

IMMIGRATION OF IMAGES: HEADSTONE ICONOGRAPHY
IN IRELAND AND MILWAUKEE (1840 TO 1970)

by

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ABSTRACT

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Symbols have always been important to humans and are a focus of identity in many cultures. They are also very important when it comes to death, including on headstones, which are often elaborately decorated and can be viewed as a durable record of a person's life. Burial monuments may include inscriptions recording the deceased's name and age as well as sculptured designs, artwork, and iconography that can denote religious beliefs, social class, occupation, and other aspects of identity. By analyzing these symbols and their cultural, economic and religious importance, we can better understand the people that came before us. This study makes use of headstone iconography recorded in a pilot study carried out in 2019 in the Republic of Ireland of 170 headstones from the 18th to 20th centuries and compares their religious symbolism to headstones in cemeteries in Milwaukee dating from the 19th to 20th centuries. The main research questions addressed by this project are:

1) What is the iconography present on Milwaukee Irish headstones during the period from 1840 to 1970? 2) How does the iconography change between 1840 and 1970? 3) How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography compare to the iconography present on Irish headstones

from 1840 to 1970? 4) How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography indicate what can be stated about changes in the cultural identity of Irish diaspora populations?

The goal of this research was to determine whether the Irish immigrants held on to traditions from Ireland and whether their cultural identity continued to reflect aspects of Irish Catholic culture. The approach used here can be applied to other cultural groups who have immigrated to the United States and could be compared across time periods and regions. Studies such as this help expand our knowledge of the culture of diaspora communities in America.

Keywords: Irish immigration, Milwaukee, iconographic mortuary analysis, historic cemeteries, comparative religion, visual analysis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Organization of the Thesis.....	8
Chapter 2: Background	10
Introduction.....	10
Historic Record Documentation	10
Materiality, Symbols and Headstones Studies	11
Case Studies	18
Historic Context for the Study Period.....	29
Ireland 1730 to 1970	29
1718 to 1755 Emigration.....	29
1755 to 1793 Catholic Oppression	30
Irish Emigration circa 1845 to 1854.....	31
History of Milwaukee (Irish Diaspora in Milwaukee)	36
Lady Elgin Disaster (1860)	39
American Civil War (1861).....	40
Third Ward Fire (1892)	41
World War I (1914-1918).....	41
Irish War of Independence (1919-1921)	42
World War II (1939-1945).....	43
Chapter 3: Research Methods	46
Identification of Populations and Sample Size	46
Data Set #1: Ireland.....	47
Data set #2: Irish Americans in Milwaukee	53
Field data collection	55
Qualitative and Quantitative Analyses	61

Headstone Iconography	64
Chapter 4: Analysis and Results	81
Data Set #1: Republic of Ireland Sample	81
Total Number of Graves.....	82
Headstone Placement	86
Data set #1 Results	91
Data set #2: City of Milwaukee Sample.....	95
Sample Composition and Size	96
Total Number of Graves.....	96
Headstone Placement	98
Headstone Iconography	98
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion	104
Research Questions	105
Research Question 1.....	105
Research Question 2.....	105
Research Question 3.....	106
Headstone Placement	110
Headstone Iconography	112
Research Question 4.....	121
Headstone Placement	122
Headstone Iconography	123
Summary	124
Conclusion	125
References Cited	129
Secondary Print Sources.....	129
Primary Web Sources	135
APPENDIX A.....	139
APPENDIX B.....	141
APPENDIX C.....	149

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of cemeteries in Ireland included in the pilot study.	48
Figure 2. Map of current cemeteries in Milwaukee.....	55
Figure 3. IHS, common iconography referring to Jesus, Kilconnell Abbey cemetery, County Galway (photo by author).....	68
Figure 4. INRI on a headstone, St. Ruadhan’s Lorrha, County Tipperary (photo by author)	69
Figure 5. Instruments of the Passion carved on a headstone at the Rock of Cashel, County Tipperary (photo by author).....	72
Figure 6. Death’s head with wings, Ross Errilly Friary, County Galway (photo by author)	73
Figure 7. Latin Cross, Ross Errilly Friary, County Galway (photo by author)	74
Figure 8. Celtic Cross, Bunratty Graveyard, County Clare (photo by author).....	75
Figure 12. Triple spiral. Image courtesy of Shutterstock (2020).....	76
Figure 11. Trinity knot. Image courtesy of 123RF (2020)	76
Figure 10. Celtic Knotwork. Photo by author	76
Figure 9. Celtic spiral. Image courtesy of Amazon (2020)	76
Figure 13. An urn carved on a headstone Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author)	77
Figure 14. IHS and a Latin cross surrounded by a sun on a headstone, Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author)	78
Figure 15. No design on a headstone, Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author).....	79
Figure 16. Total count of headstones in Data Set #1 (Ireland) by year	85
Figure 17. Standardized number of headstones in the pilot study separated by position.	88
Figure 18. Total number of headstones of each design in Ireland 1730 to 1830.....	89
Figure 19. Total number of headstones of each design in Ireland 1840 to 1930.....	90
Figure 20. Standardized number of Pilot Study headstones.....	94
Figure 21. Total count of headstones in Milwaukee by year.	97
Figure 22. Standardized number of each design by year in Milwaukee, Wisconsin	99
Figure 23. Total number of headstones of each design in Milwaukee from 1840 to 1970.....	100
Figure 25. Celtic Cross sculpture. Cathedral Church of St. Canice & Round Tower Cemetery, photo by author.....	108
Figure 24. Celtic Cross sculpture. Calvary Cemetery, photo by author.....	108
Figure 26. Latin Cross symbol. Calvary Cemetery, photo by author	109
Figure 27. Latin Cross sculpture. Bunratty Graveyard, photo by author	109
Figure 28. Comparison of symbols from Ireland and Milwaukee	115
Figure 29. Chi-Rho symbol (photo by Bryce 1995:36).....	118
Figure 30. Chi-Rho symbol (photo by Bryce 1995:37).....	119
Figure A-1. Battleship Graph of designs on headstones in Ireland by exact count.....	139
Figure A-2. Battleship Graph of designs on headstones in Milwaukee, WI by exact count	140
Figure C-2. Example of IHS from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	149
Figure C-1. Example of IHS from Holy Cross cemetery, Milwaukee	149
Figure C-3. Example of INRI from Bunratty Graveyard cemetery, Ireland.....	150
Figure C-4. Example of INRI from Bunratty Graveyard cemetery, Ireland.....	150

Figure C-6. Example of Instruments of the Passion of the Christ from Kilree Monastic Site cemetery, Ireland	151
Figure C-5. Example of Instruments of the Passion of the Christ from Portumna Priory cemetery, Ireland	151
Figure C-7. Example of Death's Head from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland	152
Figure C-8. Example of Death's Head from Kilconnell Friary cemetery, Ireland	152
Figure C-9. Example of an Urn from Kilconnell Friary cemetery, Ireland	153
Figure C-10. Example of an Urn from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland	153
Figure C-11. Example of a Latin Cross from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland	154
Figure C-12. Example of a Latin Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	154
Figure C-13. Example of a Celtic Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	155
Figure C-14. Example of a Celtic Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	155
Figure C-15. Example of a Sun from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland	156
Figure C-16. Example of a Sun from Muckcross Abbey cemetery, Ireland	156
Figure C-17. Example of No Design from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	157
Figure C-18. Example of No Design from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee	157
Figure C-19. Example of an On the Wall grave from Rock of Cashel cemetery, Ireland.....	158
Figure C-20. Example of an On the Ground grave from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland	158
Figure C-21. Example of an Erect grave from Rock of Cashel cemetery, Ireland	159

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Cemeteries examined in the pilot study, their location, date of use, religious affiliation, and number of headstones analyzed at each site.	6
Table 2. Historic events in Ireland and the United States relevant to this study.	44
Table 3. Data Set #2 Sample.....	60
Table 4. The religious symbols found in Ireland, accompanied by a picture of the symbol and the citation of the picture.	65
Table 5. Key historical events and the dates the symbols are present	103
Table 6. Table of symbols and whether they were present or absent in Ireland and Milwaukee along with the frequency of headstones from 1840 to 1970	121
Table B-1. Raw data from the Ireland Population	144
Table B-2. Raw data from Data Set #2.....	148

Chapter 1: Introduction

Through archaeology it is possible to study almost all aspects of past people's lives. We can study where they lived, what their lives were like, and how they died. We can even study their ideas about life after death through the study of burial practices. Mortuary analysis is used frequently in archaeology because it is one of the most direct ways for people to learn about a culture (Carr 1995:105). It helps archaeologists understand why past people buried their dead and the differences in how people were treated in death based on gender, age, and social status, along with how that treatment changed over time. The way people regard their dead varies through time and space (Shimane 2018:1). This means that mortuary archaeology and historic cemetery studies are an immense field of study and new information is being discovered all the time. Analyses often focus on specific aspects such as grave goods or burial location (Carr 1995:106) but the aspect of burial practices that is the focus of this thesis is the iconography on headstones in historic cemeteries in Milwaukee, WI and in the Republic of Ireland. Headstones, also known as tombstones, gravestones, and grave markers, can be viewed as a durable symbol of a person's life. This is one reason why their study is important. Headstones are also one of the best-preserved historic artifacts that are easy to find and usually highly visible (Mytum 2009:160). Since they are typically above ground, archaeologists do not have to dig for them, and they are often found in great numbers, which makes quantitative as well as qualitative analysis possible. Furthermore, they often have inscriptions or symbols that must have been very important to the people who produced them since they are literally carved in stone. As religious and social norms changed through time, so did the iconography that was

carved onto headstones (Mytum 2009:178-179). Understanding the significance of the iconography on headstones allows individuals to better understand the people of the past and what was important to them.

The focus of this research project is Irish-Americans in Milwaukee from 1840 to 1970, examining how headstone iconography reflects changing social identities. Irish immigrants started arriving in Milwaukee in the 1830s and the first Catholic church was built in 1837 (Hostutler 2009:30). There was more acceptance of Catholics in Milwaukee as compared to other places in the United States, probably because the city already had a large German Catholic population. While the anti-Catholic sentiment was not as harsh as on the East Coast, the Irish in Milwaukee were still discriminated against. They were characterized as drunks and troublesome even while helping to build the city (Gurda 1999:66). They were the second largest immigrant group in Milwaukee and most of them lived in the Third Ward (Gurda 1999:66). The sense of community among the Irish in Milwaukee was influential as the Irish immigrants were typically not fully accepted by anyone outside of the community. The compelling impact of the Catholic church also created a deeper sense of community.

The research questions addressed by this thesis project are as follows:

1. What is the iconography present on Milwaukee Irish headstones during the period from 1840 to 1970?

The thesis contributes to our understanding of the Irish diaspora in Milwaukee by recording and analyzing a selection of the types of religious iconography present on the headstones of this community. There have been a few studies that have addressed headstone iconography of Irish

immigrants in Milwaukee and what information this data set can tell us about this cultural group (Donnelly et alia 2020; Bell 2023). The expectation is to find a connection to the religious iconography similar to that in Ireland.

2. How does the iconography change between 1840 and 1970?

Headstones offer a fine-grained chronology of life and culture over the years. They are an artifact so they can give us information about the time when they were crafted, plus they are dated, which is beneficial in studying the development of the images carved on them. The expectation is that these images will change over time, as the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee developed their own identity distinct from their native Irish homeland. Diachronic trends are further explored relative to key historical events that may provide important context for iconographic changes.

3. How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography compare to the iconography present on Irish headstones from 1840 to 1970?

By comparing the images and symbols in the sample from Milwaukee headstones and the images and symbols in the sample from Ireland headstones, it will be possible to determine the differences between the cultural identities of the two groups.

There are two expectations: 1) either the Milwaukee iconography matches the iconography in Ireland which would suggest that the Irish cultural identity remained strong, or 2) the iconography would differ in significant ways, meaning that the immigrants chose to separate from their heritage while in America.

4. How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography indicate what can be stated about changes in the cultural identity of Irish diaspora populations?

Since symbols are such an important part of culture, identifying changes in symbols can provide information regarding changes in culture or identity. If immigration affected people's cultural identity, this would be reflected in their iconography. The expectation is that events that affect cultural forms of expression, like immigration, will also affect the iconography found on Irish immigrant headstones in Milwaukee.

These research questions were addressed by locating Irish immigrant headstones in a selected sample of Milwaukee cemeteries, identified through a review of historic documents and census records, and describing and categorizing the types of religious iconography that is present. A list of these cemeteries and their respective sample sizes is included in Chapter 3: Research Methods. By recording the dates present on each headstone, iconographic types can be associated with a specific date that allows for a diachronic iconographic seriation to be produced. The Milwaukee Irish iconography is then compared to iconography present on Irish headstones, identified as part of the author's undergraduate research project (Parker 2020).

This thesis project focuses on religious iconography because religion is an important part of culture. Since this thesis project is studying how Irish immigrants were affected on a cultural level and religion played an important part in the discrimination against them in the United States, it should provide a way to explore questions of identity and change over time. Religion can be used as an identity marker to help people feel like they have meaning and belonging in their life (Beyers 2017:6). According to Beyers (2017) if one studies culture, then they must also

study religion (Beyers 2017:8). Religion also plays an important role in this study because it affected how immigrants were perceived and whether or not they were accepted by earlier immigrants to the United States. During the period considered in this thesis project, from 1840 to 1970, views on religion and different religious traditions had fluctuated. Catholics, specifically Irish Catholics were not viewed favorably in the United States and were discriminated against (Brighton 2008:142). This prejudice against Catholics continued in a variety of forms into the 1960's and is exemplified by the fact that the first Catholic President of the United States was not elected until 1960 with John F. Kennedy became President (Larkin 2013:349,351).

This would all have played a key role in how their headstones were designed. While many symbols that are found on headstones are clearly connected to religion, some are more obvious than others (Keister 2004:141). Common Christian imagery includes symbols of the Eucharist, the Latin Cross, and IHS, along with other Latin abbreviations (Keister 2004:142-149). The IHS symbol consist of the first three letters in the Latinized spelling of the Greek name for Jesus (IHSUS) (Keister 2004:146-147). Other symbols are less obviously Christian but still have a religious connection. For instance, the Death's Head started as a Puritan symbol, then other Christian religious traditions, like Catholicism or Lutheranism adopted the symbol and changed the style of the symbol to fit their specific beliefs (Keister 2004:137). This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: Analysis and Results. Similarly, the Urn symbol, especially when draped, can be seen as a veil between heaven and earth (Keister 2004:137).

The data from Irish headstones was collected as part of an Undergraduate Research and Creativity grant awarded to the author while at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse (Parker 2020) for a study that investigated changes in religious iconography on headstones in Ireland between the 16th and 19th centuries. The study tested the hypothesis that changes in religious iconography could be correlated with major social and cultural events and whether it was possible to ascertain the date of a tombstone by creating a seriation of the iconography represented within a cemetery or a region. The study was designed to identify patterns and changes that could serve as diachronic stylistic markers to estimate the dates of other headstones with the same symbols but without readable dates. The pilot study analyzed eight symbols recorded on 170 headstones at 15 different cemeteries (Table 1).

Table 1. Cemeteries examined in the pilot study, their location, date of use, religious affiliation, and number of headstones analyzed at each site.

Site Name	Dates of Use	County	Religion	# of Tombstones
Athenry Dominican Priory	1241 - present	Galway	Dominican Priory	7
Clonmacnoise	548 AD - present	Offaly	Catholic	1
Muckross Abbey	1448 - present	Kerry	Dominican Priory	16
Quin Friary	1402-1820	Clare	Franciscan Friary	39
Portumna Priory	(1254-1426)(1426-1810)	Galway	Catholic/Protestant	1
St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church	1320 - present	Galway	Church of Ireland	10
Kilree Monastic Site	6th century - 1876	Kilkenny	Catholic	8
Ross Errilly Friary	1460 - 1832	Galway	Franciscan Friary	8
Kilconnell Friary	1353 - present	Galway	Franciscan Friary	29
Bunratty Graveyard	1250 - present	Clare	Catholic/Protestant	12
Rock of Cashel	1101 - present	Tipperary	Catholic	24
St. Canice Cathedral and Round Tower	6th century - present	Kilkenny	Church of Ireland	8
St. Ruadhan's Lorrha	6th century - present	Tipperary	Catholic/Episcopal	3
Dominican Abbey	1269-1797	Tipperary	Dominican Friary	1
Clonfert Cathedral	6th century - present	Galway	Catholic	3

The pilot study examined diachronic patterning within the sample of 170 headstones, the placement of the headstones, and the iconography from 1730 to 1970, comparing results to key

historical events in Ireland at those times. The data set revealed the frequency of the IHS and Latin Cross symbols along with less common designs like INRI or the Instruments of the Passion. The Latin Cross or IHS designs were common throughout the time period of the study (1730 to 1970) but designs like the Celtic Cross only became common starting in 1830 (Parker 2020:25). The resulting patterns were then compared to key historical events to contextualize the findings, especially relative to periods of mass emigration circa 1718 to 1755 and the mid 1800's as well as famine and starvation circa 1845 to 1850.

For this thesis project, the data being analyzed was drawn from iconography on headstones in a specific area of Ireland and the United States between 1730 and 1970. To determine whether or not Irish immigrants brought headstone symbols from Ireland to Milwaukee, earlier samples would need to be analyzed in Ireland since the immigrants would have had to have seen the designs in Ireland before emigrating. Since the data set for Ireland was taken from a previous study it was reanalyzed to correspond to the time frame of the Milwaukee population and ensure that the comparison of designs was not affected by temporal shifts unrelated to immigration. The patterns resulting from the analysis for this thesis project are compared with historical events between 1730 and 1970 to contextualize the findings relative to events and design changes. The major historical events considered especially important are the first wave of immigration from Ireland to America, which took place from 1718 to 1755, the lifting of restrictions against Catholics in Ireland in 1793, and the Great Potato Famine from 1845 to 1850, which prompted the second wave of immigration from Ireland to the United States in the mid-1800s. Major historical events that might have affected the headstones specifically in Milwaukee include the sinking of the Lady Elgin in 1860, the American

Civil War from 1861 to 1865, and the Third Ward fire in 1892. Events that affected both Ireland and Milwaukee include World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945).

The research conducted for the thesis project helps inform mortuary archaeology by providing insight as to how major events, such as immigration, may affect material culture, especially headstone iconography. The thesis project also provides insight into the impact of immigration to the United States on cultural identity and how this is reflected in cultural markers.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction presents the research questions and the previous study that served as the foundation for this project. **Chapter 2: Background** describes the theoretical approach that is the basis of the research design and provides a literature review of historic cemetery studies focusing on headstone iconography, including case studies that served as models for the thesis project. Chapter 2 also provides the background on what was happening both in Ireland and Milwaukee during the time of the study (1730-1970), presenting the major historical events and how they affected the Irish population in Ireland and the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee.

Chapter 3: Research Methods provides the parameters of the study and explains how the data sets were collected. The chapter then goes into the methods used to analyze and compare the two data sets in order to answer the research questions. **Chapter 4: Analysis and Results** present the patterns revealed by the analysis of the headstones; their placement and the designs found on them in Ireland and Milwaukee from 1730 to 1970. Each design is described in detail and the frequency of appearance is noted. **Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion** returns

to the research questions. The chapter compares the results of the two data sets along with the historical events to identify possible patterns and connections. The chapter also provides an overview of the research project along with the findings of the paper. Finally, suggestions for future research are outlined.

Chapter 2: Background

Introduction

This section contains a discussion of the historical sources used to understand the time period related to the study, along with the theoretical framework of the thesis project which establishes and defines the relevance and importance of studying headstones as a way of accessing information about culture change and adaptation. Using case studies and historical documentation, this chapter builds a foundation for the analysis of Irish headstones in connection to cultural identity. These case studies include *Migration and Memorials: Irish Cultural Identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Lowell, Massachusetts* (Donnelly, et alia 2020) and *Analysis of an African Burial Ground in Nineteenth-Century Jamaica* (Saunders 2015). Cultural identity is defined as identifying with a group based on classifications such as “nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, and religion” (Chen 2014:1). It is possible to identify with different cultural groups based on each classification, which makes an individual’s cultural identity complex and unique (Chen 2014:1).

Historic Record Documentation

Various sources were consulted to provide dates for key historic events as well as to identify date ranges for the stylistic elements observed on the headstones as part of the field data collection stage of the project. The thesis project relied on peer reviewed articles in several fields to identify key events in history. Primary source documents were also used. These are: Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries (2022a), Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries (2022b), Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries (2022c), Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries (2022d), Fergus (2017), Find a Grave (2025a), Find a Grave

(2025b), Find a Grave (2025c), Find a Grave (2025d), Forest Home Cemetery & Arboretum (2022), Galway Tourism (2025), Milwaukee County Wisconsin Genealogy (2017), Monastic Ireland (2014a), Monastic Ireland (2014b), Monastic Ireland (2014c), Monastic Ireland (2014d), Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland (2025a), Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland (2025b), Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland (2025c), Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland (2025d), Pilgrims Rest Cemetery (2024), Pinelawn Memorial Park (2023), Roundabout Shannon (2022), St. Canice's Cathedral (2023), St. Nicholas Collegiate Church (2024), The Ring of Kerry (2025), Visit Lorrha Dorrha (2025).

Materiality, Symbols and Headstones Studies

This thesis project is grounded in the field of cemetery studies and materiality. Materiality examines how the analysis of material culture provides insight into people's beliefs and actions (Bell 2023:16). It is necessary to incorporate culture into studies of material objects since that is the environment in which they were created (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:510). Culture has been defined as "learned ways of thinking evaluating, assuming" (Bell 2023:16). Having a learned way of thinking will guide people's actions and decisions, specifically in regards to material things such as headstones. Studying material things in relation to culture expands the field of historical archaeology and our understanding of people in the past. The material culture category used to explore how religious identity and ethnic identity were expressed in this thesis project was headstones, a recognized subfield of cemetery studies in historic archaeology (Veit, Baugher, and Scharfenberger 2009; Veit 2024). In terms of headstones, materiality attempts to reveal the motivation behind carving particular symbols or leaving flowers (Bell 2023:17).

Headstones are a conspicuous feature of cemeteries representing well-dated examples of material culture (Mytum and Evans 2002:131). They represent a highly valuable source of information about cultural identity (Mytum 2004:11). Symbols have always been important to humans and are a focus of identity in many cultures, taking on special significance when it comes to death (Collier 2003:731). They are so important in death that they are often included on headstones used to mark the burial location of the deceased. Headstones in historic context include inscriptions recording the deceased's name and age, along with carved, incised or sculpted designs, artwork, and iconography that can denote religious beliefs, social class, occupation, military service, and other aspects of the person's life (Cogan 2013:1). By analyzing these symbols and their significance to people, it is possible to better understand the people that came before us (Donnelly et alia 2020; Saunders 2015). Headstones and their iconography have been studied in many places around the world, often revealing connections between the iconography that is common during a specific time period and what is occurring culturally or socially at that time (Keister 2004:10).

Theory of Symbols

Symbols are used in all cultures as a powerful tool for understanding and expressing complex concepts (Womack 2005:1); however, the meaning of the symbol may differ depending on the way a specific culture imbues it with social, ideological and other signifiers (Womack 2005:5). The archaeological definition of style includes two principles: 1) style as a way of doing something and 2) style as a choice (Hegmon 1992:517-518). While these two principles are part of an overarching definition of style, there are still many different theories that explain different facets of style. One theory discusses the iconological approach which states that style has as its

“primary function the symbolic expression of social information” (Hegmon 1992:522). Being able to express social information helps build and expand social groups and relationships, for example, in the context of historic cemeteries having similar symbols on the headstones allows people to feel connected to others whether in relation to religious groups or occupational groups.

Style is used as a means of communication in cultural systems (Hegmon 1992:519). However, what is being communicated can vary depending on the visibility of the style. While it is the material itself that indicates a boundary, the scope of that boundary is determined by the visibility of the material, with privately visible material being used to convey information about belief systems and highly visible material indicating group or ethnic boundaries (Hegmon 1992:521). Highly visible material often indicates group or ethnic boundaries because it allows a greater number of people to identify variations between groups or ethnic groups (Hegmon 1992:521). Hegmon (1992) and Wiessner (1983) discuss two types of style, emblematic and assertive. Emblematic style conveys information about groups and boundaries whereas assertive style conveys information about ideas such as individual identity and expression (Hegmon 1992:523; Wiessner 1983:257-258). Both of these styles are important and convey different information. Understanding how and why people use symbols and what they mean can help in analyzing headstone iconography because it can provide information on the deceased, such as cultural group, religion, or occupation. By using theories connected to symbols, archaeologists can better study the symbols on headstones and learn more about the people whose graves they commemorate.

There are many emotions surrounding death; sadness, relief, grief, loneliness, anger, love,

and even some joy. These emotions can be seen in mortuary displays. While scientists can't physically recreate the emotions felt by the living at a burial, it can be inferred to some extent from the mortuary behaviors reflected in the material culture associated with the grave. These behaviors themselves can also cause an emotive response from the living engaging in these mortuary behaviors during the funerary process (Williams 2007:109).

Death is a complex process for everyone involved. A mortuary display is not a static event that never changes (Williams 2007:120; Cook 2011:189). In fact, a major reason to have burial markers or resting places is for loved ones to come visit and feel connected to the deceased. People will continue to interact with the burial marker which will naturally change its meaning depending on the person visiting (Cook 2011:191; Strangstad 2013:27). The burial marker might also be physically changed by adding other names and dates to it (Cook 2011:191). Burial markers may have names added to them when the next person in the family dies, which could be a spouse, child, or parent. Burial markers may also be changed depending on environmental impacts on the cemetery over time. Weathering could deteriorate the burial marker until the inscription is unreadable or even until the marker itself is gone. Air pollution can increase the effects of weathering, leading to a greater degree of weathering in urban areas as opposed to rural areas (Schreiber and Meierding 1999:185-186). Trees could grow until roots destroy burial markers or until the trees themselves fall over and destroy markers (Cook 2011:192; Strangstad 2013:69). Markers may be removed and bodies exhumed to make room for new burials. It is also possible that the cemetery is shut down and destroyed to be repurposed (Kelly 2023:728). All of this means that just because something is written in stone does not mean it is permanent.

The study of headstones, as a subfield of mortuary study, developed relatively recently within historic archaeology. The Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) study is important in the field of historic cemetery studies because it is an early look at tracking the changes seen in cemeteries. Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966:502) argue that changes in headstones reveal changes in the society that created them (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:502). The study discusses the change in headstone designs in the 17th and 18th centuries in Massachusetts and how this affected the analysis. The study analyzed three universal designs, a death's head, a cherub, and an urn and willow, from three cemeteries, Cambridge, Concord, and Plymouth (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:505). The shift from death's head, to cherubs, then to urn and willow design is seen in all the cemeteries within the study and is determined to be a consistent trend (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:504-505). The Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) study relates to this thesis project because it sets a foundation of the importance of studying headstone iconography in cemeteries. It states that it is possible to derive information about the deceased and their culture from the headstone iconography, which is precisely what this thesis project is exploring. Also, the Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966:505) study used battleship graphs to clearly display changing trends of various iconography and their frequency, which is also replicated in this thesis project. The difference between the Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) study and this thesis project, is that Deetz and Dethlefsen compared multiple cemeteries within the same region (Massachusetts), whereas this thesis study is comparing cemeteries from Milwaukee to cemeteries in Ireland. Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966) also delve into stylistic changes in the iconography present in their study, while this thesis project does not analyze the stylistic differences in the iconography present as it would be suitable for a future research topic.

