Expressions of Grief in South Central Kentucky, 1870-1910

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Arnold,

Sue Lynn Stone

1983
EXPRESSIONS OF GRIEF IN SOUTH CENTRAL KENTUCKY,
1870-1910

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Sue Lynn Stone Arnold
December 1983
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EXPRESSIONS OF GRIEF IN SOUTH CENTRAL KENTUCKY,
1870-1910

Recommended November 22, 1983

Carole Groue-Carraco
Director of Thesis

Approved December 12, 1983

Elmer Gran
Dean of Graduate College
Social historians in the United States seldom discuss the use of expressions of grief in their works on American culture. Although a few attempts have been made to identify prevalent American mourning customs, no published study has focused on the people of a concentrated geographic region and their methods of expressing the grief caused by death. This thesis attempts to rectify this omission by studying the expressions of grief in the south central region of Kentucky. It examines the mainstream Anglo-European American Christian population and the public and private means available to them for grief expression during the years 1870 to 1910. Minorities were excluded due to the unavailability of documented evidence within area manuscript collections. By concentrating on the late Victorian period, the study was able to draw upon oral history which would not have been possible if the early Victorian period were chosen.

A study of this type would have been impossible without the interest and cooperation of numerous individuals, librarians, and historical societies in south central Kentucky. Too numerous to name here, these persons, mentioned throughout the thesis, contributed sources and information essential to exploring this topic fully. A special word of thanks must be given to my fellow graduate students, Ronnie D. Bryant and Mary Jude Hagan, whose encouragement often added dimension to my research. My family, whose patience and ability to listen to the trials and frustrations of thesis writing, and particularly my husband, Tom, who not only listened, but spent many
winter days finding and recording tombstone information with me, share fully in my accomplishment of this project.

Finally, my thesis committee, Dr. Carol Crowe-Carraco, Dr. Lowell H. Harrison, and Dr. Francis Thompson, have not only been invaluable in their literary and historical criticism, but in their assistance in defining the approaches necessary to research this unusual socio-historic topic as well. I owe them not only my appreciation, but also my increased esteem for having directed this project.
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Through the ages, survivors have experienced loss due to the deaths of their contemporaries. Between 1870 and 1910, the people of south central Kentucky (Allen, Barren, Butler, Edmonson, Logan, Monroe, Simpson, and Warren counties) used significant expressions of grief. Combining oral history with primary correspondence, journals, scrapbooks and mementos, this study determines the importance that area residents placed on deathbed accounts, the care given the deceased's body, the funeral service, obituaries, resolutions of respect, memorial poetry, condolence letters, photography, memorial cards and pictures, hair wreaths, mourning attire and jewelry, the gravesite, and the tombstone. In almost every instance, south central Kentuckians incorporated into these expressions the themes of the peaceful departure, the existence of a blissful Heaven where the deceased awaited reunion with the survivors, and the ultimate dependence of the mourner on God's omniscience. Acceptance of these beliefs, which were echoing the hymns and popular literature of the period, allowed the bereaved family and friends to accept death as they experienced it between 1870 and 1910.
Chapter 1:
The Deathbed

Such was her end, a calm release,
No clinging to this mortal clod;
She closed her eyes, and stood in peace,
Before a smiling God.

-Clearie Goodrum's epitaph,
Allen County, 1899

Death came often to south central Kentucky during the years 1870 to 1910. Although national statistics for the period have no uniformity for reporting mortality figures, the 1880 census listed specific information for seven of the eight south central Kentucky counties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Central Kentucky Counties</th>
<th>Total White Population</th>
<th>Total White Deaths</th>
<th>Mortality Rate Per Thousand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>11,020</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>17,380</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>11,361</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>16,977</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>10,080</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>7,844</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>19,892</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kentucky State Board of Health, in its Second Annual Report gave

1879 mortality statistics for all eight counties, including Edmonson County. Although it focused on the identification of preventable causes of death, the State Board did provide information on area deaths by age group.2 Throughout the period, the board's registration report recorded high mortality rates. As late as 1910, the following statistics on death's frequency were recorded in the area:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Central Kentucky Counties</th>
<th>Mid-year Population Estimated (1910-11)</th>
<th>Total Deaths (Stillborns Excluded)</th>
<th>Total Deaths Due to Preventable Diseases per 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>14,908</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>25,550</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>15,795</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonson</td>
<td>10,517</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>24,854</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>13,736</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>11,441</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>30,653</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consumption (i.e., tuberculosis), pneumonia, enteric fever, and diarrheal diseases accounted for large numbers of area deaths between 1870 and 1910. Epidemics of typhoid fever, diphtheria, cholera, and yellow fever also threatened the counties periodically. Due to the lack of medical knowledge, a large percentage of the deaths were not diagnosed. The Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health in Kentucky, 1879 evinced the number of unknown causes of death among the

---

2 "Registration Report," Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health in Kentucky, 1879, II (Frankfort, 1880), 2, 5-6, 16, 29, 63, 71, 90, 97.

3 "Biennial Report, 1910 and 1911," Bulletin of the State Board of Health, II (Frankfort, March 1912), 190-92, 199, 208-09, 235-36, 244-45, 258-59, 263-64.
white population in south central Kentucky: Allen County, 14 of 40; Barren County, 19 of 118; Butler County, 26 of 106; Edmonson County, 21 of 58; Logan County, 14 of 85; Monroe County, 11 of 55; Simpson County, 7 of 41; and Warren County, 40 of 206.4

Children's mortality rates were particularly high. The 1880 census revealed that one out of every four south central Kentuckians who died in the census year was under the age of five [See Table I]. On November 24, 1874, George Browder, a Logan County Methodist minister, while recording in his journal that four of John Holsen's children had died of diphtheria within six weeks, commented: "It was sad to see 4 little fresh graves side-by-side & the only surviving child at home sick."5 He later wrote of a Logan County family who had buried three children in eight days in January of 1876.6 Personal correspondence of the period also recorded the numerous children's

---


5 George Browder Journal, November 24, 1874, Browder Collection (MSS-KyL). This manuscript is a photocopy of the original volumes in the possession of the Browder family, Olmstead, Logan County, Ky.

6 Ibid., January 8, 1876.
# Infant Mortality Rates, 1880 Census Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ALLEN</th>
<th>BARREN</th>
<th>BUTLER</th>
<th>LOGAN</th>
<th>MONROE</th>
<th>SIMPSON</th>
<th>WARREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 Population</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born &amp; Died in Census Year</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths Under 1</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths per 1000 During Census Year of those born within the year</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths per 1000 of Living Population</td>
<td>118.3</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>104.2</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>127.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Population</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>2676</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>2290</td>
<td>1588</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>2855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths Under 5</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths Per 1000 of Living Population Under 5</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths Under 5 Per 1000 of Deaths of All Ages</td>
<td>422.6</td>
<td>380.9</td>
<td>451.1</td>
<td>400.0</td>
<td>332.4</td>
<td>412.6</td>
<td>403.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Interior, Office of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Vol. XII, pt. 2A, pp. 60-65.)
deaths among the area's fatalities. The percentage of children's tombstones in the graveyards of south central Kentucky provided the most graphic evidence of the frequency of death among the youth.

