

Forgetting and remembering: Scots and Ulster Scots memorials in eighteenth-century Ulster, and Pennsylvania and nineteenth-century New South Wales

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Mortuary monuments were used by Scots and Ulster Scots as they selectively chose to forget or remember their origins once they settled in new lands around the world. Those who moved to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century and New South Wales in the nineteenth century employed different strategies regarding how they would create their identities and promote or discard aspects of their origins. Burial monument texts look back over the deceased's life, but they are also selected by the living to create publicly visible family history and affiliation. Through both text and symbol on the memorials, families create visible, meaningful, biographies. Using survey data from Pennsylvania and New South Wales collected to investigate diasporic remembering and forgetting, this analysis recognises a widespread prevalence of forgetting and an increasing interest in creating new identities in the colonial context. However, some saw their origins as part of their identity and this formed part of the visible family biography.

Introduction

Diaspora studies may prioritise what is remembered over what is forgotten, but through migration more aspects of culture are lost or greatly adapted than retained, and often many new cultural traits are absorbed or created, so the relationship between the two is crucial¹. An archaeological perspective offers a distinctive approach to the material aspects of culture whereby the role of continuity and remembering can be set against a wider set of cultural changes in practice. Migratory peoples take with them material culture from their homeland, but more long-lasting and culturally significant are their already learnt practices, skills, and attitudes which affected behaviour in their new environment and which are passed on, however modified, to successive generations. This includes what artefacts are made, by what techniques, and in which style, as well as how those artefacts are used functionally and how they create and recreate meaning. Archaeologists are trained to infer movement, connections, cultural interactions, and socio-economic conditions from material remains, and now do this from the remote past right up to the present day. Migrations of the early modern and modern periods are as amenable to archaeological studies as any other, and they provide a distinctive perspective on migration to set alongside those from cultural or art history, or human geography.

For the most recent periods of human history there are many non-material ways of approaching past societies, and many of the social, economic and ideological structures are already relatively well known and do not require elucidation by archaeology. Historical archaeology can therefore start from a different perspective. For example, we already know of the seventeenth-century migration of Scots to Ulster, when they took place, and in general who was involved.² The danger, then, is that the material world is used merely to illustrate what is already known, that is how academics from other disciplines have incorporated material items in their discussions. This chapter, in contrast, uses material evidence to reveal interactions, processes, and cultural change not otherwise recorded, and provides interpretations beyond the traditional historical narrative. It is conceived within a theoretical

framework based on relational networks whereby people and things have agency within socio-cultural structures which, with no migration, are largely culturally inherited and may have many conservative self-regulatory features, but on moving to a new location are more fluid and open to transformation.³

There is one further issue which requires some attention: how archaeologists choose to make inferences from material culture.⁴ The signalling of identity can be either conscious or unconscious. The subconscious 'ways of doing' that form most of cultural practice may be perpetuated without its identifying quality being known by the human actors until they are confronted with an alternative. This is part of social memory, the ways of doing which include the design, manufacture and use of material culture and the activities it enables. Social memory, developed by sociologists such as Paul Connerton,⁵ but widely applied by archaeologists, is a concept which allows the exploration of the ways by which a group can remember, and how social practices (and for archaeologists the material goods and practices which leave a physical signature) can be perpetuated. However, that perpetuation through repetition does not preclude change, either deliberate or accidental. Both personal and social memory is socially constructed in every present situation at which it is evoked, and the context and nature of that present affects what is remembered and the associative values it contains. Actors may consider that their memories are accurate and authentic, but they may evolve through repetition in different contexts. The process of migration, and the inevitable construction of the culture in very different socio-cultural and environmental contexts, affects what may be remembered, which may veer towards nostalgia,⁶ be extremely selective, or may perpetuate horror, as with Holocaust survivors' families experiencing perpetual trauma.⁷ The perpetuation of memories involves considerable amounts of forgetting, and some creation and adaptation of recollections; where these have material referents or outcomes, an archaeological approach can consider these processes.

We in the present may identify a past practice as culturally distinctive, but those at the time may not have perpetuated this practice for that reason. Migration often highlights such differences. An unconscious cultural choice in Scotland, where everyone drew from the same Presbyterian repertoire, became conscious when set against the 'other' of the Catholic indigenous Irish, for example in terms of appropriate clothing or expectations of hospitality. Some Scottish settlers were Catholics, and class identity also cut across religion, so ethnicity or any other single factor such as class formed part of a network of relationships that defined any individual's identity – an identity which was fluid and differentially emphasised in various social contexts. A similar set of challenges in an even more alien and multi-cultural environments faced the Ulster Scots settlers in North America and in Australia.

Remembering and forgetting

Memorials mark identities as expressed in a particular locale – the burial ground and the family plot. Only selected features of that person's identity could be expressed in text and monument form and style. Even at the point of monument selection, some things are remembered in that they are signalled, but much else is omitted. The omitted is then often rapidly forgotten. Academics, anxious to demonstrate cultural continuities following migration, have concentrated on what is present and not what is absent. This study attempts to weave, where possible, both present and absent, remembered and forgotten, into the analysis. Both processes are socially and culturally significant, though knowledge once forgotten in one generation inevitably

cannot be passed on at a subsequent time. There is therefore a decay rate of the donor culture, but this is neither random nor insignificant.

Connerton has emphasised the importance of forgetting as a positive cultural adaptation.⁸ Indeed, the loss of memories and practices associated with a homeland are part of a package of acquisition of new memories and practices that are associated with the diasporic journey itself and the often fluid and short-term changes in circumstance in the process of settling in a new land. Memorials form a valuable category of material culture to explore migrant culture and its relationship to homeland because they serve the same primary function of marking graves, wherever in the world they are erected, and are not as heavily dependent on levels of socio-economic complexity or density of population to be viable. Thus, dispersed colonial contexts may still enable stone memorial production and erection, unlike some powerful cultural practices which require access to a range of products including fragile imports, such as tea drinking. Other practices, such as folk music, may be maintained through the carrying of instruments by migrants, but these have rarely left any early material traces (though the first piano imported to Australia, in 1788, has just been recovered and is to be conserved).⁹ Stone memorials, especially on burial grounds which have continued in use to the present day, provide a significant window into the early migrant experience, identity, and cultural behaviour.

Emphasis in this study is on the memorials of migrants or their relatively close descendants (generally the first generation that created stone memorials which survive), in early eighteenth-century Ulster and Pennsylvania, and nineteenth-century New South Wales. Subsequent generations will themselves remember and forget, or even re-remember or revive, cultural attributes including those from a homeland, but these are not the main focus of attention in this study. This Scots-Irish or Scotch-Irish terminology was rarely used in the eighteenth century. It is a term used by North American claimants of that ancestry, and is a product of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries' desire by Presbyterians to distance themselves from Catholic Irish migrants. Its contemporary manifestation in festivals and events has minimal links to the cultures and practices of the initial Ulster Scots settlers, but has been used by many historians celebrating this particular migrant group.¹⁰

