

This article is downloaded from



CHARLES STURT
UNIVERSITY

CRO

CSU Research Output
Showcasing CSU Research

<http://researchoutput.csu.edu.au>

It is the paper published as:

Author: D. H. Spennemann

Year: 2007

Title: Gender bias after death: the case of the clerical cemetery, St. John's Orphanage, Thurgoona, NSW, Australia

Journal: Journal of International Women's Studies

Volume: 8

Issue: 4

Pages: 60-78

Short Title: Gender bias after death: the case of the clerical cemetery, St. John's Orphanage, Thurgoona, NSW, Australia

ISSN: 1539-8706

URL: http://researchoutput.csu.edu.au:8881/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=3104&local_base=GEN01-CSU01

<http://www.bridgew.edu/SoAS/JIWS/May07/index.htm>

CRO Number: 3104

Abstract: Cemeteries are commonly seen as reflective of the historic environment in which they were created and therefore form a unique interpretive tool for the cultural heritage manager. As this case study of clerical cemetery documents, physical heritage of a cemetery may well reflect the power hierarchy at the time, but it does not accurately reflect the historic reality. The effective manipulation of the tangible evidence left behind for future generations has effectively enshrined a gender bias in perpetuity.

Author Address: dspennemann@csu.edu.au

Gender Bias After Death: The Case of the Clergical Cemetery, St. John's Orphanage, Thurgoona, NSW, Australia

By Dirk HR Spennemann¹

Abstract

Cemeteries are commonly seen as reflective of the historic environment in which they were created and therefore form a unique interpretive tool for the cultural heritage manager. As this case study of clerical cemetery documents, physical heritage of a cemetery may well reflect the power hierarchy at the time, but it does not accurately reflect the historic reality. The effective manipulation of the tangible evidence left behind for future generations has effectively enshrined a gender bias in perpetuity.

Keywords: Gender Bias, Cemeteries, Catholic Church

In Australia cemeteries are usually permanent final resting places. Unlike the situation in much of Europe, land is not in short supply and when cemeteries were filled up, they were extended or new localities were established. Only in recent years have some cemeteries become full and could not be extended; concepts of limited tenure have been advanced for these instances. This situation of continual burial, then, offers a unique opportunity for social research. The cemeteries tend to mirror the social and cultural conditions as well as the economic fortunes of the communities from which they were created. Whilst the towns and villages have changed over time—and their current architecture reflects that change—the cemeteries have remained the same, retaining the historic fabric as evidence. It is little wonder then that cemeteries and the associated grave monuments have been used as tools in social heritage studies (cf. Brash 1987; Gilbert 1980; Lavelle and Mackay 1988).

Headstones as political statements. The grave monuments are ideological and political statements of the times they were created. There are famous and large grave monuments, or the remains thereof, such as the eponymous mausoleion at Halicarnassos, Hadrian's 'Fort' St. Angelo, overlooking the Tiber in Rome, and, of course, the pyramids, dominating the landscape and thus providing domineering reminders of the power and glory of the deceased and originators of the monuments. In Australia, the motifs chosen for the headstones often make unequivocal reference to the ethnic origin of the interred: the Celtic crosses marking the burials of Irish priests, or the choice of lead-inlaid shamrocks in lieu of ivy or olive leaves (Gilbert 1980; see also the cemetery discussed in this paper).

Headstones as social statements. Headstones are also statements of the social status of the interred. The choice of the materials used for the headstones has often been regarded as an unequivocal statement of the wealth of the estate of the deceased, as was

¹ Dirk HR Spennemann (MA Frankfurt, PhD Australian National University) is teaches Cultural Heritage Management at Charles Sturt University, Albury, Australia. His current main research interest rests in the area of heritage futures, examining issues such as the conceptual understanding of emergent heritage(s) and the relationship between cultural heritage values and the influences of management processes as they play out between heritage professionals and the general public. Ethical Heritage Planning and Policy are the cornerstones that need to be understood and addressed in a proactive manner if our past is to have a meaningful future.

the level of ornamentation. However, care needs to be taken in the documentation and interpretation of these headstone assemblages (Potter & Boland 1992, Strangsted 1993), in order to prevent the creation of a misinterpretation of the historic events and conditions—the very interpretation the erectors of the monuments wanted an uninitiated visitor to arrive at. The nineteenth century was quite adept at creating impressions: several buildings, for example, show a wealthy and elaborate façade, projecting to the casual observer on the street an image of wealth and power, but exhibit only mundane and on occasion even below standard sides and backs. This has carried through to grave markers. As a grave marker was in essence a permanent fixture, for all member of the community to see—and see until the end of time (as envisaged a when established)—the choice and execution of the grave marker created an image of affluence and wealth (through its style), religious commitment (through the bible citation chosen) and social message (through its design and subtext of imagery).² That image was both to honour the memory of the departed and for the social and political aspirations of the present generation as it documented the (newly) established social status of the estate holder. Many are the instances where a later generation replaced a more mundane headstone with an elaborate version, thus in essence replacing history with a new interpretation.