As death was so common and its causes were so often unknown, area residents needed significant ways to express their grief in order to accept death's occurrence. Most expressions were firmly based in religious belief. In *The Southern Lady From Pedestal To Politics, 1830-1930*, Anne Firor Scott stated:

> There is little doubt that religious faith served an important function at a time when many children and adults died for no apparent reason. A firm belief that death was a manifestation of God's will made it easier to bear what otherwise would have been an intolerable burden.

A condolence letter received by John E. Younglove at the death of a family member confirmed Mrs. Scott's conclusion: "Your faithful religious nature, though, will sustain you, I know, through this as it has so bravely done in the past ... ."

Through sermons and hymns, the Christian faith sought to equip its members to withstand their bereavements. George Browder not only preached sermons on death to his Logan County congregations, but he wrote a sermon specifically about children's deaths with II Samuel 12:15-23 as its scriptural text. After delivering this sermon on November 28, 1877, he described it as "a sermon that every body seemed

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8Lilly Hughes Lucas to John E. Younglove, May 4, 1897, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection (MSS-KyL). Mrs. Lucas had just learned of Younglove's wife's infirmity. This news, added to the number of recent family deaths, had prompted the letter.
to feel . . . ." The hymnals used by the residents of south central Kentucky had topical sections on death, burial and Heaven. The Christian Church at Auburn, Logan County, owned Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs For The Congregations of Christ with its portion called "Mournful Scenes." In a supplemental songbook of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was used in Bowling Green, the compilers preferred the heading "Death and Eternity." Although the sections varied in title, the hymnals of each denomination shared common themes, and often several groups sang the same hymns.

Published in 1871, The Baptist Hymn Book contained numerous songs written for a grieving experience. Words of inspiration for Christian mourners included "Shall We Gather At The River?" under "Meeting and Parting," "Longing for Heaven" and "Hasting to our Home" with the heading "Mortality of Man," and "Hope in Death" in the "Burial" section. "Friends Separated By Death" testified to the frequency of death in the late nineteenth century: "Friend after friend departs: who hath not lost a friend?" In its section on Heaven, the Baptist hymnal included "Longing to be Clothed Upon" which spoke of "the robes of whiteness." An additional twenty-two hymns told Christians of the

---

9Browder Journal, November 28, 1877, Browder Collection.

10Inscription, "Christian Church,s [sic] Book, Auburn, Ky." in Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs For The Congregations of Christ (7th edition, Toronto, 1871); inscription, "Jane, Bowling Green" in Thomas O. Summers, compiler, Songs of Zion: A Supplement to the Hymn-book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Nashville, 1873). The Kentucky Library at Western Kentucky University has several hymnals with period south central Kentucky inscriptions.
delights of their Heavenly home of rest. 11

In 1867, the Cumberland Presbyterians published Psalms And Hymns Adapted to Social, Private, And Public Worship In The Cumberland Presbyterian Church which contained twenty-seven hymns on death. The section included songs written on the death of a Christian, a minister, a young child, a young person, and a sister. Sleep was a common depiction of the deceased's state: "Asleep in Jesus! blessed sleep, from which none ever wakes to weep." 12 Believers recognized their own mortality in singing the hymn "Prayer for Support in Death": "When weeping friends surround my bed, And close my sightless eyes . . . ." 13

Using scriptural excerpts to entitle its hymns, Alexander Campbell's The Christian Hymn Book repeated those themes shared by the other denominations. Two hymns entitled "Death of an infant" used the popular image of the fading of a flower to depict the loss, and the hymn "Go to thy rest, fair child" stated: "Haste from this dark and fearful land, Where flowers so quickly fade." 14 Eventual reunion in Heaven was stressed in the section on Heaven. Psalms affirmatively answered the question "Shall we know each other there?" and described robes, crowns, pearly gates, and harps as part of the celestial

11 The Baptist Hymn Book (Philadelphia, 1871), 489-532.

12 Psalms and Hymns Adapted To Social, Private, And Public Worship in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (Nashville, 1867), 651-68.

13 Ibid., 667.

14 A. Campbell and others, The Christian Hymn Book: A Compilation of Psalms, Hymns And Spiritual Songs, Original And Selection (Cincinnati, 1865), 613-702.
In 1905, the Methodists repeated their confidence in afterlife in The Methodist Hymnal. "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," like the majority of songs about Heaven, affirmed that once there "sickness and sorrow, pain and death, are felt and feared no more." Rather than mourning, the hymns called on the believers to recognize death as "the voice that Jesus sends, to call them to his arms." Including only six hymns under the heading "Judgment and Retribution," the compilers of this Methodist hymnal preferred to focus on Heaven by printing twenty-five songs in that section.

These hymns were not only sung in the churches, but frequently became a part of public and personal grief expression. Area residents often chose verses of hymns as tombstone epitaphs. Most popular was the second verse of "Death of a Sister":

Dearest sister, thou hast left us;  
Here thy loss we deeply feel;  
But 'tis God that hath bereft us:  
He can all our sorrows heal.

Resolutions of respect and obituaries also used hymn excerpts for expressing the sense of loss caused by death. On May 5, 1910, the Bowling Green Republican printed a memorial to Ella Curd Ragland and

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15 Ibid., 664-702.
16 The Methodist Hymnal (Nashville, 1905), 539-40. See also, 504-628.
17 Ibid., 595.
18 Ibid., 577-628.
19 Psalms and Hymns . . . in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 662-63.
Hallie Thomas Hines written by the Women's Missionary Union of First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, which quoted "Friends Separated by Death."\(^{20}\)

More personally, Warren countian Lila Procter Pendleton might have used that same hymn as the basis for her diary description of her mother's death in 1898. After a detailed account of Mrs. Procter's illness and demise, Mrs. Pendleton added that her mother was at "the beginning of that glorious morning, that eternal day that knows no cloud of sorrow."\(^{21}\) Individuals often kept information and lyrics of favorite hymns in scrapbooks. John E. Younglove of Bowling Green included a hand-written copy of "The Angel Boatman" from Songs of Devotion in his period scrapbook. Agatha R. Strange clipped the article "How 'In the Sweet By And By' Came To Be Written" for her 1896 scrapbook kept in Bowling Green as well.\(^{22}\)

By using religious themes, Victorian society established many ways for releasing the emotions accompanying bereavement. The burial of the deceased, written communications about the loss, memorials of various types, and the gravesite itself all were included in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century death experience. Using these methods, the south central Kentuckian expressed his grief resulting from the death of a family member or close friend.

\(^{20}\)Bowling Green Republican, May 5, 1910.

\(^{21}\)Lila Proctor Pendleton Diary, after September 21, 1898, Proctor-Pendleton Collection (MSS-KyL).

Descriptions of death experiences in correspondence, journals, and obituaries assist in defining how area residents perceived death. Two themes based on Christian beliefs occurred frequently in the depictions: first, the dying person's calm acceptance of his fate; and secondly, the eventual reunion in Heaven with loved ones. These accounts emphasized the persons present, the actions which took place, and the last words of the dying person.