As the study of historical cemeteries has grown, so have the methods developed to study them. Research exploring mortuary art has only recently gained more attention (Veit et alia 2009:2). Mortuary art is a broad term that encompasses art surrounding death. Headstone iconography is an important and well-studied type of mortuary art. Research has demonstrated that headstone iconography can reflect social aspects of cultural identity (Mytum 2009; Stone 2009) and track changes in consumption patterns, such as rising consumerism (Veit 2009). The Stone (2009) study analyzed headstones in Long Island, New York to track the differences between cultural groups. While there are some similarities due to proximity, there are clear differences in language, orientation, and design on the headstones due to the different culture groups (Stone 2009:156). This gave precedence to being able to determine different cultures or a change in culture through headstones in cemeteries, which is used in this thesis project. Stone (2009) specifically studied foreign culture groups in America, like Dutch and English, which corresponds to this thesis project where the Irish culture group is studied in America.

The Veit (2009) study analyzed how growing consumerism in New Jersey affected the designs on headstones in comparison to religious designs. Veit (2009) determined that monograms on headstones became more popular than other more commonly seen motifs like willow trees, along with a higher number of grave markers due to the consumer revolution and excluded religious influence (Veit 2009:137-138). While monograms are not an aspect of this thesis project, understanding why both the motifs on headstones, and the number of headstones change due to the consumer revolution could assist in analyzing and interpreting the symbols that are present in this thesis project.

Mytum (2009) analyzed the difference between headstones of Protestants versus Catholics in West Ulster, Ireland. Since the headstones were in the same area, it was easier to see the changes in design over time that correlated with religious affiliation. Although there was some appropriation of Protestant symbols by the Catholics, according to Mytum (2009) some symbols were exclusively Catholic in nature (Mytum 2009:178-179). For example IHS, Crucifixion images and the Passion of Jesus Christ were widely understood as symbols of Catholic affiliation (Mytum 2009:163-164).

Throughout the years, the study of historical cemeteries has changed and evolved. While analyzing mortuary art, and by extension headstones iconography, is still very relevant, Bell (2023) focuses more on materiality and culture. She states that while people are part of a community and that community influences their choices in headstone creation and design, they are also individuals within that community making choices in an effort to distinguish themselves from the group (Bell 2023:16). This focus on how materiality can expose culture will be important for historical cemetery studies moving forward. This focus on materiality and culture is especially important for this thesis project because it examines the changes in culture and how the changes can be viewed through materiality, or headstones. Bell's (2023) assertion that headstones are influenced by their culture creates a foundation for the accuracy of this thesis project in terms of confirming that it is possible to interpret a change in headstones as a change in culture.

Case Studies

Several headstone studies both in Ireland and in the United States during the Irish Diaspora have demonstrated the utility of this category of material culture in enhancing our understanding of changing cultural trends, cultural and ethnic identity, and the importance of combining the textual and material records in historic cemetery studies. There is an overall trend in how headstones in cemeteries change throughout the centuries, particularly in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries (Mytum and Evans 2002; Mytum 2004; Mytum 2006). Cultural and ethnic identity are strong forces that are reflected in headstone iconography (Donnelly et alia 2020; Saunders 2015). The importance of creating and retaining records and documentation is illustrated in the Kelly (2023) study where headstones and burials were lost.

Irish Headstone Studies

The following case studies examine mortuary research within Irish cemeteries. Additionally included are studies completed in other locations where the methodology or theoretical approach was relevant to the Irish sample. These relevantly related case studies provide a solid basis to understand and analyze the Ireland headstone data acquired for this thesis project. Historic cemetery studies in Ireland have shifted over the years like many scientific studies. Earlier cemetery studies analyze the people buried in the cemeteries by researching their personal histories and their connections to others (O'Duffy 1915; Fitzpatrick 1900). The focus is more on creating and maintaining cemetery records to reinforce the community of an area. More recent cemetery studies have shifted to analyzing cemeteries and the people buried there through more scientific means. For instance, the use of radiocarbon

dating, and studying DNA and stable isotopes to determine who the individuals buried are, along with information about their life is becoming more common (Tobin and Coughlan 2021; Beaumont and Montgomery 2016). The shift to more scientific study is due to the advancements in technology which allow archaeologists a more in-depth analysis. The goal of historic cemetery studies has always been the same, to learn more about past people and their lives through the study of cemeteries.

Killeevan:

Mytum and Evans (2002) analyzed the Irish graveyard of Killeevan in Co. Monaghan to study the evolution of the graveyard during the 18th century. Killeevan was chosen because it has some of the earliest permanent grave markers in Ireland and was only used for a relatively short period of time. It has more 18th century grave markers than other cemeteries that continued to be used, causing older grave markers to be destroyed to make way for new ones (Mytum and Evans 2002:133; Mulligan et alia 1982:119). Mytum and Evans' study investigated four different kinds of markers: ledgers, wheeled cross, slab headstone, and rough, uninscribed headstones. They examined how the types of markers and their locations changed over time. Some of the headstone forms are found throughout the time frame of the study; however, there is some fluctuation with regard to which ones occur more often at various times. The wheeled cross appears more frequently during the early period of the cemetery with slab headstones appearing more frequently in the later period of the cemetery. Ledgers are found throughout as well as rough markers; however, rough markers do not appear often in the study (Mytum and Evans 2002:137). According to the readable dates on the headstones the older markers are on the west and south side of the graveyard, locations that were deemed more

desirable. Then when those areas were full, people moved to the east and then the north sides (Mytum and Evans 2002:140). According to Mytum and Evans (2002), identifying this pattern provided a way to determine rough dates for the markers without readable dates. If an unreadable marker was found on the west side of the graveyard, it presumably was older than the markers on the east or north sides, given that people moved to the less desirable areas only after this part of the cemetery was fully occupied (Mytum and Evans 2002:142). Mytum and Evans conclude that the identification of horizontal stratigraphy at the cemetery at Killeevan could be used to understand and study other cemeteries.

The Mytum and Evans (2002) study is relevant to the thesis project because it investigated a cemetery in the same region and time frame as the thesis project. The study also analyzed similar headstone placement in which the headstones are on the ground or, to use the Mytum and Evans designation, in the form of ledgers. They identified a change in the form of headstones throughout the years (Mytum and Evans 2002:137) and although the time frame of their study was shorter than that of this thesis project, a change in frequency from one headstone form to another was visible. The change in design of the headstone and the choice of inscribed symbols is found throughout the graveyard. This change helps understand the culture group that erected the headstones and what was important to them by understanding the universal patterns in the cemetery. As seen in the study, the south and west sides of the cemetery were desirable to the culture group that inhabited the cemetery, and this allows for further study of why the specific sides are so important to the culture group.

External Commemoration in Britain, Ireland, and New England:

Mytum (2006) used grave markers from Britain, Ireland, and New England to analyze changes in complexity and style over time. He specifically examined external memorials, which are grave markers that are located outside the walls of the church. This excluded grave markers inside the church on the walls or floors of the building. Headstones as we know them now were not always common. Small, simple headstones dominated during the 16th and 17th centuries. These generally only had the deceased's initials and death year (Mytum 2006:97). More headstones appear in the early 18th century, and their shapes and styles started to match the more intricate wall memorials (Mytum 2006:97; Tarlow 1998:36). The study ended in the middle of the 18th century because the increase in headstones and their intricacy of design was evident. The increase in headstones and the change in style in the 18th century had multiple possible explanations. First could be the fact that due to economic growth, wealth was more evenly distributed, and the common people could afford external memorials. There was also a rise in consumption in the 18th and 19th century. Material things were becoming more popular and physical status symbols became common. According to Mytum (2006) people carried this desire to show off into cemeteries (Mytum 2006:103). This desire is also called conspicuous consumption and is discussed in Brewer and Porter's book *Consumption and the World of Goods* (Brewer and Porter 1993). The second is that stone masons improved their techniques, which made it possible for them to create more elaborate and intricate shapes and designs. Another reason is that literacy rates rose, which made it possible for more of the public to be able to read and understand the inscriptions on headstones (Mytum 2006:106). While all of these reasons likely played a role in the increase in headstone numbers and styles, according to

Mytum (2006) it is not possible to single out any of them. However, this trend is found in Britain, Ireland, and New England so it clearly represents changes that occurred on a larger scale (Mytum 2006:101).

The Mytum (2006) study is relevant to this thesis project because it discusses how and why headstones change in shape and style, which are two of the aspects of headstones that are the focus of this thesis project. Mytum (2006) argues that grave markers were moved outside the church because more members of the general public were able to afford burials and space in the church was running out. At this time, most people were already being buried outside the church in the cemetery, however, they did not have permanent grave markers (Mytum 2006:96). This study also revealed changing trends in design throughout space and time. In this case, the trend extends across multiple countries and shows how symbols can connect cultures.

18th Century Balrothery, Co. Dublin:

Mytum (2004) studied headstones from Balrothery, Co. Dublin and analyzed how they changed over time. Balrothery and Skerries were the two most popular sites for permanent external commemoration, so these were more closely studied. This study focused on the 18th century as this was when external headstone commemoration became popular in Ireland (Mytum 2004:3; Tarlow 1998:36). Rubbings were taken of the headstones to decipher the inscriptions and designs present, which included the IHS, the lozenge, the heart, and the scrolls (Mytum 2004:10-12). The inscriptions included Latin texts and decorated letters (Mytum 2004:13). The headstones evolved from smaller headstones with clear writing to larger

headstones that were more ornate (Mytum 2004:3). Headstones in the 18th century were quite detailed and many included multiple designs.

This study was relevant for this thesis project because the regional focus and the designs were similar. Mytum (2004) established a baseline for this study of what headstone designs were popular in Ireland during the 18th century. There was a change in headstone production during this time which would have affected the headstones in the Ireland sample of the thesis project as well. Mytum (2004) states that in the 18th century the designs on headstones became more ornate, which is within the time frame of the Ireland data set (Mytum 2004:23). This study also discussed changing trends in iconography but by analyzing one area in a limited time frame, it was possible to see how quickly styles could change and how that might allow us to learn more about the people that used the cemetery.

Diaspora Headstone Studies

The following case studies explore mortuary study of diaspora cultures. Diaspora cultures are cultures that have spread away from their original homeland. The analysis of the mortuary practices and specifically the iconography on headstones of diaspora cultures can reveal the influences of their heritage and environmental factors in the area in which they immigrated. This is relevant since this thesis reviews the headstones of the diaspora culture of Irish born immigrants who died in Milwaukee.

19th Century Massachusetts:

Donnelly et alia (2020) analyzed headstone designs to identify the cultural identity of Irish immigrants in Lowell, Massachusetts in the 19th century because there was limited historical source material for this population in the existing records (Donnelly et alia 2020:324). The authors specifically focused on St. Patrick's cemetery, which was established in 1832 (Donnelly et alia 2020:318). The study provides a brief overview of the history of Irish immigrants coming to Lowell, Massachusetts and the backlash they faced there. The main goal of the study was to analyze the headstones from St. Patrick's cemetery and compare them to other, non-Irish headstones in the area. The early Irish immigrant headstones started with the same motifs as the non-Irish, or Yankee, inhabitants of Lowell, a willow tree and an urn (Donnelly et alia 2020:327). However, very quickly in this cemetery the motifs of the Latin cross and IHS were added to the willow tree and urn by the Irish immigrants buried there (Donnelly et alia 2020:327). These are both considered very Catholic motifs in strong contrast to the traditional Yankee style. Neither Catholics nor Irish immigrants were looked upon favorably in the United States at this time (Donnelly et alia 2020:319). Over time the Yankee motifs of the willow and urn disappeared, and headstones were decorated with the Latin cross and IHS. Then another Irish motif was added, the shamrock (Donnelly et alia 2020:327-328). This is significant because rather than religious affiliation this symbol communicated ethnic identity, in this case the Irish origins of the individual.

The Donnelly et alia (2020) study is relevant because of its similarities to this thesis project. The two projects share a culture group (Irish immigrants) and a time frame (19th century), along with similar motifs such as the Latin cross and IHS. The Donnelly et alia (2020) study demonstrates that Irish immigrants assimilated with American traditions while still

retaining some of the images that connected them to their Irish heritage, even when that might cause trouble for them in their new home. This shows just how important communal identity was to individual identity and needs to be understood and taken into account when studying the lives and deaths of immigrants in the United States and elsewhere.

Orange Vale Plantation:

Saunders (2015) studied the 19th century Orange Vale plantation cemetery in Jamaica to better understand the African slaves' burial rituals. This study demonstrated that African slaves carried on some traditions from Africa but also incorporated some new Christian traditions upon arriving in the United States. Prior to the late 18th century, most burials were close to the house of the deceased individual's family. However, after the late 18th century plantation owners began creating formalized burial sites such as cemeteries for their slaves, part of a European trend of separating their slaves from the rest of the plantation (Saunders 2015:150). The adoption of a formalized burial site led to more permanent grave markers. Some important details of the slaves' burial rituals are the orientation of the burial, the markers themselves, and the plants associated with them. The burials face east to west so that the deceased faced the rising sun (Saunders 2015:153). The markers themselves tend to be stone to mark the head and foot of the deceased. There are also other stones that are used to cover the whole burial, however, these tend to be uncut stones, whereas the head and foot stones tend to be flatter, smoother stones (Saunders 2015:153). Grave plants were important to the African slaves in order to mark the graves and to keep spirits from coming back. They used specific plants for

specific reasons. For example, a variety of a Dieffenbachia plant was common at burials, possibly because it is extremely poisonous and was used as a sign of death. Other plants that are not poisonous were used to dispel and ward away spirits. They were placed on burials to keep the spirits in the grave and stop them from coming back (Saunders 2015:156-157). The African slaves also had many rituals associated with death, including depositing food and drink, which can be seen in the remains of bottles and pots on the burials. These rituals were often carried out at night, in opposition to the practices and beliefs of Christian colonialists (Saunders 2015:164). Even with the limited autonomy in the rest of their lives, slaves made the funerary rites and rituals personal and used them as a way to build community.

The Saunders (2015) study is relevant to this thesis project because it shows how a strong connection heritage, even when the local rituals differ, can be reflected in mortuary contexts. Interestingly, some Christian aspects were incorporated into the African slaves' rituals. For instance, Bible readings were included in the death rituals and later slaves started to believe that the deceased's soul went to heaven instead of back to Africa, as the earlier slaves had believed (Saunders 2015:164). The Saunders (2015) study shows a mixing and changing of cultural beliefs and rituals that could help reveal the Irish immigrants' cultural response to the immigrant experience in this thesis project. The study shows the connectedness that people feel with their heritage and ancestors. This is important to remember when studying headstones, especially when the deceased are immigrants or slaves. In order to fully understand the impact of the new context on the deceased individuals and the survivors who were responsible for their burials, their past needs to be taken into account.

19th Century, Boston Massachusetts:

Kelly (2023) examined two cemeteries in Boston, Massachusetts and their supposed relocation. The two cemeteries were St. Joseph's a Catholic cemetery connected to St. Joseph's church, and Kearsarge-Warren Avenue cemetery which was a Protestant cemetery established by the First Religious Society of Roxbury (Kelly 2023:727-733). The St. Joseph's cemetery was assumed to have been relocated in order to make room for church expansion and new buildings. Although there was no record of a relocation, parishioners assumed the cemetery had been relocated in 1884 since that was the last year that the cemetery appeared on city maps. As it turned out, although the cemetery was no longer used after that date, almost all the previously interred individuals were still there for a total of more than 1,000 individuals (Kelly 2023:728-737). This was discovered when a cultural resource management plan was put in place due to the plans to build a new charter school on the land (Kelly 2023:728).

Kearsarge cemetery was recorded to have been relocated in 1890, to make a new playground for the Roxbury Latin School (Kelly 2023:734). The headstones were all removed, and some were relocated, either to Mount Hope or Forest Hills Cemetery. However, most of the individuals were not relocated as was discovered when human remains were found during construction of a new public school where the playground, that was later turned into a parking lot was located (Kelly 2023:728). Since the Roxbury Latin School took over control of the cemetery, the city didn't follow up on the relocation efforts. According to Kelly (2023), the Roxbury community did not respond well to the idea of moving cemeteries and subsequently, the bodies of the deceased. They felt that the deceased should not be disturbed, especially if the main reason for the relocation was so that the government could sell the land, which was a

common reason cited in this study (Kelly 2023:732). This is what possibly inhibited the Roxbury Latin School from relocating most of the cemetery since they needed to get permission from the families of the deceased to relocate the individuals. Ultimately the Roxbury Latin School simply filled in the cemetery and forgot about it. Many people, including the city government, took an “out of sight, out of mind” approach to closed cemeteries and the deceased (Kelly 2023:731-732).

This study shows the mentality that many people have when it comes to death and its physical reminders. If a cemetery does not directly affect them then they don't care what happens to it. This is a contributing factor in the incompleteness of cemetery records as well, which are rarely comprehensive. In this thesis project, there are a number of burials without markers, and this study suggests a possible reason. It is possible that headstones were removed for construction or something similar but never recorded. The Kelly (2023) study also shows why it is so important to keep accurate records of cemeteries and burials because within a few generations the information will be forgotten and the headstones possibly destroyed. Since physical documentation is often limited or nonexistent, scholars rely on oral history and community memory for information on cemeteries. This study shows how easy it is for community memory to be faulty and helps explain why there is so little information in regard to older or abandoned cemeteries and the individuals buried there. The study shows the importance of keeping detailed records and documentation in order to preserve information about the lives and deaths of the individuals buried in cemeteries that are no longer in use.

Historic Context for the Study Period

The following narrative provides the historical context of the study period chosen for this thesis project, providing a broad overview of key historic events in Ireland from circa 1730 to 1970 and Milwaukee from 1840 to 1970.

Ireland 1730 to 1970

The following is a broad overview of key historic events in Ireland from circa 1730 to 1970. Periods of mass emigration and famine are noted, as are changing societal perspectives regarding religious tolerance. These historic events are relevant to contextualizing changes in headstone design over time.

There were two recognized waves of mass immigration from Ireland to the United States that largely relate to political and economic conditions in Ireland. The first large scale immigration from Ireland to the United States started in about 1718 and continued until approximately 1755 (Dickson 1966:21; Griffin 1901:99). Immigration from Ireland to the United States slowed after 1755, possibly due to the French and Indian War and then the Revolutionary War in the United States (Griffin 1901:99). People were hesitant to immigrate into a war zone and in fact were often fleeing such situations in their homelands. The second large scale immigration from Ireland to the United States occurred in the mid-1800's. This was largely due to the Great Potato Famine (Brighton 2008:132).

1718 to 1755 Emigration

During the first wave of immigration most of the immigrants were Presbyterians who left Ireland due to the English administration's restrictions on the linen manufacturing industry. This

was the main industry of Protestants for Northern Ireland and therefore their main source of income (Dickson 1966:8; Griffin 1901:99). Catholics typically did not immigrate to the United States during this time given their close ties to their parishes and connections to their ancestors (Griffin 1901:99). This is an example of how important their faith was to these Irish Catholics. From 1695 to 1793 in Ireland, laws were passed by the Crown that restricted the rights of Catholics under English Protestant rule (Mytum 2009:165; Whelan 2005:48). Restrictions such as these would seem like an ideal time to leave and emigrate elsewhere but Catholics in Ireland were still reluctant to leave their small but tight knit church communities (Whelan 2005:48). For the Irish that did emigrate, the United States was enticing because it boasted cheap land, especially in South Carolina and Georgia (Dolan 2010:8)

1755 to 1793 Catholic Oppression

From 1755 to 1790, there was not much change from earlier times. Catholics still had legal restrictions placed upon them, known as the Penal Laws (Mytum 2009:165). Britain still had control of Ireland, and the Irish were not happy about it. Then came the American Revolutionary War. Americans winning their freedom from Britain was a turning point in how many countries saw Britain. It was no longer this overwhelming force that had total control. If a small territory could demand rights like free trade, why couldn't Ireland? America's independence influenced Ireland and many of the Catholics there to demand legislative independence (Small 2003:48). This led to new freedoms like the Hobart Relief Act in 1793.

Starting in 1793 with the Hobart Relief Act, Catholics slowly started to get some of their rights back, including the right to bear arms and vote (Whelan 2005:48). This was the start of

Catholics regaining independence and autonomy in Ireland, which eventually led to a Catholic majority in Ireland that still persists today (Whelan 2005:198). The Catholic majority in Ireland is reflected in more intricate and explicitly Catholic designs on headstones beginning at this time, since they were no longer being prosecuted and condemned for their religion.

Irish Emigration circa 1845 to 1854

A second wave of Irish immigration occurred in the mid-1800s. A primary reason that many Irish emigrated to the United States at that time was the Great Potato Famine that occurred in Ireland from about 1845-1850 (Brighton 2008:132). The Famine killed over one million people and resulted in two million Irish immigrating to the United States (Parks 2014:34; McCaffrey 2004:2). During this time, many of the people in Ireland were Catholic, due to many Presbyterians having previously immigrated to the United States from about 1718 to 1755 (Griffin 1901:99). In the early 1800s, before the Famine hit its peak, there were already some food shortages, and some Irish immigrated to the United States in the 1820s. The Irish who immigrated to the United States during the Great Potato Famine faced more intensive discrimination from the resident Americans as compared to earlier and later periods. In general, the immigrants who came over prior to the peak of the Famine were less discriminated against and more easily accepted into American society as they had more money and were not seen as expecting handouts from the state (Brighton 2008:134). The wave of immigrants that came to the United States due to the Great Famine were poor and Catholic, a combination that made them dependent on various forms of state-based relief at least initially (Brighton 2008:133). They were not only trying to escape poverty in Ireland but with the expense of emigrating, most Irish immigrants ended up in the United States even more impoverished than most such

refugees and this was part of the reason for the discrimination they faced (McCaffrey 2004:2). Due to the nature of the Famine, when it hit its peak during 1845-1850, many people left rural towns and moved to cities in Ireland. The cities could not accommodate the influx of people, so many of these migrants immigrated to the United States where they hoped they could have a better life (Brighton 2008:134). Unfortunately, this was not necessarily the case.

The general distrust of and discrimination against Irish Immigrants in the United States are related to these factors (McCaffrey 2004:3). As the Irish were mostly poor and Catholic, Americans did not welcome them as quickly as they accepted other cultural groups (Brighton 2008:134). Since many of the immigrants were originally farmers, they tended to be illiterate and lacking in the skills other immigrants from urban areas in Europe had, which was a problem as they moved into large American cities. Due to their lack of education and lack of money, they were seen by Americans as a strain on the nation's finances and the American way of life (Brighton 2008:135). They were also strongly Catholic, which at the time was seen as problematic because of the belief that Catholics were more loyal to Rome and the Pope than they were to their home country. In general, Americans were worried that if Catholics became too powerful, they would side with Rome, which could potentially drag the United States into some of Rome's disputes with other countries (Brighton 2008:134). Americans were also worried that Irish immigrants' loyalty to Ireland would pull them into a war with England (Parks 2014:35; Miller 1980:99).

American discrimination against Irish immigrants was evident in different ways, including derogatory images on posters and in newspapers showing them as lazy, dirty drunks, discriminatory job postings, and lack of access to medicine (Parks 2014:35; Brighton 2008:136).

Due to the unclean conditions of overseas travel along with the overpacked housing areas that many immigrants lived in, there were multiple epidemics in Irish communities that lead many to seek medical treatment (Brighton 2008:140). However, the disease outbreaks reinforced Americans' distaste for the Irish immigrants and gave them reason to believe that the Irish were inferior to themselves (Brighton 2008:137). While there is evidence, in the form of prescription bottles, that when Irish immigrants first arrived in the United States they would go to a doctor when they were feeling sick and get prescription medicine, this quickly changed (Brighton 2008:143). Irish immigrants were given more over the counter medicine instead of doctor prescribed medicine than other culture groups due to the discrimination against them (Brighton 2008:143). This is a manifestation of the alienation that Irish immigrants faced.

To address the discrimination against the Irish, especially in the medical field, the Catholic church created solutions by building their own hospitals in America. "By 1890 more than 154 hospitals were run by Catholic orders in the United States" (Brighton 2008:146). The Church trained doctors and nurses so that the Catholic immigrants could receive adequate healthcare (Brighton 2008:137). This was just one way that the Catholic church created an American community for many of the immigrants. By creating a welcoming place where immigrants could go, feel accepted, and remember their homeland, the Catholic church ensured the immigrants would be faithful parishioners, creating a religious renewal (Brighton 2008:146).

In Ireland, due to the Great Potato famine there was also a resurgence of Irish nationalism, with a heavy reliance on the Catholic Church for poor relief. Prior to the Famine in the 1700s and early 1800's, there was unrest between Great Britain and Ireland with regard to who had control over Ireland and which religion was the dominant one. At the time, Great

Britain was a largely Protestant country and did not look kindly on Catholics (Whelan 2005:40). This, in part, led to a Catholic rebellion in 1641 where Catholics tried to seize control of the English administration in Ireland (Whelan 2005:40). The rebellion was unsuccessful and led to Protestant leaders passing laws that limited Catholic rights, such as the right to vote or bear arms. The Banishment Act of 1697 banished all Catholic clergymen from Ireland in an attempt to purge the Catholic religion there (Mytum 2009:165). While many of these restrictions were eventually removed, the actions resulted in a significant rift between the English and the Irish in England as well as Ireland, specifically between Protestants and Catholics. Since being Protestant was associated with England, being Irish became associated with being Catholic, so references to Irish nationalism and Irish pride often referenced Catholic pride as well. When the restrictions against Catholics were lifted in Ireland in 1793, the Catholic community grew quickly, becoming quite powerful (Ward 2003:18). Due to this growth in population on the part of the Catholic community, in the mid-1800s many of the Irish who immigrated to the United States were Catholic, because at this time much of the country itself was Catholic. In addition, after a great tragedy people would want to seek solace and community, which is why following the devastation of the Great Potato Famine, there was a surge in Irish nationalism and in conjunction a religious renewal of Catholicism in the late 1800s (Ward 2003:18). There was also more land available for the remaining Irish, and National schools started teaching children to read and write (McCaffrey 2004:2). These initiatives resulted in a more literate society as compared to previous generations, including the population that immigrated to America. The feeling of Irish pride is evident in Dunleavy and Dunleavy's (1991) account of Douglas Hyde leaving Ireland for a lecture circuit in America. In 1905 Douglas Hyde left Ireland for a trip to the

United States with a lavish farewell party that included a procession to see him off and support him as an Irish delegate (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:253-254). Douglas Hyde traveled across America, informing Irish Americans about the Gaelic League and their goals and ambitions to keep the Irish language and culture alive and thriving. He was hoping to garner both support and funds in order to keep the Gaelic League functioning (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:254-255). Once Douglas Hyde arrived in America, he was greeted warmly with many supporters attending his lectures and events. He lectured in Milwaukee, WI in January 1906 and met with a leader of the Third Ward, Jeremiah Quinn (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:259,262). These are just a few examples of how Irish national pride was exhibited historically during this time in Ireland. Other ways that Irish national pride could be exhibited were through symbols such as the harp or the Celtic cross which serve to identify an Irish nationalist (Cashman 2008:372).

