St Patrick's Anglican Church
Enniskerry
County Wicklow
Ireland

written by
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2014

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Introduction

Enniskerry is a picturesque Irish town located fifteen miles to the south of Dublin and three miles west of Bray (Wicklow County Council 2009:5). It is situated between the Glencullen and Dargle Rivers and it is at the foothills of the Wicklow Mountains (Figure-1).

St Patrick's Anglican Church is surrounded by a graveyard (Figure-2) which is still in use by the parishioners of Enniskerry and the neighbouring Church of Ireland (COI) parishes (Powerscourt Parish 2014). The church was consecrated in 1860 and it cost £3,441 9s. 2d. to build (Stokes 1963).

During June 2014, I surveyed St Patrick's graveyard (Figure-3) and recorded information on 200 headstones and merged this with inscriptional data from 1,000 headstones recorded between 2008 and 2013 by the Ireland Genealogy Projects (IGP 2014). I will use this information to explore what the commemoration evidence can tell us about the individuals in life.

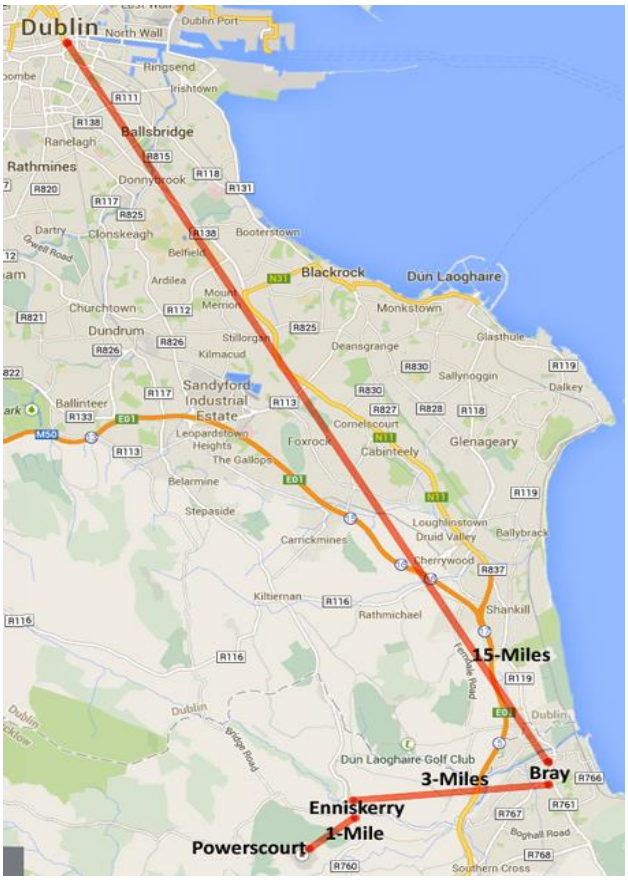

Figure-1: Map of Enniskerry's location (after Google Maps 2014a)

Figure-2: St Patrick's Church and Graveyard (Hayter 2014)