Dr. J. F. Weaver wrote such a memoir on the death of his patient Nancy E. Meredith on September 11, 1888 in Halifax, Allen County. He chronicled the period of time from his confirmation that her death was imminent until she died. The deathbed account included her conversation with her husband concerning his subsequent care of their children and the notification of her family, her final religious instruction to her children, her Christian testimony to those gathered at her deathbed, the reading of scripture and prayer by the minister, the singing of "Let Us Pass Over The River and Rest Under The Shade," and her final request to "die easy." A memorial pamphlet printed for her friends after her death recorded the doctor's remembrances.²³ A similar account was written for the newspaper obituary after Lorenzo F. Lyon of Russellville died. On August 18, 1891, the Logan County Union detailed the physician's confirmation of impending death, the patient's acceptance, his words to his gathered loved ones, and the singing of the hymns "Rock of Ages" and "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."²⁴

²³Memorial card pamphlet of Nancy E. Meredith (Halfway, Allen County, Kentucky, 1889), in author's collection.

²⁴Russellville Logan County Union, August 18, 1891.
Ministers were often called to the bed of the dying. George Browder's journal depicted over thirty visits he made to critically ill persons. Being asked to call upon an elderly man in Russellville on October 29, 1873, Browder recorded: "He had all the family called in & asked me to pray & as I prayed he rejoiced & prayed also. He raised the song himself & we all sang his children too, 'Jesus lover of my soul.'" Of twenty-two-year-old Mary Eubank Johnson, the Glasgow Weekly Times recorded on December 24, 1874: "Exhorting her friends to meet her in Heaven, she expired peacefully." A Scottsville woman called her sons to her bedside to admonish them to "be good," assured her sister that "her way was clear for heaven," and told the doctor that as he could do no more "all is well." Often the individual knew of his impending death without consulting a doctor. A few days prior to her death, Mrs. John Cowles of Edmonson County said:

... that she was taken sick to die ... that she had nothing to do but to die, was willing and ready, and told her loved ones that she could not come back to them, but they could come to her, and to meet her in Heaven.  

A resident of Morgantown told his friends that he would meet his God within twenty-four hours and was dead before the conclusion of the following day. In some cases, the dying individual instructed a family member or the minister on the type of funeral he desired. A short time

25 Browder Journal, October 29, 1873, Browder Collection.

26 Glasgow Weekly Times, December 24, 1874; Scottsville Times-Messenger, February 15, 1907.

before he died, Albert G. Sanders of Glasgow informed his wife that, after a funeral service at the Baptist Church, "his Masonic brethren should take charge of his remains," conducting their usual ceremonies at his father's burial ground. Calling George Browder to his sickbed, J. H. Boothman of Olmstead, Logan County, convinced that he would die soon, requested the minister's promise to preach his funeral using II Corinthians 5:1 as the scriptural text and "How Firm A Foundation" as the hymn. 28

Many south central Kentuckians described the deaths they witnessed as peaceful. When an eleven-year-old girl died in Glasgow after a short, painful illness, the writer of her obituary assured the mourners:

```
. . . the closing hour of her earthly life seemed to be an introductory to the joy and peace to which she was rapidly drifting. Her eyes regained for a moment their original luster, and the tint of childhood's freshness seemed to lend once more its bright hue to her cheeks . . .
```

Luther Carpenter of Oakland, Warren County, described the death of his four-year-old son Blakey: "He continued to sink until 7 o'clock when he expired without a groan or a struggle." 30 When a friend from Mt. Carmel, Monroe County, died of consumption on September 29, 1906, her memorialist told that she had comforted her family by saying: "Jesus

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28 Morgantown Green River Republican, March 15, 1906; Glasgow Weekly Times, October 11, 1877; Browder Journal, September 19, 1872, Browder Collection; Mrs. J. Wells Vick and others, compilers, Logan County, Kentucky Bible and Cemetery Records (19 vols., Russellville, [1956?]-1971) XI, 4.

29 Glasgow Weekly Times, September 25, 1877.

30 Luther Carpenter Journal, September 25, 1876, Mildred Hardcastle Collection (MSS-KyL).
is my Savior, and I am ready to die." The death description of Mrs. John Houchen of Turnhole on Green River, Edmonson County, stated: "She died in perfect submission to her Maker's will, leaving evidence of her happy welcome 'beyond the river' . . . ."32

Writers sometimes discerned the individual's courage as a contributing factor in the peaceful acceptance they witnessed. The Tompkinsville Enterprise described a housewife from that community as having borne "the approach of dissolving nature with heroic fortitude."33 Josephine Covington of Bowling Green was said to have "met the approach of the last enemy with the calm courage of that faith which had been so long the pole-star of her life."34

Often the person's acceptance of his demise was based on the belief that death resulted in reunion with loved ones already in Heaven. The obituary of a twenty-two-year-old Logan countian stated that he

died peacefully and gently and without a struggle saying to those around his bedside: 'We all have to die sometime . . . . I am prepared to meet my mother, brother, sisters in Heaven.'35


32 Glasgow Weekly Times, March 28, 1876.

33 Tompkinsville Enterprise, April 25, 1889.

34 [n.n, n.d.]. Clipping in "Bowling Green-Warren County Biography and Obituaries: Covington" Vertical File (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University). The obituary was written in Bowling Green and sent to Louisville, Nashville, St. Louis, and Jefferson City, Missouri newspapers.

35 Russellville Logan County Union, September 22, 1891.
In December of 1886, M. R. Graham of Bristow, Warren County, described the death of her brother: "... when the last bad spell come [sic] on him, he clapped his hands several times, and said, 'I am going this time. I will soon be home and at rest.'"36

A belief in reunion also helped the survivors to accept the departure from life. John Cooney Cosby wrote an account of a death at his Allen Springs, Allen County, home: "... how thrilling and unearthly must that song have binn [sic] when she was fully over and met both her Grandmas in the electric field of light and glory."37 Cosby further added that he had requested that the young woman tell their family and friends that those members still living would join them in Heaven. E. F. Finch of Rockfield, Warren County, informed her son immediately after her brother's death in 1889: "Brother looked up & sweetly smiled & said--Coming--I think he must have seen loved ones gone before."38

But not all death scenes of the period were peaceful passages to afterlife and, in these instances, the obituary writer might not have words of comfort to give his reader. Certainly, no accounts speculated on the eternal judgment received by hardened sinners in the area, and accounts of sudden deaths could only detail the last events of the person's life. In the death of Mary Alderson of Russellville, who

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36 M. R. Graham to Carrie, December 30, 1886, Alexander Family Papers (MSS-KyL).

37 John Cooney Cosby to Matilda P. Smock, March 25, 1876, John Cooney Cosby Collection (MSS-KyL).

38 Ibid.; E. F. Finch to son, December 10, 1889, Perkins Collection (MSS-KyL).
apparently died of heart failure, the Russellville Ledger stated that
the usual evening chores were being carried out when her husband heard
her exclamation and rushed to catch her as she dropped dead. 39 On the
sudden death in August of 1877 of a Scottsville lawyer, the Glasgow
Weekly Times detailed the events of the day. After resting on the bed
for the majority of the morning, he arose around noon to join family
members on the porch "and almost immediately began to reel and call to
some one 'catch me, I am falling.' He was carried to his room, but
expired before he was placed on the bed." 40

Caroline Matilda Lucas and her brother Joe, both of Warren
County, were not aware that when his gun fell from the wall and
accidentally fired inside their home on December 26, 1871 that Joe's
wound would result in his death. Her shock still was apparent in her
description of the incident five days later: "I think he thought he
would get well after a long time but 0 he is gone . . . I feel so [sic]
so retched [sic] I feel like my last prop was gone." 41 Sadder yet were
the accounts of those found dead. The Glasgow Times recorded that when
Bob Saunders of Cedar Grove, Barren County, died in August of 1898, not
only had he not been able to say any parting words, but his death had
possibly gone unnoticed for twenty-four hours. 42