Memorials

Erecting a stone monument at a grave site only became a significant cultural practice in the seventeenth century in Britain and Ireland, and indeed was still rare until the early eighteenth century and only began much later than this in many other areas;¹¹ why different regions initiated external popular memorials when they did has not yet been fully mapped let alone explained, but it is clearly not based on one cause such as wealth, population density, religious denomination, or availability of suitable stone to carve. This study starts near the beginning of this process as some of the early adopter regions were in Scotland and then Ulster, and so provides an opportunity to explore the process of identity formation in different cultural contexts across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century memorials were generally made according to local folk-art traditions.¹² The elite could sometimes but not always commission monuments in more sophisticated styles, and these cosmopolitan styles gradually became more commonly available on less substantial memorials during the eighteenth century. By the late eighteenth century many memorials were produced in relatively standardised forms as all aspects of the funerary industry grew into a

profession. These trends were further developed in the nineteenth century as more industrial processes became incorporated, including the use of imported materials and ready-cut memorials, sometimes even with decoration, produced at quarries with only the inscriptions added locally.¹³ North America and, latterly, Australia follow these same overall trends, though there are some regional variations.¹⁴ What is important here is to realise that popular memorial production and choice was not a static phenomenon, but the base line of normative practice was changing over time and this needs to be factored into assessment of the role of migration and remembering and the changes in monument selection. Moreover, although there were global trends in changing commemoration, there were also national variations to which any migrating population would have to adapt.¹⁵

Grave monuments are not like other categories of evidence available to us in assessing remembering and forgetting in the context of migration. Their most important feature to an archaeologist is that they are both physical – with a material, shape, and style – as well as textual (itself physical with style variations in carving, lettering size, and layout). For people in the past, their most important feature was that they were a publicly visible statement being a marker of burial for the deceased but chosen by the living and made and viewed by the living.¹⁶ Memorials may in part be about the dead, but they are largely for those still surviving. Whilst monument choice was for the family, memorials formed part of a network of monuments within the commemorative landscape of the burial ground, existing not in isolation but spatially and visibly in relationship with others in a dynamic setting in which gradually more and more monuments were erected. Each monument was selected and erected in the context of what had gone before at that locale. Choosing the same style as others or a different one, being interred in a family group or scattered, were decisions based in part on ingrained unconscious cultural practices and explicitly decided social strategies. This study concentrates on monuments as individual artefacts to indicate what was retained and what was forgotten, but the decisions by those commissioning the memorials were made against a rich context of alternatives. Other discussions could focus on issues of standardisation and conformity, the commissioner–carver relationship, or monuments in their burial-scape, but here monuments are considered as discrete items of material culture each created by the combined agency of family and carver. The former wished to remember some parts of their culture and the identity of the deceased, and the latter applied their skills and traditions with the technologies and resources available in that context. The carvers may or may not have shared the cultural tradition of the bereaved, but they had to produce a result satisfactory to the client. The net result is that aspects of identity and memory can be represented in text, form, and style but other aspects are omitted or represented in a transformed way which may therefore become re-remembered or forgotten.

Research in the social sciences, history, and historical geography has recognised the fluid social construction of identity within Ulster.¹⁷ This chapter offers a theoretically-informed archaeological perspective as an addition to this literature. The material culture correlates of ethnicity – items that are considered to have been produced exclusively by that group – have been the concerns of many archaeologists, notably from culture-historical interpretations,¹⁸ with subsequently functionalist claims regarding style and ethnicity becoming more popular in the later twentieth century, with interpretations that emphasised the communicative role of material culture in representing and communicating identity.¹⁹ More recently, post-processual discussions on ethnicity and identity have come to the fore, with more nuanced consideration of claims regarding ethnicity.²⁰ Different environments, and access to resources, technology and skilled manpower, all affected the perpetuation of

traditional housing and agricultural practices by migrant groups. As such, these provide only a partial insight into the desire to retain and remember the culture of the homeland by the migrant actors as they created their new homes and livelihoods. Forgetting how to grow crops that were unsuitable in a different climate is hardly surprising; houses are social spaces where cultural practices may be remembered and perpetuated, but the migrant family unit may not contain the generational spread of the homeland, so the home may have to be made from different materials and be effective in a different climate, or be part of a landscape populated in a different manner and with people not, initially at least, having an established social network. Memorials do not have the same level of constraint. A source of suitable stone is required, and availability of carvers would affect the quality and elements of the design. Within Scotland, it is clear that geology affects the style of carving but is not the cause of variation in the symbolic repertoire, and memorials can be more or less accomplished from a technical or aesthetic viewpoint but still function quite adequately, socially and emotionally, in their context. This suggests that where there is sufficient disposable income and resources, the production of adequate stone memorials can be undertaken in communities soon after migration. All these may not be available in the early stages of settlement when farmsteads are being established and resources such as suitable stone identified, but by the time that they are, cultural change will already have begun.

If commemorative practice in stone was delayed for several generations, any details of memorials in the homeland may have been completely forgotten or are extremely attenuated. It is unlikely that detailed descriptions of family memorials would have been the subject of fireside stories to be passed on down the generations to act as a catalyst for agency when the opportunity arose. This forgetting assumes, however, no contact with the homeland that, in the case of both Scotland with Ulster, and Ulster with America or Australia, is not the case. Continued movement across the seas of people (largely but far from exclusively emigrating), and the interchange of ideas through written correspondence and printed material, created a network of communication that ensured the potential for cultural awareness²¹ which could include commemorative practice. Moreover, the movement of carvers would in itself lead to the transfer of mental templates of monuments that would form the basis for the creation of new memorials in a new land. Apprentice carvers who never knew the homeland would learn the techniques and design conventions from their masters and so perpetuate, though with their own interpretation and adaptation, this tradition. These apprentices could be related to migrants or could be others with different ancestry who still learn a distinct style from their master. As carvers worked in regional traditions in Britain and Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,²² traces of these can be recognised in the migrant communities. By the nineteenth century the styles were national and indeed international, and different evidence of remembering and forgetting can be identified for migrants of this period.

Many disciplines have used funerary monuments to consider the material effects of migration into North America.²³ Indeed, the Ulster Scots experience has been given particular attention in Ulster²⁴ and then in America.²⁵ An extensive study by Patterson has concentrated on the identification of carvers with Ulster Scots origins,²⁶ a study situated within the tradition of north-eastern gravestone carver studies.²⁷ Patterson provides more cultural and wider historical context than many of the other published carver studies, but still assumes the primacy of the carver in design of the memorials. Most emphasis to date has been concentrated more on the products of the secondary Ulster Scots migration from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas as far more memorials survive from this phase.²⁸ They reveal further shifts in identity and memory, but the analysis here concentrates only on the Ulster experience and its

selective remembering and forgetting in the first generations after migration, and therefore only in Pennsylvania. In order to understand the initial Ulster Scots commemorative choices, however, it is necessary to first define the Scottish mortuary traditions with which they were familiar and on which they drew in their new homes.

The Scottish mortuary tradition

Commemoration in graveyards by families beyond the major landowners began in the first half of the seventeenth century in Scotland, and the oldest post-Reformation headstone known in Britain and Ireland is from Dunning, Perthshire, recording a death in 1623.²⁹ The use of stone ledgers (flat usually rectangular slabs covering the grave), was more widespread, however, though as these were larger they would have been more expensive. It was the introduction of the headstone, generally relatively small in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which provided an option for permanent commemoration for those with less resources, and by the mid-eighteenth century this was a relatively common choice amongst successful tenant farmers and tradesmen in many parts of Scotland.³⁰ The monuments erected across Scotland demonstrate clear regional differences both in monument shape and relative popularity of motifs. These preferences include coffins in Angus, full figure representations in Peebleshire, and heart motifs in Kincardineshire.³¹ However, this has as yet only been anecdotally recorded and no chronology or detailed spatial analysis of these patterns is as yet available.