Much has been written on gender bias in the Catholic Church, much of which has dealt with refusal of the church to accept women as members of the ordained clergy as opposed to members of the orders (*cf.* Ranke-Heinemann 1990). The following is a brief case study showing that this gender bias in fact extended after death, that Catholic Sisters were subject to a sustained campaign to make them invisible and that, in line with this, they received a far less prominent burial than their male counter parts. As the case study will show, the differential structure of the grave markers reflects well the gender inequality in the Catholic Church and thus reflects historical reality on one level. On the other, however it totally distorts the roles and work carried out at the site. The case study will demonstrate that when reading history by drawing on the tangible manifestations of the past, we need be conscious of the façades projected and look carefully at the underlying realities.

The clerical cemetery of Thurgoona

Formerly known as Newtown (the same name commonly used for Corry's Wood and the Orphanage site), the Thurgoona area, 6km northeast of Albury, NSW, has seen rapid growth and development since the 1850s. The Newtown orphanage was opened on April 16, 1882 and extended with a new wing in November 1897. In 1913 a second story was added to the main building and the number of orphans increased. Around 1925 a new wing was built to house the classrooms for the older pupils. The last building work was the new St John's chapel opened in 1961 (Bayley 1954, p. 124; *Border Mail* 1991).

The clerical cemetery at the former 'Newtown', later 'St. John's Orphanage', Thurgoona, NSW, now Guadalupe House, contains a number of graves, mainly of the Sisters of Mercy who operated the orphanage. Save for three, these graves are all lawn graves with a horizontally placed headstones and a small standing Celtic cross as

² For example full columns indicating a long and successful life, broken columns indicating a life cut short. The symbol of parting hands indicating eternal love between spouses, the lamb of God and so forth.

markers. Prominent among the graves are three graves with tall standing head stones, all belonging to male members of the clergy (figure 1).

The cemetery, covering an area of approximately 890 m², is located to the south-east of the main orphanage buildings. The area is enclosed by a wall *cum* fence structure and entry is through a gate. Today the wall has been partially dismantled and the fence moved to enlarge the area as well as to include the graves of six orphans, which until then had been outside the consecrated ground, to the east of the Sisters' graves. The cemetery can be divided up into four sections.

NE - containing 32 Sisters (1880-1945) and 6 Orphans (1890-1966). The graves containing the Sisters are a lawn cemetery, marked with headstones, all facing east. The gravestones are set in rows of four, placed in a rectangular concrete base. The Sisters headstones consist of a black grey speckled granite plaque set on a concrete base and are all uniformly inscribed giving the name in the top row and the date of death underneath. A cast iron Celtic cross also features on the gravestone (see figure 3). This is a remnant of the previous grave marker (figure 2) in use until the development of the lawn cemetery.

All the graves have an identical mode of inscription except for that of Mother Mary Ignatius; the founder of the Sisters of Mercy in Goulburn and Albury. Her headstone is situated in the SW corner of the northern row of the NE section (figure 4), opposite of the headstones of the three male members. Her gravestone is made from a white / grey speckled marble slab with pressed lead lettering. In contrast to the graves of the other Sisters, her headstone carries an inscription beyond merely stating name and date of death:

“To the revered memory of Mother Mary Ignatius, foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, Goulburn and Albury. Died 9. 7. 1901”.

Also in this section, but originally outside the cemetery walls, are the graves of six female orphans. The graves are fashioned similar those of the Sisters, but give the full name of the orphans. The comparatively low number of orphans buried here can be attributed to the fact that they were commonly accepted at ages when they were past common infant mortality causes, and were sent out in their middle teens.

NW - containing 28 Sisters (1946-1967) and 3 Reverends (1900-1978). The graves containing the Sisters are a lawn cemetery, marked with headstones, all facing east. The gravestones are set in rows of four, placed in a rectangular concrete base. The three reverends gravestones are positioned next to the gate. The Sisters headstones are all uniformly inscribed giving the name in the top row and the date of death underneath.

SE - containing 15 Sisters (1966-1978). The graves are not quite in uniform as compared to the other older grave sites. Rather they are laid out in one row containing 8 Sisters followed by another row which contains 7 Sisters' graves. A brass commemorative plaque is used as the gravestone in lieu of the granite plaque with a concrete base connecting the headstones.