39 Russellville Ledger, April 20, 1892.
40 Glasgow Weekly Times, August 16, 1877. Another detailed
description of the morning of a death was written for the obituary of
Mrs. Sallie Gill, Bowling Green Messenger, February 20, 1910.
41 Caroline M. Lucas to Fanton and Louisa Alexander, December 31,
1871, Alexander Family Papers.
42 Glasgow Times, August 25, 1898.
Whenever possible, the dying words of accident victims were transcribed. In the death account of Elihu Beck of Woodbury, Butler County, the Green River Republican stated that he "... died in great agony within an hour and 15 minutes. His last words being 'Lord bless my wife and four little children.'"<sup>43</sup> Beck's accident had occurred on a riverboat and, thus, friends were there to comfort him and to be comforted by hearing his unselfish last words.<sup>44</sup>

Due to death's frequency between 1870 and 1910, south central Kentuckians needed significant grief expressions. In their deathbed depictions, area residents revealed the importance they placed on the individual peacefully accepting his demise and looking forward to his reunion with loved ones in Heaven. After stating how individuals made every effort to be present at the death of a loved one, "The Last Words of the Dying," an article published in the Glasgow Weekly Times on March 9, 1876, stressed the emphasis placed on the final words by late Victorians:

Yes, dying words are those most sought after and cherished by the human heart. Amid all the cares and disappointments that may surround us in life, we never can forget the last faint whisperings of the dying.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Morgantown Green River Republican, December 18, 1902.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Glasgow Weekly Times, March 9, 1876. For an account of a brother rushing to a deathbed, see Graham Wilkes to Essie Alexander, September 23, 1899, Alexander Family Papers.
Chapter 2:
The Burial

Alas,
how sad to part with thee,
Friend of my better days.

-Robert Miller's inscription
Edmonson County, 1884

Physical necessities, community expectations, and etiquette impelled south central Kentuckians to follow basic rituals from the death to the burial of a loved one. Both personal preference and accessibility of an undertaker's services directed the manner in which the body was prepared and funeral arrangements were made. The use of the undertaker could be prohibited by the location of one's residence or economic status.

Of the factors prohibiting the use of an undertaker, the former was the least influential in the action taken. Most wealthy families, regardless of the inaccessibility of their residences, could pay for professional assistance with the arrangements. In some cases, south central Kentucky undertakers made their coffins and the use of their hearses more affordable to poorer families. Between 1869 and 1878, John C. Gerard of Bowling Green allowed his customers to pay with produce (including oats, corn, hay, apples, sweet potatoes, and wheat), lumber, pigs, and labor (including holing, grading, blacksmithing, plus
clock and watch repair). In December of 1873, a widow, Sarah Franklin, paid for her husband's coffin and burial by fifteen days of labor (thirteen of which were specified as washing). Some coffin prices also appear to have been reduced in the Gerard account book for widows.\(^1\) Even with this assistance, some families could not afford the luxury of an undertaker. In either case, south central Kentuckians performed several rites to prepare the body for burial.

After the death occurred, a family member or friend would make the needed arrangements. His responsibilities included contacting someone to make the coffin, the printer, distant relatives by telegraph, and the minister. The physical necessity of a receptacle for burial dictated the importance of notifying the nearest coffinmaker. In many cases, as with the neighbors of John Haile along the Cumberland River of Monroe County, a friend with access to a saw mill built coffins for neighborhood deaths. The messenger usually carried a stick with him on which was marked the length and width of the deceased.\(^2\)

In the late 1800's, area undertakers were increasing the types of services which they provided to bereaved families. Most undertakers in south central Kentucky, as was common throughout the profession, had begun undertaking as a part of a cabinetmaking/furniture business or a

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\(^2\)Interview with John Baker, Tompkinsville, February 19, 1983.
livery stable. In his dissertation, "The American Funeral Director," Robert Habenstein stated "... in rural areas the combination of furniture sales and undertaking has had a functional vitality that has lasted into the present century." Even late in the nineteenth century, most undertakers only assumed the duties of bringing the coffin to the home on the day of the funeral, placing the body in the coffin for final viewing, closing the coffin, and conveying it to the site of burial in a horse drawn spring wagon or hearse. By the late 1880's, bereaved families increasingly relied upon urban undertakers to provide various services because, as John A. Ruth wrote in Decorum, A Practical Treatise on Etiquette and Dress of the Best American Society (1879):

The arrangements for the funeral are usually left to the undertaker, who best knows how to proceed, and who will save the family of the deceased all the cares and annoyances at the time they are least fitted to meet them.

3 For a listing of the known undertakers in south central Kentucky between 1870 and 1910, see Appendix I.


6 John A. Ruth, compiler, Decorum, A Practical Treatise on Etiquette and Dress of the Best American Society (New York, 1879), 225. Most etiquette books used in this study can be found with south central Kentucky period inscriptions in the Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University.
Of these services, the type of receptacle into which the body was to be placed was of primary importance. The account books of the Gerard Undertaking Establishment of Bowling Green evince the increasing attention given to the appearance of the casket. In the early 1870's, the use of cloth-covered coffins, ornamented caskets, and metallic burial cases rose steadily and, before the turn of the century, many individuals chose white, black cloth-draped, "plush," or metal lined caskets. The emphasis placed on these types of caskets plainly shows the growing concern for the preservation of the body and the beautification of the receptacle into which the loved one was placed. The change in the receptacle's name from "coffin" (i.e., a box for a corpse to be buried in) to "casket" (i.e., a chest or box in which jewels or something precious is kept) reflected the changing attitude of the Victorians toward death and their need to lessen its harshness.

Coffins varied greatly in price and elaborateness. In 1870, the Gerards provided a simple wooden coffin and burial for an average price of between $20 and $30 for an adult and $15 and $20 for a child. In

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7 Between 1870 and 1910, the Gerard Undertaking Establishment bore various company names: "John C. Gerard Undertaking Company" until 1878, "F. C. Gerard and Brother, Undertakers" until 1897, and "Gerard and Gerard" until 1929. For clarity, the title "Gerard Undertaking Establishment" or simply the "Gerards" will be used throughout this thesis.

8 Gerard Account Books, Gerard Collection.

Auburn, H. W. Stagner sold coffins for $6.00 to $8.50 in 1895-96. W. M. Williams charged $20 for a coffin purchased on January 12, 1899 in Allen County. The best comparison can be made between the 1910 records of the Hatcher and Willoughby Firm of Glasgow and the account book of John Wesley Yokley, Jr. of Tompkinsville. Only 26 individuals paid less than $20 for their coffins from Hatcher and Willoughby, and of the remaining 83 accounts, 35 coffins cost $75 or more. In 1910, Yokley charged 46 of his 68 customers less than $20; and of the remaining 22 accounts, only 5 were $60 or more. As Yokley did not itemize his accounts, he could have included conveyance to the burial site for this price.10

While Hatcher and Willoughby purchased some of their more expensive burial cases from undertaking suppliers, such as the National Casket Company, many undertakers of south central Kentucky continued to make the majority of their coffins at their own businesses.11 J. W. Yokley, Sr. built all of his coffins, in addition to making furniture and trim work for the Tompkinsville area, until the early 1900's when failing health forced him to order some of his coffins from Tennessee.