Whilst the total range of mortality symbols used in the Scottish repertoire is very wide indeed (Table 1), many are regionally specific and even from the eighteenth century onwards more optimistic symbols such as the cherub (or winged soul), and the Glory of God (radiance) appear in most areas, albeit often in combination with mortality symbols. An arrangement with cherub at the top of the stone (indicating the soul heading towards heaven) and mortality symbols at the bottom (representing the abandoned and decaying corpse) is a frequent choice. During the eighteenth century, mortality symbols decline in popularity and cherubs increase, in part as theology shifts to place less emphasis on judgement of sin and more on the salvation of the elect, but only in the nineteenth century do the former stop being chosen, followed a few decades later by cherubs, as flowers and other symbols take over as part of a rise in romantic form of remembrance.³² A distinctive design feature of a significant minority of early Scottish headstones is also to have some motifs carved on the back of the stone. In some cases there is only text on one side and symbols on the other, but in other examples the text can be accompanied by decoration with other elements carved on the rear.

Socially significant symbols frequently occur on memorials, notably heraldry in whole or part, or trade symbols, often themselves derived from the coat of arms of the relevant guild.³³ The guilds were powerful in urban contexts, but in rural parishes symbols associated with agriculture and fishing were more common. Whilst the family name was the main indicator of identity, the occupation symbols clearly also played a significant role. Family could also be reinforced by the use of heraldry and, despite the role of the Court of the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh to suppress arms that had not been approved, many were unofficial.³⁴ These may have no obvious inspiration or could be a pun on the family name. They could create an aura of high social standing which may have no legal status but indicated an aspiration and affiliation and could communicate to the local population who may or may not have known this was not an authentic armorial bearing. Therefore, from the seventeenth century onwards, Scots were aware of the potential of commemorative monuments in stone

being placed over graves in burial grounds not just by the major families but by others with disposable income and a desire to demonstrate their commitment to family and place. The popularity of the mortality symbols were indicative of a Presbyterian mind set, with the trade and guild affiliations demonstrating the Protestant virtue of work. Heraldry and text affirmed familial identity, with wives often retaining their maiden names on the memorials and so demonstrating the genealogical connections to the descendants who would visit the grave and memorial. Commemoration was therefore a socially embedded practice in Scotland, and it is not surprising that it was transferred in the mind sets and practices of the Scots who decided to move to Ulster and settle there.

Ulster

Graveyard memorials were erected relatively early in several parts of Ireland, for example the north of Dublin and in County Wexford,³⁵ where both Catholics and Anglo-Irish Anglican Protestants erected monuments in regional styles that developed in those localities from the early eighteenth century onwards. Many parts of Ireland, however, have no evidence of a strong monumental tradition until the middle or even late eighteenth century. In the north of Ireland, the commemorative traditions developed differently, and the influence of the Scottish dimension was clear from the start. Both Catholics and Protestants erected memorials from a similar point in time – the early eighteenth century – but they developed their own monumental traditions even if aspects of Scottish funerary culture were taken and adapted by each community for their own purposes. This phenomenon is more complex than just forgetting and remembering; it is rather more one of creation and recreation utilising forms and motifs for related – but at times competing – social strategies.³⁶

The Scottish settlers in Ulster show some regional differences in monument form and style within the province, but only a restricted range of symbols were selected (Table 1). As yet, there has not been sufficient regional analysis of memorials across the whole province to identify the various regional dynamics, but research at over 20 burial grounds in Fermanagh and Monaghan has revealed intelligible patterns. Of the great range of mortality symbols in Scotland, just five were selected for use on most memorials in this region. The skull, cross bones, coffin, hourglass and bell were all mortality symbols, and these appear as well as heraldry. The Galbraith family ledgers at Aghalurcher, Co. Fermanagh, may be similar to reinforce familial identity, but external memorials at that graveyard to other families are also remarkably similar in their own styles.³⁷ This site, and indeed others in this region, demonstrate wider Planter culture through form – particularly the ledger – and the use of heraldry and mortality symbols. Family identity is reinforced through the heraldic device, prominent surname visibility in the commemorative texts, and additionally by the arrangement of graves and their overlying ledgers in rows forming family areas within the graveyard. For some Protestant families these could be extensive and long-lived, emphasising familial success and a genealogical pedigree. These were particularly important as part of the justification of landholding to the whole community as the same burial grounds were used also by the indigenous Catholic families (some of whom had been displaced during the Ulster Plantations from the estates they had owned, to be replaced by the Protestant families commissioning the ledgers) and who still retained some areas of the graveyards for their own use and created their own memorial styles to differentiate themselves from the incomers.³⁸

Not only the range of forms but also the carving styles and motif arrangements do not reveal the variation seen in Scotland, but they can be paralleled most closely in Angus on the east coast of Scotland. The Angus memorials frequently display the

same array of mortality symbols, often in a line at the base of a ledger with heraldry at the top and a text panel in the centre. The mortality symbols show consistency in selection but their arrangement together and their stylistic treatment is not identical to that in Ulster. This reveals a number of craftsmen all working to a similar mental template of what a memorial should look like. The similarity in Fermanagh and Monaghan suggests one or more carvers coming from this area and recreating these manifestations there. This does not mean that the clients had similar origins, but rather that from their wider Scottish mortuary traditions and expectations these memorials were effective and appropriate. Moreover, within the Ulster settler context it was satisfactory to forget any wider repertoire, and indeed what was remembered by commissioners and within the skill set of the carvers was adapted into appropriate forms for that new setting.

There are, therefore, three key factors that can explain the similarities and differences between Scottish and Ulster commemorative practice. The first is the shared commemorative traditions which create the mental templates of what comprise an effective and appropriate memorial. These traditions are largely (though not exclusively) linked to Presbyterian beliefs and the power of the *momento mori* message that is visible through textual emphasis on the presence of the body and the symbols relating to the burial of the corpse. The other aspect of this template is one that places emphasis on family, visible through heraldry and kinship terms in the texts. The second factor is the limited choice of carver in any one part of Ulster, even more restricted than in Scotland, particularly for the more competent products which could only be afforded by few in this relatively sparsely populated region. This explains the limited repertoire drawn from an Angus carver heritage, pointing to the origins of the producers even if locally-born descendants were then trained in this tradition. The shift from Scotland to Ulster meant that only part of the cultural diversity present in the homeland was transferred, a pattern seen widely in archaeologically-attested migrations.³⁹ The third factor is that the planter context provided a different socio-cultural environment where conformity of the incomers in the face of an established, albeit subjugated, Irish Gaelic majority. These had their own markedly different cultural, religious, and socio-political traditions by which they marked their own family graves with their own distinctive memorials, thus emphasising differences in death as well as in life. The Catholics in this region adopted some of the symbols found on planter stones, but used them in a distinctive manner on denominationally unique memorial forms.⁴⁰

Eighteenth-century Pennsylvania

Large numbers of migrants from Ulster settled in Pennsylvania from the early eighteenth century onwards, and some moved westwards and established communities on the frontier of European settlement.⁴¹ Some of these settlements established Presbyterian chapels with associated burial ground which survive and in some cases continue in use to this day. The limited amount of research thus far carried out on the Pennsylvania memorials relevant to this study has been with a primary focus of identifying the products of the Bigham family carvers.⁴² This family came from Ulster and supplied, carved monuments to their fellow immigrants in a number of settlements within the state, though other carvers are known from the variety of designs. Scholars concerned with identifying products of named carvers have the advantage in many parts of New England of more probates surviving within which the memorial commissions are identified and the carvers named, allowing some unsigned stones to be linked to the producers.⁴³ Unfortunately, the numbers of probates surviving for the areas of Ulster Scots settlement are small. Relatively little use, however, has been made of the evidence for the commissioners from the

documentary sources, or the wider material referents that a comparative study of the burial ground assemblages of memorials can reveal. This section provides some results from the second of these approaches, identifying the remembered and repeated Ulster components, Scottish referents not used in Ulster, and new components not present in either homeland. It is based on data collected from five burial grounds linked to congregations with high Ulster Scots membership (Chestnut Level, Derry, Donegal Springs, Great Conewego, and Lower Marsh Creek) with a total sample of c. 400 recorded memorials (Fig. 1). The Ulster Scots settlers lived in communities where they may be the majority, but also initially in close proximity to native peoples with whom they were antagonistic and, in the longer term, Pennsylvania Dutch settlers with whom they had relationships which were not always amicable.⁴⁴ The 'other' therefore shifted from being largely Presbyterian Scottish versus Catholic Irish to one where different Protestant sects from different ethnicities were in play.

