
29. Durack cites Bishop Glenden’s response to Charles Harper of De Gray Station very selectively on p.340 of Kings in Grain Corridors. She omits the reference to murder by soldiers, and Glidney’s claims that attacks on sheep were occasioned by drought-induced famine, and overlooks his claim that the north had been depopulated by 50 per cent. The original text reads, with Durack’s omissions or changes in italics:

...the few real atrocities in Ireland were those of the weak against the strong, and founded on contracts of mistake. Nor was the white settlers who deliberately murdered in no single instance met with the punishment that invariably overtook the heathen who committed a similar crime against the invaders of his country. I can point to manifest after manifest instance by the Nationalists leaders against genuine atrocities in Ireland, but I have never yet seen the squatters of this Colony, as a body, or their representatives, do anything but take part against the efforts of the Government to stamp out the willful and deliberate murders by the alleged 'true', of the original owners of the soil. (See Australian, 19 October 1892, p.3).

Nor does she pick up the point made by Quaidho, one of the de Tordiered Glendey, that Mauris had been compensated for their land (Gether the editor, West Australian, 15 October 1892, p.60).

30. Galway Jerry was subsequently murdered in 1801 by Aborigines. Although Durack denies that he had been involved with an Aboriginal woman and that payback for stealing women was racial motivation for Aboriginal-initiated murder on the frontier, subsequent histories of black/white relations on the frontier would suggest that the tension to steal flour and stores was unlikely to have been the motive and that numbers over women were common both among Aboriginal men themselves and also against white men who did not honour their reciprocal obligations (Roberts, Frontier Justice, p.207). Durack demonstrates her awareness of the breach of ‘tribal marriage laws’ while liaisons with indigenous women entitled, and declares such liaisons to have been ‘purely physical ... devoid of any emotional involvement’ (Durack, Sons in the Saddie, p.197).

31. Pedersen and Wessmann, Jindaluk and the Banuba Resistance.
32. Ibid., p.92.
33. Ibid., p.97.

A Sense of Place: Monastic Scenes in Irish-Australian Funerary Monuments
Pamela O’Neill

James Stapleton, only son of Stephen and Bridget Stapleton of the Harp of Erin Hotel, Queen Street, Melbourne, died on 17 April 1881, shortly before his thirteenth birthday.1 His parents sought out the prominent firm of monumental masons, Jaggers and Son, to erect a memorial over his grave in the Melbourne General Cemetery (see Figure 1). The monument is now in a sad state of disrepair, but we can obtain a very clear idea of its original grandeur by reference to a monument created some ten years later by the same Jaggers and Son, and erected in the Kilmore Catholic Cemetery in memory of Bridget Rush (see Figure 2).

These two monuments are part of a very small group of Irish-Australian funerary monuments which allow us to trace an interesting development in the expression of a sense of place, seen very clearly amongst many Irish migrants to Australia. This same phenomenon that I call sense of place2 can also be seen in the high proportion of Irish-Australian funerary monuments, including several of those that I consider here, which proclaim the Irish county or parish of origin of the decedent.

On their deaths, Stephen and Bridget Stapleton were interred with James in the family burial plot and added to the inscription on the monument. We thus learn that Stephen Stapleton was a native of Roscrea, County Tipperary. Bridget was also born in Tipperary.3 They married in Australia,4 and opened the Harp of Erin Hotel in 1868,5 the same year that James was born. Presumably the hotel was successful and Stephen and Bridget good at business, for when tragedy struck twelve years later they commissioned an impressive and expensive monument from a leading monumental mason, who had previously practised in Tullamore and Dublin.6

Unfortunately, the damage to the Stapleton monument means that we cannot retrieve its full iconographic programme. However, of the significant inserts on the upper tier which probably all bore visual, rather than textual, embellishment, one can be almost fully reconstructed (see Figure 3).
Figure 1: Memorial to James Stapleton

Figure 2: Memorial to Bridget Rush
This depicts a landscape scene, which can readily be associated with Ireland. Against a background of gentle hills, a round tower with a conical roof rises in high relief. Reclining at the foot of the tower is what is undoubtedly an Irish wolfhound. The scene is quite pastoral, and although the tower is almost certainly monastic in origin, that aspect of it is not given particular prominence in this depiction.