11 Hatcher & Willoughby records. Gerard Account Books also list the casket companies from which they ordered. The Evans Furniture Company of Russellville purchased coffins for its undertaking department from Lawrenceburg. Jno. W. Evans to his wife, February 23, 1890, Sally (Barclay) Evans Collection, (MSS-KyL).
Upon his death in 1905, his wife and sons continued his business. For many years, Yokley, Sr. did not offer any other services to his customers. Then as the population of Monroe County increased, Yokley bought a hearse, prepared bodies in the homes, and took charge of burials (usually the next day). But the majority of Yokley's customers, often having traveled twelve to fourteen miles, continued to come to his shop with their stick marking the size of the body. While they waited for the coffin to be made, Yokley gave them food and whiskey.\(^\text{12}\) When the coffin was ready, the neighbors returned with it to the house in which the body was being prepared.\(^\text{13}\)

In the larger communities, undertakers offered much more than the coffin. Throughout the period, the Gerard Undertaking Establishment added to its services, including funeral notices (beginning in 1870), burial shrouds or clothing (in 1876), hacks (in 1882), embalming (in 1883), pall bearers' wagons (in 1887), flowers (in 1888), telegrams (in 1889), pall bearers' gloves (in 1889), and grave linings (in 1909).\(^\text{14}\)

The records of the Hatcher and Willoughby Furniture Dealers and

\(^{12}\) Interview with John Baker, February 19, 1983. Prior to the turn of the century, it was considered improper for coffinmakers or undertakers to keep extra coffins at their businesses as this practice implied their advanced preparation and possible profiting from someone else's misfortune. For more information, see Clarence G. Strub and L. G. "Darko" Frederick, *The Principles and Practice of Embalming* (4th ed., Dallas, 1967), 44.

\(^{13}\) Interview with Baker, February 19, 1983; Martha Alma Yokley Emberton to author, March 25, 1983.

Undertakers of Glasgow (1899, 1904-06, and 1910) listed services and prices quite similar to theGerards. Although his records were not available for comparison, James H. Dashwood of Franklin possibly offered many of these services much earlier. Fifteen years before telegrams were listed in the Gerard accounts, Dashwood advertised the sending of telegrams.¹⁵ Thus, when these undertakers were contracted, the messenger might have fulfilled all of his responsibilities.

After securing a coffin (and provided that the undertaker had not taken over the messenger's other responsibilities), the "death messenger" had funeral invitations printed locally, usually at the newspaper office.¹⁶ The funeral invitation notified the friends and less immediate relatives in the area of the death and requested their presence at the funeral. In those counties which had no newspaper or printer, the messenger might have a single funeral notice on which the information was written. In such a case, he would take it to each household to be contacted, have someone there read the message, and then continue with the notice to the next home. If no handwritten invitation was available, he simply would invite them verbally.¹⁷ For

¹⁵ Hatcher & Willoughby Records; Franklin Patriot, June 20, 1874.

¹⁶ In many areas of south central Kentucky, the newspaper office was not close enough to make printed invitations practical. Only three invitations have been found which indicate their printers' names. These were printed by Sentinel Print, Franklin, Ky. in 1871 and by Patriot Print, Franklin, Ky. in 1872. Simpson County Historical Society Ephemera File (Goodnight Memorial Library, Franklin); Tom Moody Collection, in possession of Tom Moody, Franklin.

¹⁷ Mrs. James Beach, Sr. and James Henry Snider, Franklin and Simpson County: A Picture of Progress, 1819-1975 (Tompkinsville, Ky., 1976), 945; Lucy Harris, speech, Simpson County Historical Society, March 3, 1970. Tape on deposit at Goodnight Memorial Library, Franklin.
the majority of the area, newspapers, which provided the only other means of general communication, were published either weekly or bi-weekly and, therefore, could not be relied on to give the community advance notice of a funeral.18

The funeral invitation, when available, was a small piece of fine note paper, single folded lengthwise to produce a card of approximately 4-1/2" x 7" or 5" x 8". Most notes were bordered by 1/4" of black ink. Although the wording varied, illustration I is a typical example of the extant south central Kentucky funeral invitations. Once printed, these invitations were hand-delivered, rather than mailed, to members of the community. Most etiquette manuals agreed with John H. Young's statement in Our Department, or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society: "It is a breach of good manners not to accept an invitation to a funeral, when one is sent."19

18 In a few of the county seats, newspapers began tri-weekly or daily publication prior to 1910. These included the Russellville Logan County Union (later known as the Russellville Ledger), the Franklin Patriot, the Bowling Green Triweekly Kentucky Intelligencer, the Bowling Green Democrat, the Bowling Green Park City Daily Times, and the Bowling Green Gazette Daily. For more information on Bowling Green newspapers, see Edith Evalyn Mayfield, "The History of Journalism in Bowling Green, Kentucky" (master's thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1926).

19 John H. Young, Our Department or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society (Detroit, 1884), 297; Clark Funeral Invitation Collection, in possession of John W. Clark, Russellville; Gerard Collection (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); Simpson County Historical Society Ephemera File; Tom Moody Collection; Fannie Morton Bryan Collection (MSS-KyL); Nora C. O'Connell Scrapbook, in possession of Mrs. Jack Stengill, Russellville; funeral invitations in the possession of Mrs. Paul Garrett (Franklin), Mildred Collier (Bowling Green), and in Adams Collection (MSS-KyL), Armitage Family Papers (MSS-KyL), Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection, Dickerson & Venable Family Papers (MSS-KyL), Wand Bolivar Duncan Collection (MSS-KyL), Thomas Collection (MSS-KyL), and Tolle Collection (MSS-KyL). A few south central Kentucky funeral invitations have been reproduced in
Funeral Notice.

The friends and acquaintances of Mr. W. M. F. Caldwell are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of his daughter, MISS MARGARET F. CALDWELL, to-morrow morning at 10:30 o'clock. Services at the residence by Rev. T. D. Lewis and Rev. J. H. Morton. Interment immediately afterwards at the family burying ground.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 2nd, 1881.
The messenger also went to the telegraph office and the minister's home. Whenever possible, relatives who lived within travelling distance were contacted immediately so that they might arrive in time for the funeral. Even with the use of telegrams, word of the death often would arrive too late for the family members to attend the burial services. The messenger notified the minister immediately in order to confirm the minister's availability to perform the service and to allow him adequate time to prepare for the funeral. The minister might have previously committed himself to conduct the service during a visit to the dying individual and, thereby, know the text and hymns which the deceased desired for his funeral.

While the messenger was completing his tasks, one or more close friends or relatives of the same sex as the deceased washed, dressed, and laid out the body on a "cooling board" in the home. The cooling board, often improvised by using a plank and two chairs, allowed the

county histories: see Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 945; Cecil E. Goode and Woodford L. Gardner, Jr., eds., Barren County Heritage: A Pictorial History of Barren County, Kentucky (Bowling Green, 1980), 16. No funeral invitations have been located from Allen, Butler, Edmonson, or Monroe counties, possibly due to the lack of printers and newspapers. The Gerard Collection in the Kentucky Library is a separate collection from the previously mentioned Gerard Collection in the Manuscript Division of that library. Therefore, for clarity, subsequent citations to this collection will be given as "Gerard Collection-KyL."