SW - containing 7 new graves (1986-1994). The interred were residents at Guadalupe House after the Sisters of Mercy had handed the facility to the Brothers of the Mother of God. The gravestones are of the commemorative plaque type similar to those described for the SW section.

The cemetery has undergone some changes since its establishment. We have in hand a photo from the 1950s showing the cemetery with all the Sisters' small graves (figure 2). At that time, when the orphanage was still operated by the Sisters, the cemetery is laid out in rows of graves lined with box bushes, and intersected by gravel paths. Each grave is marked by an iron Celtic cross set on a small concrete pedestal, and a concrete (?) cross laid on top of the grave. An inscription is painted on the iron cross. Based on pictorial and physical evidence, there were most likely three stages to the development of the headstones. Originally there would have been a wood crucifix, being replaced by a cast iron Saxon cross with writing painted on it. This seems to have been followed by a wooden board mounted to the cross. Finally the granite plaque has been laid down and the iron cross placed into the concrete base. In the process, the height of the iron crosses was lowered by about one third. Today, with the exception of the graves of the three reverends, the cemetery is a lawn cemetery. That step, taken by the current tenants of the property, the Brothers of God, is due to the demands of upkeep that cannot be met by the current residents (intellectually challenged men) whose labour cannot be substituted due to limitations of funding and other priorities.

Contrasted to the Sisters' graves are the tombs of three Reverends: Most prominent among them is the marble headstone of Rev. Patrick Dunne (* 1818, † 13 Aug. 1900). It is the southern-most monument, straight in line from the gate. The grave stone, a carved marble slab monument typical of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period, is placed as a separate piece on a small plinth with a ogee and bead profile (figure 5). The plinth itself is set on a rectangular slab of concrete covered with a slab of granite. The concrete component is not contemporary with the marble headstone, and it would appear that it was added following the interment of chaplain E. B. Ryan in 1960. The marble headstone contains several allusions to symbolism, of which religious onlookers at the turn of the century would have been cognisant: the lower part of the headstone, including the plinth is resemblant of three tiers, a common symbolism for the Holy Trinity and, thus for the church. The top of the headstone represents the house of Christ, for which Dunne officiated, visually resembling the gable roof of a church, complete with illusions of a fleuron-adorned barge board, the ridges of the traversing roofs of the transepts, and topped by a *cross botonée* similar to the crosses used as finials on many churches. A plain lead-inlaid cross forming part of the inscription, is flanked by two olive branches the leaves of which are in fact shamrock, an allusion to Dunne's extraction from Ireland. The centre of the top cross shows an intertwined lead inlay "I, H, S", the first three letters of the Greek spelling of Jesus (IHΣΟΥΣ), common symbol of Christianity (even though the Greek was substituted with Latin letters).

It is also very relevant in the context of this discussion to note that the cross used is a French-derived *cross botonée*, common to crucifixes of the Catholic Church at the time, but with a circle set around it reminiscent of, but not identical to the sturdy, plain Celtic Cross prevalent in Ireland (*cf.* Gilbert 1980) and which is commonly also used to decorate graves of the Sisters of Mercy in the same cemetery, and the graves of the Irish Catholic priests in Beechworth (*pers. obs.*).

Several similar, as well as a few identical marble headstones have been seen in the Albury ('Pioneer') cemetery. In most cases the text of the inscriptions and/or the names indicate an Irish origin. The headstones were dedicated to both men and women. This indicates that, even though the carved marble headstone would have been quite

expensive, it was not limited to clergy, but that a regional focus may have been underlying the motif selection.

The other two priests' graves are executed in the style of the late 1930s to mid 1950s style of slab and desk monuments. The tombstone for Rev. William Slattery († 17th March 1949) is made of slabs of grey and polished black granite. The lettering on the tombstone is engraved and painted in silver with the Reverend's name executed in gold. To the left of the inscription is a diagram of a goblet, rays, an egg and book motif all engraved into the polished stone. The grey granite pillar on the left hand side of the tombstone has an incised cross, painted in silver paint. The centre slab covering the grave is polished granite on a rough cut granite base in the sarcophagus form. The grave of Rev Thomas Ignatius Barry († 1st October 1952) is the northern-most of the three graves, and closest to the main gate. The inscription is set in a small rectangular slab, set up-right on a cement moulded form. The inscription is in lead lettering, with the marble severely fissured. On either side of the headstone, large round holes are present in the pillars.

A distorted image

The question arises, then, whether the physical evidence of the cemetery reflects the historical reality of events, or whether it reflects the reality of political power. The tangible evidence of the grave markers makes us believe that only three of the people mattered at St. John's, namely Patrick Dunne, William Slattery and Thomas Barry. All others, with the possible exception of Mother Ignatius have been completely insignificant and, in relation, to the three men, Mother Ignatius has been relatively unimportant as well. Is this image true and accurate, or is it a distortion of reality, designed to project an image to contemporary and future generations?