What, then, can we say about this scene? I suggest that it refers to a remembered Ireland of Stephen Stapleton’s past. The sweeping hills, round tower and wolfhound are archetypal images of rural Ireland. Roscrea is in a typically agricultural district of rolling hills, and is home to an early monastic site with a round tower. These symbols compare to the Irish harp, and indeed the female personification of Ireland playing a harp, which became a prominent motif in Celtic revival iconography. Those motifs and this scene all represent Irishness. However, unlike the woman or the harp, I would argue that there is a stronger sense in which the tower scene represents specifically the Irish landscape as a place, whether of geography or of the imagination. The simple lines of this sculpture are remarkably evocative for such an economical arrangement and testify to the skill of the masons.

This, however, is a relatively early work for the Jageurs firm in Australia. Although there is not currently evidence to date it precisely, it seems likely to have been erected in the 1880s, within a few years of James Stapleton’s death. Peter Jageurs had been working in Melbourne since...
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1870, but had not previously included specifically Irish iconography of this order in his monuments, and it seems that his son Morgan had not yet joined him in the business. Morgan is reported as having joined the firm in 1892, after travelling and studying abroad.

A slightly later memorial was made by Jageurs and Son and erected, also in the Melbourne General Cemetery, to Patrick Moloney after Moloney’s death in 1888 (see Figure 4).

It is likely that by the time this monument was made Peter Jageurs’ son Morgan had begun to have some involvement in the business.

Two of the panels on the front of the cross feature quintessentially Irish landscapes. The upper, in low relief, has the female personification of Ireland, seated in the countryside playing an Irish harp with an Irish wolfhound at her feet (see Figure 5).

In the other landscape, in very high relief, a round tower on a small hill is flanked on the right by a tall church with a gothic window and on the left by a high cross in its stone base (see Figure 6).

The tower in this particular depiction is broken off at the top, as are many of the surviving examples at monastic sites. This scene differs from that on the Stapleton monument in that, although the round tower is still central to the scene, the composition is now clearly monastic, attested by the presence of the cross and the church. I would suggest that this scene may be intended to represent an actual physical place in Ireland, since it seems to be a one-off design. It is conceivable that it represents Clonmacnois, County Offaly, where there is a similar high cross, a broken round tower on a small hill, and a ruined cathedral with a window of roughly the same shape as that in the church on the monument. The disposition of the three elements in the scene is not as it is at Clonmacnois, which is not unexpected. Rather than a realistic rendition, it is more likely to be a representational depiction, tailored to fit the space on the monument.

Patrick Moloney, to whom this monument was initially erected, was born in Ireland in 1817. He married in Ireland, and had a son called Patrick, born in 1843, whom I shall call Patrick Junior for the sake of clarity. When Patrick Junior was still a child, the family migrated to Victoria. Patrick Junior attended St Patrick’s College and, subsequently,
was one of the three students to enrol in the first intake for the medical degree at the University of Melbourne in 1862. He became a successful medical practitioner, active in the Medical Society of Victoria, a university lecturer at Melbourne Hospital, and doctor to the St Vincent de Paul orphanage for boys. He edited the *Australian Medical Journal* and contributed to *Punch*, wrote and published poetry, and associated with Australian writers like Marcus Clarke and Henry Kendall. He was clearly a professional, social and financial success.

Patrick Senior, by contrast, was not a particularly prominent citizen, and there is no reference in the inscription to his place of birth or any other accomplishments. Why, then, did his son commission this distinctive memorial with its overt references to Ireland and the Irish landscape? Although involved, at least in a professional capacity, with organisations such as St Vincent de Paul, Patrick Junior showed no strong attachment to Irish institutions in Australia or Ireland and no particular affection for a real or imagined Ireland. His poetry is replete with classical references, and those of his poetic compositions which refer to place are preoccupied with his adopted home, rather than the land of his birth. He died in Lancashire, England, in 1904, apparently not returning to Ireland, despite his proximity to it for the last six years of his life.