Both the United States and Ireland saw a surge in Catholic pride shortly after the Great Potato Famine. However, it was for very different reasons. In Ireland, it was due to people coming together as a community after a terribly tragedy and celebrating that they had survived and were beginning to thrive with more land and better education. In America, it was banding together against an oppressive and threatening external force (Miller 1980:99). In both societies the Irish were looking for a sense of community and security and they found it in the Catholic church (McCaffrey 2004:2). This manifested itself in the United States in different ways. Douglas Hyde's lecture tour, for example was intended to gain support for Ireland from the American people while encouraging Irish immigrants to continue to foster the Irish language and traditions. While in America, Douglas Hyde met with many Irish Americans, and they welcomed him with open arms (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:284). One example of this sense of

community is the story of “the notorious Lenchechaun” (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:273) who fled Ireland after biting off his landlady’s nose and ended up in Indianapolis. He was caught and would have been sent back to Ireland but he gained the sympathy of the Irish Americans in Indianapolis by saying that he was a poor tenant saving himself from a harsh landowner. This resonated with Irish Americans who had to deal with harsh treatments from apartment owners (Dunleavy and Dunleavy 1991:273). This shows how connected Irish community was in the United States and how they bonded together against outside forces.

The previous discussion is largely based on the experiences of Irish immigrants entering the United States via the East Coast in places such as New York and Massachusetts. Many of these early immigrants came through Ellis Island and stayed on the East Coast, at least initially. However, some Irish immigrants who settled in places further west, such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, commonly immigrated to Canada first and then made their way into the United States. Other Irish immigrants arriving in Midwestern states came from the east and the south. It is important to note that not all Irish immigrants left the east coast because of persecution. Some simply shared the desire of many Americans at the time to expand westward toward new and open lands (Desmond 1930:367).

History of Milwaukee (Irish Diaspora in Milwaukee)

The historical events discussed in this thesis project are provided to give context to the time period in which the Irish immigrants lived. The historical events are presented to explore how each event may have shaped the Irish population in Milwaukee as a cultural group, not analyzing the effect on individual immigrants. Consequently, for the purpose of this paper the

people whose headstones are included in the sampling were not researched any further than confirming that they were Irish immigrants who died in Milwaukee and identifying the cemetery in which they were buried. There is no investigation or discussion of each individual immigrant's age, gender, occupation, cause of death, or military service. Comparing iconography on headstones of military members in comparison to civilians would be a future research topic.

Starting in the mid-1830s Milwaukee became one of the key cities that many Americans, including Irish and other immigrants, settled in while moving westward (Hostutler 2009:30; Pula 2014:1). The Irish immigrants played an important role in the shaping of Milwaukee along with the shaping of its Catholic community (Desmond 1930:367-368). Although it was not always easy for the Irish immigrants, it was arguably better in Milwaukee than for Irish immigrants who stayed on the East Coast. This was due to the higher levels of discrimination faced by immigrants on the East Coast, especially of Catholic faith; French Catholics, German Catholics, Polish Catholics and eventually Italian Catholics were all early immigrants into the larger cities in the Midwest while East Coast Catholics were never in the majority (Pula 2014:2).

Solomon Juneau was a French fur trader who came to Milwaukee in 1818, married a Metis woman and had sole control over the region until 1833 when more European settlers came to the area (Desmond 1930:365). The influx of new people provided Solomon Juneau with the impetus to help the area grow. Juneau started Milwaukee's first post office, courthouse, and newspaper (Hostutler 2009:30). He also realized that to have a flourishing city, it was vital to have a religious center to give people a sense of community. In 1837 Juneau reached out to the Bishop of Detroit, the Right Reverend Frederick Rese, regarding an area he had chosen for a formal Catholic Church of Milwaukee. Bishop Rese sent Father Patrick O'Kelley to Milwaukee to

oversee the creation of St. Peter's church in 1837, Milwaukee's first cathedral (Hostutler 2009:30). The reason that Juneau first established a Catholic church may relate to his own background as a staunch Catholic (Desmond 1930:365). The combination of a stronger accepted Catholic presence and an Irish Catholic priest meant early Milwaukee would not have persecuted Catholic immigrants like the Irish in places such as New York or Boston. There was even a St. Patrick's Day celebration as early as 1843 in Milwaukee, with multiple cities joining in the occasion, one of the earliest in the country (Desmond 1930:367).

The stark difference in attitudes towards Irish immigrants in New York compared to Wisconsin is relevant to this study in various ways. The earlier Irish immigrants that were more accepted because of their financial stability moved out west around the 1800s due to the mills in Massachusetts closing down and the American urge to expand westward (Desmond 1930:367). This happened shortly before the mass immigration out of Ireland when the Great Potato Famine began in 1845 (McCaffrey 2004:2). Since the earlier immigrants were already generally accepted, they took this status with them and helped to create a strong Catholic presence in the Midwest. On the East Coast from about the mid-1800s to the early 1900s, Irish Catholics were being discriminated against and did not appear to have as high a status or influence as in Wisconsin and other parts of the Midwest due to discrimination in healthcare and employment (Brighton 2008:142). Even though the immigrants moving out to the Midwest did not appear to be as heavily discriminated against, they knew the value of community and religion, so they created churches that would draw other Irish immigrants to the safety and religious acceptance that characterized the area (Desmond 1930:370). This concept in migration theory is called leapfrogging (Anthony 1990:902) and it is reflected in the numbers: between

1830 and 1920, nearly 4.5 million Irish immigrants settled in the United States (Wisconsin Historical Society 2023a).

Irish immigrants began arriving in Wisconsin around circa 1835, with the Irish population in Wisconsin being the highest around 1860 with approximately 49,961 people (Gurda 1999:66). The Irish were the second biggest immigrant group in Milwaukee, following the Germans (Gurda 1999:66). German immigrants started to arrive in Wisconsin shortly after 1839 and quickly outnumbered the Irish (Gurda 1999:59-60). Most of the Irish in Milwaukee were unskilled laborers, whereas many of the Germans had more education, skills and money when they arrived (Gurda 1999:66). Most of the Irish families in Milwaukee lived in the Third Ward. Due to many drunken brawls, this was nicknamed “the Bloody Third” (Gurda 1999:66). Throughout the later part of the 19th century, several disasters reduced the Irish American community’s numbers by hundreds with a few thousand more being detrimentally affected.

Lady Elgin Disaster (1860)

One significant event was the Lady Elgin disaster. The Lady Elgin was a 300-foot, 1000-ton side wheeler steamer (Clark 1946:407) that set sail from Milwaukee on September 6, 1860, and was heading to the Democratic Douglas rally on September 7th. On its way back to Milwaukee, in the evening of September 7th, it was hit by the schooner Augusta (Gurda 1999:95). It was storming quite violently and when the schooner offered help to the Lady Elgin, they claimed they did not receive a response, and so they continued on their way. The captain and crew of the Lady Elgin attempted to repair the hole in the side of the ship to prevent it from sinking but were unsuccessful. The crew then began taking off doors and rails to create

wreckage for the passengers to hang on to as the ship sank. There were around 400 passengers on the ship and most of them drowned when the engine and hull initially sunk, creating a vacuum to the bottom (Clark 1946:408-410; Gurda 1999:95). Some of the passengers were fortunate and were able to hang on to wreckage or use parts of the floor that had broken off into larger chunks as rafts. The passengers who did not initially drown had to brave the storm until morning when people on the shore could see that they were in trouble. Unfortunately, the undertow and the breakers were too dangerous for the people on the shore to be able to assist the survivors. This led to many “survivors” drowning almost within reach of the shore. There were some brave people who risked their lives and were able to save some of the passengers. Out of the 400 passengers, about one fourth were saved (Clark 1946:408-410). Over the following few days, bodies of the deceased were found washed ashore from Winnetka to Rogers Park (Clark 1946:410,412). There were memorial services held for the lost passengers and crew at the Catholic Cathedral in Milwaukee and St. James’ Episcopal Church and Trinity Church in Chicago (Clark 1946:413). The sinking of the Lady Elgin affected the Irish community in Milwaukee heavily because many of the passengers aboard were prominent members of the Irish Third Ward community (Clark 1946:408; Wisconsin Historical Society 2023a).

American Civil War (1861)

A major event that took place in the United States during this time frame was the Civil War, which began in April 1861 (Gurda 1999:96; Pula 2014:11). This event is important in American history as well as for Milwaukee history. The Irish across the country were so involved in the Civil War that there was an Irish Brigade as the 69th Regiment of the New York State Militia and was headed by an Irishman named Michael Corcoran (Callaghan 2006:7; Keating

2017:2). It was estimated that 3,612 Irish from Wisconsin fought in the Civil War on the Union side (Callaghan 2006:10). These Irishmen initially joined ethnically mixed regiments from Wisconsin, however in the winter of 1862 the Irish formed their own regiment, the 17th Wisconsin (Keating 2017:68-93). During the Civil War most Northern states produced at least one self-professed “Irish regiment” (Keating 2017:2). This determination and fortitude by the Irish in the United States improved Ireland’s military reputation and reenforced the “Fighting Irish” descriptor (Keating 2017:3).

Third Ward Fire (1892)

Another disaster that affected the Irish population in Milwaukee was the Third Ward Fire. On October 28, 1892, a massive fire started when oil barrel in the Union Oil and Paint Company warehouse exploded, and another fire started in a nearby factory (Peck 1994:32). The fires quickly spread and destroyed 440 buildings, consumed 215 railroad cars, killed four people, and left more than 1,900 people homeless (Wisconsin Historical Society 2023b). Due to the location of the fire, almost all the people affected were Irish. While the area was rebuilt in a timely manner, the five million dollars required to rebuild did not come from the Irish community. The Third Ward became a predominantly Italian community in the aftermath of the fire as a result (Wisconsin Historical Society 2023b). Both disasters decimated the Irish community in Milwaukee, which led to decreased numbers in the Irish population.

World War I (1914-1918)

World War I or the Great War, was a global conflict that resulted in 14,663,000 deaths worldwide (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:3). This conflict originated due to strife between allies of

France and Russia against allies of Austria-Hungary and Germany (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:20; Turner 2014:1). Due to the various alliances between countries, much of Europe was involved once war was declared in 1914 (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:20-21) and ended in 1918 (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:20,405). The United States of America joined World War I in 1917 (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:415). There was some hesitation on the part of the American peoples about joining World War I. For Irish Americans, the hesitation was due to joining forces with the British Empire while Britain still controlled Ireland. It seemed contradictory for the United States to preach about freedom and independence but not do anything about Britain's oppression of Ireland (Noer 1973:95-96).

Irish War of Independence (1919-1921)

As of 1919, Ireland was still under the control of the British government, but the Irish underground movement was growing due to the support of the IRA (Irish Republican Army), which wanted freedom from British rule (Bowden 1973:3). A significant moment in this conflict was Bloody Sunday (November 21, 1920), when IRA gunmen began the assassination of MI5 and SIS specialists (Bowden 1973:3-4). This was a large-scale attack that showed just how much power and support the IRA had as well as how fragile the British control over Ireland was (Bowden 1973:4; Hopkinson 2002:88). The Irish used guerilla warfare against the British, similar to what the American Colonies used to win the Revolutionary war (Bowden 1973:21). Due to the assassination of British agents by IRA leader, Michael Collins, it was clear that the British would not win (Bowden 1973:22).

World War II (1939-1945)

World War II was another global conflict that included many countries split into two allied groups, the Axis and the Allies. It lasted from 1939 to 1945 (Harrison 1998:9) and led to between 41 and 49 million deaths (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:3). Many Irish Americans were involved in World War II, and it provided an avenue for them to advance in society (McCaffrey 1985:88). Prior to World War II, the Irish Americans still were not fully accepted into American society and were typically less educated. Due to the GI bill, many Irish American men were able to go to college, and by 1950 more Irish men were enrolled in college than women (McCaffrey 1985:89).

All these events are relevant to the research questions because they provide a picture of what life was like for the individuals represented by the headstones in Data Set #1 (Irish in Ireland) and Data Set #2 (Irish Immigrants in Milwaukee). Understanding how these events directly affected both groups helps connect them to possible changes in the symbols found on headstones. The key events are listed in Table 2 and summarized here. The restrictions placed on linen manufacturing in Ireland in the 1700's initiated the first wave of immigration from Ireland to the United States from 1718 to 1755. These were mostly Protestants since they had the biggest stock in the linen manufacturing industry (Griffin 1901:99). Next the restrictions placed on Catholics in Ireland in the 1600's were lifted in 1793 due to the Hobart Relief Act (Whelan 2005:48) and following that the Great Potato Famine from 1845 to 1850 led to the second wave of immigration from Ireland to the United States in the mid-1800s. Most of the immigrants were Catholic (Brighton 2008:132). Around this time the American Civil War began (Gurda 1999:96) and several disasters occurred in Wisconsin that directly affected the Irish

immigrants in Milwaukee. The first was the sinking of the Lady Elgin in 1860 and the second was the Third Ward Fire in 1892 (Clark 1946:407; Wisconsin Historical Society 2023a; Wisconsin Historical Society 2023b). Finally, World Wars I and II and the Irish War of Independence (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:3; Bowden 1973:3) further shaped what life looked like for the Irish in Ireland and the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee.

Table 2. Historic events in Ireland and the United States relevant to this study.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Ireland Key Events</u>	<u>American Key Events</u>
1700's	Restrictions placed on linen manufacturing	
1718 to 1755		First wave of Immigrants - Mostly Protestant
1793	Restrictions being lifted against Catholics	
1845 to 1850	Great Potato Famine	Second wave of Immigrants Mostly Catholics
1860		The sinking of the Lady Elgin
1861 to 1865		American Civil War
1892		Third Ward Fire
1914 to 1918	World War I	World War I
1919 to 1921	Irish War of Independence	

1939 to 1945	World War II	World War II
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Chapter 3: Research Methods

This chapter presents the methods for selecting and analyzing headstones in two cemetery samples in Ireland and Milwaukee that were in use for several hundred years. This thesis project re-analyzed a data set collected in Ireland as part of an undergraduate research project (Parker 2020) and compared these data to a sample of Irish American headstones in the City of Milwaukee. The primary goal was to determine whether and how the religious designs on headstones differ between the two study samples. Step 1 focused on the identification of the two groups of Irish populations being compared and the process of identifying these samples. In Step 2 information was provided about how the two data sets were compared and interpreted. Since mortuary studies represent such a broad area of scholarship, there are many different ways to conduct studies of this type. The methods used can vary significantly depending on the research questions. For example, the case studies mentioned earlier analyzed just one cemetery over time and examined all of the headstones rather than obtaining a representational sample (Mytum 2004; Saunders 2015; Donnelly et alia 2020). Other studies like that carried out by Bell (2023) analyzed a few headstones in many cemeteries to compare trends across geographical areas (Bell 2023:24).

Identification of Populations and Sample Size

For this thesis project, two data samples were collected to compare headstone iconography associated with a single ethnic and religious group, Irish Catholics in Ireland and the United States. One sample was taken from cemeteries in Ireland (Figure 1) and another sample was taken from cemeteries in Milwaukee (Figure 2). The data sample from Milwaukee

was derived from Ancestry.com and only includes Irish immigrants who were born in Ireland and died in Milwaukee regardless of birth date or death date. Information about the cemeteries in Ireland and Milwaukee as well as a detailed discussion of how the particular individuals incorporated into the study were chosen and how the data was collected and analyzed is provided below.

Data Set #1: Ireland

The headstones included in the Ireland data set were chosen based on ease of access and time available. Field work was completed in 2019, facilitated through attendance at the Galway Archaeological Field School, hosted by the University of Galway, Ireland. This field school and accompanying courses enabled travel to multiple cemeteries, abbeys, and graveyards throughout Ireland to record the headstones.

At each of the 15 cemeteries in 6 counties (Figure 1), readable headstones were identified and photographed using a Samsung Galaxy S10 camera phone. There was no particular method used in identifying the headstones, they were chosen due to their legibility and noticeability since the time to collect images was limited at each location. Since this study was conducted during a study abroad trip, free time for the research was limited by the locations traveled to and the time spent there, which was determined by the program director. The headstones were chosen based on the visibility of the design and the readability of the

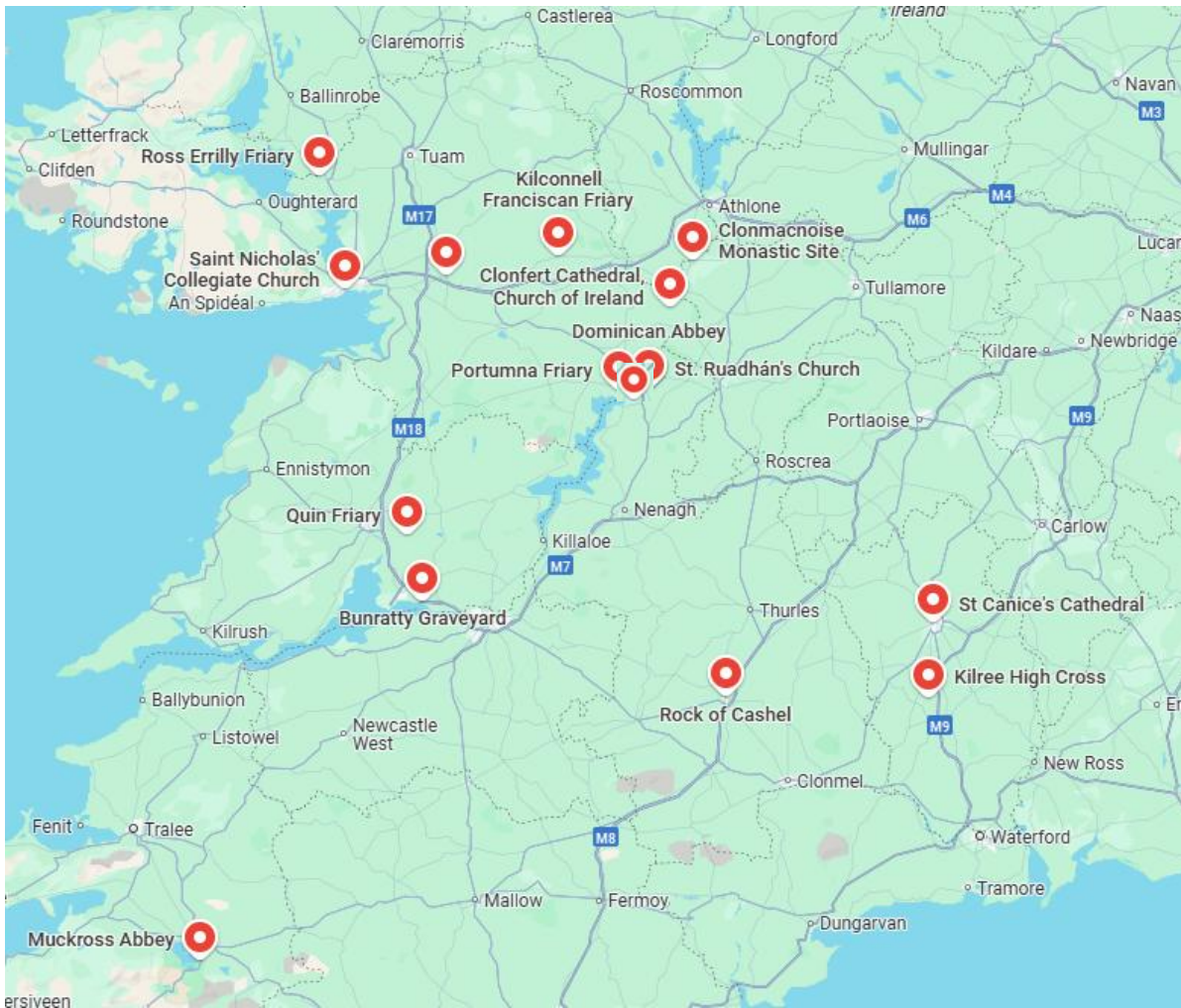


Figure 1. Map of cemeteries in Ireland included in the pilot study.

date (Table 1). The main goal was to identify and record as many different kinds of inscriptions and symbols as possible at each location with the time available.

Cemeteries

The documentary research identified headstones in 15 cemeteries in Ireland: Clonmacnoise, Muckross Abbey, Quin Friary, Portumna Priory, St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, Kilree Monastic Site, Ross Errilly Friary, Kilconnell Friary, Bunratty Graveyard, Rock of Cashel, Cathedral Church of St. Canice & Round Tower, St. Ruadhan's Lorrha, Dominican Abbey, and Clonfert Cathedral. Background information on each cemetery is provided below.

Athenry Dominican Priory

Athenry Dominican Priory, County Galway, was founded in 1241 by Milo de Bermingham. The priory was lost due to the exile of the bishops and clergy in 1698 (Monastic Ireland 2014a). The cemetery is still in use today. 7 headstones were recorded here.

Clonmacnoise

Clonmacnoise, County Offaly, was founded in the 6th century on the banks of the River Shannon. It has over 700 early Christian grave slabs (Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland 2025a). It became a national monument in 1877, and the cemetery is still in use today (Find a Grave 2025a). 1 headstone was recorded here.

Muckross Abbey

Muckross Abbey also known as Killarney Cemetery, County Kerry was founded in the 15th century. It's a Franciscan friary that was closed due to Cromwellian forces in the 1650s (The Ring of Kerry 2025). The cemetery is still in use today. 16 headstones were recorded here.

Quin Friary

Quin Friary, County Clare was founded in 1402 by Sioda Cam MacNamara. The cemetery was in use until 1820. 39 headstones were recorded here (Monastic Ireland 2014c).

Portumna Priory

Portumna Priory, County Galway was established in 1254 as a Cistercian Priory. It was abandoned and replaced in 1426 by a Dominican friary. It was formally closed in 1698, however there was some occupation in the early 18th and 19th century (Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland 2025c). The cemetery was in use until 1810. 1 headstone was recorded here.

St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church

St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, County Galway was established in the 1200's by the Normans. It was dedicated to St. Nicholas in the 1300's. There was significant destruction of the church by the Cromwellian troops in 1653. It is still a working church, and the cemetery is still in use today (St. Nicholas Collegiate Church 2014). 10 headstones were recorded here.

Kilree Monastic Site

Specifics of this site are unknown; it is located in County Kilkenny and is thought to date back to the 6th century. However, it was connected to the Kells Priory in 1340. Now all that remains are

ruins of a church and a round tower (Fergus 2017). The cemetery was in use until 1876. 8 headstones were recorded here.

Ross Errilly Friary

Ross Errilly Friary, County Galway was established in 1460 by the Gannard family. It became a Franciscan friary in the 15th century. The cemetery was in use until 1832 (Monastic Ireland 2014d). 8 headstones were recorded here.

Kilconnell Friary

Kilconnell Friary, County Galway was established in 1353 by William Bui O’Kelly as a Franciscan friary. Kilconnell friary was closed in 1784 but the cemetery is still in use today (Monastic Ireland 2014b). 29 headstones were recorded here.

Bunratty Graveyard

The Parish of Bunratty, County Clare was established in the 1250s by Normans, and the surrounding cemetery is over 800 years old. The cemetery was used by a Protestant community in the 16th century (Roundabout Shannon 2022). The cemetery is still in use today. 12 headstones were recorded here.

Rock of Cashel

Rock of Cashel church, County Tipperary was established in 1101 and became a place of prominence in the country (Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland 2025d). The cemetery is still in use today. 24 headstones were recorded here.

Cathedral Church of St. Canice & Round Tower

St. Canice Cathedral, County Kilkenny has been around since the 6th century. It is still an active church with regular services (St. Canice's Cathedral 2023). The cemetery is still in use today. 8 headstones were recorded here.

St. Ruadhan's Lorrha

St. Ruadhan's church, County Tipperary was built in 1774 and destroyed in 1988. It is considered an "Episcopal" church (Find a Grave 2025c). St. Ruadhan's church was possibly built on the site of a monastery that was established in the 6th century (Oidhreacht Eireann Heritage Ireland 2025b). The cemetery is still in use today. 3 headstones were recorded here.

Dominican Abbey

The Dominican Abbey, County Tipperary, was established in 1269 by Walter De Burgo. It was dedicated to St. Peter and the Dominicans were active for over 500 years (Visit Lorrha Dorrha). The cemetery was in use until 1797. 1 headstone was recorded here.

Clonfert Cathedral

Clonfert Cathedral, County Galway, has been around since the 6th century, founded by St. Brendan. It was burned down three times; in 1016, 1164, and 1179 (Galway Tourism 2025). The cemetery is still in use today. 3 headstones were recorded here.

Upon return to the United States, the photos were analyzed and added to the study if the date was readable. After analyzing the photographs, unreadable headstones were excluded from the study. This resulted in 222 headstones for the Ireland data set. However, for this thesis project, these were reanalyzed, and 52 headstones were excluded based on their early dates.

The original pilot study ranged from 1260 to 1970 in Ireland, however, this thesis project's time frame is from 1730 to 1970. To determine whether or not Irish immigrants brought headstone symbols from Ireland to Milwaukee, earlier samples would need to be analyzed in Ireland since the immigrants would have had to have seen the designs in Ireland before emigrating. The final sample from Ireland included 170 headstones. No research was carried out on the people named on the headstones because the purpose of the pilot study was to examine the designs of headstones in Ireland over a set number of years and assess how the designs changed by creating a seriation of the headstone styles. Each representation or symbol was noted and recorded in a Microsoft Excel workbook to be analyzed and interpreted.

After the field collection, religious iconography on the headstones were easily recognizable because most of these designs were identifiable images like a Latin cross or an urn. However, some were less familiar, and online records were used to identify these, including the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ (Wagner 2022). The Passion of the Christ refers to the execution of Christ on the cross and the instruments depicted are the various objects that were associated with this event, for instance the nails that were inserted into his hands and feet and the ladder used to remove his body (Wagner 2022:249).

Data set #2: Irish Americans in Milwaukee

An initial step in the project involved locating cemeteries in Milwaukee that might include graves of Irish immigrants (Figure 2). Identifying individuals of Irish descent who immigrated to Milwaukee from 1600 to the present was accomplished using the website Ancestry.com which has access to federal census records as well as the website Find a Grave,

which includes the location of over 250 million headstones (Find a Grave 2025d). A program created by software engineer Tim Parker was used to search the Ancestry.com records for people who were born in Ireland and buried in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Ancestry.com contains census records, specifically from 1600 to present, along with a search function that allows a person to narrow the search down by birthplace and death place. However, this search produces many results on many pages, which is not ideal for research. A computer program was written to mimic a web browser in order to retrieve all the data on each page and parse out the relevant data set by the search parameters. The program access Ancestry.com similar to the way a web browser would; however, instead of rendering the data for the viewer, it extracts the necessary information and writes it into a file that can then be accessed in a spreadsheet. Exporting the file into a spreadsheet creates a more manageable source of data to use for analysis. The program generated an initial list of individuals that according to records were born in Ireland and immigrated to Milwaukee, regardless of their birth date or death date. This list was exported to an Excel spreadsheet that listed the individual's name, birth date, death date, a link to their Ancestry.com profile and the cemetery they were buried in. These exported records can be found in Appendix A. Next, individuals were sorted by cemetery, and it was possible to determine the number of headstones to be recorded

in each cemetery as described below.