It is of significance to understand that the normal parameters of social reflections, *ie.* the wealth of the estate of the deceased, do not operate in the context of clerical cemeteries. Clergy and ordained women were not encouraged nor permitted to amass personal possessions and thus the estates would be minimal or non-existent. The nature of the principles of acceptable behaviour of male and female clergy of the Roman Catholic church meant that there were no, or at least no formally recognised, progeny to whom an estate would or could be left. This implies that, ultimately, the church or the congregation pays for the erection of grave monuments. And this implies further that the nature and elaborateness of the grave monuments will reflect the ideological positions of the powers that be, because even if the congregation paid for the headstone it would follow the lead of the clergy. And the physical evidence, then, clearly documents that the male dominated clergy deemed the three priests most important, and that none of the others, with the marginal difference of Mother Ignatius, were even remotely significant. The chronological spread of the interments of the three males and the burials of the nuns shows that this was not an isolated event but a sustained attitude running from the 1890s to the 1980s (figure 6). The cemetery also contains the burial of another mother superior, which is buried in the same fashion as any of the nuns, showing that Mother Ignatius was afforded a 'special' treatment.

The differential between the graves is further enhanced by the fact that Patrick Dunne's gravestone is elaborately inscribed in Latin, setting it very much apart from the other graves in the cemetery, and from contemporary graves in other cemeteries. It is further relevant to point out that the latest of the male interments, that of Chaplain Ryan († 1960) occurred in one of the established male graves, drawing on the perceived prestige of that grave, rather than burying the priest with the nuns in a 'plain' grave.

On reading the historic overviews available (Andrews 1912, Bayley 1949; Jones 1985; 1991 as well as the newspapers of the day) the differentiation in the graves indeed seems to reflect the different levels of significance of those buried. The nuns do not figure significantly, and if, then as a collective labelled 'nuns', rather than as individuals. It goes without saying that "historical reality", especially where relative merits and values are concerned, is a concept which reflects or at the very least is influenced the ideological framework of the researcher. Heritage is even more fraught with such dangers as the heritage managers, as heritage interpreters project, covertly or overtly, their own values and priorities, and by implication, their own ideologies onto the resources.

One of the most common and insidious methods of gender discrimination is the method of discrimination by omission, making women invisible in the material record (Johnston 1993). The means to do so are omission in photographs, in printed records, and in the physical environment. The invisibility of the nuns is reflected in the photographic evidence. Figure 7 shows a class photo taken in about 1911. Prominently among the small children figures Father William Slattery. The nuns are nowhere to be seen. Recently, increased attention has been drawn to the fact of the relative invisibility of women in the historical record as constructed by the resource generators at the time, and as enhanced and enforced by cultural resource managers (Johnston 1993). Chilla Bulbeck has drawn attention to the fact that the vast majority of Australian memorial tablets is for men and that women figure only peripherally (Bulbeck 1980; see also Henderson 1988 for a NSW compilation of monuments). The same holds true for the UK (Darke 1991).

Let us now look into the history of the clergy men and the nuns in order to assess whether the differential reflected in the graves could in fact reflect the historical records.

The priests

Patrick Dunne, born 1828 in Philipstown, King County, Ireland, arrived in Australia in 1849. He is associated with the Catholic involvement in the Riverina along with Dr. Michael McAlroy, the first Catholic priest in Albury and Fr. Patrick Bermingham. After a temporary return to Ireland, P. Dunne came back to Australia in 1861 and was responsible for bringing out Irish migrants to populate the Darling Downs (Roddy 1978). Dunne, since 1880 Vicar General of the Diocese of Goulburn, came to Albury in 1887 and served until 1890 as the Catholic Priest of the town. Retired in 1890, he lived in a self-built cottage near the orphanage. In keeping with the patriarchal structure of the Catholic church at the time, he was one of the most powerful clergy in the Diocese (Roddy 1978).

William Slattery, born 18 August 1878 in County Kerry, Ireland, came to Australia in 1903 to work in the Diocese of Goulburn and soon after moved to Albury, where he served for 45 years. Slattery was involved in the fundraising for and establishment of the Newtown Orphanage. An account of the funeral for Monsignor William Slattery is given in newspapers of the day (*Border Morning Mail* 22 March 1949, p. 5; *Albury Banner* 25 March 1949, p. 6; see also Jones 1985, p. 22) Some 100 clergy from the district attended and his funeral procession comprised over 200 cars.