George Browder of Logan County mentioned sending telegrams as death messages in his journal on September 22, 1884 and November 13, 1884, Browder Collection. William Davis Kline of Nashville discussed his reception of the news that his mother and uncle had died and his desire to attend their burial services in W. D. Kline to Margaret Y. Calvert, Bowling Green, March 1, 1891, May 25, 1898, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.

See the discussion of deathbed scenes in Chapter 1.
body's temperature to lower and, thus, increased the time possible before interment. Coins were placed over the eyes to hold them shut until rigor mortis set in. A cloth tied around the chin and knotted at the top of the head closed the mouth. Often, camphor put on a cloth was used to preserve the face and a saucer of salt was placed on the chest to help preserve the body. In the summer months, ice had to be used to lengthen the period before burial. Usually older individuals already had constructed their burial garments, or "laying out clothes." If no shroud had been made previously, neighbors usually fashioned a dress for a female and buried a man in his best clothing. Some undertakers upon request provided burial garments.

In some cases, prior to death, an individual asked close friends or family members to render him the service of washing and dressing his body for burial. Kate Covington of Bowling Green had such an understanding with her sister-in-law: "Some years ago we made an agreement, that the one that lived the longest was to prepare the other for burial. I complied with my promise and even helped the undertaker

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24 Clarence L. Carver is wearing a man's burial garment in illustration IV.
to lift her in the casket."\(^{25}\) The importance placed on the care given in laying out the deceased was expressed in the obituary of a young Glasgow woman:

> Though death came when she was far from the home of her birth and when none of the friends of her youth were near except the husband and mother, yet gentle hands were found to perform the last sad offices for the dead, and gentle hearts to mourn her loss.\(^{26}\)

With preparations completed, family members and friends stayed with the deceased until burial. In most cases, the funeral took place within forty-eight hours of the death.\(^{27}\) The practice of "sitting up" with the body had both practical and social purposes. The practical uses of sitting up were to watch the corpse for any signs of life and to protect it from disturbance. Contemporary newspapers often ran articles announcing the latest test to insure that no person be buried alive. The November 23, 1906 issue of the Russellville Democrat included an article on a "German Death Test." According to the instructions, fluorescine was injected into the tissues two hours prior to placing the body in the coffin. Coloring of the tissues indicated that life was present. If alive, the fluorescine did no harm to the tissues which soon returned to normal.\(^{28}\) A similar test, published in

\(^{25}\) Katherine Covington to Elizabeth Bettersworth, September 6, 1901, Katherine (Meador) Covington Collection (MSS-KyL).

\(^{26}\) Glasgow Weekly Times, September 17, 1874.

\(^{27}\) If interment occurred the day after the death, preservation by ice or embalming was usually not necessary, except in extreme summer heat. Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 395.

\(^{28}\) Russellville Democrat, November 23, 1906.
the Glasgow Weekly Times on June 3, 1875, used an injection of ammonia.  

Most south central Kentuckians preferred simpler tests, such as holding a mirror up to the patient's nostrils or placing a small feather over one nostril. In Barren County, another test used a sterling silver watch placed under the person's back for a short period of time; if the watch was moist or warm when it was removed, the individual was still alive. The other practical reason for watching the body was to prevent cats or rodents from bothering it.

Socially, a wake provided an opportunity for a gathering of community residents. Neighbors brought in food for the bereaved family and their guests. In Fountain Run, Monroe County, it was customary for the young men to sit up with the deceased and for the women to serve supper during the night. Glasgow families continued to sit up with the body at the residence until the building of funeral homes in the mid-1920's. Then many persons chose to keep the body at the funeral home until the burial, but the neighbors still provided food for the family at home. Individuals sometimes mentioned sitting up or

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29 Glasgow Weekly Times, June 3, 1875.
30 Both tests were mentioned in interviews with Dwight C. Smith, July 27, 1983; Ronnie D. Bryant (Monroe County), Bowling Green, June 20, 1983; and Herbert Houchens (Barren County), Bowling Green, July 29, 1983.
31 Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983.
33 Lucy Albright, Fountain Run, to author, May 20, 1983; B. S. Puckle, Funeral Customs (New York, 1926), 102.
34 Goode and Gardner, Barren County Heritage, 83; interview with R. Terry Houchen (Barren County funeral director), Glasgow, March 22, 1983.
viewing the body in their correspondence and journals. In a letter detailing the death of her uncle in Warren County, M. R. Graham stated that several family members had gone to sit with the deceased. On January 27, 1880, Josephine Calvert of Bowling Green recorded in her journal her afternoon visit to see a baby which had died that morning.

Neighbors often provided flowers to be used on the coffin and then placed on the grave. The inclusion of floral arrangements at funerals began in the mid-nineteenth century and became increasingly important during the remainder of that century. In *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, James F. Farrell suggested that flowers helped to brighten home funerals along with the removal of drawn shades and black crape. Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers in "The Patterns of Late Nineteenth Century Funerals" further stated the importance placed on the designs which the fresh and dried flowers could take. Wreaths, crosses, anchors, hearts, crowns, sickles, lambs, broken columns and harps were but a few possibilities available in the floral set pieces of the period. Etiquette books of the period suggested wreaths for infants and youths, and crosses for

35 M. R. Graham to Carrie Alexander, December 30, 1871, Alexander Family Papers.

36 Diary of Josephine Calvert, January 27, 1880, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.

37 Farrell, *Inventing American Death*, 177. In this thesis, the spelling of "crape" popular in nineteenth century literature will be used.

married persons; both arrangements were to be made principally of white blooms.  

No south central Kentucky florists were listed in the Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1876-7.  

An advertisement for a Nashville florist had appeared in the May 7, 1874 Glasgow Weekly Times, thus revealing the possibility that with adequate funds such designs could have been used in the area.  

Within the next few years, some flowers were being sold locally. In the April 27, 1892 issue of the Russellville Ledger, William Simpson, sexton of Maple Grove Cemetery, Russellville, advertised flowers for sale. In her journal, Josephine Calvert frequently referred to her errands to Bowling Green greenhouses in 1879. By 1888, the Gerard Undertaking Establishment of Bowling Green supplied flowers; later, in 1899, they recorded floral designs in their account books.  

Although no extant newspapers indicate the presence of florists in Bowling Green until 1903, possibly the Gerards and other local undertakers purchased the more elaborate

40 Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1876-7 (Louisville, 1876).  
41 Glasgow Weekly Times, May 7, 1874.  
floral offerings from casket suppliers. The Stein Patent Burial Casket Works of Rochester, New York, sold twenty designs in fresh flowers and "immortelles" to their undertaking customers with four or five sizes to choose from at wholesale prices ranging from $1.50 to $25. The immortelles were artificial, dried or prepared flowers and leaves which usually cost only one-half the price of fresh ones. 43

But the majority of the arrangements utilized within the area were made from homegrown flowers in season or crape paper ones placed in available bottles, jars and vases. In some rural areas, such as Monroe County, a winter burial might have no flowers; the family waited until Decoration Day to place memorials on the grave. 44 These homemade arrangements had a particular type of beauty as this depiction of a Glasgow funeral expressed:

... the casket was covered with wreaths of flowers woven by the hands of the warm-hearted ladies, who desired to attest their sympathy for the husband and bereaved mother who had been summoned to her daughter's bedside a few days ago. 45

Attention was given to the types of flowers selected whenever the season permitted. Through works such as Frances Osgood's The Poetry of

43 Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 419; Bowling Green Times-Journal, October 27, 1903. This advertisement was for R. L. Brashear, Florist. By the next year, the Burdell Floral Company was also advertising.