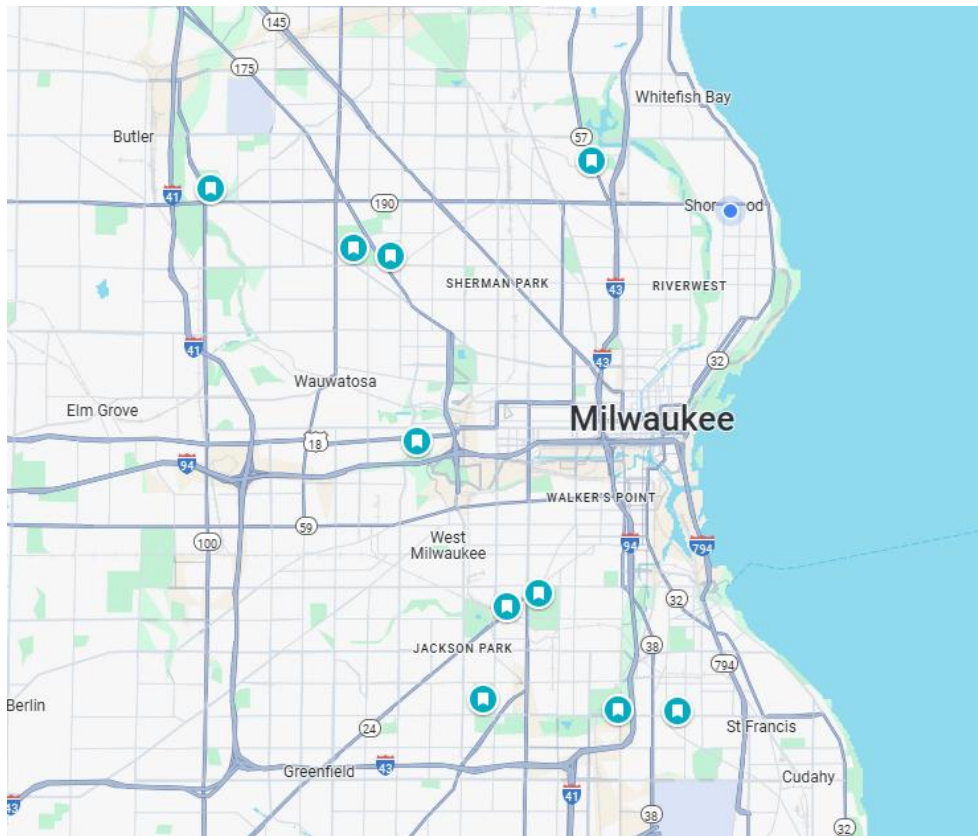


Figure 2. Map of current cemeteries in Milwaukee

Field data collection

For the pilot study in Ireland, 15 cemeteries were studied in 6 counties (Figure 1), and readable headstones were identified and photographed. There was no particular method used in identifying the headstones; they were chosen due to their legibility and noticeability since the time to collect images was limited at each location. The collection method for the Milwaukee headstones was slightly more complicated simply because there was a longer process involved in identifying Irish immigrant headstones to obtain a random sample that would be comparable in terms of size to the Data Set #1 from Ireland. The Data Set #2 sample had a chosen sample

size of 249, which was derived from the initial pool of 1221 Irish immigrants. The process to derive this sample size is described below.

Once the names of people who were born in Ireland and died in Milwaukee were listed in an Excel workbook using the computer program discussed above, the Ancestry.com profiles were examined to confirm the cemeteries in which the people were buried. After eliminating people buried outside the boundaries of the City of Milwaukee, the sample consisted of 1221 names, including 405 names from the Wood Cemetery that were later excluded from the sample because it is a military cemetery with matching uniform headstones and without additional symbolism. The Wood Cemetery graves were all made from white stone with a simple outline of a shield on its face. Within the shield was the deceased's name and occasionally rank and date of birth or death. This cemetery would not have been helpful in addressing the research questions posed by this study and would have skewed the results, so it was not included.

The total number of people from all the headstones identified was 816, after the Wood National Cemetery population was excluded. These 816 Irish immigrants were located in ten cemeteries (Table 3). Due to the size of the total number of Irish immigrants, a proportional sample was required to accurately compare Data Set #2 to Data Set #1.

A determination was made about how many headstones from each cemetery would be included in the study. In order to do this, the total sample size needed to be determined. The pilot study, Data Set #1, originally included 222 headstones so the aim was to analyze 250 headstones in Data Set #2 for a comparable sample size. However, after reanalyzing the data for

this current thesis project and eliminating earlier headstones due to not being in the time frame of this study (1730-1970), the number of headstones actually used in this study were 170. The Excel file included columns for each cemetery as well as the total number of people who matched the criteria and the total sample number. The count of people was then converted to a ratio for proper comparison. This was done in order to create a manageable sample size. While it was an option to use all 816 burials, a proportional sample to represent the total was the best way to answer the research questions. To create the ratio, the total number of people from each cemetery that met the study criteria was divided by the total number of people overall that met the study criteria (816). The total sample number for that cemetery was generated by multiplying 250 by the ratio number. For example, Calvary has 663 graves of Irish immigrants. By taking $663/816$ the ratio equals 0.8125, which is multiplied by 250 = 202. The =INT() formula in Excel was used to obtain a whole number and avoid a decimal. By using the ratio, seven of the cemeteries rounded their number to zero. This produced a total of 243 headstones, then by replacing the zeros with 1's, the final sample size ended up being 249. The ratio approach was used to obtain data from all the cemeteries with Irish immigrants. Most of the cemeteries had a small number of Irish immigrants, so it would not have worked to just take 250 and divide it by ten and analyze 25 graves from each cemetery. Also, the sample should represent the immigrant's choice of cemetery. It is clear that the Irish immigrants made a choice about where they wanted to be buried. This should be respected and reflected in the data.

Cemeteries

Using the profiles on Ancestry.com of the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee, 10 cemeteries in Milwaukee with Irish American headstones were identified (Ancestry.com 2025): Calvary,

Forest Home, Glen Oaks, Holy Cross, Lincoln Memorial, Mount Olivet, Pilgrims Rest, Pinelawn, Saint Adalbert, and Woodlawn (Figure 2). Background on each cemetery is provided below.

Calvary

Calvary cemetery was established in 1857 making it Milwaukee's oldest existing Catholic cemetery (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022a). It was named after the hill up which Jesus carried the cross before he was crucified. It contains about 70,000 graves on 65 acres (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022a). Two hundred and two graves were recorded at this cemetery.

Forest Home

Forest Home Cemetery was established in 1850 as a non-denominational and non-profit cemetery and is still active today (Forest Home Cemetery & Arboretum 2022). It contains many high-profile Milwaukeeans, including beer barons and governors (Forest Home Cemetery & Arboretum 2022). Fourteen graves were recorded at this cemetery.

Glen Oaks

Glen Oaks Cemetery was originally named Evergreen Cemetery and was active for over 60 years (Milwaukee County Wisconsin Genealogy 2017). It was sold in 2001 to Craig Spoel and he renamed it Glen Oaks and it is still an active cemetery (Milwaukee County Wisconsin Genealogy 2017). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Holy Cross

Holy Cross Cemetery was established in 1909 as a Catholic cemetery and is still active today (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022b). It is named after the cross on which Jesus was crucified making it holy. It has about 135,000 graves on 196 acres (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022b). Twenty-five graves were recorded at this cemetery.

Lincoln Memorial

Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, also known as Wander's Rest Cemetery, was established in 1882 and is still active today (Find a Grave 2025b). It is located across the street from Holy Cross Cemetery (Find a Grave 2025b). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Mount Olivet

Mount Olivet was established in 1907 as a Catholic cemetery and is still active today (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022c). It has around 26,000 graves on 70 acres (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022c). Two graves were recorded at this cemetery.

Pilgrims Rest

Pilgrims Rest is a Lutheran cemetery that was established in 1880 and is still active today (Pilgrims Rest Cemetery 2024). It is still an active cemetery and is now non-sectarian (Pilgrims Rest Cemetery 2024). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Pinelawn

Pinelawn Cemetery was established in 1922 by Pinelawn Cemetery Company and is still active today (Pinelawn Memorial Park 2023). It is the only family owned and operated memorial park in Wisconsin (Pinelawn Memorial Park 2023). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Saint Adalbert

Saint Adalbert was established in 1888 and was once called the Polish Union Cemetery (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022d). It is a Catholic cemetery that has around 63,000 graves on 98 acres and is still an active cemetery today (Archdiocese of Milwaukee Catholic Cemeteries 2022d). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Woodlawn

Woodlawn cemetery has been in service for over 150 years and is still an active cemetery (Dignity Memorial 2025). One grave was recorded at this cemetery.

Table 3. Data Set #2 Sample

Cemetery	Total # of Irish Immigrants	Ratio	Targeted Sample	Chosen Sample	Final Total
Calvary	663	0.8125	202	202	148
Forest Home	48	0.058824	14	14	9
Glen Oaks	1	0.001225	0	1	1
Holy Cross	85	0.104167	25	25	23
Lincoln	2	0.002451	0	1	1
Mount Olivet	12	0.014706	2	2	2
Pilgrims Rest	2	0.002451	0	1	0
Pinelawn	1	0.001225	0	1	1
Saint Adalberts	1	0.001225	0	1	1
Woodlawn	1	0.001225	0	1	1
	816	1	243	249	187
*The chosen sample was 249, however there were 62 Irish immigrants that did not have a grave marker, which eliminated them from the study. This created a total sample size of 187.					

To create a random sample of 249 headstones, the Excel function =SORTBY(A2:A645, RANDARRAY(COUNTA(A2:A645))) was used. This took all the initial 816 names and randomized them in a separate column. Then the first set that matched the amount in the updated random sampling sheet was highlighted.

The next step was to copy the highlighted names onto a new sheet called “Random List” and separated by cemetery. Find-a-Grave was used to record the location of each grave within the limitations of the information on the site. For example, Martin Hughes was buried in Calvary cemetery in Block 6, Section A, Lot 115. After compiling this information, the cemeteries were visited to locate and photograph the headstones using a Samsung S21 Ultra phone. Over 400 photos were taken over six days of research. Some of the graves had photos on Find a Grave which aided in finding them in the cemetery. If a specific grave could not be located, the photos from Find a Grave website were used in the analysis. Unfortunately, 62 names could not be found so were not used in the analysis of the data. Most likely the headstones were destroyed, a problem that is discussed further in Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion.

Qualitative and Quantitative Analyses

After collecting and compiling all the photos the next step was to analyze them. In an Excel sheet 14 columns included religious symbols from Data Set #1 as well as common religious designs found on the headstones in Data Set #2. An X was placed in the corresponding column if the headstone had that design. The study identified eight stylistic elements including a Latin Cross, IHS, INRI, Instruments of the Passion of the Christ, a Celtic Cross, a Death’s Head, Sun, and an Urn. If there were multiple designs on one headstone, then an X was placed in

each column for the appropriate design. For example, both the columns for Latin Cross and IHS would get an X in the row for the headstone if both were present. Another aspect of the headstones that were analyzed was their placement. The three placements were on the wall, on the ground, and erect. The placement of the headstones changed throughout the years 1730 to 1970.

The next step was to compile the data for analysis. This was done by creating battleship graphs. A battleship graph is a type of seriation graph that uses spindles to visually display the number of artifacts of a certain type in each period (Lyman 2021:1). This visual representation is used by archaeologists in constructing seriations and was a way to compare the two data sets. Battleship graphs reveal patterns throughout time, including changes in style. They are called battleship graphs because the graphs may look like “battleships viewed from above” (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:504). This happens because the higher the number of designs present in a certain year, the wider the bar on that graph. The smaller the number of designs present, the shorter the bar. This gives a visual representation of how common a style was and how that popularity changed over time as new styles appeared. Battleship graphs allow for analysis of the data in two different ways at once. It makes it possible to view how the frequency of one design changes through the years as well as observe how different designs compare to each other in frequency in a single year.

In order to create a battleship graph, the data needs to be organized in a pivot table in Excel. The pivot table lists the designs in the columns with the decades listed in the rows. To turn the pivot table into a battleship graph, a Java program written by software engineer, Tim Parker was used. The pivot table was created with columns for the dates and each of the

designs, with each row as a decade. The pivot table was then saved as a text document and copied into the downloads folder on the author's computer. This allowed the program to access the pivot table by opening the terminal prompt on the computer, typing `cd downloads` to access the downloads, then typing `java -cp battleship.jar battleship.bcurve "Pivot Table_1.txt" "Labels Names"`, then hitting Enter to generate a battleship graph. Once the battleship graphs were created, it was possible to do a side-by-side comparison of the headstones from Ireland and the headstones from Milwaukee.

Battleship graphs were generated for both Data Set #1 and Data Set #2 in order to compare them with regard to the prevalence of specific symbols in a specific year as well as to visualize trends. Comparing the years directly revealed which designs were most common and when they came in and out of fashion. Once it was determined when various designs were more frequently used, it was possible to examine if there were any historical or social events that might have affected the designs.

In this study the numbers needed to be standardized to properly analyze them. There were different total amounts of headstones for each decade which made it complicated to compare decades. For example, in 1870 there were 5 headstones with no design in Data set #2 and in 1900 there were 30 headstones with no design in Data set #2. Reviewing just the raw numbers would lead to an assumption that no design was much more common in 1900 than in 1870, however in 1870 there were only a total of 10 headstones in Data set #2 whereas in 1900 there were a total of 61 headstones in Data set #2. By standardizing these numbers, the analysis demonstrated that no design headstones were slightly more common in 1870 than in 1900.

To account for fluctuations in population size, as well as to allow for data comparability, standardized counts were used in the analysis. The standardized numbers were created by taking the number of headstones of a specific design over the total number of headstones for that year. However, this computation always resulted in a decimal point. To avoid this, the decimal was multiplied by 100 to convert the result into an integer. For example, in 1860 there was 1 headstone with a Latin cross design in Data set #2 and there were a total of 3 headstones for that year in Data set #2. So, $1/3=0.333$, multiplied by 100 = 33. This means that the standardized count for the Latin cross design in 1860 for Data set #2 was 33 headstones. An important point to note is that the standardized numbers for each year do not necessarily add up to 100. This is because some of the headstones included more than one of the designs, another reason to use a standardized number.

Headstone Iconography


The pilot study identified ten religious symbols that occurred frequently in Ireland, with at least one of them appearing on almost every tombstone during the period from 1730 to 1970. While all of these symbols are religious symbols, specifically Christian, not all are equally common. Christianity is a large umbrella that encapsulates many specific sects including Catholic, Lutheran, and Methodist (Kurian 2015). Some of the symbols above are more common to some sects than others. For example, INRI is often found on crucifixes in Catholic churches, however, it is not generally found in Lutheran or Methodist churches because it is considered a more Catholic symbol (Amishai-Maisels 1991:139; Mytum 2009:164). This is also true for the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ. Most Latin-based symbols, including IHS, are considered more closely associated with the Catholic church due to the history of Christianity




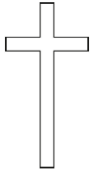
(Mytum 2009:179; Orser, et alia 2020:812). In the Roman Catholic Church, for example, the head of the church, the Pope, still resides in the Vatican, which is located in Rome, Italy. This does not mean that other sects of Christianity don't use or acknowledge these symbols, just that they are more commonly associated with the Catholic Church than other Christian sects.



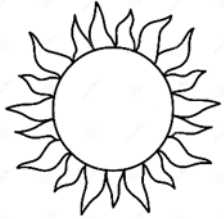
However, while some symbols are associated more closely with one Christian sect over others, this study did not specifically analyze the sects separately. Some of the cemeteries that are part of this study are Catholic cemeteries, however, outside of that no external research was done to determine if a headstone was Catholic or Protestant. This means that it is not determined if or how much any symbol is present on Protestant tombstones.

The religious symbols identified during this period on the Irish headstones include:

Table 4. The religious symbols found in Ireland, accompanied by a picture of the symbol and the citation of the picture.

<u>Religious Symbol</u>	<u>Photo</u>	<u>Citation</u>
IHS, occasionally with a sun around it (first three letters of Jesus in Latin)		IHS (photo by Catholic Free Shipping 2025)

<p>INRI, always with either IHS or a Latin cross (<i>Jesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ireland Only 		<p>INRI (photo by Catholic Free Shipping 2025)</p>
<p>Instruments of the Passion of the Christ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ireland Only 		<p>Instruments of the Passion of the Christ (photo by Wagner 2020:260)</p>
<p>Death's Head</p>		<p>Death's Head (photo by Adobe Stock 2025)</p>
<p>Latin Cross</p>		<p>Latin Cross (photo by VectorStock 2025)</p>

Celtic Cross		Celtic Cross (photo by Shutterstock 2025)
Urn		Urn (photo by PatternUniverse 2025)
Sun ○ Ireland Only		Sun (photo by Dreamstime 2025)
No Design		

Listed are the religious designs that were identified in the Data set #1. Further descriptions and pictures of the designs are below.

IHS Inscription (1730 to 1930). One of the common symbols in Data Set #1 is IHS (Figure 20).

The capital letters I, H, and S are sometimes overlapping, which can make them hard to read if someone does not know what they are (Figure 3). The inscription “IHS” is Christian in origin, referencing the first three letters of the Latinized spelling of the Greek name for Jesus. His name would be spelled, IHSUS, so the first three letters IHS are used to show that the deceased was Christian (Keister 2004:146:147; Donnelly 2005:39).



Figure 3. IHS, common iconography referring to Jesus, Kilconnell Abbey cemetery, County Galway (photo by author)

“INRI” Inscription (1790 to 1850). The INRI inscription is a Christian symbol that stands for *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*, Latin for Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. After Jesus

was crucified, Pilate mockingly wrote this on the cross according to John 19:19 (Keister 2004:147). This phrase goes along with the symbol of the crown of thorns that was placed on Jesus's head, also mocking his status as "King of the Jews." The crown of thorns is less common as a mortuary symbol compared to INRI.



Figure 4. INRI on a headstone, St. Ruadhan's Lorrha, County Tipperary (photo by author)

Instruments of the Passion of the Christ (1770 to 1840). Another Christian symbol is the *arma Christi*, or the instruments of the Passion of the Christ (Figure 5)(Wagner 2022:249). This headstone symbol is a composite of many of the items that were used leading up to and including the crucifixion of Christ. These may include nails, a sponge on a stick, pincers, a ladder,

30 pieces of silver, a hammer, a skull, a snake, and the image of Christ on the cross (Roe 1983:529). The design can include any number of these items and does not always include them all. This design is also not very common, possibly due to the intricate nature of the carving. This symbol is more ornate than the others discussed in this thesis project, purely due to the amount of objects within it. For the other symbols, there is one object or word, whereas for the Instruments of the Passion, there are many. This symbol was used to show status, the more symbols and the elaborate the design, the higher status (Roe 1983:528; Clark 1987:384). A design this complex would have been expensive and reflected the ability to pay for such intricate and detailed carvings.

The Instruments of the Passion of the Christ, like most symbols have changed over time. In the 12th and 13th century the style of the scene was one of victory over death. Jesus Christ appeared serene and royal in these scenes regardless of the fact that he was nailed to a cross (Ralph 2022:1-2). This gave him an air of Godliness and otherworldliness about him. However, over time people came to see Jesus Christ as a friend and more human than godlike (Nichols 2008:21). It was understood that Jesus Christ's death was necessary for the forgiveness of sins and that Christians should honor and understand this (Ralph 2022:2). This is when the design of the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ changed to be more violent. There was more focus on Jesus's torture and pain through the images of the spear, blood dripping from Christ, and the nails in his hands and feet (Ralph 2022:3). While the more violent rendition of the crucifixion of Christ became commonplace, it was more violent in Northern Europe than it was in Ireland (Ralph 2022:3). While the image still emphasizes that Christ was tortured, it is not quite as bloody and violent as some of the images in Northern Europe.

The death of Jesus Christ through crucifixion was seen as humiliating, the fact that such an important and godly person could be killed through such a public and shameful way was something that many Christians struggled with. That contributed to the various styles of Instruments of the Passion of the Christ listed above. Puritans specifically saw Jesus Christ as a sovereign lord, not as human which would make his human death of crucifixion more distasteful (Nichols 2008:21). It stands to reason that Puritans would not welcome reminders of an embarrassing death, along with the fact that they were one of the early religions in the United States would be a reason why Instruments of the Passion of the Christ are not commonly seen in America. As time progressed and other Christian sects came to the United States it seems that they followed suit and did not introduce the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ as a common funerary symbol. This symbol is closely connected to the Catholic sect of Christianity and Catholics were not looked upon favorably in the United States until the mid to late 1900's (Brighton 2008:142; Larkin 2013:349,351). The Instruments of the Passion of the Christ do not

appear in the Milwaukee sample of this thesis project, nor are they mentioned in any of the case studies that discuss funerary symbols in America.



Figure 5. Instruments of the Passion carved on a headstone at the Rock of Cashel, County Tipperary (photo by author)

Death's Head (1770 to 1890). The death's head started out as a simple skull and sometimes occurs with crossbones (Figure 6). However, over time the skull evolved into a more realistic human face, and instead of crossbones, it had wings on either side of the head. According to Keister (2004), the simple skull with crossbones coincides with the significant influence of the Puritan religion in the 16th century (Keister 2004:135). Puritans believed in the finality of death; when people died their bodies would just rot and that was it (Keister 2004:135; Mytum 2009:164). However, as the Puritans began to lose some of their strong

religious influence in the 17th century the face changed into one that resembled an angel, symbolizing the belief that there is some sort of life after death (Keister 2004:136).



Figure 6. Death's head with wings, Ross Errilly Friary, County Galway (photo by author)

Latin Cross (1730 to 1930). One of the most common and recognizable symbols in the world is the Latin cross. The Latin cross, which is the cross most people in the western world are familiar with, is easily recognizable as a symbol for Christianity (Keister 2004:141). The symbol represents the cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified, so it is a relatively common mortuary symbol since it represents Jesus' death. It can be simple or extremely ornate depending on the details added. The differing styles would determine the price of the symbol, with more elaborate styles costing more and simpler styles being more affordable (Clark 1987:384). Given its frequency, several sub-types of crosses are recognized including the Latin Cross, the Celtic Cross, the Papal Cross, and St. Peter's Cross (Healey 1977).



Figure 7. Latin Cross, Ross Errilly Friary, County Galway (photo by author)

Celtic Cross (1830 to 1930). One type of cross that is very common in Data set #1 and continues to be used up to the present day is the Celtic cross (Figure 8). This is a cross with a circle connecting the four arms of the cross and in some cases with additional ornamentation on the arms and central boss. Most Celtic crosses include intricate carvings such as the Celtic spiral (Figure 9), Celtic knotwork (Figure 10), the trinity knot (Figure 11), and the triple spiral (Figure 12) (Bryce 1995:61,68). The Celtic Cross was an ornate and most likely expensive symbol for headstones, especially if one wanted the headstone in the shape of a Celtic Cross that required specialized carving and stonework (Bain 1973:17; Bryce 1995:110,116). Carving an



Figure 8. Celtic Cross, Bunratty Graveyard, County Clare (photo by author)

image of a Celtic Cross would be simpler and cheaper than creating a Celtic Cross out of stone.



Figure 9. Celtic spiral. Image courtesy of Amazon (2020)



Figure 10. Celtic Knotwork. Photo by author



Figure 11. Trinity knot. Image courtesy of 123RF (2020)



Figure 12. Triple spiral. Image courtesy of Shutterstock (2020)

Urn (1760 to 1890). A frequent symbol in Irish cemeteries, as well as non-Irish historic cemeteries in other areas of Europe and the United States is the urn (Figure 13), which represents ashes and therefore cremation. However, Catholics did not tend to favor cremation from about the 7th century until 1963, so it is very unlikely that any Catholics in Ireland practiced cremation. Although the prohibition against cremation in the Catholic church was lifted in 1963, cremation rates of Catholics still remain low. (Knight 2018). However, the urn is still a funerary symbol used by some Catholics due to its mention in the funerary prayer “earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust” as well as its association with Ash Wednesday when the priest places a cross in ashes on the parishioner’s forehead (Sandarg 1992:55). Even though cremation is not widely practiced by Catholics, ashes still play an important part in their religion.



*Figure 13. An urn carved on a headstone
Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author)*

Sun (1750 to 1870). The symbol of a sun is one that is seen through time and across cultures (Keister 2004:16,54,91,125). This makes sense since it is an integral part of life on earth. However, in the Christian religion it is not one of the more common symbols although it symbolizes the divine light of God and is often seen as a sunburst around a specific object that is considered holy (Keister 2004:125) such as a Latin cross inscribed with IHS. Another common way for the sun to be displayed is as a halo behind a person, typically Jesus Christ, an angel or one of the saints (Keister 2004:125). This means that while the symbol of a sun is present it is not the focus of the image but merely shows God's support for the object or person in the image.



Figure 14. IHS and a Latin cross surrounded by a sun on a headstone, Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author)

No Design (1730 to 1930). No design references the absence of symbols on a headstone although a written inscription may be present. This might be for multiple reasons, including the fact that someone was too poor to be able to afford elaborate carvings, so they opted for a simpler inscription only. It is also possible that on some of the headstones any designs that were on them have since eroded away over time.

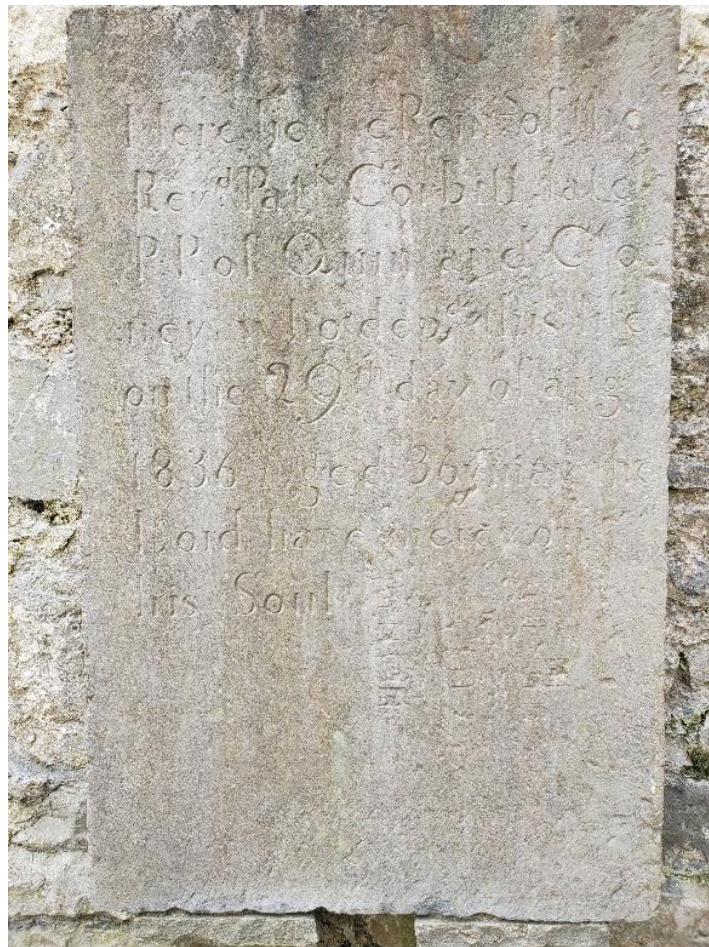


Figure 15. No design on a headstone, Quin Friary, County Clare (photo by author)

As in any research project, there are always going to be some sources of bias due to the human interference in conducting the research. For this thesis project one source of bias comes from the way the Ireland sample was collected. The Ireland sample was collected as a sample of convenience by finding headstones in cemeteries that had readable dates and designs on them. There was no systemic direction of collecting the data and this could possibly lead to a skewed

sample favoring more complex symbols. Another bias could be the assumption that certain headstones have no design, when in reality the design could have eroded away. Due to the time frame of this thesis project and the nature of weather, it is possible that erosion of headstones skewed the data towards no design when there were possibly more symbols present. However, this is a bias that unfortunately it is nearly impossible to overcome. Once a symbol has eroded away on a headstone, there is no way to recover the information.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Results

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the data collected from the study in Milwaukee (Data set #2) between 1840 and 1970, compared to the findings of the study carried out in Ireland (Data Set #1) between 1730 and 1970 (Parker 2020). The data were subjected to qualitative and quantitative analyses. In the following chapters the data has been divided into decades for ease of analysis. The dates will be discussed as a singular date however it will include the whole decade. For example, the headstones found in 1910, include all headstones in this study from 1910-1919. The data sets contain only a representative sample of the existing headstones in both contexts; to address the research questions of this thesis project it was not necessary for a comprehensive record to be established of all headstones in both data universes. This means that the results only pertain to this sample set. It is possible that other headstones do not match these conclusions, however that is to be expected with a random data set. While a larger data set would have yielded more fine-grained analysis, this sample size produced sufficient results to address the research questions and generate future research directions.