The exact date of erection for monuments may not match dates of death, shown by reference to commemorations by known carvers in New England, but with death dates before they could have started work,⁴⁵ and in Britain and Ireland with reference to memorials which have explicit erection dates carved on them as well as death dates of those commemorated.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the death dates provide a generalised framework even if some caution has to be exercised and too fine-grained a sequence cannot be assumed.

The burial grounds in Pennsylvania that relate to the earliest appearance of stone memorials are relatively small, some being adjacent to churches, and others being family plots on farms. Many of the latter have been destroyed, sometimes with their memorials moved to a nearby communal burial ground. The Great Conewego church contains some of the most well-known Ulster Scots memorials.⁴⁷ A classic example at the most elaborate end of the range of products was that to John Brown (d.1766) which has strong parallels in its decoration with Ulster ledgers (Fig. 2, A). It has a heraldic achievement, but it is an invention in terms of the symbols within the shield. Here are depicted the (red) hand of Ulster, adopted in the seventeenth century as a symbol of Ulster, but also centre-stage is the thistle of Scotland. The thistle does not occur on memorials in Scotland or Ulster, and the hand of Ulster is extremely rare, and generally associated with heraldry where it forms a legitimate part. The small crescent moon and star do also occur on Ulster memorials, though more often on headstones rather than on ledgers with heraldry as seen in these Pennsylvania examples. An almost contemporary ledger to John Bell (d. 1765) depicts the thistle, but the hand holds a sword and is a distinct heraldic element, and instead of moon and star there is a dove, another completely new element absent from homeland mortuary traditions in the eighteenth century (Fig. 2, B). Patterson demonstrates how the dove was a significant part of the Bigham workshop repertoire, and indeed becomes almost ubiquitous in North Carolina products after the family's move south.⁴⁸ It is notable, however, that the dove is already developing in the Pennsylvania output, so rather than remembering common Ulster motifs, new ones are chosen to create new traditions and material identifiers, which then form part of the remembered tradition in North Carolina. Whilst the dove has many meanings on memorials – peace or the Holy Spirit are common attributions given to nineteenth-century depictions, it has been argued that the Pennsylvania and then Carolinas examples represent the dove from the Genesis story of Noah and the ark and may be taken as a symbol of the Presbyterian church and children of grace (members of the elect – like Noah and his family).⁴⁹

Some of the earlier headstone memorials indicate varied attempts at remembering and forgetting. A headstone to John King (d. 1727) had a sinuous profile which is similar to some Ulster headstones, and besides a beaded border displayed a central small heraldic device: a lion rampant in a small shield. A fiercer, horizontally-depicted lion, with some mantling, forms the design for Martha King (d. 1760). These demonstrate motifs from heraldry being extracted, losing their original meaning as part of a composition, to be reproduced as a decoration; if they carried any meaning or were just associated with the known repertoire of motifs on memorials, is unknown. At a similar time, Mary Cord (d. 1736) was commemorated with a round-topped square-shouldered sandstone headstone with text defined by an incised border but beneath were two round-topped arches flanked by tulips which are derived not from Ulster or Scotland, but from the Pennsylvania Dutch cultural tradition. Another feature of that tradition is the 'waisted' headstone shape where the headstone has concave sides, another trait seen at Great Conewego. This burial ground reveals memorials belonging to this Presbyterian congregation being produced by a range of carvers with different cultural traditions, and indeed the Bighams and other Ulster Scots carvers incorporate such motifs into their designs. This can be seen in another early headstone to George Leckey (d. 1734); it is in slate and has lettering like other Bigham workshop stones but displays a complex top profile and concave sides (Fig. 3 A) which is paralleled in some numbers at nearby Lutheran burial grounds (Fig. 3, B). This is an example of assimilation and cross-cultural transfer that reflects creativity and the consequent willingness to forget older motifs which no longer hold the same significance. The slate headstone to James Ross (d. 1741) has a modified sinuous outline, and displays the hand with sword and some mantling, a precursor to that on the Bell ledger.

Cherubs are relatively rare in Ulster, and they are similarly scarce in Pennsylvania, but Great Conewego has two examples on the sinuous profiled headstones for Shusanna Peters (d. 1759) and Hannah Gordon (d. 1764); the latter has a CG monogram probably indicating the carver, notably not a Bigham. There are no mortality symbols on any of the memorials at this site, though these were still popular in Scotland and Ulster when the first Great Conewego headstones were being erected. By the time that most of the memorials were being carved mortality had been superseded by other motifs in the homeland, but at some of the other sites a few mortality symbols appear, though these many be inspired by their continued use on some nearby Lutheran burial ground monuments. It is notable, however, that they do not appear to have been remembered in an Ulster form, and certainly there is no conservatism in the colonial carving styles.

The ways in which the heraldic elements were losing their meaning and association is particularly evident on the headstone for Denis Murphy (d. 1747) where the central sheaf of wheat is flanked by foliage, including possibly thistle leaves, with to the right a hand in a gauntlet holding a dagger looking like it is ready to cut the plant. That other motifs become adapted is shown on Elizabeth Gall's headstone (d. 1758) where a central tulip, now more realistic than in Pennsylvania Dutch symbolism, is combined with foliage and roses.

The less than 30 dated memorials from Great Conewego demonstrate the forgetting, remembering, assimilating and creating all underway in the first and into the second generation of monument makers. The larger sample of around 80 monuments at Lower Marsh Creek reveals a similar pattern, but with many more featuring a centrally placed crown with flanking spirals, though on occasion the latter are replaced with tulips or stars (fig. 4 A), and are all clearly produced by a different carver. The crown is another symbol not commonly seen in Scotland and even more

rarely in Ulster, and even where found is not on the form that it is consistently portrayed on the Pennsylvania stones. The crown, like the dove in the Bigham's repertoire, is an innovation not relying on a remembered set of motifs, but may have been selected to represent the Crown of Righteousness, a significant concept in Presbyterian theology and based on 2 Timothy 4:8. However, Crown of life in Revelation 2:10, and James 1:12, and the Crown of glory (of 1 Peter 5:4 may be what is depicted. The overriding message in a funerary context, however, is likely to have been the crown won in the race of life and for the faith of the deceased, whichever crown may have been intended.