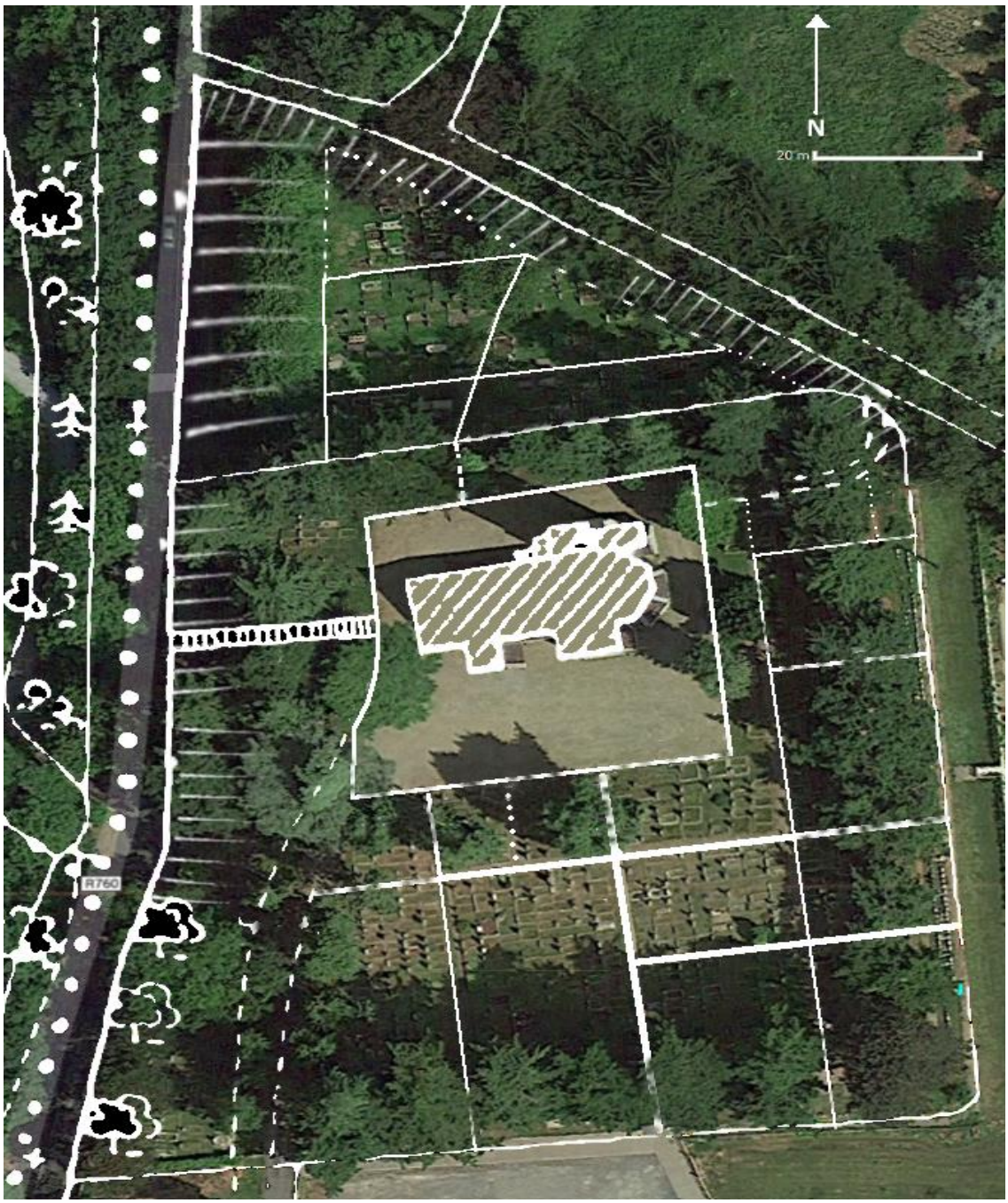

Figure-3: Image and plan of St. Patrick's Churchyard, Enniskerry
(after OSI 2014 and Google Maps 2014b)

Ireland, Enniskerry and the Church

In 1741, the 1st Viscount Powerscourt replaced a 13th century castle with an extensive Palladian style mansion called Powerscourt House in County Wicklow, Ireland (Cameron 2013). Approximately one mile from Powerscourt is Enniskerry Village and in the 1760s maps drawn by Jacob Neville and John Rocque both showed that the village had very few buildings and this had not changed significantly by 1838 when the Ordnance Survey mapped the area (OSI 2014).

During the mid-nineteenth century, the 7th Viscount Powerscourt, Mervyn Wingfield, b. 1836, d. 1904 (The Peerage 2014), funded civic improvements within the village, including the building of a school, a court house, a fever hospital, an alms house for widows, St Mary's Catholic Church and St. Patrick's Anglican Church (Cameron 2013). A railway from Dublin to Bray, approximately three miles from

Enniskerry, was opened in 1854 which resulted in Bray becoming Ireland's most popular seaside resort (Baker 1995:13) and the area developing into a popular residential area (Stokes 1963).

The Church of Ireland, prior to its disestablishment in 1869, assumed a role beyond the pastoral relationship with its parishioners; it was, as Hill (2011) wrote, an "unofficial local parliament" which assumed the responsibility for the management of the locality. For example, Viscount Powerscourt presided at the local courthouse which he had had constructed (Cameron 2013). The Church of Ireland, its clergy and the local gentry had considerable influence within the community and it was the established church in Ireland even though a minority of the population, 12.1% in 1861 (CSO 2014), were parishioners of the COI.

The Irish Church Act (enacted 1871) removed the legal connection between church and state and the COI became a non-state body. St Patrick's church was consecrated at a critical time in Ireland's history; the Church of Ireland's control of society was eroding and church attendance diminishing as people questioned its role and their personal belief in god (Rugg 1999:202, 232). In parallel, there was a 'boom' in the use of headstones (Tarlow 1999:127) which provided the bereaved a focus for their grief and confidence that the grave plot would be preserved as a memorial to the deceased's memory in perpetuity.

The First World War reduced the ideological importance of the funeral (Mytum 2004:83) and it marked an effective end of the Victorian flamboyance in death (Rugg 1999:251). In 1922 Ireland gained its independence from Britain and one of the first laws made in the Irish Free State was the 1923 Land Act (Stokes 1963). The Act allowed the Irish Land Commission to compulsorily purchase farms from landed proprietors and grant them to their former tenants – most of the land owned by Viscount Powerscourt passed into new ownership.

Headstone Analysis

The study of graveyards is a mainly amateur and local pursuit (Tarlow 1999:16-17) and much of the study of graveyards is centric to genealogical research rather than archaeological. However, there is significant potential for research by both archaeologists and anthropologists who are studying the local and wider social-economic environment.