Patrick Moloney Senior probably retained an emotional attachment to the land and landscape of his birth, and at the time of his death either his son Patrick or his widow Ellen deemed it appropriate to signify this on his grave marker. The monastic scene, possibly Clonmacnois, occupies the most prominent position on the monument and is in the most distinctive sculptural style (the tower, in particular, is more than half-round, while all the remaining sculptural panels are in low relief). This prominence argues a particular attachment to this specific aspect of the Irish landscape, that is the legacy of the early monastic movement, and possibly to the actual site at Clonmacnois, if indeed it is that which is depicted.

The memorial to Bridget Rush in the Kilmore Catholic Cemetery is a complex and highly symbolic monument (see fig. 2), as indeed the Stapleton monument may once have been. The symbolon the Rush monument primarily reflects Catholic beliefs and the memory of the departed. There is a range of sentiment poetry, symbolic floral emblems, sacred monograms and sacred heart emblems. The Celtic cross atop the monument features a harp surrounded by shamrocks, declaring the Irish associations implicit in the decedent's Christian name.

There is a monastic landscape scene on one side of the monument, in a similar inset panel to that on the Stapleton monument. Like the Stapleton scene, the landscape on the Rush monument is dominated by the central round tower in high relief (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Close-up of Memorial to Bridget Rush

This round tower is surmounted by a conical roof like the Stapleton one. There is a high cross to the right of the tower, and a large church to its left. In the background, the setting sun's rays can be seen between the mountains. I believe that the scene represents the early monastic site at Glendalough, County Wicklow. The round tower at Glendalough has remained intact except for a short period in the nineteenth century, when the roof was struck by lightning and then reconstructed. There are several high crosses and churches in the vicinity of the round tower. A view towards the Upper Lake at Glendalough would place the cathedral, the largest church building, to the left of the tower, as in the depiction on the Rush monument.

Bridget Rush was apparently much loved and greatly mourned, having apparently died in the course of giving birth to an only son. The words 'beloved' and 'deeply regretted' feature heavily in the newspaper notices, which is somewhat unusual. Bridget's death and funeral notices appeared in the Argus on two consecutive days, and a full requiem mass was celebrated for her at St Patrick's church, Kilmore, an expensive undertaking and not at all commonplace. The evidence of the monument suggests that it was erected within two years of the funeral, again, not at all commonplace. The significant expense of this grand memorial was apparently overshadowed by the mourners' urge to commemorate Bridget publicly.

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Both Thomas's and Bridget's parents were probably migrants from Ireland, although Thomas and Bridget may have been born in Australia. I suggest that the use of this scene deliberately looks back to a remembered landscape. It is interesting that the idea of a remembered landscape seems in this case to have been transmitted to the next generation, a generation which had perhaps never seen Ireland.

The Jageurs' masons -- and I would suggest that responsibility for the design of this monument rests firmly with Morgan Jageurs — clearly rose to the challenge of portraying the early Irish monastic scene with considerable competence, if not outright rhish. If the resemblance of the scene to Glendalough is not mere coincidence, it could be that Morgan Jageurs, too, was referring to a remembered Ireland. This memory could have been quite a recent one. He had last left Ireland in 1890, and although we have no clear idea of his activities whilst in Ireland it is not unlikely that he travelled there. I contend that the Rush monument was completed less than three years after Jageurs' return to Melbourne.

An informed, politically active and well-travelled expatiate, it would have been natural for Morgan Jageurs to have taken an interest in the antiquities of his homeland. They were a source of considerable pride, and also something of a rallying point, for nationalists with an antiquarian or scholarly bent. They demonstrably pre-dated English or Norman interference in Ireland and were thus a just source of pride in the Gaelic past (although not without complications). Several leading scholars of early Ireland were also political activists, such as Eoin MacNeill, Professor of Early and Medieval Irish History at University College Dublin, who was imprisoned for some years for his political activities. Information about Ireland's monastic sites would have been readily available to Jageurs through his extensive network of political contacts on both sides of the world. Some indication of this network is given, for instance, by the fact that Michael Davitt was godfather to Jageurs' son, John.