A further 80 eighteenth-century memorials at Chestnut Level reveal a pattern with very few features that could have been derived from an Ulster heritage. There are only headstones for this period at this site, and most are shapes not familiar in Ulster. One memorial boasts a heraldic element similar to some at Great Conewego – in this case a winged griffin – and three memorials have mortality symbols in terms of crossed bones and, in some cases, also skulls (Fig. 4 B). The damaged memorial to ...h McCilkry (d.1744) has a central cherub but crossed long bones on one side; what matched these is unknown (Fig. 4 C). The mortality symbols can also be paralleled, however, on some memorials in Pennsylvania Dutch burial grounds, and on the other two the inspiration for could have been derived from either tradition. The complexity of headstone profiles here and at Chestnut Level suggests innovation rather than remembrance of tradition, and the other motifs suggest a wide range of influences of which Ulster may be only one, and not in a form distinctive enough to be strongly signalling identity or that cultural memory. At Derry and Donegal Springs, symbolism is rare on the c.200 memorials in these burial grounds, but some headstone profiles have parallels in the homelands. The remembering at these locales is subtle at best, and more likely to be a product of subconscious aesthetic choices matching mental templates of appropriate monument forms than explicitly remembered evocation of homelands. Clearly, the desire to remember the Ulster Scots identity was not equally strong across all communities, though it may be that the carvers available to the Chestnut Level bereaved had a background that was not sympathetic to or knowledgeable of those Ulster forms and motifs, even if the clients' families came from that area.

Patterson has made comparisons with some memorials in Larne, Co. Down, which have some stylistic similarities to the Bigham stones, including those at Great Conewego.⁵⁰ These can certainly be seen, but that is in part because of similar geology leading to the same type of shallow relief carving and incised fine detail which is only possible in fine-grained and hard slate-type rocks. Many of the features on the Pennsylvania stones are found more widely in Ulster, though manifested in other areas with more deeply carved styles appropriate to the local sandstones and limestones which were used for all memorials at those sites. The Pennsylvania stones only exceptionally repeat the overall composition of Ulster ledgers, and even then, the use of motifs such as the thistle are not derived from those prototypes. The headstones at Great Conewego, Lower Marsh Creek, and even more so at Chestnut Level, Derry and Donegal Springs, reveal the extent of forgetting and, where there is remembering, it is both selective in terms of motifs and forms which are themselves used in new ways. A weak thread can be traced, but only on some memorials is the remembering strong and capably articulated materially. The understandable focus on these exceptions hides the culturally more important and widespread forgetting as the Ulster Scots settlers adjusted to, and embraced, the new continent and its opportunities and freedoms.

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New South Wales

The settlement of Australia by Ulster Scots was particularly heavy in several areas during the middle and later nineteenth century,⁵¹ though in all cases they were not the majority population. Graveyard data was collected at three burial grounds in an area south of Sydney that had been particularly densely settled by migrants from Ulster (Kiama, Jamberoo, Gerringong, total 400 excluding Roman Catholic memorials)⁵² and in the Presbyterian section of Rookwood cemetery, Sydney. Together, these provide a sufficient sample to consider Ulster migration and the ways in which the migrants chose to commemorate their heritage.

The rural sites around Kiama, in the southern coastal region of New South Wales, offered rolling countryside with mixed farming opportunities that were, despite the different climate, more familiar to Ulster settlers than many other regions. Indeed, two parts of Ireland provided most migrants to Australia, including Clare, Tipperary, and Limerick, and the south Ulster counties of Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh.⁵³ A system of government subsidy enabled many to migrate to the colony, organised by each state. The New South Wales remittance system commenced in 1848 and lasted until 1886, allowing money to from existing residents to be paid towards passage on vessels chartered by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.⁵⁴ The Presbyterian Revd J.D. Lang, Scots toured Ulster promoting Australian colonization in 1848,⁵⁵ and it is notable that the Ulster migration had an over-representation of the proportion of Protestants over Catholics. The Kiama region was a stronghold of Protestantism – both Anglican and Presbyterian – and of Orangeism, due to influential landowners in the area encouraging migration from the relevant communities in Ulster to work on their estates; a rare memorial with Orange Order symbolism to William Clark (died 1894), originally of County Fermanagh, still stands in Kiama cemetery.⁵⁶ There is no doubt that a form of chain migration explains the Kiama region Ulster influx, where family, friends and neighbours follow those they know in a pattern of migration to regions about which they have heard and to stay initially with people who could support them in the initial period of transition to an alien environment.⁵⁷

Whilst the Kiama region sites produced valuable data, and demonstrates how in this region places of origin are frequently mentioned on migrants' memorials in a variety of styles, but no iconography (Fig 5 A, B). Rookwood is the main focus of discussion here as consideration of the Ulster Scots in the context of commemoration alongside Scottish emigrants provides a particularly valuable insight into remembering and forgetting. Rookwood cemetery is the largest cemetery in Australia, opening in 1867, and was had provision for delivery of coffins and funeral parties to the site by train, with its own mortuary station stop.⁵⁸ The cemetery, as was common in Britain and the colonies at this time, was divided into denominational sections, one of which was the Presbyterian,⁵⁹ and this is where the field survey took place.

The symbolic representation of origins was extracted from the sample of 280 photographically recorded monuments, but the inscribed transcriptions for the whole of the Presbyterian section of 2,150 first-named individuals on memorials provides a robust sample from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given the context of large numbers of Roman Catholic migrants (both convicts and free) to Australia,⁶⁰ the Ulster Scots were, as they had been in Ulster, keen to differentiate themselves from this group. The Catholic Irish were discriminated against by the political authorities and most of the established business interests, and the Ulster Scots affiliated themselves closely with the largely Presbyterian Scots as part of this differentiation.⁶¹ The Rookwood Presbyterian section of the cemetery therefore forms

an appropriate arena within which affiliation, remembering and forgetting can be examined.

A great number of the memorials are of forms popular in Scotland and parts of Ulster at this time, the latter due to the continued close contacts between the two. The Rookwood monuments were not imported from the home country, but they were designed in similar styles. Whilst Romanesque and Gothic revival monuments are common (Fig. 6 A, B), the most common – and most evocative of the Scottish repertoire – were the Classical revival headstones set on bases and with minimal foundation elements (Fig. 6 C, D). It is uncertain to what extent these were being chosen because they explicitly evoked a Scottish mortuary culture, or they were implicitly selected from the range of alternatives offered by the monumental mason but just seemed ‘right’. Also, once the form became well-established in the Presbyterian section, it may have been a strategy of new immigrant families that conforming to existing popular memorial choices, emphasised their inclusion within the group. They could thus demonstrate their conformity within the new community and encourage full acceptance for the next generation as new networks of mutual support were forged in the colonial context far from the old kin-based systems. These headstones have relatively few symbolic or decorative features, as was common both in the homeland at that time and amongst other memorials in the Presbyterian section, but a minority do display thistles in a variety of arrangements (Fig. 6 A, C, D), a design absent from nineteenth-century Scottish memorials. Just as the thistle was evoked in Pennsylvania, the same occurs in Rookwood. Most thistle motifs are on memorials erected to Scots, but one is to an Ulster migrant (Fig. 6 A), and this motif also occurs in the Ulster Scots rural New South Wales sample. No hands of Ulster were used, and no Ulster motifs appear, even on the one individual identified by his Orange Lodge title.