Thomas Barry and E.B. Ryan, both of Irish descent, were Parish priests in Albury and as such served the Newtown Orphanage.

The Sisters of Mercy

It is more appropriate, however, to go back to first principles and ask whose cemetery it actually is. It is the cemetery of those operating the orphanage of St. John's

(Newtown). And the orphanage was established, run on a day-to-day basis from 1882 to 1978 and forward planned by the nuns, the Sisters of Mercy. And the figures speak for themselves: During the first twenty-five years of opening until 1918, the Sisters cared for, educated and trained over 1000 children (*Albury Daily News*, 15 August 1918, p.3).

The Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy was founded in Dublin on December 12, 1831 by Catherine McAuley for the relief of suffering of every kind and for the instruction of the ignorant, as well as for the protection of poor girls and 'women of good character'. Inheriting a considerable fortune Catherine McAuley devoted all her wealth to caring for the poor, especially for children and young working girls in Dublin. She purchased a block of land and in 1827 erected a large house where she took care of the girls and women who came to stay, taught children in the school and went out visiting the sick. Young women soon came to help her in her work and although she never intended to become a nun, much less to begin a new religious Congregation, she accepted the advice of Archbishop Murray, and established a religious institute under the Catholic Church. On December 12, 1831 Catherine McAuley, Anne Maria Doyle and Elizabeth Harley made their vows as religious, to the new Congregation of Our Lady of Mercy (Barry 1931; Gaudry, 1981, Sisters of Mercy 1978).

The first foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in Australia occurred in January 1846 in Perth. A community of Sisters was established to look after the many 'homeless' Aboriginal children (Gaudry 1981). Perth was followed by Melbourne (Fitzroy), established in March, 1857, because the disturbed life of the gold rush had resulted in large numbers of children being deprived of a normal family life and many children were homeless (Gaudry 1981; Catherine 1981). The first establishment in New South Wales was at Goulburn, in 1859 by Mother Ignatius Murphy, Sisters M. De Pazzi Dolphin, M. Liguori Mooney, M. De Sales Meyler and M. Rose Hughes (Barry 1931, p. 1). They came from West Point, County Mayo in Ireland, to Goulburn at the request of Archbishop Polding (Roddy 1978; Barry 1931). The Sisters established a convent, an orphanage for girls (later transformed into an orphanage for boys) and a school.

Rev. Dr. McAlroy, the Vicar-General of the Diocese of Goulburn at that period, accompanied Mother Ignatius and some of the Sisters to Albury. The first Albury community of the Sisters of Mercy arrived on July 22, 1868, comprising of seven Sisters: Mother Ignatius Murphy, Mother de Sales, Sisters M. Camillus, M. Xavier, M. Joseph, M. Brigid and M. Gertrude (*Albury Daily News* 1918, p. 3). On the Sunday after their arrival, July 26, 1868 the foundation stone of the present Convent (St. Bridgid's) in Albury was laid. The work carried out by the Sisters in Albury were education, visitation of the sick and charitable efforts (*Albury Daily News* 1918). Their Convent in Albury also sent out Sisters to establish and organise branch houses in other parts of the country (*Albury Daily News* 1918). The convents of the Sisters of Mercy founded from Albury (1868) were: Newtown (Thurgoona) 1882, Corowa 1887, Deniliquin 1887, Wodonga 1882, Balranald 1887, Wentworth 1892, Tocumwal 1906 (*Albury Daily News* 1918; Roddy 1978, p. 77). The contemporary press claimed that the orphanage was the desire of Dr McAlroy, that the town of Albury needed an institution to care for orphan children. Dr McAlroy died on July 14, 1880 and was buried in St Patrick's Church behind the high altar (Larkin 1954, p. 7). On his death it was decided that an orphanage was to be built, and construction began in that same year.

The Sisters of Mercy were expected to carry out the following roles in foundations across the world:

- instructing the ignorant

- relieving and consoling the sick
- visiting prisons, poor houses and hospitals
- protecting and educating in the duties of their state, young girls of good character, but destitute and friendless
- caring for mothers and their babies
- child and family care
- nursing
- primary and secondary schooling (both boys and girls)
- music education (boys and girls)
- teaching home crafts
- religious education
- migrant education
- special learning programs
- hostels for homeless men; and
- caring for elderly men (Sisters of Mercy 1978).

After the education system had become more and more taken over by public and state schools, the Sisters of Mercy established a string of health care centres and hospitals, emphasising the care for women.

This paper is not a review of the social relevance of the Sisters of Mercy. However, the gender differential as expressed in the cemetery cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the method of government adopted by the Sisters.