Data Set #1: Republic of Ireland Sample

Data Set #1 included 170 headstones from 15 cemeteries throughout Ireland dating between 1730 and 1970 (Parker 2020) although only one headstone was identified that post-dated 1930. This data set was split into two temporal cohorts, one from 1730 to 1830 and the second from 1840 to 1970. This made visualization patterns in Data sets #1 and #2, more effective and comparable. The earlier cohort allowed an easier visualization of a baseline of

symbols and trends in Ireland in particular.

Total Number of Graves

For the pilot study the total number of graves served as a proxy for the death population size and was also used to standardize results. The expectation was that there would be more graves during periods of famine (1845 to 1850) and fewer graves following the periods of mass emigration (1718 to 1755 as well as in circa 1840s). The total number of headstones recorded for this study from 1730 to 1970 is shown in Figure 16.

During the two periods of mass emigration, circa 1718 to 1755 and the mid-1800s the data from Data set #1 show (Figure 16) that while there is a slight increase in the number of graves in the 1710s, it is still quite a small number of graves, which is consistent with a mass emigration. The numbers remain relatively small with some increase towards the end of the period of emigration in the 1750s. This increase does not match the expectation of the number of graves during a mass emigration however the numbers are still relatively small which does fit what's expected. In the mid-1800s there is a slight decrease in the number of headstones, from twelve in 1840 to six in 1850 in this study. This is what would be expected with a mass emigration, however, interestingly the headstone numbers do go back up fairly quickly, to eleven in 1870. This does not match expectations.

From 1845 to 1850, there was a period of famine which would be expected to affect headstone numbers. However, as stated above there was also a mass emigration that happened in the mid 1800's, partly due to the Famine. While there were most likely regional differences in how people were affected by the Famine in regard to how many immigrated to the United

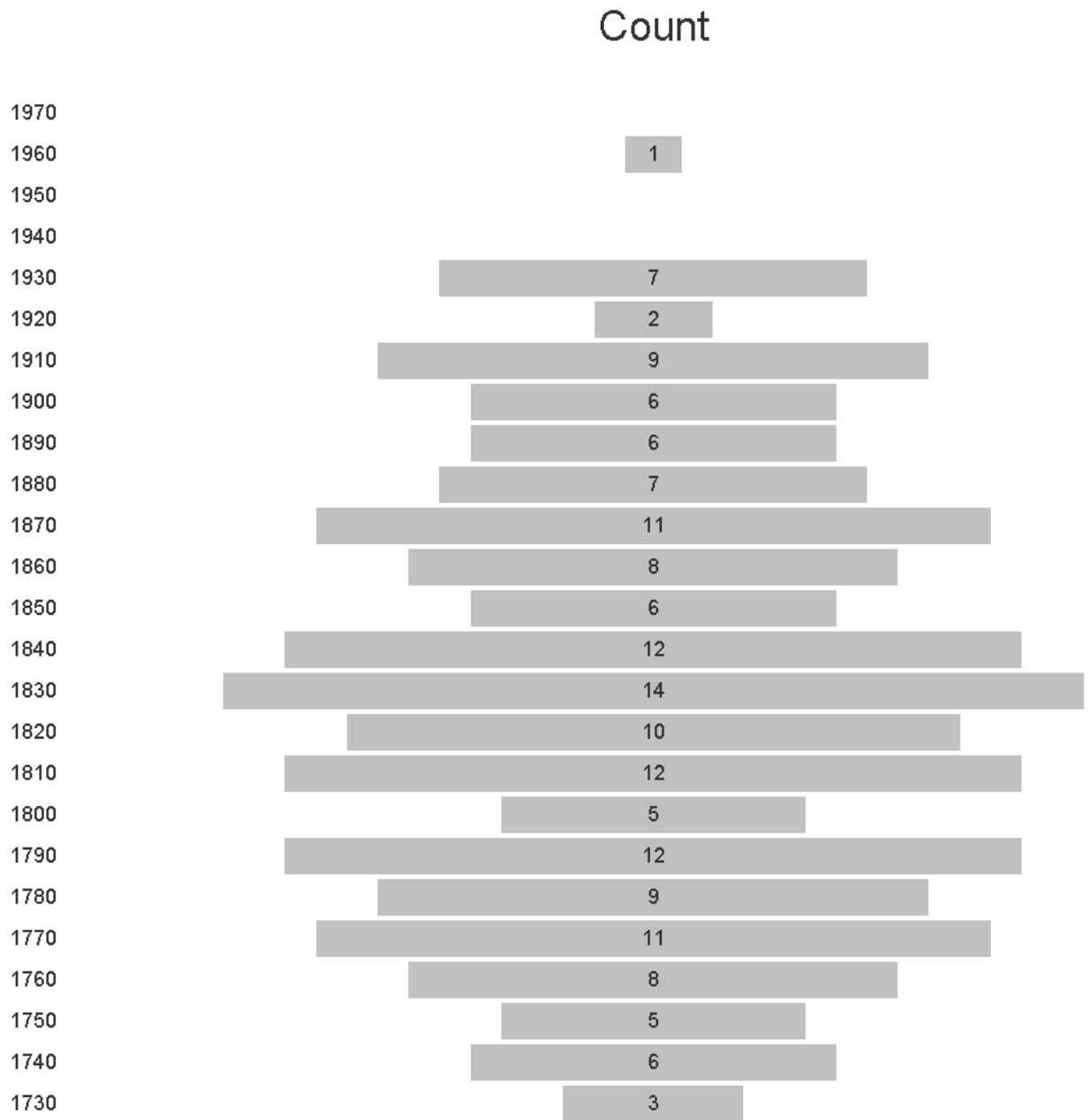
States versus staying in Ireland, this thesis project does not delve into regional specifics. This thesis project views Ireland as a whole entity with the historical events affecting the whole country the same and even having the symbols from the sample be representative of Ireland as a whole, not specific regions. Delving deeper into how the historical events and symbols differed in specific regions in Ireland would be a future research topic since this thesis project is focusing on Milwaukee and using Ireland as a whole as a comparison.

The mass emigration skews the numbers because while more people might have been dying due to the Famine, more people were leaving the country as well. There is a high number of headstones in the 1840s, with twelve, but as stated above, this drops significantly in 1850. It would match expectations that the number of headstones would be high in the 1840's and then immediately drop in the 1850's, however, the almost immediate rise of headstones in the 1870's is not explained through historic events.

There is a slight increase in headstones in 1910, which could correlate to World War I and Irish War of Independence since both of these took place in the 1910's (Hamilton and Herwig 2003:3; Noer 1973:96). However, there are no headstones found past the 1930's, which is strange since World War II took place from 1939 to 1945; however, that is more likely due to the data collection method than to a lack of headstones for this period of time.

Overall, the number of headstones found each decade does not directly correlate to the historic events of the time. While there are minor occurrences that might match the expectations of a mass emigration or famine, like the low number of headstones in 1710 or the decrease in headstones in 1850, overall, there does not seem to be a direct connection between

the number of headstones found and historic events. This is seen with the increase in headstones in both 1750 and 1870, which are both time periods shortly after a mass emigration.



*Figure 16. Total count of headstones in
Data Set #1 (Ireland) by year*

Headstone Placement

The pilot study identified three categories of headstone placement: (1) headstones on the wall of the church (on wall); (2) flat slabs on the ground (on ground); and (3) erect headstones (erect) (Parker 2020:24). This thesis project re-examined the data using standardized counts. Figure 17 shows the standardized total number of headstones by placement in Data set #1. Headstones that were found on the wall were found throughout the time frame of the study (1730-1930). They were not exceptionally numerous at any time, but they were consistently present. On the ground headstones were common in 1730 and increased in frequency until 1790. There were no recorded on the ground headstones in 1800, but then this category rebounded with five headstones in 1810. It started to decrease around 1840 but was still found. Erect headstones first appear in 1770 and were present at stable frequencies until 1930.

According to the data, headstone placement changed over time. On the wall headstones were present in Ireland from 1730 to 1930 with minor fluctuations, however it was never very common (Parker 2020:24). The on the ground headstones are found beginning approximately around 1730 and ending in 1900, with peaks from 1750 to 1830. The erect headstones appeared in 1770 and continued until 1930. Erect headstones are still in use today. As seen in Figure 17, there is a shift from frequency for on the ground headstones to erect headstone being more common and throughout this on the wall headstones are present. Mytum and Evan (2002) recorded similar headstone placement with both erect and on the ground headstones. In their study, erect headstones were more common than on the ground headstones throughout the 18th century in Killeevan, Co. Monaghan. However, Mytum and Evan (2002) delve deeper

into specific headstone shapes like wheeled cross and slab headstones. This thesis project does not distinguish the shapes of headstones, with the expectation that if there is a relevant shape, for instance a cross, it is recorded as a symbol in the data.

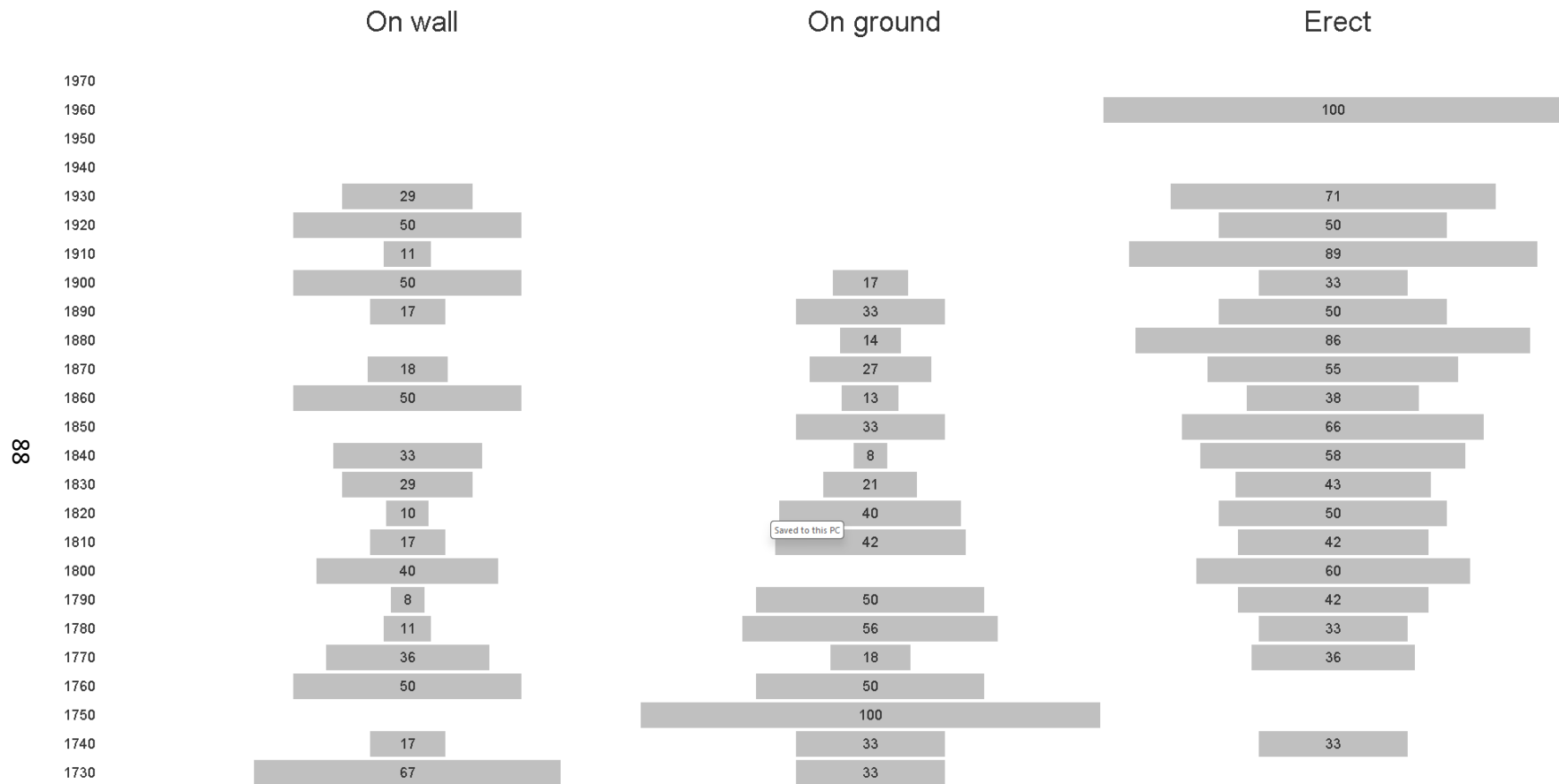


Figure 17. Standardized number of headstones in the pilot study separated by position.

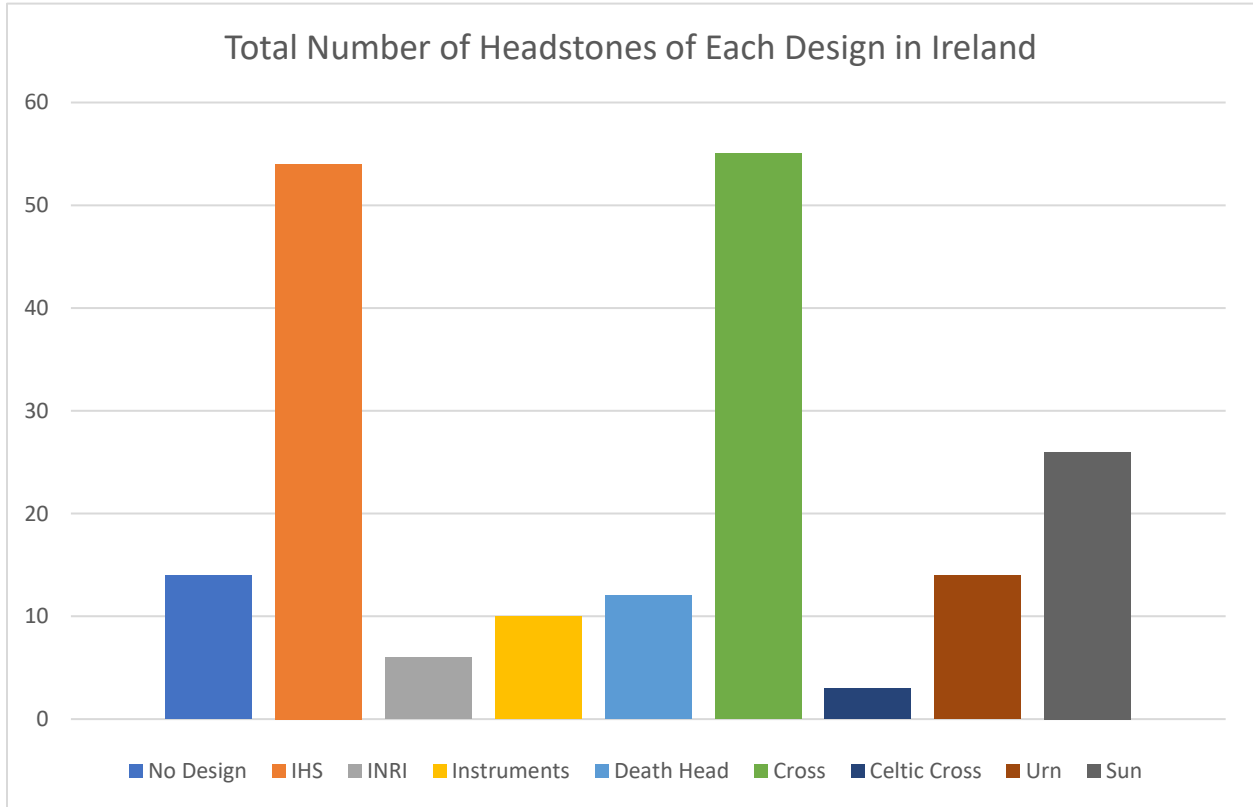


Figure 18. Total number of headstones of each design in Ireland 1730 to 1830

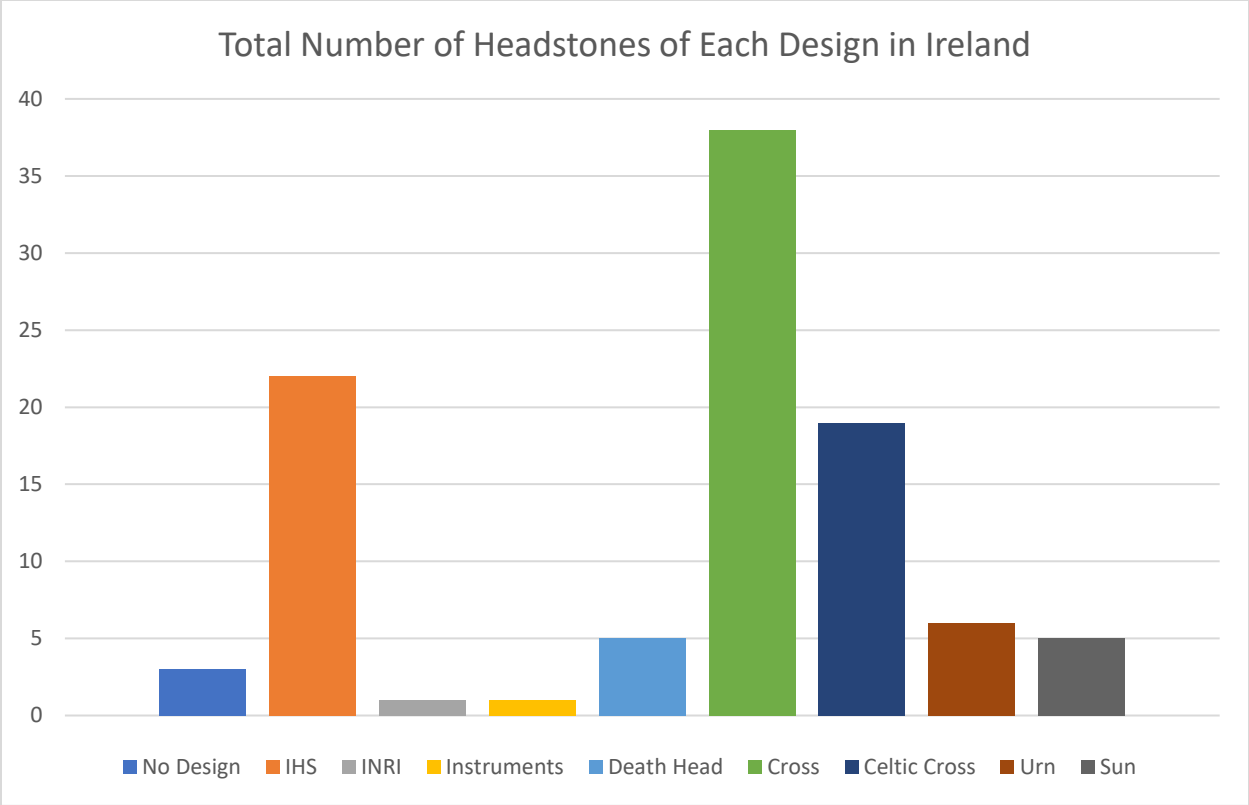


Figure 19. Total number of headstones of each design in Ireland 1840 to 1930

Figures 6 and 7 provide a visual overview of the total number of headstones of each design in the Data set #1. These are the number of headstones recorded dating between 1730 and 1830 (Figure 18) and 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19). The data for Ireland were split into two graphs in order to better compare it with the Milwaukee data. The data discussed below, specifically the percentages, are from 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19). There were 75 headstones from 1840 to 1970 in this analysis. While the percentages are from 1840 to 1970 in order to compare the data to the Milwaukee data later, the dates from 1730 to 1830 are included to determine a trend that the Irish immigrants would have seen prior to their immigration to America.

The Latin Cross and IHS are the two most common designs and are present on 38 (51%) and 22 (29%) headstones from 1840 to 1970 respectively. The Sun symbol is present on 5 (7%)

headstones. The next designs are all relatively close to each other in prevalence. The Celtic Cross, Urn, Death's Head, and No Design are present on 19 (25%), 6 (8%), 5 (7%), and 3 (4%) headstones respectively. The two least frequent symbols are The Instruments of the Passion of the Christ and INRI which were both found on 1 (1%) headstone each in the Ireland study from 1840 to 1970.

Data set #1 Results

The results of the pilot study are shown in Figure 20, which displays the standardized number of headstones by symbol in a specific year. This allows a determination to be made about when the design trends came in and out of frequency. In order to compare Data set #1 with Data Set #2, the time frames need to be comparable. As mentioned above, the percentages for the various symbols are calculated from the total numbers of the symbols obtained from headstones dated from 1840 to 1970. However, in order to explore a foundational trend of the symbols the data from headstones in Ireland dated from 1730 to 1830 are additionally noted to examine when the symbols were present and to observe the frequency.

IHS accounts for 29% of the headstones found in the Data Set #1 from 1840 to 1970. As seen in Figure 20, IHS is consistently present but tapers off around 1860. It is most common around 1750 and 1790, with a jump in frequency in 1850. As seen in Figure 20, the frequency fluctuates somewhat, but there is a steady increase in frequency up to 1790 followed by a steady decrease in frequency. The jump in frequency in 1850 is a bit of an anomaly as the frequency is greatly reduced after 1850. The symbol was found 76 times from 1840 to 1970

(Figure 19). The only design that was found more often was the Latin cross.

INRI is generally seen in conjunction with either IHS or a Latin cross and was not a very common design, only appearing in 1% of the sample from 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19). It is only present in four years, 1790, 1810, 1830, and 1850, staying relatively consistent throughout with a small increase in 1790 (Figure 20).

Instruments of the Passion of the Christ accounts for only 1% of the headstones from 1840 to 1970. It also appears in 1770 and 1840 but is absent in 1780 and 1800. It was only found in one of the decades from 1840 to 1970 and never made up more than a standardized count of 33 of the designs found. It is most common in 1770 and 1810, with a decrease between the two dates and after 1810 (Figure 19, Figure 20).

The death's head was not overly common but was a consistent design throughout this study in both data sets. It accounts for 7% of the headstones from 1840 to 1970 appearing on 17 headstones (Figure 19, Figure 20). It first appears in 1770 and continued until 1890, but its prevalence fluctuates with peaks in 1800 and 1850. After the peak in 1850, it is absent in 1860 and 1880 (Figure 20).

The Latin cross was the most common design in this study, appearing 38 times, which makes up 51% of from 1840 to 1970. It remained frequent throughout the years with some dips in 1830, 1900, and 1930 (Figure 20). There are some years where it is found on every single headstone (1750 and 1920). It was always fairly common, with a standardized count of 50 headstones in most decades. The Latin cross was the lowest in frequency with only a standardized count of 17 in 1900 in Data set #1 (Figure 20).

The Celtic Cross appeared in 1830 in Data set #1 (Figure 20) and it increased in frequency until it peaked in 1900 and then decreased slightly afterwards. It appeared 19 times from 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19) and accounts for 25% of the sample from 1840 to 1970. It was absent in 1850, 1860, and 1920.

The design of the urn, similar to the Death's Head, was consistently used throughout the time of this study but was never very common. It only accounts for 8% of the headstones from 1840 to 1970. It appears in 1760 and continues in use until 1890, most frequently appearing around 1820. It was absent in 1770, 1860, 1870, and 1880 (Figure 20) and appeared 20 times from 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19).

The sun occurs frequently in Data set #1 and typically occurs with the inscription IHS, which it encircles. Notably, a single headstone in Quin Friary cemetery (1839) displayed a sun around HIS. Sun symbols are found on 7% of the headstones from 1840 to 1970, where it is the third most frequent design, appearing 31 times from 1840 to 1970 (Figure 19). It consistently has a standardized count of 30 to 40 headstones each decade (Figure 20). It was present from 1750 to 1870 but absent in 1860. It increased slightly until a peak in 1790 then decreased slightly until it went out of favor.

There were 17 (4%) headstones in Data set #1 from 1840 to 1970 without designs (Figure 19). They mostly occurred in the earlier years of the study, with four occurring in 1830 (Figure 20), appearing most frequently in 1730, 1740, and 1760, with absences in 1750, 1770, 1790, 1820, and most of the second half of the time frame. There is no consistent pattern but headstones without symbols appear sporadically throughout the time period.

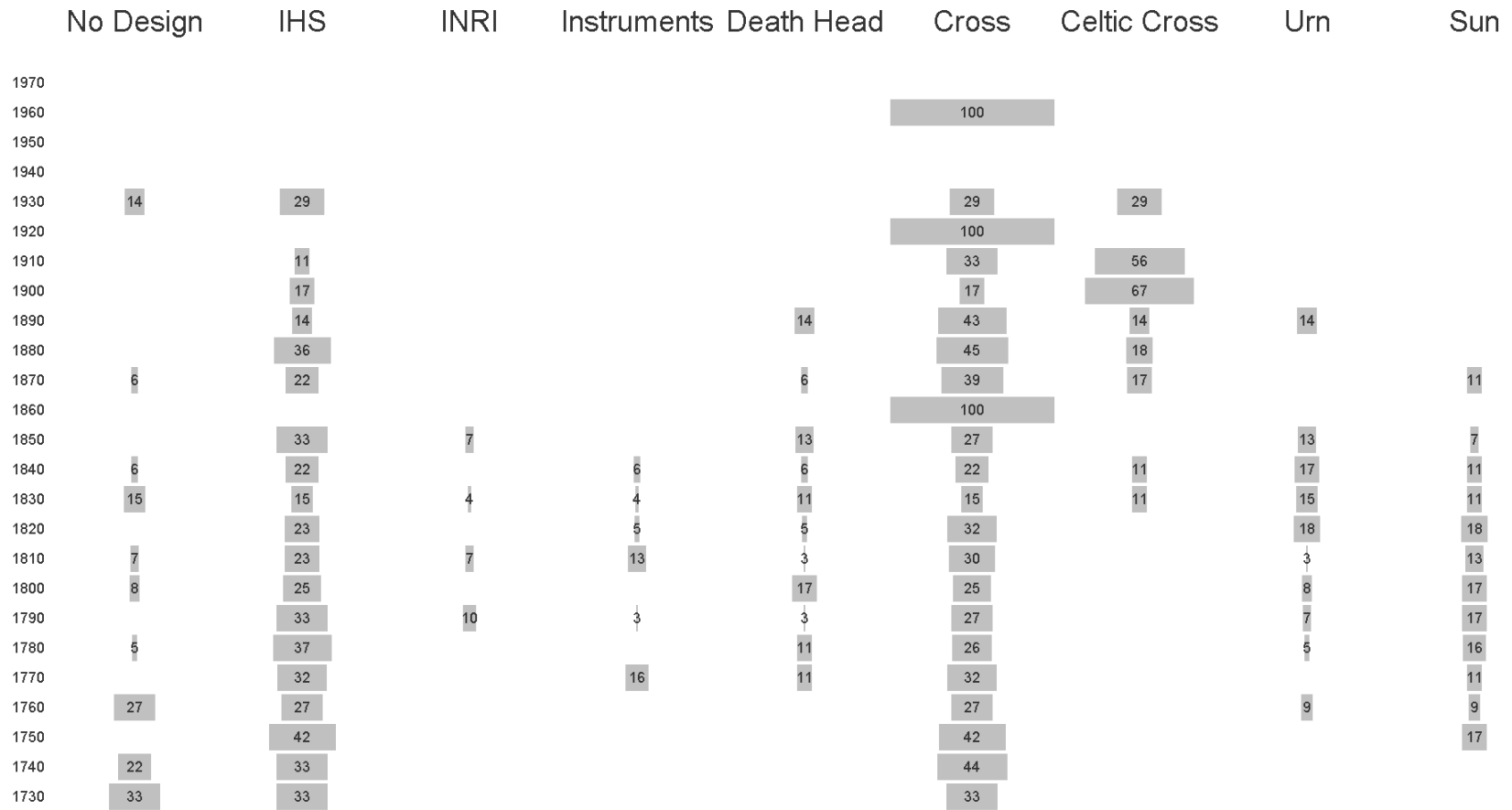


Figure 20. Standardized number of Pilot Study headstones

The headstones in Data set #1 were analyzed to determine the various frequencies of symbols during times that correlated with historical events. One takeaway is that from about 1760/1770 to about 1880/1890 five symbols are present: INRI, Instruments of the Passion, Death's Head, Urn and Sun. This is important because of the nine designs, five appear and disappear within the same time frame. This parallels the results of Mytum's study in Co. Dublin where the designs on headstones became more ornate in the later 18th century (Mytum 2004:23). Out of the other four, No Design, IHS, and Latin Cross are all seen throughout the time period of the study. IHS is a consistent design found throughout the time period of the study. The general trend shows it decreasing in frequency throughout time with peaks in 1850 and 1880. Another takeaway is the persistence of the Latin Cross throughout the time period, with peaks in 1750 and 1920. This leaves the Celtic Cross appearing later than the rest in 1830. It corresponds to the decrease of INRI, Instruments of the Passion, Death's Head, Urn and Sun. The Celtic Cross peaks in 1900 and 1910 while by 1900 the symbols of IHS and Latin Cross are decreasing.