Graveyards provide an accessible resource of named individuals who are - relatively – closely dated and, typically, from a local community (Mytum 2008:1, 50-61). The individual headstones are primarily intended for commemorative purposes, but they can also serve as a "visible statement regarding both the deceased and their families" (Mytum 2009:160) – an unintended benefit is to provide archaeologists with examples of material culture, often with close spatial definition, without the need for intrusive or destructive excavation. By analysing the graveyard's headstones as a whole we can extend the dataset beyond the individual to the community, including more complex areas such as 1) demography and mortality, 2) material culture, 3) the evolution of style, 4) symbolism codified within headstones, 5) location of the interments and 6) by studying the inscriptions, both explicit and metaphoric (Tarlow 1999:17). On individual headstones, we can discover a wealth of information some of the individual's lives, their families and communities, and, in some cases, their social status, profession or significant life-events.

The graveyard is divided into a number of distinct zones using paths and landscaped with mature yew trees [Taxus baccata (RHS 2014)]; the areas adjacent to the church are densely utilized and the entire graveyard has few unused plots. Interments are aligned west-east with the headstones to the west but the area used for cremations, to the east of the church at the edge of the graveyard, has headstones aligned east-west.

The headstones, and their inscriptions, are well preserved and in their original positions. 200 headstones were photographed, which recorded the latitude and longitude coordinates using GPS, and had their style, decoration, size, material and inscriptions recorded. The inscriptions, along with

1,000 headstones recorded by the Ireland Genealogy Projects (IPG 2014), provided a wealth of detailed information such as age, sex, date of birth/death, genealogy and personal sentiments. Only one of the headstones had an Irish phrase, *slán*, and one stated the deceased's ethnicity. The data from the current decade have been excluded from the analysis because the 2010s data-set is incomplete.

The recorded data has two groupings; firstly a data-set of 1,192 inscriptions, 48.8% men and 51.2% women, which is useful for the analysis of broad areas such as demographics and mortality statistics or studies of the material culture and secondly as a collection of 'statements' concerning an individual or small groups of interrelated individuals.

Chart-1 is an analysis of the graveyard's demographics and it can be compared against the COI community within County Wicklow (Chart-2). There is no direct correlation between the charts which suggests that the COI population of Enniskerry and County Wicklow changed at different rates over time. This analysis demonstrates the potential for variability between the data collected from a single graveyard and the statistics available from a wider corpus of cemetery data or even the living community.

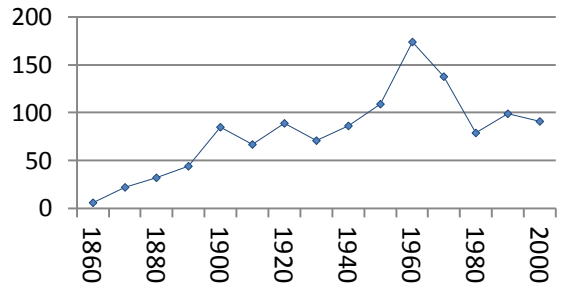

Chart-1: Analysis of Interments

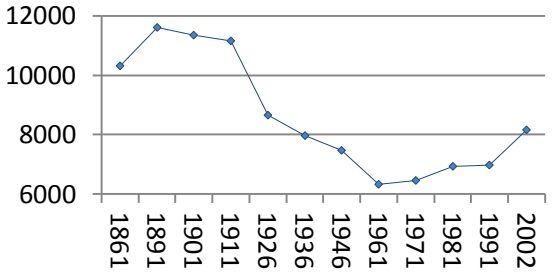

Chart-2: COI demographics, County Wicklow (CSO 2014)

Rugg (1999:248) suggests that, from the late nineteenth century, gradual advances in medicine and health-care began to reduce the mortality rate of infants and the young which increased life expectancy so that death was more common at a 'ripe old age'. Chart-3 is an analysis of the percentage of age at death in St Patrick's, using only the old and young age groups, and it confirms Rugg's belief that death at an early age diminished over time and that people died at a greater age. The local COI community's increasing life-expectancy is a parallel of the Irish population and StatCentral (2004:27) reported that in 1925 the average age at death of men was 57.4% and women 57.9%, but this had risen considerably by 2000 to 75.1% for men and 80.3% for women.

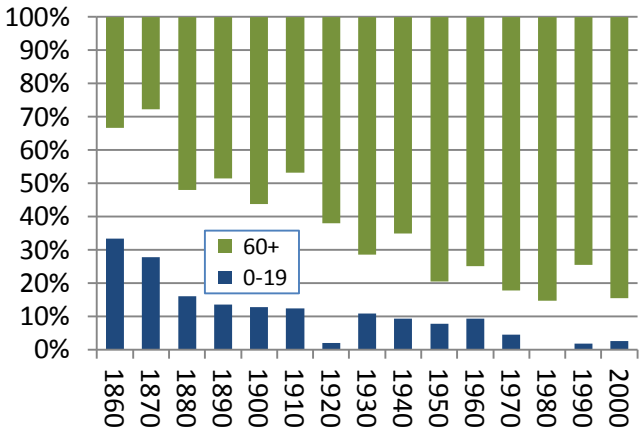

Chart-3: Age-at-death, young and old

Mytum (2008:54) wrote that as well as determining the gender of individuals from the inscriptions, see Chart-4, it might be possible to recognise