Other active women religious orders of the time conducted their general business under the leadership (or control) of a Superioress General with her council, appointing the heads of the different houses and naming the nuns to work in each. The headquarters of the order would be based at the place of foundation, and in a colonial situation such as Australia, almost all decisions of import were made away from the colony itself. The Sisters of Mercy under Catherine McAuley, however, allowed each convent to be an independent unit; each self supporting convent was governed by its own Mother Superior, assisted by 3 Sisters who formed the council. This form of government was very appealing to Bishops as it allowed flexibility for the meeting of urgent needs as they arose. It was also attractive to young women who wished to belong to a religious congregation in their own home area (Gaudry 1981; Ignatius 1954). While it was more of a 'grassroot' government, with no need to refer to a distant authority for decision in matters with which those on the local scene were far more immediately acquainted, it was also at the mercy of the Bishops providing part or all of the operative and infrastructure funds. Because of its fractionation the political might of such an administrative structure was limited—and this is well reflected in the display of the headstones.

Towards a new image

The cemetery has at least state significance as it is one of few clerical cemeteries, and one of very few associated with the Sisters of Mercy. The headstones of the priests are not significant based on typological criteria as there are several other examples in cemeteries in the local and wider region. The regional significance of the priests' graves rests solely in the fact that for Rev. Patrick Dunne a Latin inscription was used. All other head stones in the cemetery carrying either just the names and dates of death, or other text, all in English, save for the standard formulae *RIP/Requiescat in pace* on many of the nun's graves and *ecce sacerdos magnus* on William Slattery's grave. Likewise, clerical

cemeteries in the region, or other non-clerical cemeteries with burials of clergywomen and men, such as Albury, Beechworth, and Wagga Wagga do not have full-length Latin inscriptions. As such then, the grave stone is representative of the remoteness of Catholic liturgy from the common people, and indicative of the elevated status afforded to the priests.

Further, in its setting against the low pedestal, box-bush bordered graves of the Sisters of Mercy, and by far outsizing the headstone of the founding mother superior of the convent, and in fact the founding mother of the Sisters of Mercy in Goulburn *and* Albury, Mother Mary Ignatius, the grave of Rev. Patrick Dunne is evocative of the sexual discrimination practiced by the Catholic Church. This interpretation is reinforced by the more recent conversion of the Sisters' graves into a lawn cemetery and the reduction of the Sisters grave monuments in height.

Thus we have a cemetery of an orphanage dominated by the graves of a handful of men who were involved with, but did not give their lives to the running of the institution, amidst a sea of small head stones for the nuns who quite literally spent most their lives keeping the orphanage operational.

The dramatic visualisation of the gender bias affords the Newtown/St. John's Orphanage cemetery a level of national significance as tangible evidence of the discrimination by the church. As such, then, the cemetery acts as an interpretive device to illustrate the biases inherent in the tangible historical and architectural record and thus feeds into the discourse on heritage management and heritage values.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to following who assisted by making resources available: Br. Dennis Devich (Bothers of the Mother of God, Guadalupe House, Albury) and Sr. Justina (Sisters of Mercy, Albury).

Bibliography

- Albury Daily News (1918) The Sisters Of Mercy - Foundation of their convent in Albury - The Golden Jubilee Celebrated To-day, Albury Daily News, 15 August.
- Albury Wodonga Express (1970) "Columns of History. Establishment of the Mercy Hospital. " Albury Wodonga Express September 23.
- Andrews, A. (1988) The History of Albury 1824-1895. Renwick Pride, Albury.
- Barry, J (1931) Goulburn Foundation Of The Sisters Of Mercy, in Cathedral Chimes.
- Bayley, W. A (1954) Border City - History Of Albury N. S. W. Albury City Council. Halstead Press. Sydney.
- Bolster, E. (1964) The Sisters Of Mercy In the Crimean War. Mercier Press. Ireland.
- Brash, R. (1987) Prmanent addresses. Australians down under. Collins, Sydney.
- Bulbeck, Ch. (1988) The stone laurael: race, gender and class in Australian Memorials. Cultural Policy Studies Occasional Papers. 5. Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, Griffith University, Nathan, Qld.
- Buxton, GL (1967) The Riverina 1861 - 1891: An Australian Regional *Study*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Campion, E. (1987) Australian Catholics - The contribution of Catholics to the development of Australian society. Penguin Books Inc. Australia.
- Carroll, M. (?) The Life Of Catherine McAuley. Vincentian Press. St. Louis.
- Darke, J. (1991)The monument guide to England and Wales. MacDonals Illustrated, London.