Data set #2: City of Milwaukee Sample

In order to determine how headstone iconography relates to cultural identity, it is necessary to look at the headstones of the Irish immigrants in their new home in Milwaukee, WI. This required a similar sample size and date range to Data Set #1 in order to accurately compare the two samples. As mentioned above, while Data Set #1 starts in 1730, Data Set #2 can be compared to the second cohort of Data Set #1, 1840-1970. Figure 22 shows an overview of the standardized number of headstones of each design that were found in each decade.

Sample Composition and Size

Data set #2 from Milwaukee consisted of a random sample of 249 burials from ten cemeteries that date from 1840 to 1970 (Table 3). The headstones were randomly selected from a larger sample of approximately 1200 burials from eleven cemeteries dating from 1840 to present. These 1200 burials reflect the approximate number of immigrants who were born in Ireland and died in Milwaukee, Wisconsin based on census records found on Ancestry.com (Ancestry.com 2025). Further analysis excluded the burials (405 in total) from Wood National cemetery as this is a military cemetery with uniform headstones.

Excluding the Wood National Cemetery headstones resulted in a total of 816 headstones from ten cemeteries (Table 3). For comparability to the 170 headstones in Data set #1, a sample size of 249 headstones for Data set #2 was chosen. Using the ratio system described in Chapter 3: Research Methods, the total number of headstones was rounded to 243 and then when the zeros were replaced with 1's, it ended up with a final sample size of 249 headstones. As described in Chapter 3: Research Methods, each of these headstones were photographed and their attributes documented in an Excel table (Appendix A).

Total Number of Graves

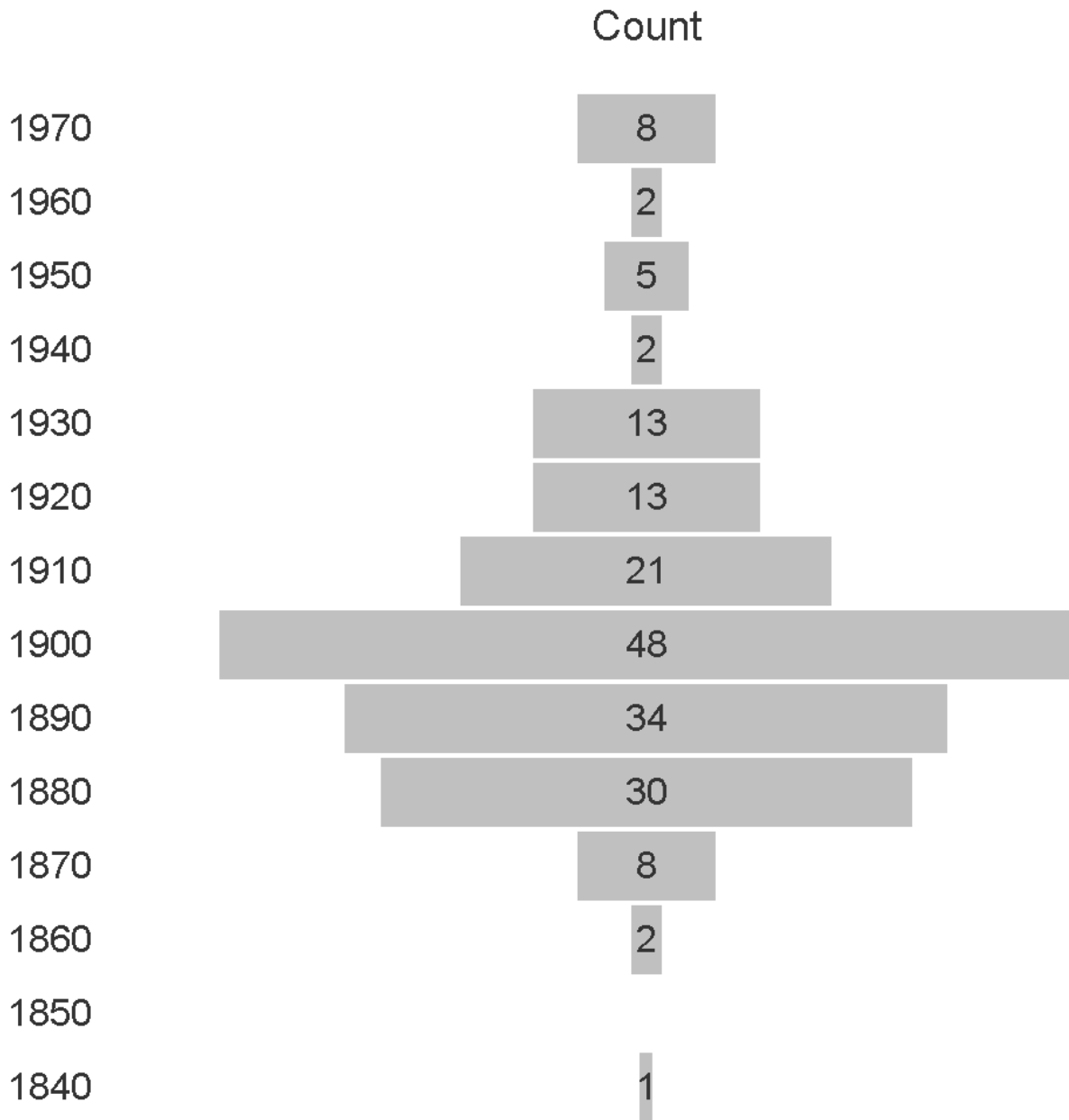


Figure 21. Total count of headstones in Milwaukee by year.

Out of the 249 headstones, 62 (25%) had no visible marker. The lack of a marker could be from weather destroying the headstones, vandalism, or even that a marker never existed for that grave. Due to the lack of information, the lack of markers was not analyzed in this study

which brings the total number of headstones studied to 187. In all, this thesis project recorded symbols on a total of 187 visible headstones that range in date from 1843 to 1979 (Figure 22).

Headstone Placement

Data set #2 starts in 1840 and ends in 1970. During this time frame all of the headstones are erect and located in a cemetery. The headstones were free standing, which means that they were not directly attached to anything like a church or mausoleum. This is possible in the United States because there is more space than there is in Europe. Due to the lack of space, exhumation was common practice in Europe. Exhumation is a practice where after being temporarily buried in an individual plot, the body would be dug up and relocated to a communal family crypt (Mytum 2009:164). Another body would then be buried in the now empty individual plot. This was and still is a common practice throughout much of Europe (Mytum 2009:164) and was due to that fact that there were too many people and not enough land to bury them all. While exhumation was not widely practiced in Ireland, it was still more common than in America, which is notable (Mytum 2009:164).

Headstone Iconography

The five religious symbols present on the City of Milwaukee headstones were: IHS, Death's Head, Latin Cross, Celtic Cross, and Urn. The headstones in Milwaukee do not include the INRI, the Instruments of the Passion, or Sun symbols. While 187 headstones with visible symbols were recorded were recorded, some of these had multiple designs on them. In all, a total of 278 designs were recorded on 187 headstones with visible symbols.

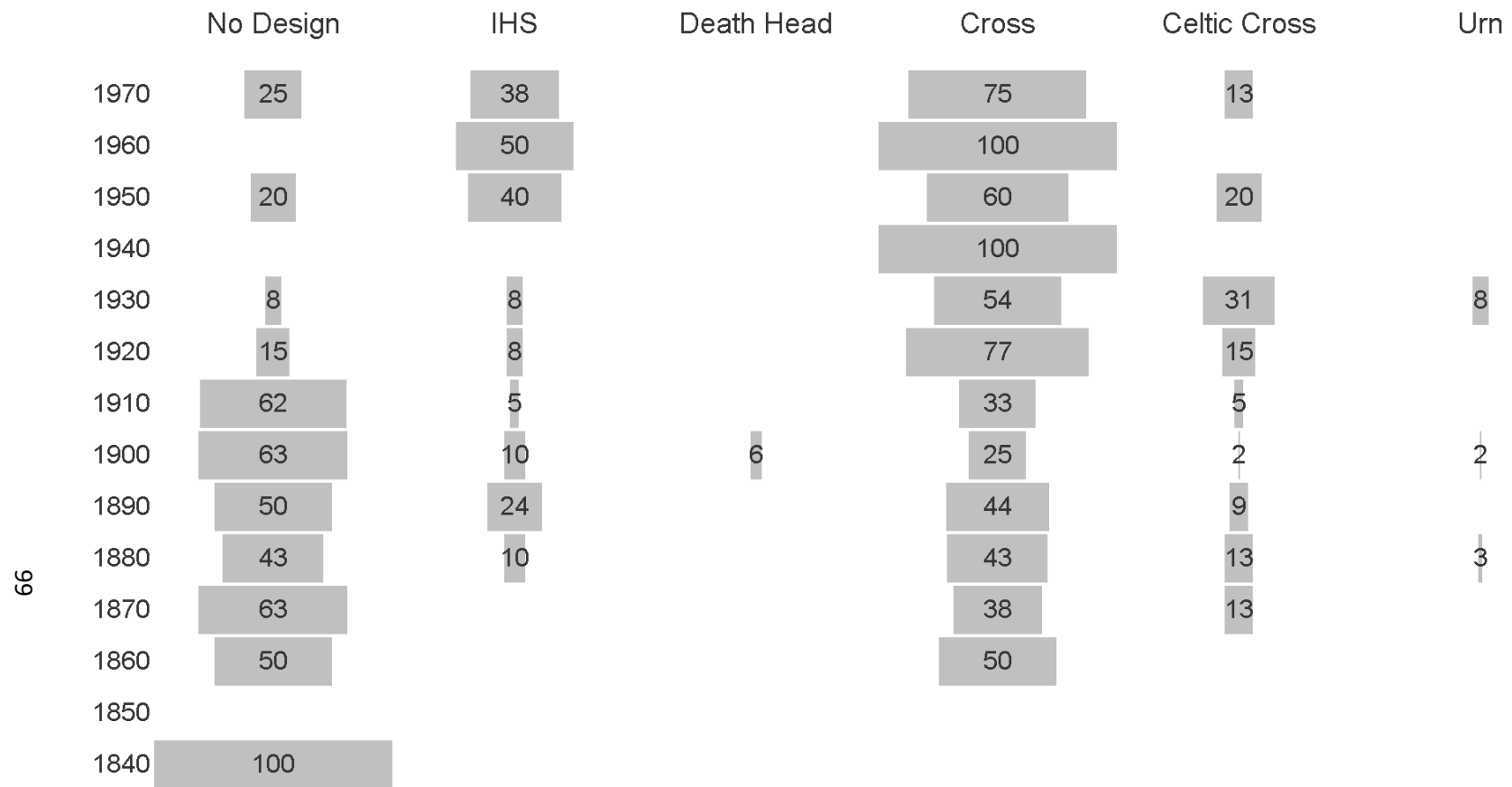


Figure 22. Standardized number of each design by year in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

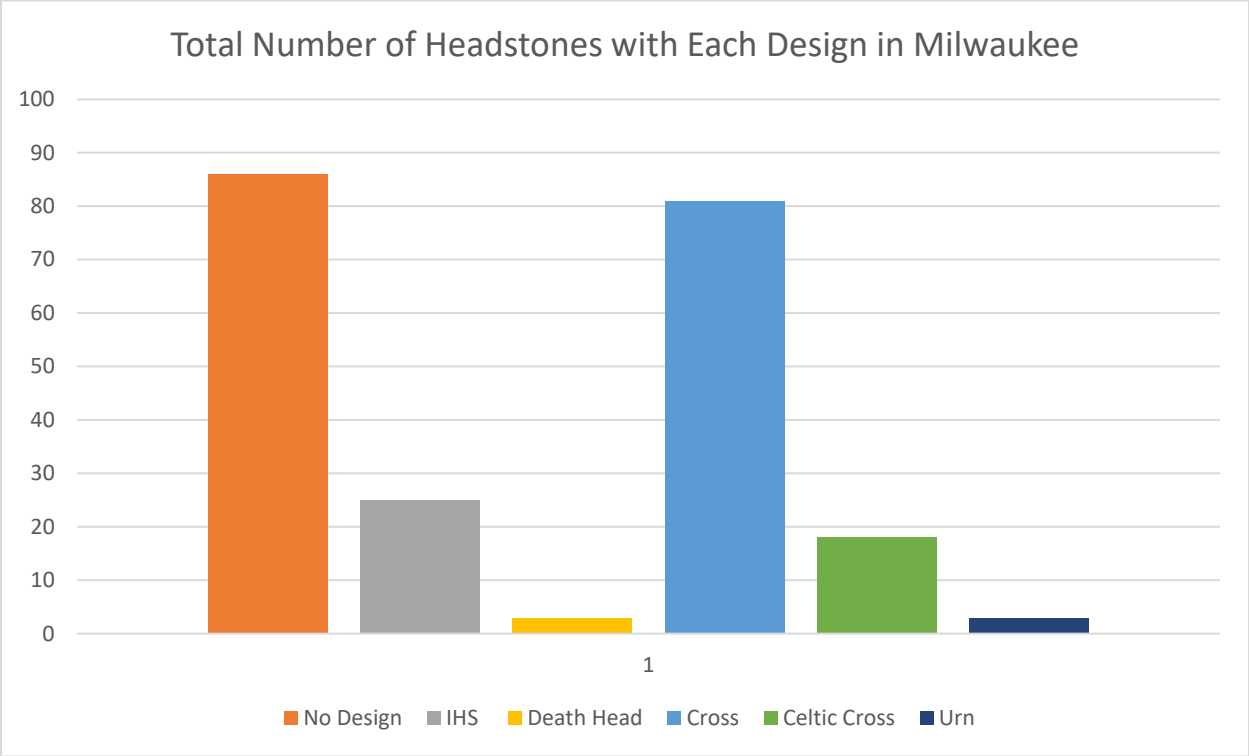


Figure 23. Total number of headstones of each design in Milwaukee from 1840 to 1970

Figure 23 provides a visual overview of how frequently each design occurred in Data set #2. It takes all the years and combines them into a total amount. The total amount is then divided by 187 to obtain the percentage of how frequent these symbols are. 187 is the total number of headstones analyzed in this study and explained more in Table 3. There are 86 (46%) headstones that have no design. IHS is present on 25 (13%) headstones. The Death’s Head is present on 3 (2%) headstones. The Latin Cross is present on 81 (43%) headstones. The Celtic Cross is present on 18 (10%) headstones. Finally, the Urn is present on 3 (2%) of the headstones. As seen in Figure 23, No design is the most common with the Latin Cross shortly behind it. IHS and the Celtic Cross similarly common. Finally, the Death’s Head and the Urn are both the least

frequently seen designs in the Milwaukee study.

IHS (1880 to 1970). IHS accounts for 13% of all headstones recorded for Data set #2. According to Figure 22, IHS first appeared in 1880, appearing in a standardized count of 8 of the total headstones that decade. There was a slight increase in 1890, with IHS being found on a standardized count of 13 headstones. It stayed constant until 1940 when there was no record of IHS. However, in 1950, there was a resurgence with it appearing in a standardized count of 33 headstones, with a jump to a standardized count of 50 headstones in 1960.

Death's Head (1900). Looking at Figure 22, it shows that the Death's Head is only present in 1900 in a standardized count of 5 headstones, which equates to three headstones total. This accounts for 2% of all headstones for Data set #2. This makes it the least observed design.

Latin Cross (1860 to 1970). The Latin Cross was the most frequent design, appearing eighty-one times throughout the time period of this study, which accounts for 43% of the headstones. According to Figure 22, the Latin Cross appeared in the 1860's with a standardized count of 33 headstones and stayed around that amount until it reduced to a standardized count of 20 in 1900. Then it started to climb again with a standardized count of 30 in 1910 and 67 in 1920. It was on a standardized count of 100 headstones in 1940 and 1960. It even had a standardized count of 75 headstones in 1970.

Celtic Cross (1870 to 1970). The Celtic Cross, which is a more elaborate design, was less common, appearing eighteen times in Milwaukee, which accounts for 10% of the headstones recorded for Data set #2. It first appeared in a standardized count of 10 headstones in 1870 (Figure 22). Then it reduced in frequency to a standardized count of 2 headstones in 1900 but

then grew in frequency with the highest standardized count for the Celtic cross of 27 headstones in 1930. It was not seen at all in 1940 or 1960 but was seen on a standardized count of 17 headstones in 1950 and a standardized count of 13 headstones in 1970.

Urn (1880 to 1930). As seen in Figure 22, the urn only appears in a standardized count of 3 headstones in 1880, 2 headstones in 1900, and 7 headstones in 1930. This symbol accounts for only 2% of the headstones recorded.

No Design (1840 to 1970). A total of eighty-six headstones had markers that were readable but had no design. This accounts for 46% of all headstones in Data set #2. Figure 22 shows that having no design on headstones was common; a standardized count of around 30 to 50 headstones did not have a design between 1870 and 1890, with that number going up to 57 in 1910. It drastically dropped to 13 in 1920 and 0 in 1940. It came back to a standardized count of 17 headstones and 25 headstones in 1950 and 1970 respectively.

Table 5. Key historical events and the dates the symbols are present

Dates	Events	No Design	IHS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn	Sun
1700's	Linen Manufacturing restrictions									
1718	First wave of Immigrants									
1720	First wave of Immigrants									
1730	First wave of Immigrants									
1740	First wave of Immigrants									
1755	First wave of Immigrants									
1760										
1770										
1780										
1793	Restrictions lifted against Catholics									
1800										
1810										
1820										
1830										
1840										
1845 to 1850	Great Potato Famine									
Mid 1800's	Mid 1800's Second wave of immigrants									
1860	The Sinking of the Lady Elgin/ American Civil War									
1870										
1880										
1892	Third Ward Fire									
1900										
1910	World War I									
1920	Irish War of Independence									
1930										
1940	World War II									
1950										
1960										

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis project used the symbols found on headstones in Ireland and Milwaukee to test the idea that headstones can be used as a proxy for the expression and retention of ethnic and religious identity (Keister 2004:11). In addition to the deceased's name and date of birth/death, symbols, both religious and decorative are found on headstones all over the world. As stated in Chapter 1: Introduction, the research questions were:

1. What is the iconography present on Milwaukee Irish headstones during the period from 1840 to 1970?
2. How does the iconography change during this time?
3. How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography compare to the iconography present on Irish headstones from 1730 to 1930? Is there evidence of new or hybrid styles on the Milwaukee Irish headstones?
4. How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography relate to changes in cultural identity of Irish diaspora populations?

These research questions were addressed by comparing headstone count, placement and iconography from Milwaukee (1840 to 1970) and Ireland from 1730 to 1970. The expectations were that the two data sets would show that designs in Milwaukee on headstones of Irish immigrants mimic the designs found on headstones in Ireland or that the immigrants modified their designs initially to avoid being labeled as Irish Catholics at a time when that was still

considered socially problematic. While Catholics found some acceptance with Catholic churches, and therefore Catholic cemeteries, to the public at large, Catholics still had to be careful with how prominent or vocal they were about being Catholic (Brighton 2008:142). This does lend to the expectation that within Catholic cemeteries, more prominent Catholic symbols would be visible, however, this thesis project does not delve into the differences in symbols between different Christian sects.

Research Questions

Research Question 1

What is the iconography present on Milwaukee Irish headstones during the period from 1840 to 1970?

The iconography present on Milwaukee Irish headstones during 1840 to 1970 were IHS, Death's head, Latin Cross, Celtic Cross, and Urn (Figure 22). IHS is present on 25 (13%) headstones. The Death's Head is present on 3 (2%) headstones. The Latin Cross is present on 81 (43%) headstones. The Celtic Cross is present on 18 (10%) headstones. Finally, the Urn is present on 3 (2%) of the headstones. The timeline and fluctuations of all the symbols are discussed above in Chapter 4: Analysis and Results, along with being shown in Figure 22.

Research Question 2

How does the iconography on Milwaukee Irish headstones change during this time (from 1840 to 1970)?

The iconography fluctuates during this time, starting with the Latin cross. The Latin cross

is seen throughout the time period, becoming more common after 1920. IHS appeared shortly after in 1890, but became common in 1950. The Celtic cross is present throughout much of the time frame with fluctuating frequency, with peaks in 1930, 1950, and 1970. Death's Head and Urn are the least common only appearing three times. A more detailed account of the religious iconography change during this time is listed above in Chapter 4: Analysis and Results and in Figure 22.

Research Question 3

How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography compare to the iconography present on Irish headstones from 1730 to 1970? Is there evidence of new or hybrid styles on the Milwaukee Irish headstones?

When comparing Data Set #1 to Data Set #2 it is clear that there is some connection between the religious symbols found (Table 6). All of the religious iconographic types present in the Irish Milwaukee headstones have a correlate on Irish headstones, but the reverse is not true. The thesis data shows that there is still a connection to Irish heritage, including the Catholic religion through iconography. There is evidence that the headstones in Milwaukee mimic the designs from the headstones in Ireland just a few decades later (Figure 20, Figure 22). For example, IHS was common in Ireland in 1850 and then became common in Milwaukee in 1890 (Figure 20, Figure 22). Another example is the Celtic cross which appeared in Ireland in 1830 and then appeared in Milwaukee in 1870 (Figure 28). This aligns with the data since the designs used in Milwaukee were ones that the immigrants would have seen in Ireland a decade or two before emigrating. A deeper discussion about the analysis of the headstones and how

they compare across data sets is present below.

After analyzing all the data from both Milwaukee (Data Set #2) and Ireland (Data Set #1), the next step was to compare and evaluate the results. The time frame for the whole study is from 1730 to 1970. However, the Milwaukee sample starts at 1840. The Ireland sample starts earlier for a few reasons. First of all, there are more data available for earlier dates in Ireland since people were in Ireland longer, and many of the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee emigrated there around the 1840's. Second, to determine whether or not Irish immigrants brought headstone symbols from Ireland to Milwaukee, earlier samples would need to be analyzed in Ireland since the immigrants would have had to have seen the designs in Ireland before emigrating. This establishes a baseline of symbols and trends that the Irish immigrants would have been exposed to when they lived in Ireland. As mentioned in Chapter 1: Introduction, this thesis project does not analyze the stylistic changes of the symbols, only if they are present or absent and in what quantities. Analyzing the stylistic changes is outside the scope of this project and is considered an important future research topic. However, there is some evidence of stylistic changes between the two data sets as seen in Figure 24 and Figure 25, both Celtic crosses from the 1890's but with very different styles. Figure 24 is a simple Celtic cross with IHS inscribed on it, while Figure 25 has ornate flowers on the whole cross. Figure 26 and Figure 27 are also good examples of this. They are both crosses from 1870-1880's however, one is a block cross inscribed into the stone while the other is a cross sculpture on top of a headstone. Analysis of stylistic changes in specific images, especially the Celtic Cross, which is still used to mark Irish ancestry in cemeteries across the United States today, is a future research topic that could help determine how the changes in Milwaukee Irish iconography may relate to changes in

cultural identity.



*Figure 25. Celtic Cross sculpture.
Cathedral Church of St. Canice &
Round Tower Cemetery, photo by
author*

*Figure 24. Celtic Cross sculpture.
Calvary Cemetery, photo by author*





*Figure 26. Latin Cross symbol.
Calvary Cemetery, photo by author*

*Figure 27. Latin Cross sculpture.
Bunratty Graveyard, photo by
author*



Headstone Placement

The placement of headstones in Milwaukee as well as Ireland was recorded and analyzed to identify differences and similarities between the two data sets. While this thesis project mostly focused on the religious iconography on headstones, in order to properly compare headstones from Milwaukee and Ireland their placement needs to be taken into account. Analyzing the headstone placement would provide more information on the immigrants' cultural identity and whether it reflects changes like immigration.

The data for headstone placement in Ireland versus Milwaukee is extremely different. For starters, all the headstones in Milwaukee are erect. This is common in the United States and how many cemeteries have traditionally operated (Veit 2009:119). The headstones in Ireland, however, do have headstones on the wall, on the ground, and erect. According to Figure 17, in 1750 and 1760 there are more Irish headstones found on the wall or on the ground than erect. Having headstones on the walls of churches was a constant practice in 1730 and continuing until the 1930's. Again, it is possible that these specific people were of some importance within the church to gain this place of honor. Having headstones on the ground did not become a frequent practice until 1740; it was most common in 1790, but it started to fall out of favor by the end of the 1800's.

In 1790s Ireland, there was a decrease in the number of headstones found on the wall and an increase in those found on the ground or erect. This is when erect headstones become common and maintain their prevalence. After 1850 there is a dramatic decrease in the number

of headstones on the wall or on the ground. Erect headstones decrease somewhat simply because the total number of headstones decrease. This is because there are fewer people in Ireland due to mass immigration. It is also possible that there are less headstones because people have less money due to the Great Famine. Erect headstones continue to be the most frequent type until the end of the study's time frame (1930).

As seen above, a few decades before the sample in Milwaukee starts, the headstones in Ireland were mostly erect. While there were still some headstones found on the wall or on the ground, erect headstones had become commonplace. All of the headstones found in Milwaukee for this study were erect. This is the norm in America. As seen above the headstones in Ireland became mostly erect in 1780, which is prior to the headstones from the study in Milwaukee. This is extremely common in the United States with very few instances of headstones being found inside churches on the floor or the wall. This is for multiple reasons, one being that the Puritans introduced the tradition of an outdoor cemetery when they emigrated (Veit 2009:117). Another reason is that the United States simply had the space that Europe did not have, especially in urban areas. A final reason that the United States tends to have more headstones outside than in a church is that people, specifically Christians, tended to replicate the traditions of the cultures that came before them. In general, the United States does not have the same type of grand cathedral churches as Ireland, nor are they as old as the ones in Ireland. It is also the case that most people who were buried inside the church were either extremely wealthy and influential or members of the clergy, like saints or bishops (Deliyannis 1995:96; Keister 2004:13). Immigrants generally would not have had the money or influence to be buried in these places of honor. These are reasons why churches would not have headstones on the walls

as they did in Ireland.