44 Interview with Era Stinson (Logan County), Bowling Green, March 25, 1983; Smith, "History of Hearse"; interview with Ronnie D. Bryant, June 20, 1983; interview with Nelle Jane Shanks Stone (Warren County), Bowling Green, June 20, 1983. Era Stinson still has a hand bouquet of spring flowers which was placed on the grave of her grandfather John W. Williams of Logan County (d. May 22, 1903).

45 Glasgow Weekly Times, September 17, 1874.
Flowers (1860) and Kate Greenaway's The Language of Flowers (1884), the Victorians assigned symbolism to the various arrangements they used. Among the many flowers available in their gardens during the year, the south central Kentuckians might choose:

- Anemones, Garden
- Daisies
- Geraniums, Dark
- Harebells
- Honeysuckle
- Hyacinths
- Ivy
- Lilies
- Lily of the Valley
- Roses, Garland of
- Roses, Sweetbriar
- Snowballs
- Sweet Peas
- Violets
- Weeping Willow
- Zinnias

Forsaken, Innocence, Farewell
Melancholy
Grief
The Bond of Love
Sorrow, Grief
Friendship, Matrimony
Purity
Return of Happiness
Reward of Virtue
Sympathy
Thoughts of Heaven
Departure
Modesty
Forsaken
Absence

Not only the flowers, but the type of burial service held for the deceased differed. In remote areas of the county, the family might have a very simple service at the grave which they had dug themselves in a family or church burial ground. When Mrs. John Houchen of Turnhole on Green River, Edmonson County, died in March of 1878, Elder J. A. Smith preached her funeral "at the burying ground." The Green River Republican obituary for Jane Frizzell dated July 28, 1904 stated: "Prayer and song services were conducted at the grave by Rev. B. Weaver . . . and her remains were quietly laid to rest amid a host of


47 Glasgow Weekly Times, March 28, 1878.
sorrowing friends." In other cases, the circuit minister later held a memorial service on his monthly visit. These rites often honored more than one departed member of the community. This type of service also was used when family members were unable to arrive sooner or weather precluded the funeral from being held. When John E. Carroll of Bee Spring, Edmonson County, died on February 11, 1898, friends buried him the following day and his wife had his funeral preached months later.

In his discussion of funerals in The Victorian Celebration of Death, James Stevens Curl stated: "... the rites involve actions, words, music, and movements which add up to a pattern forming the framework within which feelings are expressed." In south central Kentucky, the service included a funeral sermon and often several of the following: congregational singing of a few hymns; a song by a soloist, duet, or choir; a poem; the reading of scripture; and an eulogy emphasizing the deceased's attributes. For funerals of their

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48 Morgantown Green River Republican, July 28, 1904. See also: Montell, Monroe County Folklife, 94.
49 Lucy Albright, Fountain Run, to author, May 20, 1983. Many examples of these memorial services are found in the journals of Reverend George Browder of Logan County, Browder Collection.
50 Browder Journal, May 26, 1872, April 19, 1874, December 11, 1877, Browder Collection; Acie Carroll, Bee Spring, Edmonson County, to author, July 25, 1983.
51 James Stevens Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (Detroit, 1972), 185.
52 Browder Journal, passim; Funeral order of worship for Reverend J. Wood Stone of Bowling Green, July 5, 1904, Stone Collection (MSS-KyL); Camilla Herdman Diary, December 2, 1897, Herdman Collection (MSS-KyL); Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 405-06.
members, fraternal orders, such as the Masons, added their own rites. George Browder preached at several Masonic funerals and, on January 7, 1876, said of one: "... the brethren of the 'mystic tie' buried the body with their solemn & impressive ceremonies."

The sermon texts used by Browder fell into two categories: first, sermons of comfort and instruction (Lamentations 3:33-35; Psalms 23:4; II Samuel 2:15-23; Psalms 116:15; Luke 24:43; II Timothy 4:7); and secondly, sermons for the conversion of those in attendance (James 4:14; II Corinthians 5:10; Revelation 20:12). The sermons of comfort and instruction used the resurrection of the believers to aid the family in their acceptance of the physical separation of death, whereas the sermons of conversion were intended to bring to the unsaved a belief in Christ which would enable them to be reunited with the loved one in Heaven. Typical of evangelical clergymen of the period, which Glen William Davidson described in his dissertation, "Basic Images of Death in America: An Historical Analysis," Browder saw funerals as excellent opportunities for witnessing to an audience which might never attend Sunday services.

Both home and church were popular locations for funerals in the larger communities. The Clark Funeral Invitation Collection of Logan County (primarily Russellville) contains twenty-nine home invitations

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53 Browder Journal, January 7, 1876, April 24, 1878, February 4, 1879, Browder Collection; Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 410-11. Obituaries of Masons frequently commented on their fraternal services as well.

54 Davidson, "Basic Images of Death," 159; Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 412; Browder Journal, July 8, 1873, December 19, 1882, March 13, July 7, 1883, Browder Collection.
and twenty-one church invitations between 1870 and 1895, while the Gerard Collection of Warren County (primarily Bowling Green) has thirteen for home funerals and thirteen for church funerals from 1875 to 1901. Most families expected the entire community to attend the funerals of their loved ones. Correspondence, obituaries, and journal entries correlated the size of the funeral party with the person's importance in his community. Family preference and the anticipated size of the funeral dictated whether it was conducted in the family residence or the church. A large home funeral might utilize four or five rooms of the house, open windows and doorways, and the immediate outside. On August 12, 1878, Browder described the discomfort of such a gathering in a small community of Logan County in the summer's heat:

There was a vast crowd at Shiloh, house doors and windows crowded, many out of doors. I have seldom seen so large a crowd in so small a house, so hot a day, manifest such unbroken interest throughout the service. The heat was almost suffocating, yet none left the house.

Area undertakers often added to the ceremony by providing elegant black-plumed hearse drawn by fine black horses. The townspeople of Franklin spoke highly of their undertaker James H. Dashwood because, as

55 Gerard Collection-KyL; Clark Funeral Invitation Collection.

56 Interview with Eugenia Gerard Paxton (Warren County), Bowling Green, November 30, 1982. Even in communities as large as Bowling Green, funerals were not held at the undertakers' establishments when it was possible to do otherwise until after 1910.