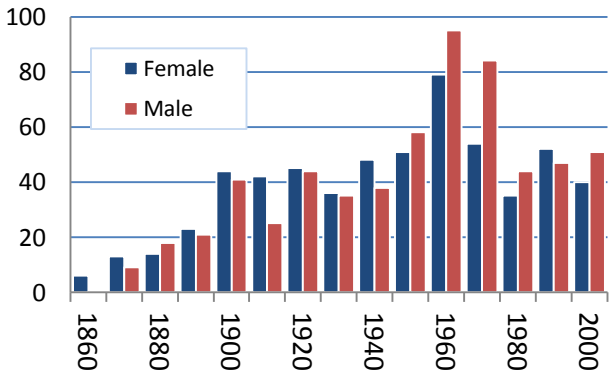

Chart-4: Analysis of Gender

differences in the way men and women were treated in death, such as men being placed ahead of women on the headstone or having larger fonts or more extensive inscriptions. However, the headstones in St Patrick's do not reveal any of the differences mentioned by Harold Mytum - but there are other differences. Women and children's inscriptions tend to be more sentimental; for example, 'devoted', 'beloved' or 'my darling wife', and men have more generic sentiments such as 'In Loving Memory' and fuller descriptions of their position and/or profession. Many of the married women are referred to as 'the widow of' and only 2.2% of headstones record a person's maiden name - Mytum (2004:128) suggests that maiden names are an indication of a descent from a higher status family. Whenever headstones are used for any archaeological analysis, we must be cognisant that it is usually unclear who commissioned the headstone (less than 4% of the inscriptions indicate who commissioned the headstone), but we can be sure of the truism, as Tarlow (1999:177) reminds us, "it is the living who bury the dead".

Voss (2006:120) asked "how age and gender are connected" and observed that this is rarely addressed by archaeologists. In St Patrick's 4.5% of individuals are non-adults and 16.5% were aged 80-years or more. Curiously, using the inscriptions of the old and young does not reveal significant information because their inscriptions, excluding biblical phrases, are consistently briefer than other age groups.

Tarlow (1999:76) wrote that changes in headstone style was not a simple matter of evolving fashion, and that it can be used as a method of 'seeing' changes in the way that people viewed their own life and eventual death and the gradual changes to their social environment. A funeral, whether in a churchyard or cemetery, has a social function for the bereaved and the society that they live within (Tarlow 1999:86, 89) and monuments were a focus for grief and a visible way of preserving the memory of the deceased.

St Patrick's was founded during the Victorian period which, as Rugg (1999:221) explained, was a period of ostentatious display, which utilized symbolism, as an expression of a person's perceived status. This ostentation is a visible manifestation of the Victorian self-conscious middle-class's demand for an elaborate and visible

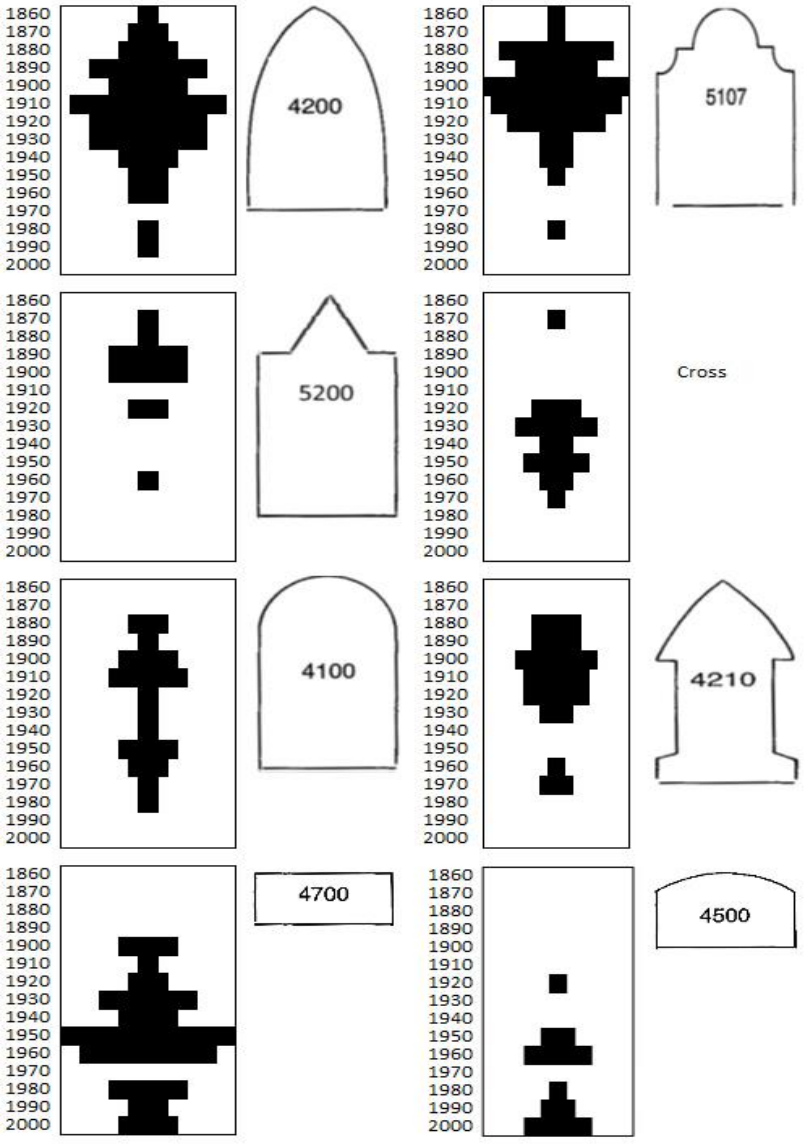

Chart-5: Stylistic changes to Headstones
(after Mytum 2008:111, 113, 115)