Whether the frequency of erect headstones in Ireland affected the position of headstones in Milwaukee or whether the headstones in Milwaukee simply followed what was common in the United States is hard to determine. As a whole, it seems as though the trend of headstones being erect is a broader trend extending to both the United States and Ireland. Since most of the headstones in Ireland were erect starting in 1810, the Milwaukee sample does not seem to be an adoption of an American trait but reflects a broader historical trend.

Headstone Iconography

The time frame of the analysis of symbol frequency was compared across locations to see if there are any correlations. The symbols that were compared are IHS, Death's Head, Latin Cross, Celtic Cross and Urn. These are the designs that were found on headstones in both Ireland and Milwaukee within the time frame of this study (Table 6). These are all the religious symbols found on Milwaukee Irish headstones, which means that all the religious iconography present in Milwaukee was also present in Ireland. It is important that these designs appear in both places in order to properly compare them, however there is also value in analyzing symbols that might not be present in both locations.

Absent from the Milwaukee study are INRI, the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ, and the Sun. The reason that some designs are not found in Milwaukee or are not as common in Milwaukee as in Ireland could be due to the way the sample was chosen. The sample in Milwaukee was drawn from all the recorded immigrants who came from Ireland and were buried in Milwaukee. The sample from Ireland, however, consisted of headstones that had

readable dates and were visually interesting. This approach may have skewed the sample towards headstones that had symbols present.

There could be multiple reasons why the INRI, Instruments of the Passion of the Christ, and Sun symbols are not found in Milwaukee. The symbols that were absent in Milwaukee tend to be heavily specific to Catholics as well as being more ornate. One possibility is that even though Catholics were mostly accepted in Milwaukee, recent immigrants might not have wanted to send such a strong signal that they were devout Irish Catholics since there was some discrimination against the Irish (McCaffrey 2004:5). Latin crosses and even Death's Heads are generally more subtle and are found in the funeral symbolism of other Christian sects (Keister 2004:141). If they felt the need to hide or downplay their religion the recent immigrants might have opted to avoid such overtly Catholic imagery. However, IHS is relatively common in the Milwaukee data set, and this is also considered a Catholic symbol (Mytum 2009:179).

Another reason could be that ornate designs like the Instruments of the Passion of the Christ were too expensive for most immigrants to afford. As mentioned above, due to the Famine, people were leaving Ireland quickly and without much money (Brighton 2008:133). This, along with the expense of immigration, leads to the inference that ornate and detailed headstones would have been beyond the reach of most of the people included in the data set. Many of the symbols in the Milwaukee study were simple designs that were probably less expensive. Along with funds being a contributing factor in the ornateness of the designs, the stone carvers would also have to know how to carve the more complicated symbols. Often stone carvers would have a set of motifs that were common for the area and that might have even been pre-carved in the stone (Donnelly et alia 2020:136-137). This would mean that any

change from the standard designs would cost more money than an average headstone which most Irish immigrants likely did not have. This reason seems the most likely as the Irish immigrants in Milwaukee did not seem to hide the fact that they were Catholic, with Catholic symbols adorning headstones and attending Catholic churches. Lack of funds is very common for immigrants since it is the reason many of them left Ireland, along with the fact that immigrating is extremely expensive. Determining the impact of economic factors in headstone selection is another future research topic.

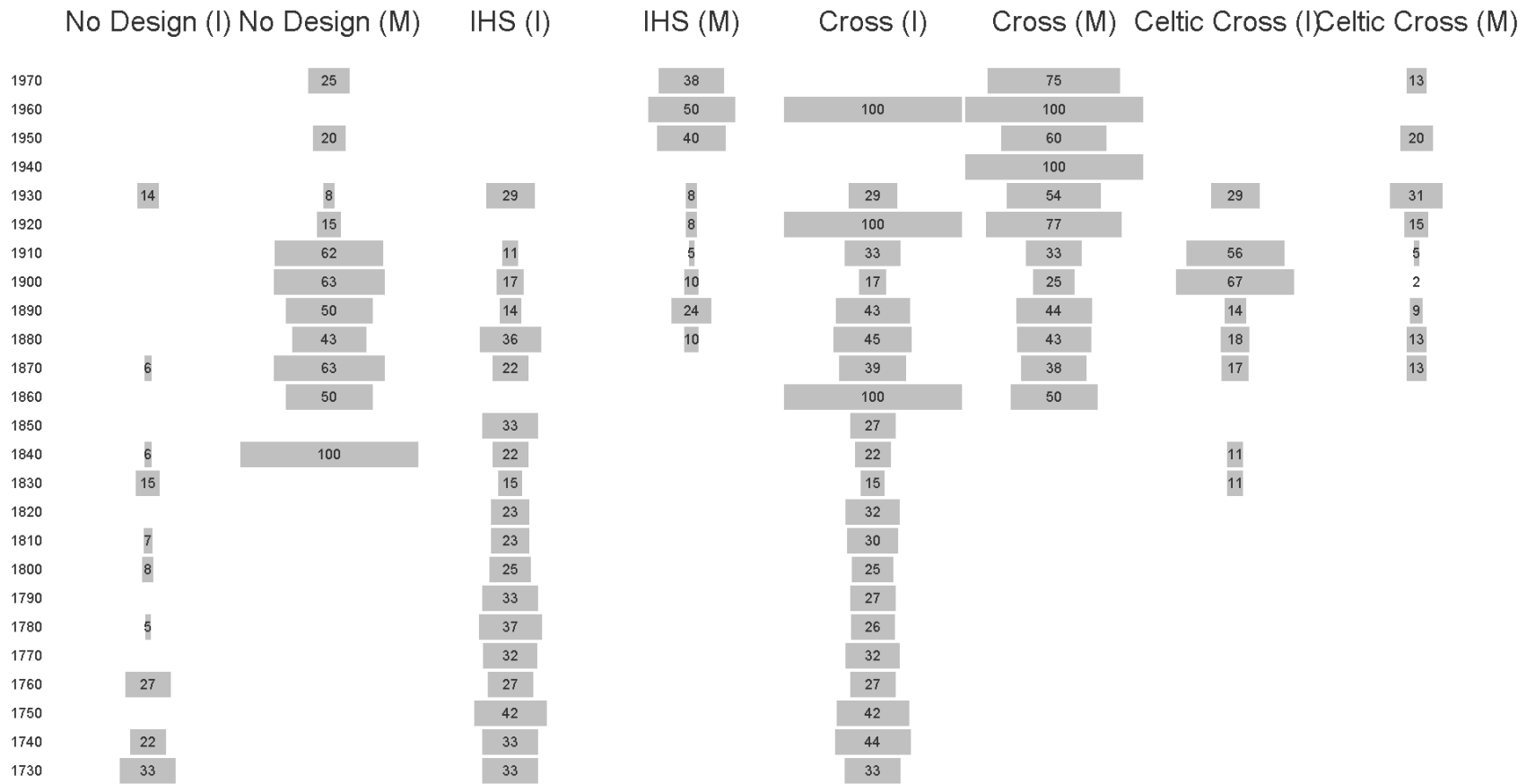


Figure 28. Comparison of symbols from Ireland and Milwaukee

Figure 28 allows the frequency of the symbols in Milwaukee and Ireland to be compared for the dates 1840 to 1970. By comparing the frequency of the symbols between the two data sets, we can see whether the same symbols were important to both groups or whether different symbols were important. If both groups shared a similar cultural identity, then the expectation would be that the symbols would be similarly common, whereas if the immigrant group had adapted its identity markers to the new environment then different symbols would be more common. In this study the frequency of the symbols are fairly similar, which shows that the two groups continued to share a similar cultural identity in spite of the relocation to a new cultural context.

In both tables the Latin Cross is one of the most frequent designs. Also, in both tables the Death's Head and the Urn are not common. While both designs are more frequent in the Ireland study, they are still on the less common side. Interestingly, the prevalence of the Celtic Cross is almost the same in both samples. It is present on 22 (12%) headstones in Ireland and 18 (10%) headstones in Milwaukee. One major difference between the two tables is the IHS. In Ireland, IHS is one of the most frequent designs, appearing on 76 headstones, whereas in Milwaukee, it is one of the less frequent, appearing on 25 headstones.

IHS. The IHS design comes in and out of frequency in both Ireland and Milwaukee throughout the time period of this study 1730-1970 in Ireland and 1840-1970 in Milwaukee. It was most frequent in Ireland in 1750, 1780-1790, and 1850. In Ireland in 1790 there were the greatest number of headstones with IHS with ten. In Milwaukee IHS fluctuated in frequency less. It was consistent throughout 1880 to 1970 but was most common in 1890 with eight

headstones and in 1970. This shows that IHS was more common in Ireland at least three decades before it was common in Milwaukee.

Death's Head. The Death's Head was not very frequent in either Ireland or Milwaukee. In Ireland, it was consistently present on a handful of headstones from 1770 to 1880. In Milwaukee, it only appeared in 1900 on three headstones. This shows that it appeared in Milwaukee a few decades after its appearance in Ireland. It would be interesting to compare the prevalence of this symbol in Protestant cemeteries in both Ireland and Milwaukee; the expectation would be that both this and the Urn symbol would be more likely to appear in greater numbers in Christian cemeteries that were not Catholic. Comparing the different sects of Christianity to determine which symbols are more commonly seen and how that changes the frequency of the symbols is a topic for future research.

Latin Cross. The Latin Cross design was quite common throughout the period of study in both Ireland and Milwaukee. In Ireland the Latin cross is most frequent in 1750 and then remains common until 1830. It increases again in frequency in 1850 until a dip in 1900. In Milwaukee, the Latin cross is most common in 1890 and remained consistently common with another increase in frequency in 1920. It also increased frequency in 1970. This shows quite a bit of overlap in frequency between Ireland and Milwaukee, which makes sense because it was very common in both places for a long time. However, it's still possible to see that it became common in Ireland first and then continued to be common in Milwaukee a few decades later. Some of the spikes in frequency were also a couple decades later in Milwaukee than in Ireland.

Celtic Cross. The Celtic Cross was the last design to appear, starting in 1830 in Data set

#1. It continued until 1930 and was most frequent in 1900. In Milwaukee, the Celtic cross appeared in 1870 and continued throughout the time period until 1970. While not the most common, it was consistent throughout the years. According to the data, the Celtic cross appeared in Milwaukee a few decades after it appeared in Ireland with significant overlap due to the consistent presence of the design.

The origins of the Celtic Cross were a source of some academic debate. The accepted origin is an evolution and merging of designs throughout the years. It started as the monogram of chi rho (XP), which are the first two letters of Christ in Greek (Bryce 1995:35; Roe 1965:213). A common depiction of the Chi-Rho is to have the X crossed over the stem of the P, like Figure 29.



Figure 29. Chi-Rho symbol (photo by Bryce 1995:36)

Over time this symbol was simplified so instead of an X across the P, there was only a line perpendicular to the stem of the P, making a cross. The symbol of the Chi-Rho began to be enclosed in a circle and eventually the curved portion of the P melded with the circle, creating a cross within a circle. This process is seen in Figure 30.

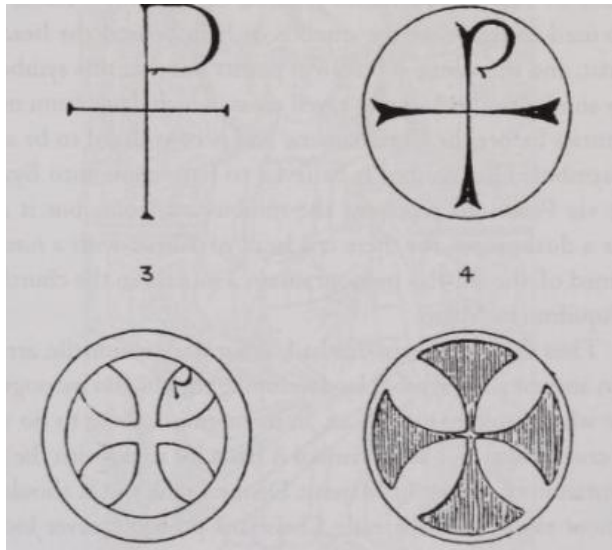


Figure 30. Chi-Rho symbol (photo by Bryce 1995:37)

However, this cross within a circle is not the final version of a Celtic Cross. During this time, Roman generals would have trophies created of them for battlefields. These trophies were generally their picture encircled with a wreath and placed on a stake that they could have carried into battle or placed near their tent. This trophy design became popular in Late Antique art with Jesus Christ's face replacing the Roman generals as a show of Jesus's victory over death (Roe 1965:217). Melding the trophy which consisted of a cross holding a wreath with Jesus's portrait inside of it, and the Chi-Rho evolved into a cross within a circle, produced the shape known as the Celtic Cross.

The Celtic Cross was an important symbol used during the Celtic Revival to denote Irish pride and support for Irish autonomy. The Celtic Revival was a time when Ireland wanted to create a national identity for itself, and the most common way for a country to define itself is through symbols. This push for identity started in the late 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s (Donlon 1990:32-33; Barrett 2002:223). At the core of this movement were some symbols that were considered the epitome of Ireland, these symbols were harp, shamrock, round tower, and

High Cross (Donlon 1990:32; Hutchinson 2001:510). These symbols along with Celtic swirls, Celtic knots, and interlacing became extremely popular as a way to denote support of the Celtic Revival and were seen on things such as logos, letterheads, and even in magazine text (Donlon 1990:32). These symbols and designs were reminiscent of the past which can be seen through the use of ornate letters taken from the Book of Kells and used to decorate magazines and journals (Donlon 1990:33). This new form of Celtic Revival art was seen in drawings, paintings, and sculptures as well as in jewelry and clothing (Donlon 1990:33; Hutchinson 2001:511).

Such material culture markers drawn from the past support the idea that the Celtic Revival was about patriotic nationalism and defining themselves as separate from others, especially the British (Barrett 2002:224). The Protestant in Ireland wanted to separate themselves from the British and solidify a connection to Ireland whereas the Catholics joined the Celtic Revival to define themselves as separate from the British to reject British control and even voice some grievances against the Protestants in Ireland (Hutchinson 2001:505-506). Throughout all of this, both Protestants and Catholics used the symbol of the Celtic Cross in order to solidify their Irish-ness and separate themselves from the British (Hutchinson 2001:510-511). This solidifies the Celtic Cross's symbolism as uniquely Irish as it is seen in both Catholic and Protestant cemeteries (Hutchinson 2001:511).

Urn. The Urn was also not very frequent in either Ireland or America. The urn appeared in Ireland in 1760 and ended in 1890. It was most common in 1820 and 1830. In Milwaukee, it only appeared three times, once in 1880, once in 1900, and once in 1930. While neither was common, it appeared in Milwaukee a few decades after it was common in Ireland. There was

some brief overlap, but only one decade.

Table 6. Table of symbols and whether they were present or absent in Ireland and Milwaukee along with the frequency of headstones from 1840 to 1970

<u>Symbols</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Milwaukee</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
IHS	X	22	X	25
INRI	X	1		
Death's Head	X	5	X	3
Celtic Cross	X	19	X	18
Latin Cross	X	38	X	81
Urn	X	6	X	3
Instruments of the Passion	X	1		
Sun	X	5		

Research Question 4

How does the Milwaukee Irish iconography relate to changes in cultural identity of Irish diaspora populations?

The Milwaukee Irish iconography relates to changes in cultural identity because it shows

a connection to their heritage in Ireland. Even though Americans in the early years of the study (1840-1900) did not look favorably upon Irish or Catholics, the immigrants still decided to embrace their cultural identity through Irish Catholic symbols on their headstones. However, there were a few symbols found in Ireland that were not found in Milwaukee which might indicate a change in cultural identity from Ireland to Milwaukee.

Headstone Placement

This study examines how the Milwaukee Irish iconography relates to changes in cultural identity of the Irish immigrant population. However, by analyzing the differences or similarities in the headstone placement between the two locations, it would provide more information on the cultural identity and possible change. Since all of the headstones from Milwaukee are erect headstones, it makes it slightly harder to look at patterns. However, since the Milwaukee dates start in 1840 which coincides with the Ireland dates of erect headstones being common, it appears that the positions of the headstones in Ireland and Milwaukee are similar. The Irish immigrants did appear to follow the traditions of the United States by having erect headstones but it may have been the only option of headstone to purchase so it would have been difficult for them to deviate from the norm and have them on the wall or the floor. Also, during the time frame of the study in Ireland (1730-1930), while headstones were found on the wall and on the floor, erect headstones were the most common. Consequently, while there may not have been many options for headstone placement, the Irish immigrants mimicked the placements found in Ireland, showing a strong connection of cultural identity to Ireland.

Headstone Iconography

In the mid-1800's there was a wave of immigrants that came from Ireland to America. These people were mostly Catholics and contributed to the large Irish population in Milwaukee (Brighton 2008:133). The first major event that affected the Irish living in Milwaukee was the sinking of the Lady Elgin (Clark 1946:407). This occurred in 1860 and decimated the Irish population. Also happening around this time was the start of the Civil War in 1861 (Gurda 1999:96). This is the same time that the Latin cross appeared on headstones in Milwaukee (Figure 22; Table 5) which could indicate that these events were related to the increase in the Latin cross symbol. This could be due to the fact that the Latin cross design is a simple but powerful symbol in the Catholic religion which makes it a common and standard design for headstones (Donnelly et alia 2020; Keister 2004; Healey 1977; Mytum 2004; Mytum 2006; Mytum and Evans 2002). The appearance of the Latin cross on Irish Milwaukee headstones at the time of the Civil War warrants further exploration as a future research topic. It seems logical that the people who died in the war, as well as in the sinking of the Lady Elgin would have Latin crosses on their headstones due to the sudden and unexpected nature of the deaths.

Another disaster for the Irish community in Milwaukee was the Third Ward fire in 1892. The Urn also appears in 1900 and then disappears again. While it seems illogical that the symbol of the Urn would disappear after 1900, it does seem connected to the event of the fire. World War I and II occurred from 1914 to 1918 and from 1939 to 1945. Although there are no clear changes in iconographic symbol frequency in 1910, in 1940 there is a marked increase in the Latin cross symbol. Here again, the data seems to show a connection between war and the greater frequency of the Latin cross. The other explanation is that it is just a very specific

coincidence. This would require further research and to delve into statistical significance. Other peaks of symbols include the increase in IHS in 1950, the increase of the Latin Cross starting in 1920 and the spike in the number of Celtic Cross designs in 1930. It is possible that the increase of the Latin Cross in 1920 was related to World War I; however, it had ended two years prior to the increase.

All of these events would have affected the Irish diaspora community in Milwaukee. It is expected to see major changes in the iconography on headstones due to the change in cultural identity after major losses and changes including devastating wars. However, the change in iconography only seems connected to the wars, with an increase in Latin Cross symbols and the Third Ward Fire with the introduction of the Urn. Other than the possible connection of the Latin Crosses to the various conflicts and the Urn connected to the fire, the iconography in the Milwaukee sample does not show any other connection to specific historic events. Instead, changes reflect links to headstone iconography that illustrate how deep and strong the connection with the homeland remained. The cultural identity of the Irish in Milwaukee retained close ties to Ireland.

Summary

There were five religious symbols recorded for Irish immigrants buried in Milwaukee and eight symbols recorded in Ireland. All five were also found in Ireland including IHS, Death's Head, Latin Cross, Celtic Cross and Urn while three symbols are present in Ireland but do not appear on Milwaukee Irish headstones (INRI, Instruments of the Passion of the Christ, and Sun). Iconographic trends through time show patterning with the religious iconography present on

Irish tombstones from 1730 to 1970 appearing on Milwaukee Irish headstones from 1840 to 1970. When this research project was initiated, three possible conclusions were hypothesized to examine for broad trends. This approach considers the Irish diaspora in Milwaukee as a cohesive whole and does not address the individual variation that likely existed; such variations are important and worthy of future research beyond the scope of this thesis project. The three possible hypotheses are that either Irish immigrants would retain to Irish Catholic traditions and cultures or they would completely relinquish Irish Catholic traditions and mimic American headstones. The third possible conclusion was that there would be a hybrid mix of symbols. For example, the Irish symbols would be mixed with American elements, such as willow trees which were common on the east coast headstones in the 18th century (Donnelly 2020: 325).

According to the thesis research, the designs in Milwaukee replicate the designs found in Ireland. There are slight differences in frequency of designs and even omission of some designs, however, these can be explained through discrepancies in sampling and reduction of funds after immigrating. There is clearly some influence on the designs of headstones, such as the possible lessening of specifically Irish or Catholic symbols in order to not draw attention. However, even that influence is limited and not strong enough to say that the symbols became “Americanized” nor were they drastically different from the designs in Ireland.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis project was to determine what iconography was found on Irish immigrant’s headstone in Milwaukee and compare them to iconography found on headstones in Ireland. This would examine whether immigrants held on to traditions from their

home country or adapted to the ways of their new country. If the symbols between the two data sets did not match at all then it would be indicative of immigrants adapting to America. This would show a change in the immigrants' cultural identity in forgoing their heritage to assimilate to the new community they immigrated to. If the iconography does match, then it would show that immigrants held on to traditions from Ireland. This would show that their cultural identity still reflects aspects of the Irish Catholic culture. The approach used here can be applied to other cultural groups who have immigrated to the United States and could be compared across time periods and regions. Since the United States is seen as the "melting pot," studies like this better explain the culture of the United States of America and its evolution.

A total of five symbols were found on headstones of Irish immigrants in Milwaukee that match those found on headstones in Ireland. Both headstone placement and designs appear in Milwaukee a few decades after appearing in Ireland. This shows that the same designs that were important to them in Ireland were still important to them in Milwaukee. While there are some slight differences in iconography and frequency, it is not different enough to state that Irish immigrants adapted their iconography to fit American ways. However, in most cases when it comes to culture and influence there is no hard line. If someone was to live somewhere new, it would be impossible for that place not to influence them to some degree. However, according to the results of the analysis presented in this thesis, the types of religious iconography present on headstones in Milwaukee do correspond with headstones in Ireland.

This study specifically analyzed religious designs of Irish immigrants in Milwaukee and compared them to religious designs found in Ireland. Future research could analyze the stylistic elements of iconographic types present in Ireland and Milwaukee. Studying the stylistic

differences could expand the discussion of cultural identity and how change in iconography on tombstones relates to it. To expand this research, non-religious designs could be included in the analysis, including occupational symbols as well as military symbols. While religion is important when it comes to mortuary practices, looking at different non-religious designs and how they change would be interesting specifically because they are non-religious. Other future research would be looking at headstones from other countries or cultures to see how they compare to headstones of immigrant communities in America. A good parallel project might be to examine the changes in Catholic iconography in Germany and Milwaukee, for example. Finally, it would be interesting to look at the headstones of Irish immigrants to America that settled on the east coast in places like New York. The discrimination against Irish immigrants was worse in New York than in Milwaukee so an addition to this study would be comparing those headstones to see how that discrimination affected iconography on the headstones (Parks 2014:35; Brighton 2008:136; McCaffrey 2004:7). Another future research topic would be to study the materials used to make headstones to see if the immigrants' headstones in Milwaukee were manufactured from less expensive material. It would also be interesting to see if headstones with poorer quality material correlate with fewer designs.

This thesis project analyzed headstones of Irish immigrants in Milwaukee to determine what religious iconography was present and compared it to headstones in Ireland to see how their cultural identity might have changed. The five symbols found in Milwaukee were IHS, Death's head, Latin cross, Celtic cross, and Urn. All of these symbols were also present in Ireland showing that the immigrants' cultural identity was still closely tied to Ireland and their heritage. Studies like this help expand the knowledge of culture of diaspora communities in the United

States and how they came to be.

