in the Donaghadee harbour 3rd Jany. 1894 aged 24 years. … Also his beloved son Alexander McWilliams who was drowned off Donaghadee on 27th August 1898 aged 34 years.