funerary display. The variability of mortuary behaviour has traditionally been of interest for archaeologists to identify social status, but, mortuary treatment cannot be used exclusively as a differentiator because 1) its use is cyclical, at St Patrick's it moves between ostentation (e.g. Victorian) and restraint (e.g. post First World War), 2) people emulated social classes that they perceived to be higher than their own and 3) headstones do not correlate to actual wealth (a poor person might have a funeral beyond their financial means or funded by a 'burial plan' and a rich person may elect a deliberately understated memorial) (Cannon 1989:437 and Tarlow 1999:118). The graveyard cannot provide an unambiguous statement of social or economic reality (Tarlow 1999:11-12), it is a readily available resource that can be used to understand social relationships as they are "negotiated and (re)produced".

The earliest headstones were made from either limestone or marble, both are quarried in County Wicklow, but although there were short periods where different types of granite were used it was granite became more popular over time and it has remained the most consistently used material. Headstones are personal, but there were constraints on their design, style, size and even lettering fonts by the individual churchyard or local authority and by social convention (Barfield 2006). This may explain the generally consistent styles of headstone found in St Patrick's.

I classified different styles using a simplified version of the typology scheme defined by Harold Mytum and Chart-5 shows the rise-and-fall in popularity of more common styles. From the graveyard's consecration in 1860 the vertical Gothic style (4200, 4210, 5107 and 5200) and Romanesque (4100) types were consistently used until the twentieth century when much simpler horizontal (4500, 4700 or Cross) types grew in popularity. In parallel, with the increasing popularity of the horizontal headstones, which had a smaller surface area for inscriptions (see Chart-6), was a growth in the number of headstones with personal/secular inscriptions and where a single person was commemorated (see Chart-7).

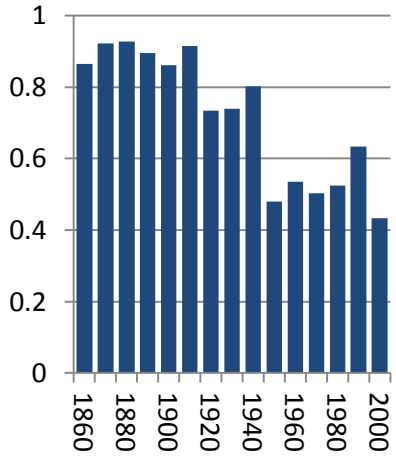

Chart-6: Area (Sq. M.)

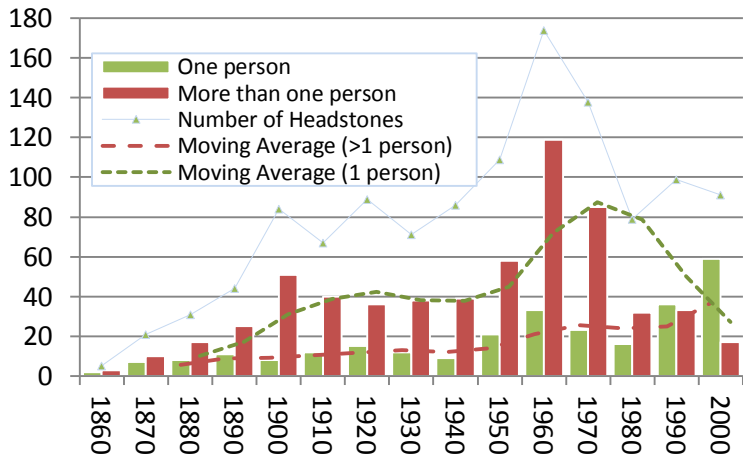

Chart-7: Number of people on a Headstone

More than 600 headstones have inscriptions which refer to 'Sleep', 'Sacred', 'Remembrance' or 'Memory' (see Chart-8) and over 400 have phrases, often enclosed within inverted comas or in italics, which are either biblical, such as "The Lord is my Shepherd", or personal/secular such as *At Rest* (see Chart-9) or both biblical and secular.

Chart-8 and Chart-9 show that 'memory', as a sentiment, is consistent and, to a smaller degree, 'remembrance' but 'sleep' & 'sacred' diminished from the beginning of the twentieth century and there was an increased use of non-biblical inscriptions and from the 1990s there were more personal/secular than biblical inscriptions. However, when this is compared with the data published by Zelinsky (2007:451), see Chart-10, there are significant differences between Enniskerry, where the use of biblical phases diminished, and cemeteries in the US, Canada and the UK, where the use increased. It would be useful to extend the research from a single churchyard to a range of Church of Ireland and Catholic graveyards as well as non-denominational garden cemeteries.