Books about Ireland's antiquities were published throughout the nineteenth century, many lavishly illustrated with drawings of monastic ruins and high crosses. Some were printed or reprinted in Sydney by McNeil and Coce. Others were undoubtedly included in the regular shipments received by such establishments as Melbourne's Catholic Book Depot, and some were acquired by the Melbourne Public Library. Patrick O'Farrell suggests that Jageurs based many of his designs on 'models' in Henry O'Neill's Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ireland. This seems unlikely, since the book's illustrations do not include many of the features found on Jageurs' monuments. Specifically, the only monastic scene illustrated in O'Neill's book is Monasterboice, which is distinctly unlike any of the monastic scenes sculpted by Jageurs and described here. O'Farrell's suggestion is also taken up more generally by Jonathan Wooding, but I think that both overlook the proliferation of such books at the time, and their ready availability in Australia. This proliferation implies that the Melbourne Irish community was well-informed and highly interested in the early medieval monastic antiquities of Ireland, which probably generated the conditions necessary for Jageurs to create his designs, without necessarily implying his direct reliance on any such models. Jageurs had spent the first four years of his life in the immediate vicinity of the high crosses at Darrrow, and on his return trips to Ireland almost undoubtedly visited family members in the Tullamore–Darrrow region. It is inconceivable that Jageurs, who was passionately interested in Irish history and spent time in Ireland, would have been entirely reliant on illustrations printed in a book for models for his designs.

The monument to Henry O'Brien in the Melbourne General Cemetery contains mixed symbolism (see Figure 8).

It was made by J. Robinson of Carlton. The monument is primarily classical in design, featuring draped urns and classical decorative motifs, but it is surmounted by a Celtic cross. On the front and back faces of the cross are a harp with shamrocks, a wolfhound in front of a setting sun, and a landscape scene. This landscape is, on first impressions, very similar to the Jageurs' monastic landscapes, but it is not identifiable monastic (see Figure 9).

It has no high cross, and the building is not necessarily a church. The round tower is very like a monastic round tower, but its top is neither conical nor broken, but crenellated, so it is not an accurate depiction of a monastic round tower. The Jageurs' masons were able to represent such details correctly, doubtless through a combination of personal familiarity, access to illustrations and sheer skill. It seems likely, though, that the mason Robinson, whose name is clear on the monument, but of whom I can find no record, had considerably less familiarity with Ireland and its antiquities.

The monument reveals that Henry O'Brien was a 'native of Co. Louth' but 'late of Victoria Hotel Post Melbourne'. He died in 1898 at the age of either 70 or 71 years, and his monument uses the formula 'in loving memory of', suggesting that there was someone left behind to remember him lovingly. He seems not to have had children, though, and his property, including the Victoria Hotel, was inherited by a Mary Josephine O'Brien, later MacGregor, who appears to have been his niece, and who, after her death in 1932, was added to the inscriptions on the monument. O'Brien's death and funeral notices appeared in both the Argus and the Age. Interestingly, there is an explicit request in the death notice for 'Home papers' to 'please copy'. The notice indicates that he was the 'son of Andrew O'Brien of Black Rock, county Louth [sic], Ireland'.
Henry O'Brien was clearly Irish, and presumably Catholic. The Catholic Irish man of choice, Jageurs, may not have been available to make his monument. O'Brien died in 1898, and we know that Jageurs was in Ireland in 1901. Given that monuments were usually constructed some years after interment, it seems likely that O'Brien's monument may have been commissioned while Jageurs was in Ireland. The monument nonetheless makes an overt visual association with an Irish place, in its landscape scene and associated symbols. It may have been commissioned by Henry's niece, Mary, or by one of Henry's brothers. Combined with the evidence of the death notices, it suggests that Henry retained very strong ties with Ireland, to the extent that news of his death was expected to be of interest to the "home" newspapers and their readers. The quasi-monastic scene is very interesting, in that it presents yet another version of this motif, and if indeed it is intended as a monastic scene, it shows yet again this attachment to a remembered Ireland represented by the remains of the early Christian monastic past.