The main method of explicitly remembering was through the inscription, where the place of origin was often placed in italics in a slightly smaller font than the name, and directly between it and the date of death and age (Fig. 6). Whilst many of the Catholic Irish were content to attribute origin to county (unless it was a large settlement such as Cork or Limerick), the Protestant tendency was more often to emphasise the town, though the county could also be mentioned, perhaps because migrants had urban associations. The Presbyterian section data demonstrates the dominance of Scottish origins, with a small minority from Ulster (Fig. 7). There were no mentions of Ulster as a location term, even though Scotland was often referenced. Intriguingly, some inscriptions state NB (North Britain), emphasising not a Scottish but a North British identity. It is clear that the explicitly Ulster aspects of identity were not being revealed in an environment where Irish associations were seen as negative for any plans for social and economic advantage, and affiliation with things Scottish took priority. Even the Scottish heritage was no longer emphasised after one generation as it was only the initial migrants who signalled their places of origin; two thirds of the memorials in the Presbyterian section had no place of origin stated. Some Australian birthplaces were mentioned, but some of the first-generation and most of the second-generation population did not consider this information worth publicly displaying.

The forgetting of origins is notable in Australia, partly because ethnic or nationalist symbols retained by the Catholics, including shamrocks and harps (Fig. 8 A, B) do not have popular Protestant equivalents. Statements of place of birth necessarily no longer show Ulster ancestry after the first generation of migrants, but Irish Catholic affiliation – despite or perhaps because of discrimination in the wider society and economy, lasted longer. Joining the dominant Protestant colonial discourse was more important for Ulster settlers than remembering their heritage, though the

Orange Order may have provided one set of social networks that did remain active, and could allow integration with the more numerous Scottish Presbyterian community. The thin thread of remembrance in Pennsylvania can be seen as even more slender in New South Wales. The Protestant – Catholic divisions remained as active as before, but were part of a dynamic within Australia that was dominated by the English and where the Ulster migrants sought allegiance with the Scots. That this reflected part of their Ulster heritage may not have been unrecognised, and is seen in the occasional use of the thistle on the Rookwood monuments.

Conclusions

The choices made by the carver and bereaved together led to the creation of culturally meaningful and socially active artefacts of remembering which stood in the publicly accessible burial ground. Embedded with numerous subconscious norms of endemic practice and belief, conscious choices were made in terms of text and symbol on a memorial of a deliberately chosen form. In Scotland it was family and occupation that were the priority for remembering, as these identifiers were the principal dimensions for social definition which were to be emphasised in the funerary context. Memorials did not generally have long expository texts extolling skills and virtues of the deceased (though a few elite monuments did display such texts, though often with their own remarkably standardised tropes). Therefore, most aspects of the deceased persona, and most of their familial and wider social roles and identities, let alone their character and achievements, were not recorded, and so available to subsequently prompt remembrance.

The Scots settling in Ireland retained the family as a key identifier, but place of residence became a frequent addition. In a newly claimed land, where fluidity in ownership and occupation was far greater and more uncertain than in the homeland, statement of place was both a sign of the present but a marker for the future. Religious affiliation that had been an unconscious 'taken for granted' in the homeland was now an explicit identifier in the presence of the 'other'. Both Catholic and Protestant Scottish planter families indicated their loyalties, and at times this expanded to political affiliation. The need to state, reinforce, remember and perpetuate these beliefs were necessary as the Protestant minority created a material world distinctive from that of the Catholics who used the same graveyards and used their own symbolic repertoire to the same ends from their perspective.

Pennsylvania saw Ulster Scots create new identities that largely did not rely on material culture replicated with that remembered from across the Atlantic. For a minority, aspects of their commemorative traditions (such as the Great Conewego ledgers with their heraldry, and some of the headstone shapes at Derry and Donegal) were either unconsciously or deliberately retained, and some traditional symbols of identity were newly conscripted to signal identity in ways that they had not been so used in Ulster (including decontextualized heraldic elements). However, elements derived from other migrant groups, such as the tulips and the waisted headstone profiles, were also incorporated, and new motifs such as the dove, and the crown which was so popular at Lower Marsh Upper, indicate innovation. Some of the mortality symbols as seen at Chestnut level may have resonated with a traditional Ulster Scots mentality, but they were as much derived from another tradition seen in some of the neighbouring Lutheran burial grounds.

The evidence from New South Wales comes from a period when most Protestant memorials – in the British Isles and in Australia – had less complex iconography and texts that emphasised sentimental feelings between family members rather than wider

social identities. Nevertheless, it is notable that Presbyterian Ulster migrants were less likely to reveal their origins than those from Scotland through symbols, though in many cases migrants may be remembered with reference to their place of birth. The survival over several generations of elements of Ulster mortuary practices, is, however, completely absent in Australia. The second generation indicates through memorial choices that it is fully integrated with Australian society and its cultural practices and preferences. Some aspects of funerary culture still replicate some features from Britain, but this is because of ongoing distribution of trade items (including coffin fittings and probably trade catalogues) within a colonial context rather than deliberate signalling of origins.

Identities are socially constructed, fluid and contingent. This can be seen in the three different geographical arenas of Ulster, Pennsylvania and New South Wales where individuals made particular choices about how they or their deceased relatives should be defined. Scotland, then Ulster, followed by either North America or Australia, form chains of interlinked contexts each with their own individual internal dynamics that affected how identities were constructed and claimed, but with some shared traits that can be identified. A comparative approach can identify how individual agency of both producer and commissioner can create memorials which allow the modern researcher access to the processes of cultural change that were in operation in these different locales. Aspects of past identities are retained or even revived in new contexts, as also new identities and associative symbols are acquired.

Much is forgotten along the migratory way, but some cultural traits and indicators of identity are retained, albeit rarely for long.⁶² This combination of deliberate remembering and passing on or of forgetting, can be a by-product of transient lifestyles, early deaths of migrants, and problems in establishing traditional carver repertoires in frontier contexts. The creation of new histories must, however, be seen as the most powerful reason for forgetting. These new social and physical landscapes where details of family history could not be corroborated are clean slates for many escaping the challenges and frustrations of their homelands. The great interest in genealogy and ancestry linking back to distant homelands is a recent phenomenon that is enacted by those at a certain level of affluence, and well-established socio-economic networks⁶³. Some of the narratives created within these emergent nostalgic identities have been contested, but they remain popular and are culturally significant today.⁶⁴ It was often neither relevant nor advisable in an emerging colonial context where the present and the future were more relevant and where the creation of affiliations in the new environment were more urgent than harking back to identities forged thousands of miles away.

The memorials of the Scottish and then Ulster Scots diaspora tell us valuable stories, and no less so for what is forgotten, remembered and created along the way. We, in our time and place, now choose to create new interpretations of these memorials, another stage in the creation and recreation of knowledge, here with academic actors providing a different dynamic and perspective on this complex past.

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Figure captions

Fig. 1 Ulster Scots settlement and Presbyterian burial grounds surveyed. Key: 1: Lower Marsh Creek 2: Great Conewago 3: Chestnut Level 4: Donegal Springs 5: Derry . Base map adapted from Lemon 1972.

Fig. 2 Pennsylvania memorials with heraldic devices. A: John Bell, Great Conewago; B: John Brown, Great Conewago;

Fig. 3 Pennsylvania memorials with waisted sides. A: Robert Larimer, St Paul's New Chester (Lutheran); B: Mary Cord, Great Conewago

Fig. 4 Pennsylvania memorials with crowns and mortality symbols. A: Margrate MaGinley (d.1771), crowns, Lower Marsh Creek; B: John Clark (d. 1776), skull and crossed bones, Chestnut Level; C: McCilroy (d.1744), cherub and crossed long bones, Chestnut Level.