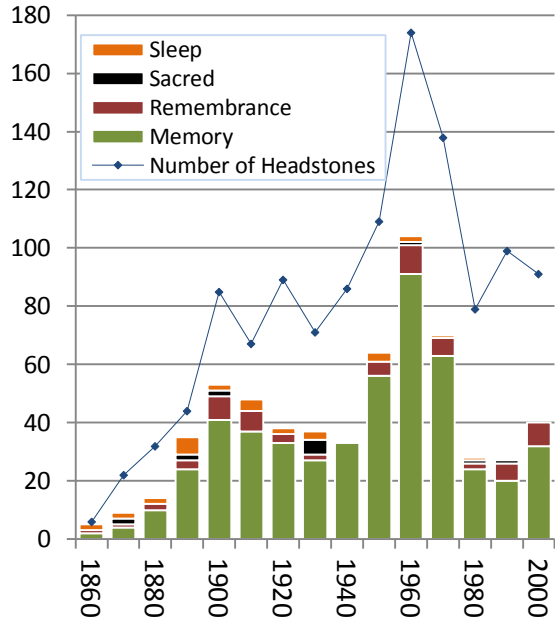

Chart-8: Sentiments

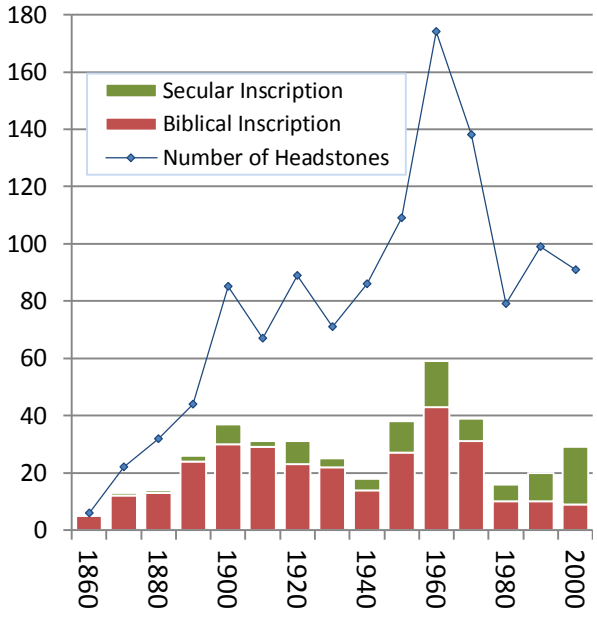

Chart-9: Biblical or Personal

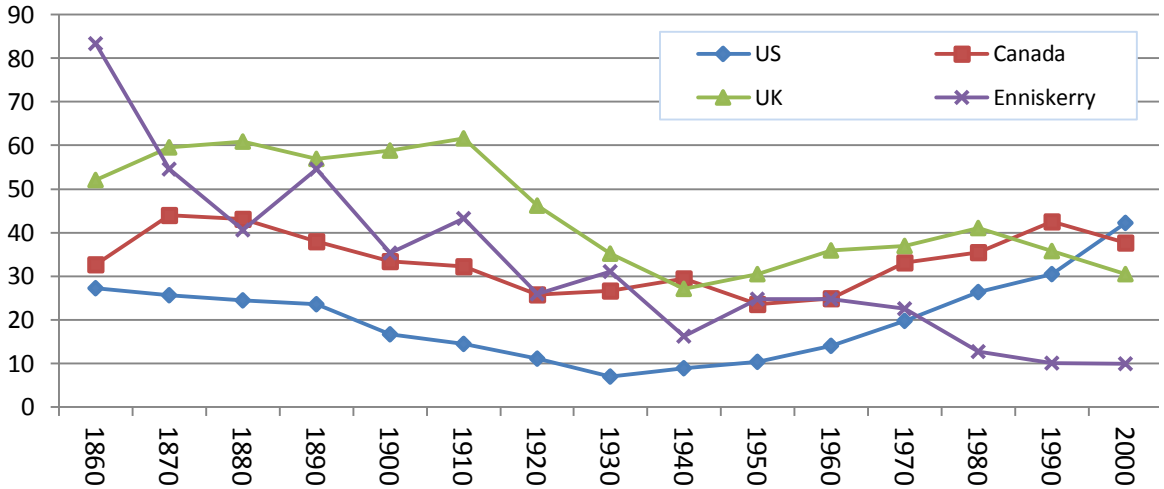

Chart-10: Use of Biblical Inscription
(Zelinsky 2007:451 and author

A small percentage of the headstones, 3.5%, have decorative features carved into them and most of these also had biblical inscriptions (see Chart-11). The use of decorative features such as vegetation and flowers, for example ivy and roses, and draped urns increased from the 1900s and their popularity continued into the 1940s. Harold Mytum (2004:76, 80) classifies these as either Neo-Classical revival (vegetal and flower) or Gothic revival (urn) and they were not simply decorative, but loaded with symbolic meaning of mortality or remembrance. For example, the urn might be a symbol