- Dwyer, B. & G. English (1990) *Faith Of Our Fathers & Mothers - A Catholic Story*. Griffen Press Ltd. Australia
- Gaudry, Sr. M (1981) *Mercy From Generation to Generation - The Sisters of Mercy in Australia*, A. C. T. S Publications, Melbourne.
- Gilbert, L.,(1980) *A Grave Look at History Glimpses of a Vanishing Form of Folk Art*. John Ferguson, Sydney.
- Goodman, A. J Rev (1950) *Who Are the Sisters Of Mercy*, The Annals Office, Kensington, N. S. W
- Henderson, B. (1988) *Monuments and memorials. The Royal Australian Historic Society Register*. The Royal Australian Historic Society, Sydney.
- Higgin, F (n.d.) *There Was Nun Like Them In Albury - The significance of women religions in Australia.. Albury*.
- Ignatia, Sr M. (1969) *Letters Of Catherine McAuley*, Helicon Press Inc. Baltimore. USA
- Ignatius, Sr M. (1954) *The Wheel of Time - A brief survey of the ninety six years work of the Sisters of Mercy in Victoria (1857-1953)*, Advocate Press, Melbourne, Australia.
- Johnston, C. (1993) *Gaps in the record: finding women's places*. In: H.d Cros and L.Smith, *Women in Archaeology. A feminist critique*. Occasional Papers in Prehistory No 23. Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra. Pp. 206-217.
- Jones, H. C. (1985) *A history of Thurgoona*. Albury: Albury–Wodonga Development Corporation.
- Jones, H. C. (1991) *Albury Heritage*. Albury City Council, Albury.
- Kane, K. D (1976) *The Parish That Wouldn't Die*. Parish of
- Larkin, P. (1954) *Servants of God.An abridged history of first century of the Catholic Church in the Parish of Albury*, Speciality Press, Albury.
- Lavelle, S., Mackay,R. (1988) *Burial Grounds: Kitsh Memorials or Serious Undertakings in Birmingham, J., Bairstow, D., Wilson, A. (ed) Archaeology and Colonisation: Australia in the World Context*. The Australian Society for Historical Archaeology Incorporated.
- Lynch, J. (1985) *Sisters Of Saint Joeseph*, unpublished
- Mackay, M., Stapleton, M. (1981) *Cemeteries in New South Wales in The Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales In Memoriam Cemeteries and tombstone Art in New South Wales*
- Maher, B. (1989) *The Catholic communities of Southern New South Wales*. *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 11, 18-32.
- Maree, G, (1989) *The Labourers Friends - Sisters of Mercy in Victoria and Tasmaina*, Hargreen Publishing Company - Sisters of Mercy Melbourne Congregation.
- Martin, D (1981) *A Tale of the Twin Cities*. Graphic Books, Armidale, Victoria.
- Nathy, Sr. M (1979) *Catherine McAuley - Mercy Foundress*, Veritas Publishings, Dublin
- O'Brien, J. (Fr. Hartigan) (1985) *The men of 38, Kilmore*. *Border Morning Mail* 19 April 1985.
- O'Farrell, P. (1968) *The Catholic Church In Australia - A Short History 1788 - 1967*. Thomas Nelson Publishing. Australia.
- Potter, E.W. &B.M. Boland (1992) *Guidelines for evaluating and verifying cemeteries and burial places*. *National Register Bulletin* 41. US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagencies Division, Washington DC.

- Ranke-Heinemann, U. (1990) *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*. Andre Deutsch, London.
- Roddy, A. (1978) *The Church By the Rocky River, St. Mary's Corowa 1878-1978*. Specialty Press Pty. Ltd, Albury.
- Sharp, A (1979) *Colonial NSW, 1853 - 1894*. Harper and Row, Sydney.
- Sisters of Mercy (1978) *Mercy in our time 1778-1978, - A bi-centenary publication by the Sisters of Mercy in Victoria and Tasmania*.
- Strangsted, L. (1993) *Preservation of historic burial grounds*. US National Trust for Historic Preservation Information Series. N° 76. US National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC.
- Wiggins, B. (1984) *Cemeteries and Local History - Albury's Cemetery as an Educative Resource*. The Albury Regional Museum, Albury.
- Wyatt, R. (1937) *Goulburn Diocese*, Edgar Bragg & Sons, Sydney

Figure captions

Figure 1. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004 (Photo of the author).

Figure 2. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in the 1950s (Photo courtesy of Sr. Justina, Albury).

Figure 3. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004. Headstone of sister M. Angela. (Photo by the author)

Figure 4. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004. Headstones of Mother Ignatius. (Photo by the author)

Figure 5. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004. Headstone of Patrick Dunne. (Photo by the author)

Figure 6. Frequency of interments in the St. John's cemetery. The black units demarcate the deaths of clergy (1890, 1900 and 1949) and the death of orphans.