Fig. 5 Presbyterian Kiama region memorials with Ulster origins stated. A: James Wallace (d. 1876), County Tyrone, Jamberoo Presyterian burial ground; B: Alice Chesters, County Monaghan, Jamberoo Presyterian burial ground.

Fig. 6 Memorials in the Presbyterian section, Rookwood, Sydney. A: Isabella Robinson (d. 1869) thistle, Newton Stewart, Tyrone; B: Eliza Thompson (1871), Newry County Armagh; C: Agnes Cleland (d. 1884), thistle, Glasgow; D: Margaret Morton (d. 1871), thistle, Lanarkshire.

Fig. 7 Bar graph of stated places of origin by country, Presbyterian section memorials, Rookwood, Sydney. The sample consists of those first mentioned on the memorials

Fig. 8 Irish symbols on Roman Catholic memorials. A: John Collins (d.1901) Harp and shamrocks, Jamberoo RC burial ground; B: Edward Bourke (d. 1886) shamrocks, Gerringong.

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⁵⁸ Susan K. Martin, 'Monuments in the garden: the garden cemetery in Australia', *Postcolonial Studies* 7:3 (2004), pp. 333-352; David A. Weston ed., *The Sleeping city: the story of Rookwood Necropolis*, (Sydney: Society of Australian Genealogists in conjunction with Hale & Iremonger, 1989); Harold Mytum, 'Death and remembrance in the colonial context', in S. Lawrence ed. *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in Great Britain and Its Colonies 1600-1945* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 156-173.

⁵⁹ Weston, *The Sleeping city*; Lisa Murray, 'Modern innovations?' Ideal vs. reality in colonial cemeteries of nineteenth-century New South Wales', *Mortality* 8:2 (2003), pp. 129-143; Lisa

Murray, 'Remembered/Forgotten? Cemetery Landscapes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *Historic Environment*, V. 17, No. 1 (2003), pp. 49-53.

⁶⁰ Fitzpatrick, Irish emigration; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1993); Lindsay Proudfoot and Dianne Hall, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and Scots in Colonial Australia* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013).

⁶¹ O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*; Ireland, Irish Protestant migration.

⁶² Brian Walker, 'The Lost Tribes of Ireland' Diversity, Identity and Loss Among the Irish Diaspora', *Irish Studies Review* 15: 3 (2007), pp. 267-282.

⁶³ This is seen in the frequent identification of many North Americans as, for example, Italian-American, Ukrainian-American, Mexican-American. These are discussed in terms of mortuary monuments in Meyer, *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*.

⁶⁴ Ireland, 'Irish Protestant migration'.

Mytum Migrant Deaths

Table 1

Symbols frequently occurring on memorials in Scotland; those commonly found in Ulster are marked in bold; those in bold brackets are less common there.

Mortality Symbols

Angel of Death

Axe

Bell

Bones

Bow and Arrow

Coffin

Corpse

Dart Death

Death-bed scene

Death's Head Skull

Fall of Man (death) with Adam and Eve

Father Time

Green Man

Hourglass

Pick

Scythe

Skeleton

(Snakes)

Spade

Spear or lance

Turf-cutter

Winged Skull

Other symbols

Abraham and Isaac

Anchor

Angel

Book

Cherub

Crown

The Glory

Heart

Heraldry

Portrait

Resurrection scene

Rosettes

(Trade symbols)

Figures

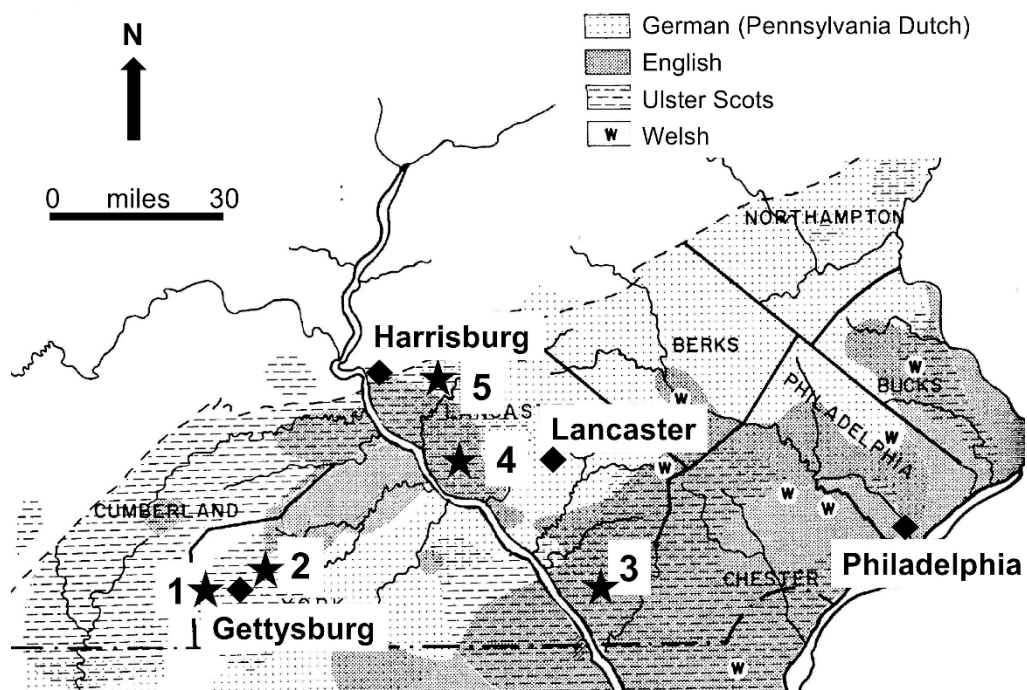


Fig. 1 Ulster Scots settlement and Presbyterian burial grounds surveyed. Key: 1: Lower Marsh Creek 2: Great Conewago 3: Chestnut Level 4: Donegal Springs 5: Derry . Base map adapted from Lemon 1972.



Fig. 2 Pennsylvania memorials with heraldic devices. A: John Bell, Great Conewego; B: John Brown, Great Conewego;



Fig. 3 Pennsylvania memorials with waisted sides. A: Robert Larimer, St Paul's New Chester (Lutheran); B: Mary Cord, Great Conewego



Fig. 4 Pennsylvania memorials with crowns and mortality symbols. A: Margrate MaGinley (d.1771), crowns, Lower Marsh Creek; B: John Clark (d. 1776), skull and crossed bones, Chestnut Level; C: McCilroy (d.1744), cherub and crossed long bones, Chestnut Level.