of destiny or eternal-life, ivy could represent immortality and a rose might represent love and beauty (Keister 2004:54, 57, 137) or the same rose might be because the deceased was a passionate rose grower! There is such a wide-range of symbols that these cannot be definitively deciphered within the local or family context and their decorative value cannot be discounted. For example, the urn and its column might symbolise that the deceased was the last in a family line (Rugg 1999:207) rather than destiny or eternal-life. Some decorations, such as a military or heraldic-crest or the masonic set-square and measure, are more understandable and intended to inform the viewer, visually, something of the deceased's identity; crests/armorials are of military regiments, the set-square implies membership of the Freemasons (Keister 2004:191) or an anchor (see Figure-4) when combined with a personal inscription, saying "HE SAILED THE SEA AND DRANK THE WILD AIR", implied a full and interesting life on the sea. Of the personal inscriptions, approximately half of them are commonly used phrases such as 'AT REST' or 'PEACE, PERFECT PEACE' and half are individual to the person being commemorated such as 'A BRAVE AND STEADFAST MAN', 'VETERAN OF THREE WARS, PROUDLY REMEMBERED BY THE FAMILY CIRCLE' and 'A HAPPY HOMEMAKER AND AN ACCOMPLISHED SPORTSWOMAN'.

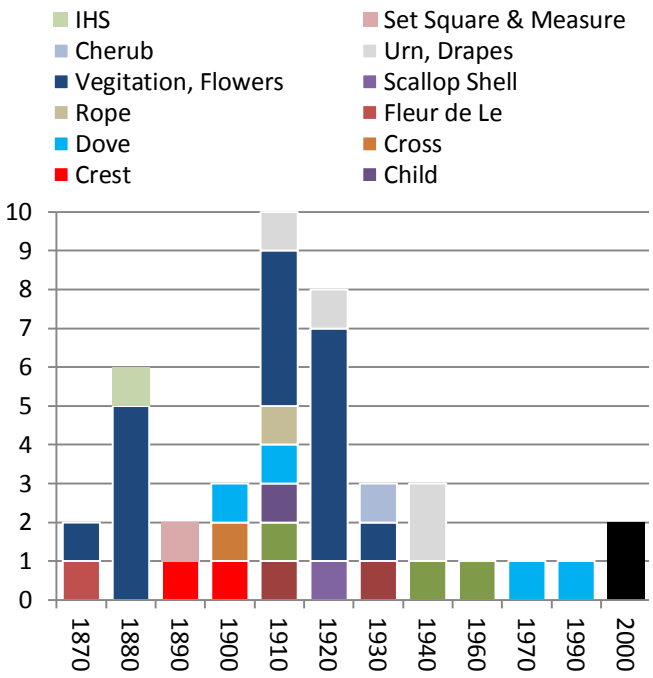

Chart-11: Decoration

Figure-4: John E Allen

Many of the plots have been used for the interment of more than one person. It is not possible to reliably determine when the headstone has been replaced or reused, for example, to allow for additional inscriptions to be added or to use a more modern style, but where the headstone is for a single person, we can be confident that the headstone is original. Over time, the graveyard became crowded and, as fewer vacant plots were available, it became more difficult to segregate burials either by the individual's social status or by when they died. These factors do make spatial analysis challenging to decipher and if I was re-analysing the graveyard I would consider the information being recorded more carefully to facilitate a more extensive spatial/social analysis. Not all headstones with the same surname are located together or in a shared plot so it is not possible to securely determine whether the individuals were from the same family. By combining some of the common headstone characteristics with a spatial analysis it has been possible to identify four distinct groups of burials. Firstly, in the earlier burials, the headstone material, titles and inscriptions help to identify the more 'select' areas of the graveyard. The area to the south of the church which flanks the church's entrance has a cluster of marble headstones which are either 1) inscribed for people with titles (including a Lady, three baronets and an archbishop), military ranks (including a Surgeon General and two Lieutenant Colonels) or 2) recording that the person lived in one of the local area's more notable houses (such as Bushy Park, Old Conna Hill or Ballyman House). Secondly, six of the headstones were erected by Viscount Powerscourt for his servants and estate workers, and each of these is located to the north of the church (i.e. the more distant and inaccessible area of the churchyard). Thirdly, many of the interments for members of the Church are located in the south-

east zone of the churchyard. Finally, headstones commemorating cremations have been placed at the eastern edge of the churchyard. This may have been because they required less physical space than interments, but I believe that this was the only area which was available or a hesitancy to fully accept this as a means of disposing of the dead. In Ireland, the popularity of cremations, unlike other European counties, has grown slowly and by 2010 only 11.3% of the population were cremated (EFFS 2011).

Each headstone, whether it is ostentatious or simple, is a visible record which summarises culturally important information (Mytum 2004:137) about one or more person and this makes the headstone a valuable archaeological resource for the study of people (Tarlow 1999:183). To explore this, I selected a single headstone to explore what insights the inscription might reveal about the identity of individuals in life and, as Tallow wrote, their "feelings, thoughts, memories and aspirations".