Figure 7 A group of students with Revd. Slattery, St. John's Orphanage, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in the 1910s (Photo courtesy of Sr. Justina, Albury).



Figure 1. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004 (Photo by the author).



Figure 2. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in the 1950s (Photo courtesy of Sr. Justina, Albury).



Figure 3. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 1994. Headstone of Sister M. Angela. (Photo by the author)



Figure 4. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004. Headstones of Mother Ignatius. (Photo by the author)



Figure 5. St. John's Clergical Cemetery, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in 2004. Headstone of Patrick Dunne. (Photo by the author)

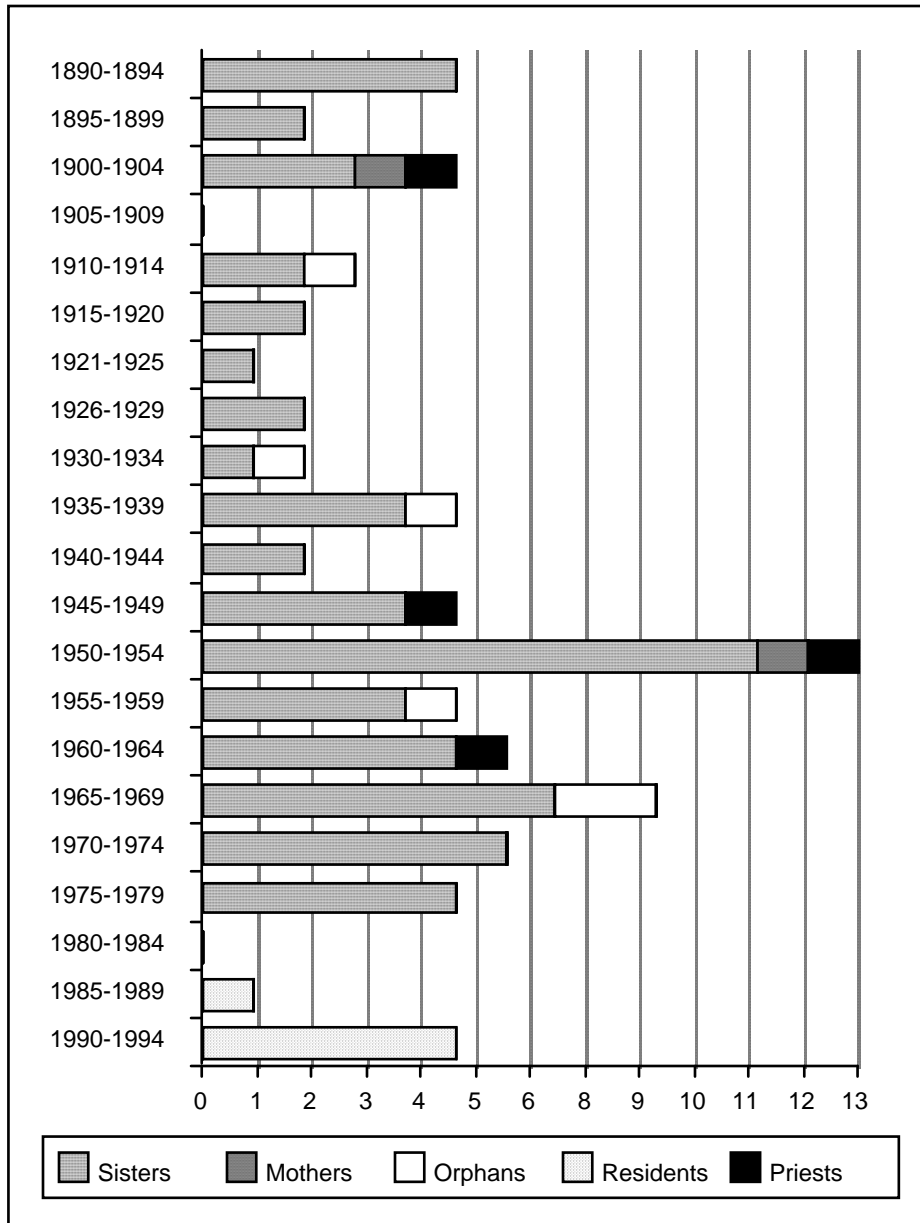


Figure 6. Frequency of interments in the St. John's cemetery. The black units demarcate the deaths of clergy (1890, 1900 and 1949) and the white units the deaths of orphans.



Figure 7 A group of students with Revd. Slattery, St. John's Orphanage, Guadalupe House (former St. John's Orphanage), Thurgoona, Albury, NSW., in the 1910s (Photo courtesy of Sr. Justina, Albury).