Henry O'Brien was from County Louth, home of Monasterboice, one of the most significant early monastic sites. Not only is Monasterboice significant, it was also the recipient of considerable antiquarian attention in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and therefore well publicised and presumably well known. It was the only monastic scene illustrated in Henry O'Neill's 1857 book of drawings. If Henry O'Brien had retained his ties with Ireland, as is suggested by his death notices, it is quite likely that his brothers had done so too, and he may even have regaled his niece.
Mary with stories of the venerable antiquities of his home. It is not unexpected to find that the commissioner of Henry's grave marker sought to immortalise his connection with that place. Interestingly, because they commissioned Robinson, and not Jageurs, to construct the monument, the representation is not quite as one might expect. One can only speculate as to the likelihood of Robinson having based his depiction on an imperfectly understood observation of the Jageurs' monuments, although with published drawings of the scenes so readily available this should not have been necessary. One can, however, say with reasonable certainty that his depiction was not informed by the same familiarity and skill as those by Jageurs and Son.

Here, then, over something like seventeen years, is a sequence of funerary monuments which tell an interesting story. An enduring sense of place and attachment to a remembered Ireland are expressed through the medium of depictions of early Irish monastic remains. The brilliant monumen
tal maus Morgan Jageurs, whose family had migrated from Tullarore to Melbourne, was at the heart of this expression. The appropriation of Ireland's venerable past by antiquarians devoted to the nationalist cause must surely underlie this fascinating regional development, which seems to have been unique to Melbourne in the late nineteenth century, where Irish nationalist politics also found fierce expression.

NOTES

1. Argus, 18 April 1881, 'Deaths': 'STAPLETON – On the 17th inst., at the residence of his parents, Harp of Erin Hotel, Queen-street, Melbourne, James, the beloved and only son of Mr Stephen Stapleton, aged 12 years and 10 months.'

2. The tent has frequently been used when discussing the Irish: for example, Patrick O’Farrell, 'Defining place and home: are the Irish prone to places?', in David Palagia (ed.), Home or Home?: Immigrants in Colonial Australia (Canberra: Australian National University, 1992).

3. 'Morgan', The Victorian Pioneers Index 1837–1889 (Melbourne: Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology and Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria, 1994) CD-ROM.

4. 'Morgan', Victorian Pioneers Index.


6. 'Morgan', Victorian Pioneers Index.

7. The motif of the woman playing the harp, often accompanied by other Irish symbols such as the shamrock or wolfhound, is to be seen on many funerary monuments, as well as other Celtic Revival objects.


10. Particularly since he was apparently present in Melbourne from 1880, see note 9 above.


14. P.J. Noonan, Gleesongdong and the Seven Churches of St Kevin (Kilmacurragh Hill: P.J. Noonan, 1959) 7th edn., p.37. The reconstruction was carried out in 1876 by the Board of Works.

15. Argus, 4 September 1881, 'Deaths': 'Rush – on the 1st inst., at Kረnce, Ormond Thomas Murray, only son of T.J. and the late Bridget Francis Rush, aged 2 years and 3 months. R.I.P.' The Rush's death at the age of two years and three months occurred two years and three months after Bridge's. The births of four daughters were recorded before Ormond's birth: 'Baths'. Victorian pioneers index.

16. Argus 15 and 16 June 1891, 'Funerals' and 'Deaths'.

17. The layout of the inscription strongly suggests that the portion referring to Ormond is a later addition, a suggestion strengthened by the differing scripts of the two portions. Surely, if the completion of the monument post-dated Ormond's death two years after his mother's, the entire inscription would have been made at once time and in a single script.


19. ill, as I argue (see note 17), the monument was designed and erected between Bridge's death in June 1891 and Ormond's in September 1891, Morgan Jageurs was certainly present in Melbourne, and probably involved in monument design for the family business.

20. See, for example, Clare O'Halloran, Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004), passim.


25. Except that the round towers at Clonmacnoise, Cashel and Kildare, Clonmacnoise, Kildare, were rebuilt with freestanding parapets: Kathleen Hughes and Ann Hamilton, The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church (New York: Seabury, 1977), p.38.

30. Mary's father James seems likely to have been Henry's brother, as also does Edward O'Brien, who was occupier of the Victoria Hotel during Henry's ownership: Thompson, personal communication.
31. O'Neill, Illustrations, p.36.