The limestone headstone, see Figure-5, is a gothic styled memorial with indented sides framed by carved Columns. It is 93 centimetres wide and 182 centimetres high and the memorial's upper area has decorated borders and a plaque containing ivy and roses. It was supplied by W. Smyth who was located at the Glen of the Downs (6 miles south of Enniskerry). The text was carved into the headstone and filled with metal (possibly lead or a white-metal alloy). The inscriptions suggest that the headstone was inscribed in four phases; 1) it was created after the death of Edward Norman (approximately 1920), 2) Robert and Harriet Annie were added (approximately 1946), 3) Robert Arthur and Elizabeth (approximately 1977) and 4) the final inscription, for Eveleen Annie, was squeezed onto a single line at the bottom of the headstone (approximately 1983).

TO THE DEAR MEMORY OF
EDWARD NORMAN HEATLEY
PALS[12] BATT. R. D. FUSILIERS 1914 - 1918
DIED 30TH DEC. 1920,
AGED 25 YEARS
FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH

ALSO HIS FATHER
ROBERT HEATLEY
WHO DIED 3RD FEBRUARY 1937
AGED 74 YEARS
AT REST

AND HIS MOTHER
HARRIETT ANNIE HEATLEY
DIED 4TH APRIL 1946.
HER CHILDREN RISE UP
AND CALL HER BLESSED

AND THEIR SON
ROBERT ARTHUR HEATLEY M.D.
CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER
B.B. & G. I. RAILWAY, INDIA
WHO DIED AT BOMBAY
6TH APRIL 1947

AND THEIR DAUGHTERS
ELIZABETH
FORMERLY HEADMISTRESS FRENCH SCHOOL, BRAY
DIED 8TH MARCH 1977
ALSO EVELEEN ANNIE DIED 12TH AUGUST 1983.

W. Smyth *Glen of the Downs*

Figure-5: Inscription on the Heatley family Headstone

In Ireland, after its independence from Britain in 1922, serving in the British Army during the 1914 – 1918 War became a taboo topic, but the family felt strongly enough to memorialise Edward Norman's service for all to see. The census of 1911 (National Archives of Ireland 2014) reveals an additional level of information which the headstone does not. He lived in Bray with his parents, three sisters, two brothers and a servant and, despite having a stammer, he volunteered for the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, a 'Pals' Battalion, in September 1914; he landed at Suvla Bay in Gallipoli and was so effected by 'shell shock' that he was eventually discharged in 1918 into a medical facility in Bray as unfit for service (Ancestry 2014). He died in the medical facility in 1920. The Census records are a valuable source of information but the returns between 1813 and 1871 were lost or deliberately destroyed

and the returns for 1881 and 1891 were pulped during the 1914-18 War because of paper shortages (CSO 2014). Unfortunately, the 1993 Statistics Act only allows the returns to be made public records 100 years after the census was taken so only the pre-independence returns from 1901 and 1911 are accessible for study. The other family members died after 1911 and, currently, the census cannot help us. Stokes (1963) confirmed that parish records are held in the National Library and they might provide fuller information on the relationships between family members. Elizabeth, the former headmistress of a school famed for educating children from elite families, described Robert, her father, as a "prominent Bray builder" (BrayPeople 2009).

Although the headstone only records two generations of a family, it does contain information about the lives of six individuals – and genealogical and other research, such as Robert Arthur's study and graduation from Trinity College, Dublin, his career as a doctor employed in India by the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway (Simpson 1942) and his death, after a brief illness, in St. George's Hospital, Bombay (Ancestry 2014). This single example has shown how much information can be determined about individuals from each headstone and, when combined with source sources of information, it confirms the value of graveyards as an accessible source of research for archaeologists.

Conclusions

St Patrick's Anglican Church and graveyard is, like a large number of churches and cemeteries in Ireland and England, very accessible and, even if some of the gravestones are displaced or missing and not all burials have headstones. Any accessible graveyard has the potential, with the minimum of resources, of providing a wealth of information about individuals from a broad range of socio-economic groups. The research becomes more useful when a well-defined research question helps to focus the data recorded for each headstone.

St Patrick's graveyard is a 'barometer' of socio-economic change in Ireland. It was consecrated while the relationship between religion and community was beginning to change, as the Church's influence over society diminished and church attendance began to diminish as people questioned their personal belief in god. At the same time, as people's relationship with the dead evolved, there was a headstone 'boom' which provided the bereaved a focus for their grief and a perpetual memorial to the deceased. Interments, managed by professional undertakers using mass-produced memorials and a cost which was attainable by the burgeoning middle-class, provided a visible demonstration of a person's actual, or perceived social, position. The First World War, and Ireland's independence from Britain, was a catalyst for change into a period of non-ostentatious style.

Although the study of graveyards is a mainly amateur and local pursuit, often for genealogical purposes, it has the potential for archaeologists and anthropologists to study the local and wider social-economic environment. They provide a valuable resource of named individuals from a local community, as well as a visible measure of the local material culture, often encoded with symbolism, and information on individual's lives, their families and other significant life-events.

Graveyards do contain ambiguity, local stylistic variations and they are only a partial record of the community but as a corpus of information they certainly provide a valuable archaeological resource for the study of people as individuals and as a society.

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