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APPENDIX A

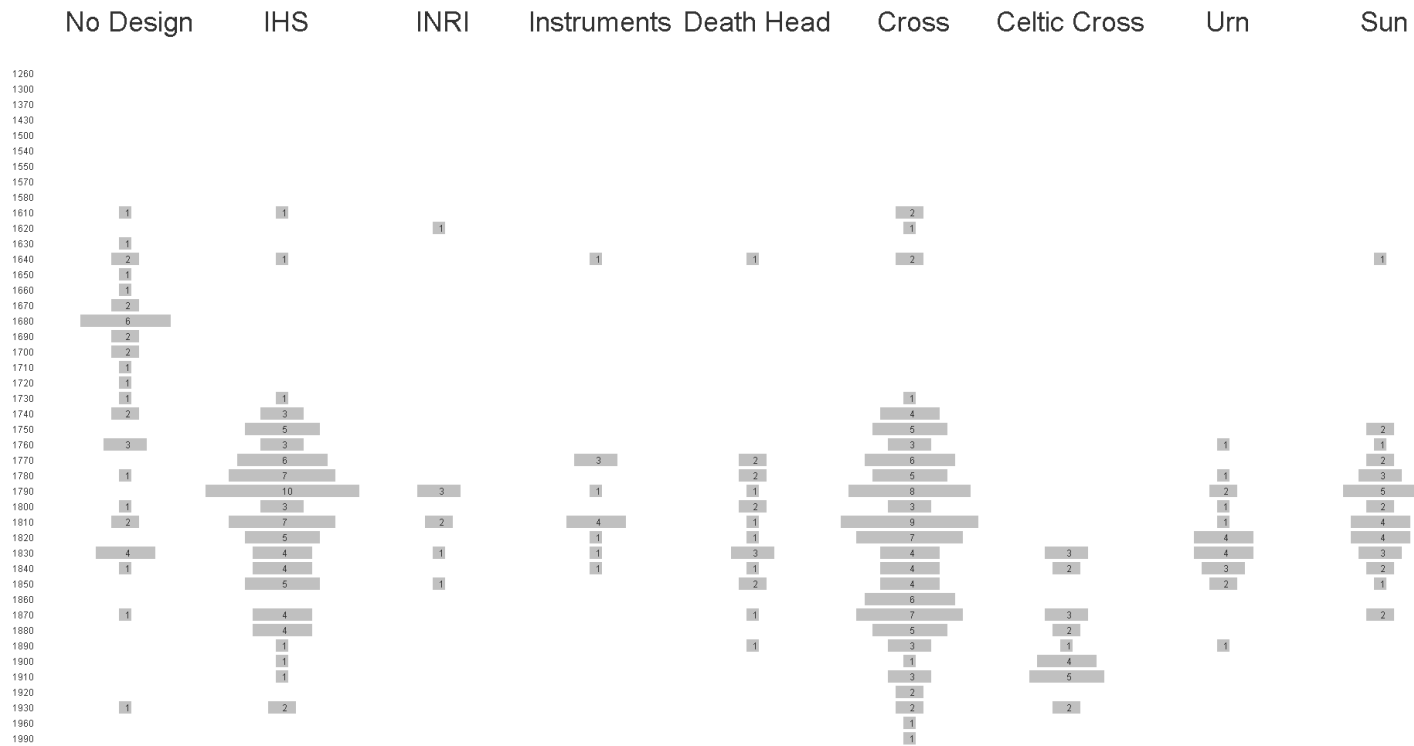


Figure A-1. Battleship Graph of designs on headstones in Ireland by exact count

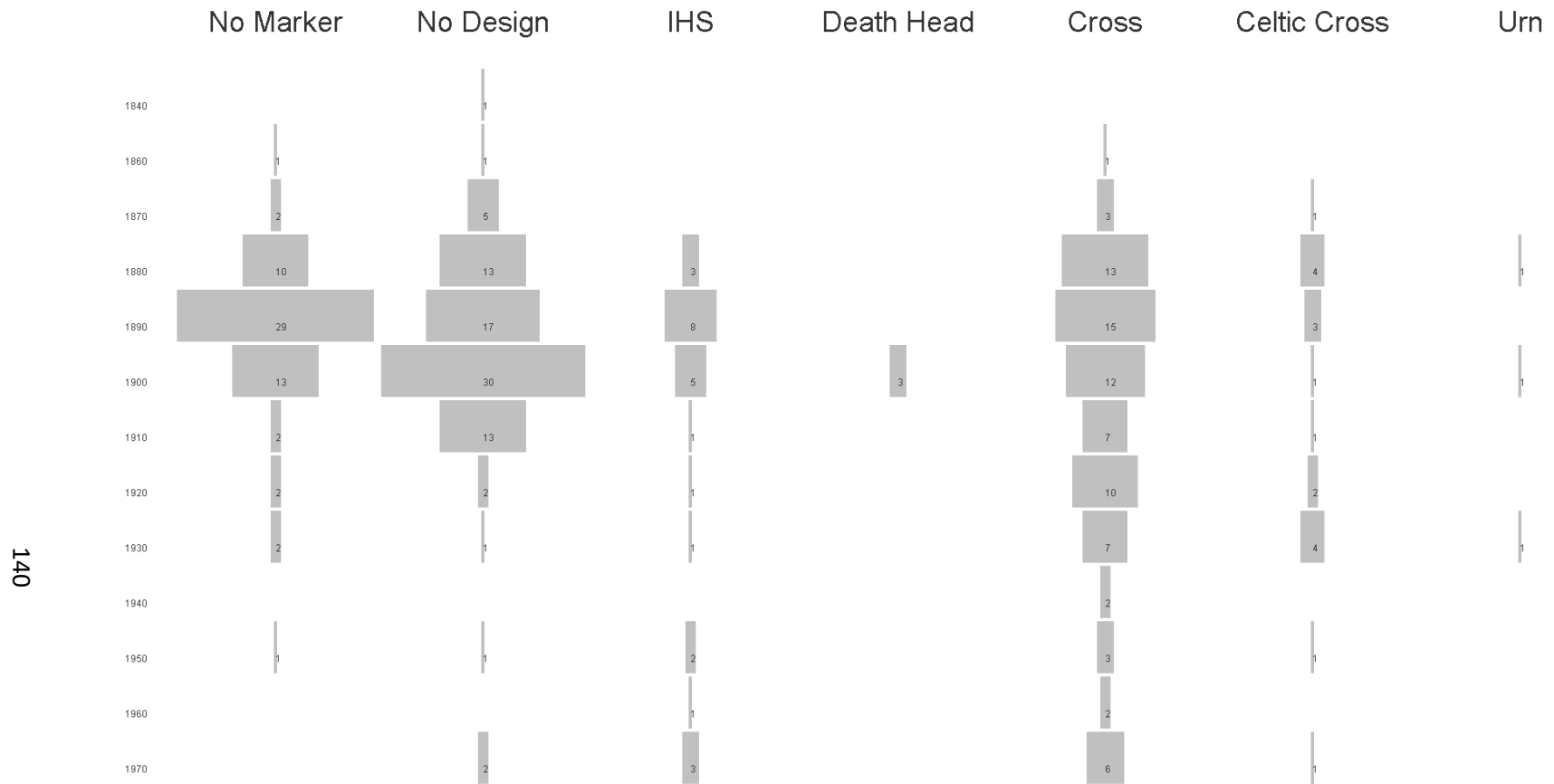


Figure A-2. Battleship Graph of designs on headstones in Milwaukee, WI by exact count

APPENDIX B

File name	Date	No Desigr	HIS	INRI	Instruments	Death	Head	Cross	Celtic	Cross	Urn	Sun
20190806_141936.jpg	1737		X					X				
20190810_130946.jpg	1737	X										
20190811_140807.jpg	1739											
20190808_104114.jpg	1740							X				
20190809_152141.jpg	1742	X										
20190811_140854.jpg	1744	X										
20190809_145553.jpg	1748		X					X				
20190812_150338.jpg	1748		X					X				
20190808_104206.jpg	1749		X					X				
20190812_150356.jpg	1750		X					X				
20190809_145600.jpg	1752		X					X				
20190809_145750.jpg	1757		X					X				X
20190809_145546.jpg	1758		X					X				X
20190809_150821.jpg	1758		X					X				
20190809_145649.jpg	1760		X					X				
20190811_140757.jpg	1760										X	
20190809_145609.jpg	1763		X					X				X
20190810_130740.jpg	1766											
20190808_103823.jpg	1767		X					X				
20190807_124735.jpg	1768	X										
20190808_164708.jpg	1769	X										
20190812_145033.jpg	1769	X										
20190820_172422.jpg	1770		X					X				X
20190809_150139.jpg	1771		X					X				X
20190806_142228.jpg	1772											
20190807_144730.jpg	1772						X					
20190813_155109.jpg	1772				X							
20190710_160442.jpg	1773		X				X	X				
20190710_155737.jpg	1774		X					X				
20190812_150753.jpg	1774		X					X				
20190808_165808.jpg	1774		X					X				
20190812_150635.jpg	1779				X							
20190814_102351.jpg	1779				X							
20190807_145006.jpg	1780		X				X					X
20190812_150220.jpg	1780	X										
20190812_150829.jpg	1780		X					X				X
20190813_155542.jpg	1780		X					X				X
20190822_124648.jpg	1780		X					X				
20190822_124933.jpg	1781		X					X				
20190808_164139.jpg	1783		X									
20190816_105830.jpg	1788						X				X	
20190819_104106.jpg	1789		X					X				
20190813_155011.jpg	1793		X					X				X
20190809_150835.jpg	1794		X	X				X				X
20190813_155125.jpg	1794		X									X
20190819_104146.jpg	1794		X	X				X		X		X
20190820_173610.jpg	1794		X				X	X				
20190812_115027.jpg	1795		X					X				X

File name	Date	No Desigr	HIS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn	Sun
20190806_141343.jpg	1796		X				X			
20190806_145703.jpg	1796		X				X			
20190820_172852.jpg	1796								X	
20190710_155822.jpg	1798		X							
20190809_150827.jpg	1799		X				X			
20190812_160623.jpg	1799			X	X					
20190808_121344.jpg	1800		X				X			
20190710_155657.jpg	1802		X				X			X
20190813_155553.jpg	1802		X			X	X		X	X
20190820_173412.jpg	1802	X								
20190808_115058.jpg	1805					X				
20190813_153016.jpg	1812						X			
20190813_155345.jpg	1814		X				X		X	X
20190807_144554.jpg	1816		X	X	X		X			
20190808_115107.jpg	1816	X								
20190809_134031.jpg	1816			X	X					
20190809_134800.jpg	1816		X		X		X			X
20190809_134139.jpg	1817		X		X		X			X
20190820_182108.jpg	1817		X				X			X
20190812_150003.jpg	1818	X								
20190820_180818.jpg	1818		X				X			
20190809_150723.jpg	1819		X			X	X			
20190813_152448.jpg	1819						X			
20190809_150047.jpg	1820		X			X	X			X
20190820_171127.jpg	1820		X				X			X
20190820_172829.jpg	1820								X	
20190814_155505.jpg	1821									
20190815_114615.jpg	1821						X			
20190809_145911.jpg	1822						X		X	
20190813_155444.jpg	1824		X				X		X	X
20190812_160008.jpg	1825		X				X		X	X
20190809_133949.jpg	1826		X		X		X			
20190808_115210.jpg	1827									
20190809_135017.jpg	1831	X								
20190809_150552.jpg	1831		X			X	X		X	X
20190812_145412.jpg	1833							X		
20190807_144643.jpg	1834							X		
20190820_172308.jpg	1834					X				
20190820_181255.jpg	1834		X				X			
20190822_124731.jpg	1834			X	X				X	
20190809_145029.jpg	1836	X								
20190809_145039.jpg	1836	X								
20190809_150632.jpg	1836		X				X			X
20190811_141224.jpg	1837								X	
20190820_170916.jpg	1838							X		
20190808_165805.jpg	1839	X								
20190809_152018.jpg	1839		X			X	X		X	X
20190807_150916.jpg	1840									

File name	Date	No Desigr	HIS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn	Sun
20190809_145317.jpg	1840		X				X		X	
20190812_122322.jpg	1840		X					X		
20190812_142958.jpg	1840		X	X		X	X			X
20190812_143100.jpg	1840									
20190815_114926.jpg	1843	X								
20190808_165207.jpg	1844						X		X	
20190809_144910.jpg	1847		X				X			
20190817_121605.jpg	1847								X	
20190809_135823.jpg	1848							X		
20190710_160521.jpg	1849									
20190808_165716.jpg	1849									X
20190812_145724.jpg	1851		X							
20190814_102713.jpg	1854									
20190809_135419.jpg	1856		X				X			
20190809_150006.jpg	1857		X	X		X	X		X	
20190710_161940.jpg	1858		X				X			
20190809_150523.jpg	1858		X			X	X		X	X
20190812_145905.jpg	1860						X			
20190811_140825.jpg	1861									
20190806_141951.jpg	1862						X			
20190814_155329.jpg	1862									
20190710_155253.jpg	1863						X			
20190808_165018.jpg	1865						X			
20190812_144532.jpg	1865						X			
20190814_111652.jpg	1865						X			
20190816_110211.jpg	1870						X			
20190809_135532.jpg	1871	X								
20190808_164936.jpg	1872						X			
20190816_122107.jpg	1872						X			
20190710_155755.jpg	1874							X		
20190816_110223.jpg	1876						X			X
20190819_103524.jpg	1876		X				X			X
20190710_160216.jpg	1877		X			X	X			
20190809_135850.jpg	1877		X				X			
20190814_103921.jpg	1878							X		
20190819_105123.jpg	1879		X					X		
20190816_110716.jpg	1881		X					X		
20190812_150711.jpg	1885		X				X			
20190814_103710.jpg	1885						X			
20190816_110508.jpg	1885						X			
20190820_181508.jpg	1888						X			
20190710_155922.jpg	1889		X				X			
20190806_123253.jpg	1889		X					X		
20190711_192759.jpg	1890							X		
20190820_171911.jpg	1894						X			
20190809_145618.jpg	1895		X			X	X		X	
20190710_160353.jpg	1897									
20190812_145847.jpg	1897									

File name	Date	No Desigr	HIS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn	Sun
20190812_150504.jpg	1897						X			
20190710_161850.jpg	1901							X		
20190710_161943.jpg	1901	X						X		
20190808_165120.jpg	1901							X		
20190808_165816.jpg	1902							X		
20190812_145524.jpg	1902						X			
20190820_181406.jpg	1904									
20190711_194108.jpg	1911							X		
20190809_144819.jpg	1911						X			
20190812_145252.jpg	1912						X	X		
20190809_135220.jpg	1913							X		
20190816_122701.jpg	1914									
20190812_145628.jpg	1915						X			
20190710_160304.jpg	1917									
20190820_171655.jpg	1918							X		
20190809_151046.jpg	1919	X						X		
20190806_145642.jpg	1921						X			
20190809_135807.jpg	1921						X			
20190820_173249.jpg	1930	X						X		
20190710_160156.jpg	1935						X			
20190806_143034.jpg	1936						X			
20190808_165818.jpg	1936 X									
20190814_155309.jpg	1938									
20190806_122342.jpg	1938									
20190809_135634.jpg	1939	X						X		
20190809_145833.jpg	1964						X			

Table B-1. Raw data from the Ireland Population

Name	Date	No Marker	No Design	IHS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn
Jane Ann Butler	1843		X							
Michael James Hanley	1867							X		
Thomas S Cranwell	1869		X							
Jane Tombs	1869	X								
Mary Bernard	1870							X	X	
Sgt Patrick O'Brien	1870		X							
Michael Hannan	1870		X							
Michael Feeley	1871	X								
Bridget Nelis	1876							X		
Patrick Morris	1877		X							
Thomas H. Fanning	1877							X		
Susanna Reukema	1878		X							
Peter Bradley	1879		X							
James Mallon	1879	X								
Cornelius McKaig "Neil"	1880							X		
Francis Thomas Fanning	1880							X		
Edward Delaney	1880	X								
Patrick Dean	1882		X							
Bridget Sullivan	1882							X		
Patrick Connolly	1883							X		
Catherine O'Rourke	1883		X							
John Furlong	1883							X		X
Bridget Brody	1883		X							
Ann O'Hearn	1883							X		
Michael McGrath	1883							X		
Catherine McManus	1883								X	
Matthew Fortune	1883		X							
John Bradley	1883							X		
John Caveney	1883	X								
Richard Good Jr	1883	X								
Michael Dunner	1884			X				X		
Patrick McCarthy	1884			X				X		
Thomas McGrath	1884		X							
Edward Murtha	1884	X								
Michael McGarry	1885		X							
Esther Foran	1885		X							
Ellen Connelly	1885	X								
Jane Welsh	1885	X								
Catherine M. Hess	1885	X								
Eliza J Kerin	1886		X							
Laughlin Campion	1887							X		
Mary Toohey	1887							X		
Ann Shea	1887							X		
Daniel Doody	1887		X						X	
Bridget Mclaughlin	1887	X								
Thomas Duggan	1888		X							
Michael Howley	1888		X							
Patrick Mullin	1888	X								
Robert E. Todd	1888		X							
Mary Lawrence	1889		X							
Mary Rogers	1889			X					X	
Johanna Ellen Doody	1889								X	
Bridget Bowler	1889	X								
Thomas O'Neill	1889		X							
Martin Hughes	1890							X		
Lawrence Kelly	1891									
Sarah Cleary	1891		X							
Ann Walsh	1891			X				X		
Daniel Cooney	1891		X							
Patrick Bresnahan	1891							X		
Hugh Horrigan	1891							X		
Mary McCrory	1891	X								
Patrick Walsh	1891	X								
Margaret Scollan	1892							X		
Martin Phelan	1892		X							
Ellen Lynch	1892			X					X	
Mary A. Crowley	1892		X							
Catherine Farrell	1892	X								
Pvt Edward Tearney	1892	X								
Mrs Bridget Cullen	1893		X							

Name	Date	No Marker	No Design	IHS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Cross	Urn
Honora Callahan	1893		X								
Martin McGrath	1893		X								
Julia McGrath	1893							X			
Hanora Sullivan	1893			X				X			
Ellen Kenney	1893 X										
John O'Connor Sr	1894							X			
Thomas Heffron	1894							X			
Thomas Shea	1894							X			
Thomas Mullen	1894 X										
Mary Holtoran	1894 X										
Cornelius Kenney	1894 X										
Patrick Devine	1895		X								
Daniel William Sheehan	1895		X								
Peter Quirk	1895			X				X			
Ann Forristal / Forrestal	1895		X								
Julia Downing	1895 X										
William Walsh	1895 X										
Patrick John Duffy	1895 X										
Mrs Hannah Armstrong	1895		X								
Rev James Hegarty	1896			X					X		
Michael Doyle	1896		X								
Catherine Carney	1896 X										
Thomas O'Rourke	1896 X										
Margareth Ormsby	1896 X										
Erina McNally	1896		X								
Mary McMahon	1897		X								
Catherine Gray	1897		X								
Mary Hennessey	1897 X										
Thomas Slaven	1897 X										
Ellen Parsons	1897 X										
Fanny Caveney	1897 X										
Pvt Michael Sexe	1898							X			
Patricius Austin	1898		X								
Catherine Fagan	1898 X										
Margaret Stewart	1898 X										
John Conway	1899			X				X	X		
Pvt Thomas Pillon	1899 X										
Edward Hogan	1899		X								
Catherine O'Connor	1899			X				X			
Catherine Harvey	1899 X										
John Markey	1899 X										
John Fitzpatrick	1899 X										
Patrick Devlin	1899 X										
Bridget McLarney	1899 X										
Margaret Thompson	1899 X										
Catherine Murray	1899 X										
James M Reynolds	1899 X										
Catherine Boden	1900			X				X			
Elizabeth Lynch	1900		X								
Catherine Kenney	1900		X								
Ellen Divine	1900		X								
Timothy O'Connor	1900			X				X			
Ann Cleary	1900 X										
Patrick H. McCarthy	1900 X										
Ann Carey	1900 X										
Elizabeth Mangan	1900		X								
Annie E Garity	1901						X				
Julia Morris	1901		X								
Charles McShane	1901							X			
Bridget Trinwith Qancy	1901		X								
Pvt James E. Hoey	1901										
Mary Osborne	1901		X								X
Johanna Hogan	1901		X								
William Cleary	1901		X								
James Lytton Flynn	1901		X								
Bridget Moran	1901 X										
Catherine Carey	1901 X										
Marcella Hannan	1902							X			
James Leahy	1902							X			
Ann Barrett	1902			X							

Name	Date	No Marker	No Design	IHS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn
Mary Kelly	1902			X				X		
Ann M. McGarry	1902	X								
Mary A. Daly	1903						X			
William Howell Kenrick	1903		X							
Thomas Shaughnessy	1903		X							
James McKaig	1903							X		
Mary Daley	1903	X								
Honora Mullens	1904						X			
George Johnson Sr	1904							X		
Bridget Duffy	1904		X							
Katherine Sullivan	1904		X							
William P O'Connor	1904							X		
Catherine Maloney	1904		X							
Patrick Burns	1904								X	
Margerite Williams	1904	X								
Mary Roach	1905		X							
Ann Duggan	1905		X							
John Dunn	1905	X								
John O'Connor	1906			X						
Julia Lawless	1906		X							
Mary Shaughnessy	1906		X							
William Boyle	1906		X							
Thomas Thompson	1906		X							
Mary Largey	1907		X							
Charles Jordan	1907		X							
Martin Malloy	1907							X		
John Pilkinton	1907		X							
Bridget Linehan	1908		X							
Julia Mee	1908		X							
Ellen McGrath	1908		X							
Thomas J. Malone	1908		X							
Mary Dougherty	1908							X		
John Burns	1908	X								
James Clancy	1908		X							
Catherine Daley	1908	X								
John Scanlan	1908	X								
Catherine Kelly	1909		X							
Patrick F. McNamara	1909	X								
James Nelson	1910		X							
Ellen Mary Caldwell	1910							X		
Margaret Scott	1910		X							
Ellen Wallis	1910									
Capt James Scott	1910		X							
Maria Jennings	1910							X		
John J Kiely	1911		X							
Catherine Powers	1913		X							
Cpt John Driscoll	1913							X		
John J. Neary	1913		X							
Elizabeth Foran	1913		X							
Laurence Nolan	1914		X							
Thomas Walsh	1914							X		
Anna Malloy	1915		X							
Edward Francis Boyle	1915			X					X	
Hannah Fitzgerald	1915		X							
Michael J. Foran	1915							X		
Timothy Gleason	1916		X							
James Touhey	1916	X								
Rose Quinn	1916							X		
Ellen Fitzpatrick	1917		X							
Bridget Murphy	1917	X								
Margaret M. Fisher	1919							X		
Sarah McGeary	1920							X		
Michael E. Hands	1920							X		
Mary Keogh	1921			X					X	
Mary Touhey	1921	X								
Mary Kinsella	1922							X		
Henry F Molloy	1922							X		
John CShannon	1923							X		
James Tierney	1923							X		
James Hammill	1923							X		

Name	Date	No Marker	No Design	IHS	INRI	Instruments	Death Head	Cross	Celtic Cross	Urn
James Durkin	1923							X	X	
Johanna Keogh	1926	X								
Bridget Carney	1929							X		
Mary A. Foran	1929							X		
Thomas R. Dillon	1929		X							
James Glover	1929		X							
Catherine Lynch	1930							X		
Christina Erler	1930									
James McMahan	1932							X		
Margaret Marks	1932		X						X	
Dennis Jeremiah O'Neill	1932	X								
Rev Michael Joseph Huston	1934			X					X	
Thomas Francis Callan	1934								X	
Mary Farrell	1934							X		
Martin James Williams	1934							X		
William Hasset	1935							X		
Fannie Blauert	1935									X
Elizabeth Quinn	1936							X		
Bernard P Neacy	1937	X								
Edward Patrick Guiney	1938								X	
Thomas J. Healy	1938							X		
James Roe	1942							X		
Beatrice Josephine Janes	1943							X		
Ellen M Brown	1950	X								
John Egan	1951			X				X		
Robert John Dickey	1952		X							
Dr Edmund David Russell	1953							X		
Mary Horning	1956			X				X		
Bridget Schaefer	1958								X	
Patrick John Norris	1965			X				X		
Michael J. Roche	1966							X		
David Joseph Fitzgerald Sr	1970			X				X		
Catherine Fernhout	1970			X				X	X	
Joseph Aloysius Freney	1972							X		
Albert Glover Baskin	1973		X							
Margaret M Fitzgerald	1976							X		
Mary Egan	1978			X				X		
John Alfred Daly	1978		X							
Catherine Bridget Ryan	1979							X		

Table B-2. Raw data from Data Set #2

APPENDIX C



Figure C-1. Example of IHS from Holy Cross cemetery, Milwaukee

Figure C-2. Example of IHS from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee





*Figure C-3. Example of INRI
from Bunratty Graveyard
cemetery, Ireland*



*Figure C-4. Example of INRI
from Bunratty Graveyard
cemetery, Ireland*



Figure C-5. Example of Instruments of the Passion of the Christ from Portumna Priory cemetery, Ireland

Figure C-6. Example of Instruments of the Passion of the Christ from Kilree Monastic Site cemetery, Ireland



Figure C-7. Example of Death's Head from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland

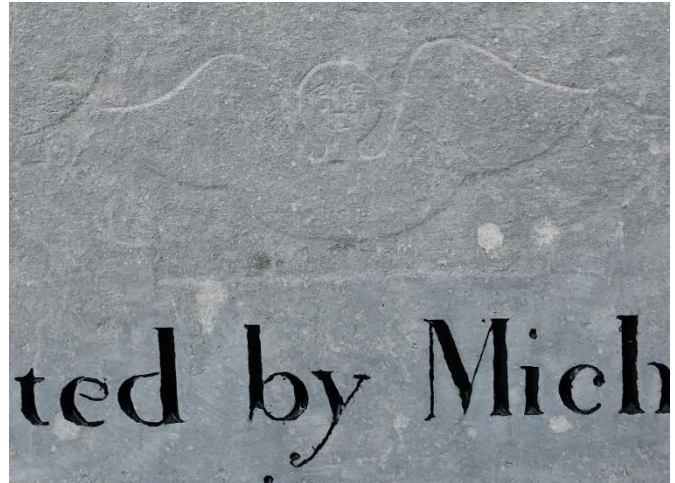


Figure C-8. Example of Death's Head from Kilconnell Friary cemetery, Ireland

*Figure C-9. Example of an Urn from
Kilconnell Friary cemetery, Ireland*



*Figure C-10. Example of an Urn
from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland*

Figure C-11. Example of a Latin Cross from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland



Figure C-12. Example of a Latin Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee

Figure C-13. Example of a Celtic Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee

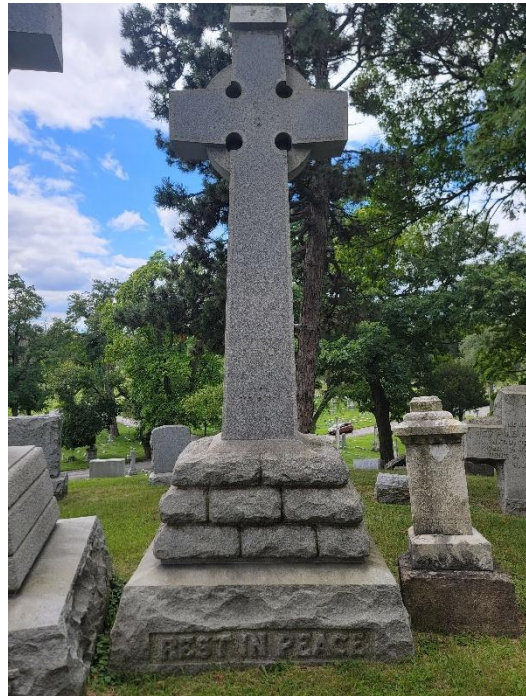


Figure C-14. Example of a Celtic Cross from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee

*Figure C-15. Example of a Sun from
Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland*



*Figure C-16.
Example of a Sun
from Muckross
Abbey cemetery,
Ireland*

Figure C-17. Example of No Design from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee

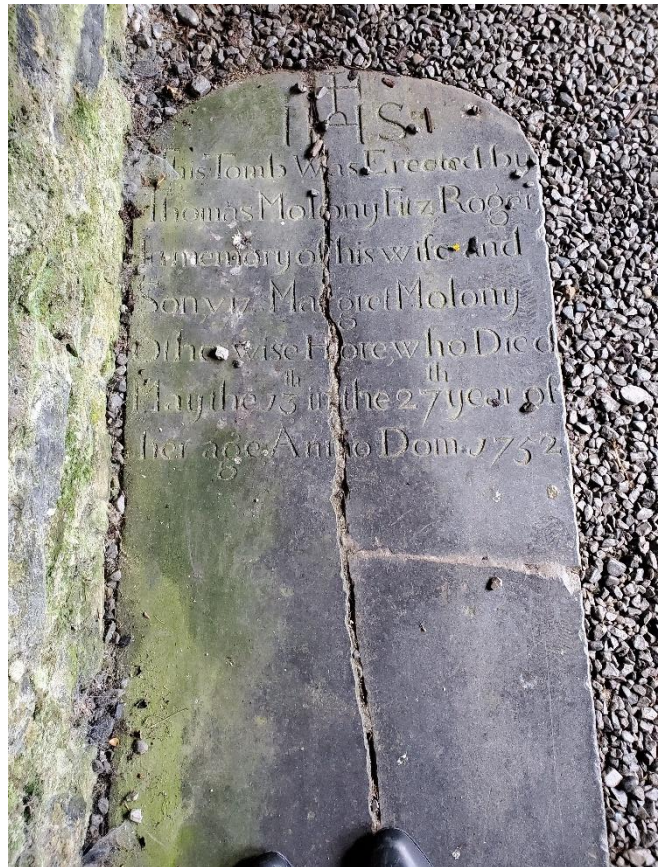


Figure C-18. Example of No Design from Calvary cemetery, Milwaukee



Figure C-19. Example of an On the Wall grave from Rock of Cashel cemetery, Ireland

Figure C-20. Example of an On the Ground grave from Quin Friary cemetery, Ireland



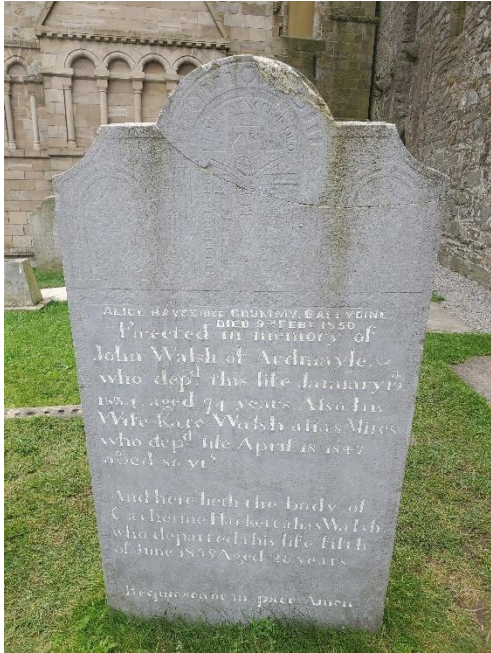


Figure C-21. Example of an Erect grave from Rock of Cashel cemetery, Ireland