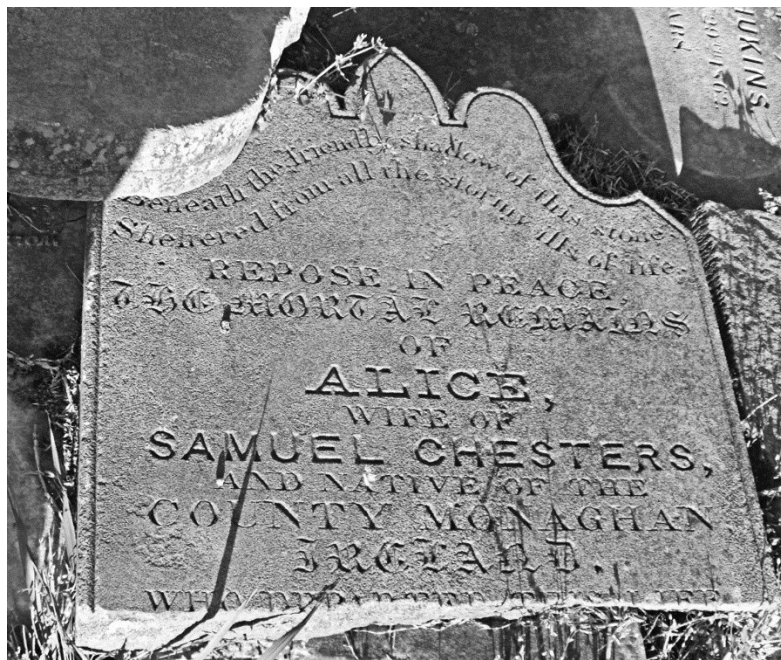
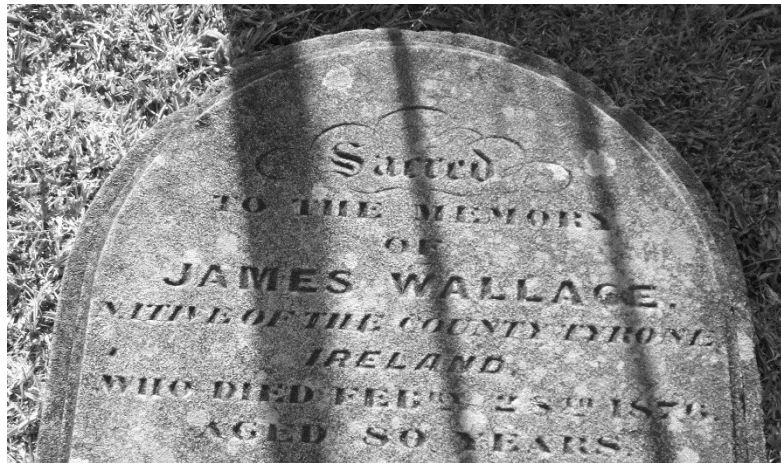


Fig. 5 Presbyterian Kiama region memorials with Ulster origins stated. A: James Wallace (d. 1876), County Tyrone, Jamberoo Presyterian burial ground; B: Alice Chesters, County Monaghan, Jamberoo Presyterian burial ground.



Fig. 6 Memorials in the Presbyterian section, Rookwood, Sydney. A: Isabella Robinson (d. 1869) thistle, Newton Stewart, Tyrone; B: Eliza Thompson (1971), Newry County Armagh; C: Agnes Cleland (d. 1884), thistle, Glasgow; D: Margaret Morton (d. 1871), thistle, Lanarkshire.

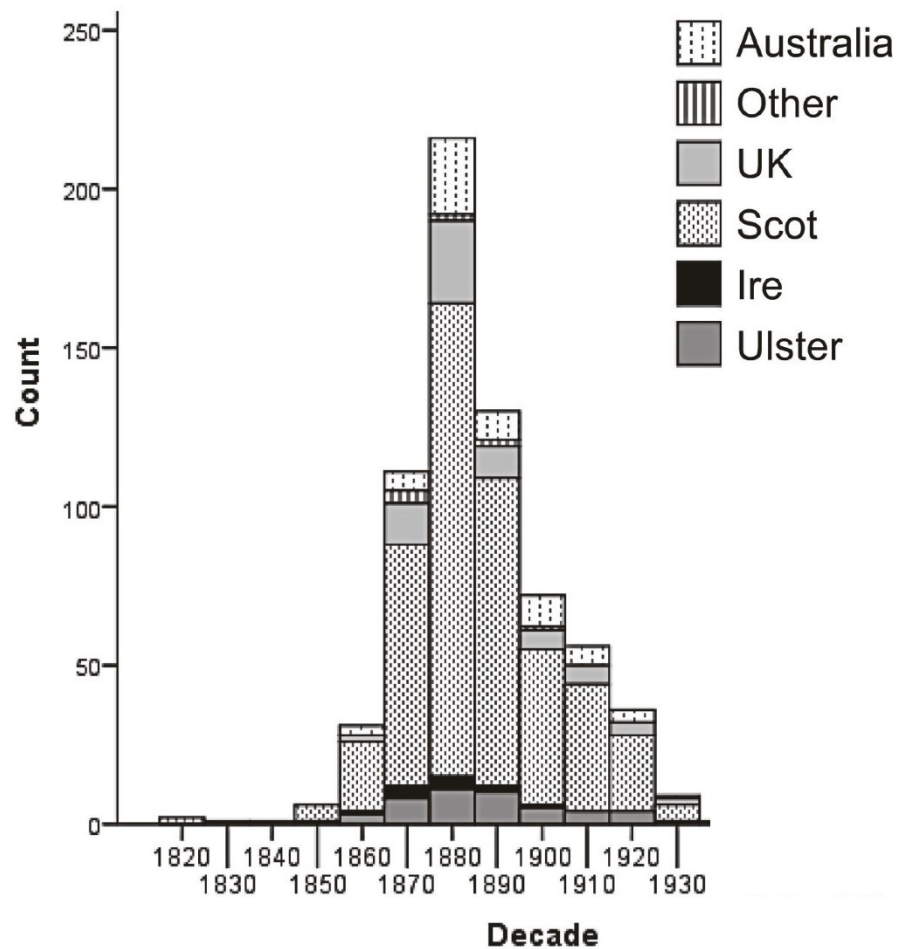


Fig. 7 Bar graph of stated places of origin by country, Presbyterian section memorials, Rookwood, Sydney. The sample consists of those first mentioned on the memorials

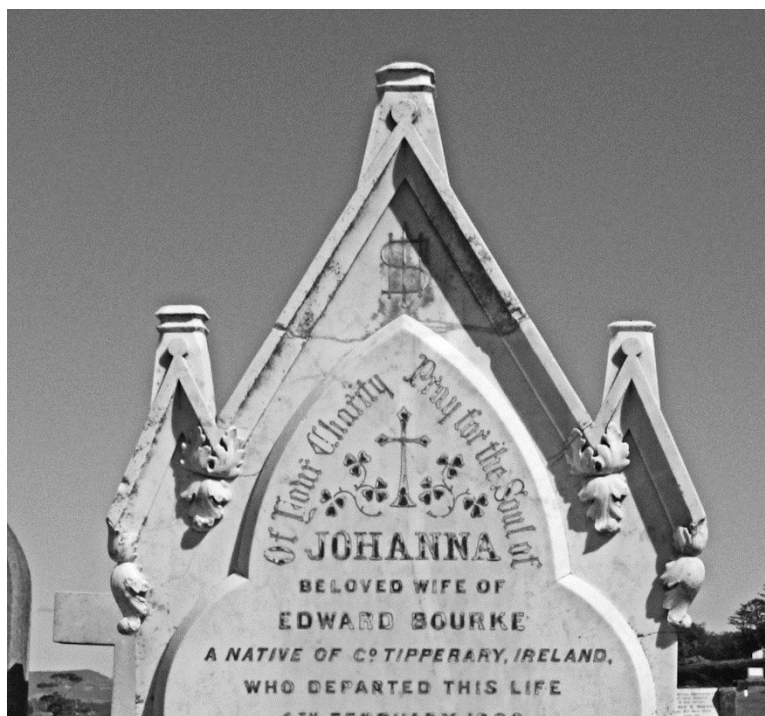


Fig. 8 Irish symbols on Roman Catholic memorials. A: John Collins (d.1901) Harp and shamrocks, Jamberoo RC burial ground; B: Edward Bourke (d. 1886) shamrocks, Gerringong.