57 Browder Journal, April 24, August 12, 1878, Browder Collection.

58 Ibid., August 12, 1878. Browder gave no indication of the number in attendance or the actual size of the house.
Lucy Harris (a Simpson County native born in 1884) explained in her lecture to the Simpson County Historical Society on March 3, 1970:

He was a showman, the best we ever had in Franklin. He could do anything required at the funeral . . . . He outprayed the little preachers from around this part of the country, so people just thought they were lucky if they could get Mr. Dashwood to conduct the service.59

By the 1870's, Morgantown, according to county historian Bennett F. Bratcher, was a cultural and governmental center. When B. F. Smith established the Smith Undertaking Shop in 1886, the town had a normal school, a seminary, and a total population of less than 250 residents. In his description of Butler County funeral customs, Dwight C. Smith, a retired Morgantown undertaker, identified the significance that his grandfather's community placed on funerals. During the service, public offices and stores were closed and the church bells and the town fire bell tolled "to show respect for the deceased." Custom also dictated the order of procession of the graveyard: ministers, flower girls (who carried the flowers to the place of interment), honorary pall bearers, active pall bearers, horse drawn hearse bearing the deceased, family (in order of closeness), and finally, friends. Concerning the graveside services, Smith added:

The grave was usually dug by friends or neighbors, and the pall bearers were expected to fill the grave . . . . No one left the grave until it was properly filled. There was also singing and scripture reading at the grave so this made a second service usually. After the grave had

59 Lucy Harris speech, March 3, 1970.
been properly filled and all due respect paid to the family of the deceased, the people adjourned, or were dismissed.60

This Butler County depiction contains many elements common in other south central Kentucky funerals. Bell tolling, a custom Americans adopted from their European ancestors, called attention to the soul "passing" into the next world and asked for the prayers of the community. Lucy Harris of Franklin regarded the church bells as "one of the first communication systems we had."61 On March 19, 1874, the Glasgow Weekly Times printed a poem entitled "Ring the Bell Softly" which beautifully explained that the tolling of the bell advised the neighborhood of the death. Lucy Albright, a Fountain Run, Monroe County historian, described the tolling of the bells in that community as "a most mournful sound."62

Short graveside services were recorded in obituaries and Browder's journal. Even in the larger communities, this type of service was sometimes the only rite to which the public was invited.63 In reference to the opening and closing of the grave, Browder mentioned in his journals having personally helped to fill graves after the

60 Smith, "History of Hearse"; Bennett F. Bratcher, History of Butler County ((n.p.), 1960), 7, 9. Smith, despite the late twentieth century popularity of the title "funeral director," prefers describing his career as that of an "undertaker."

61 B. S. Puckle, Funeral Customs, 82; Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 416; Lucy Harris speech, March 3, 1970. Particularly interesting is an 1866 Franklin funeral invitation which states: "Please attend first ringing of the bell." Tom Moody Collection.

62 Glasgow Weekly Times, March 19, 1874; Lucy Albright, Fountain Run, to author, May 20, 1983.

63 For one example, see the funeral invitation of Judge J. H. Rose, June 11, 1894, Gerard Collection-KyL.
burial services on two occasions.\textsuperscript{64} When Browder commented on the "present" he had received from a family for his assistance, the amount was either $5 or $10; the sum varying according to the ability of the bereaved to pay.\textsuperscript{65}

Although the extant period journals from Logan, Simpson, and Warren counties usually documented only the occurrence of various funerals, some entries provide insight into the funeral as an opportunity for the public expression of grief. Most stirring is the emotional account of Browder after the funeral of a Logan County woman on December 29, 1877:

I have seldom seen a family more distressed. A grown daughter sat on the floor by the open coffin, during the entire service and wept as if her heart would break and begged piteously not to be taken away, when it was necessary to remove the body to the grave, I tried to comfort the family with the assurance that 'the Lord, doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.'\textsuperscript{66}

With a sense of pride, Browder often mentioned incidents in which he felt that his funeral sermons had touched his audiences deeply. In one such case, he stated: "There was a deep and outgushing emotion in almost the entire audience. I trust good was accomplished."\textsuperscript{67}

Davidson's dissertation identified late nineteenth century evangelical ministers as actively seeking this type of emotional response to

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{64}] Browder Journal, April 24, 1878, September 24, 1884, Browder Collection.
\item[\textsuperscript{65}] See especially Browder Journal, August 28, 1872, Browder Collection. Other mentions of payments are recorded in the journal on December 11, 1877 and June 2, 1878.
\item[\textsuperscript{66}] Ibid., December 29, 1877.
\item[\textsuperscript{67}] Ibid., November 26, 1873.
\end{itemize}
funeral sermons. At these services, a public display of emotion was not only accepted, but often was expected by the minister and the community.\textsuperscript{68}

Other journal comments testified to the sharing of grief by the others in attendance. In 1897, Camilla Herdman, after a Bowling Green funeral, wrote of her sympathy for the mother who was suffering the loss of her baby. Subsequent to her witnessing a close friend's interment on July 31, 1875, Agatha Strange of Bowling Green recorded her concern in her journal:

\begin{quote}
His sisters (3 single ones) were heartbroken--He was true to them and they felt their best friend was lost to them--'May God in his mercy raise up another.'\textsuperscript{69}
\end{quote}

Mrs. Strange later wrote of the death of two little boys, commenting:

"Everyone can master a grief, but he that has it."\textsuperscript{70}

After the funeral, the guests were expected to return to their own homes and not to the house of the bereaved family. But the etiquette manuals did allow for situations common in rural areas in that:

\begin{quote}
If friends have come from a distance, it may sometimes be a matter of necessity to extend a brief hospitality to them; but if the guests can avoid this necessity, they should do so. This hospitality should be of the quietest sort, and in no manner become an entertainment.\textsuperscript{71}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{68} Davidson, "Basic Images of Death," 159; Habenstein and Lamers, \textit{American Funeral Directing}, 412.

\textsuperscript{69} Agatha Rochester Strange Journal, August 1, 1875, Strange Collection (MSS-KyL); Herdman Diary, December 3, 1897, Herdman Collection.

\textsuperscript{70} Strange Journal, August 8, 1875, Strange Collection.

\textsuperscript{71} Duffey, \textit{Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette}, 222. Mrs. Duffey makes no mention of the appropriate length of stay at the house for family who have arrived for the funeral.
In south central Kentucky, the entire community often became involved in the burial of its members. A family member or close friend contacted the coffinmaker, minister, more distant family members, and friends. Neighbors assisted the family by helping prepare the body for burial, sitting up with the deceased, bringing food for the bereaved family, and providing flowers for the coffin and grave. At the funeral service, members of the community demonstrated their sense of loss. While carrying out these socially prescribed actions, the family and community expressed their grief and their admiration of the deceased.
Chapter 3:
Words of Comfort

Tender and affectionate as son and brother
though he died young he has established
the right to what is written here;
May he sleep well.

-William T. Cox's epitaph
Warren County, 1894

After the funeral, south central Kentuckians sought spoken and written comfort for their bereavements. Neighbors and less immediate family members composed newspaper obituaries and resolutions of respect to pay tribute to the deceased and expressed their personal sympathy through correspondence and visits to the family. Some family members and friends wrote poetry to transform their feelings into words. A bereaved family member could record in a journal the emotions he might not desire to discuss openly. Thus, through words, area residents attempted to come to terms with their sense of loss.

In the late nineteenth century, local newspapers often published obituaries as late as a month after the death. Appearing in different locations within the newspaper, the notices varied in length from a sentence found in an area news section to a one or two column detailed account. Headings, such as "Dead" or "In Memoriam," or a wide black border usually drew attention to the notice. Reports often included
the cause of death, the attributes of the deceased, and a depiction of
the funeral. Some lengthy accounts told the last words of the
departed, listed those persons assembled at the deathbed, and included
an appropriate poem.¹

Some memorialists focused their death notices on the attributes
and accomplishments of the deceased, testifying to the void left in the
community by the death. The life of Annie Ellis, reported the Glasgow
Times memorialist, "was full of good deeds to her family and friends,
and in our short sightedness it would seem a great mistake to remove
one of like circumstances . . . ," but the obituary assured its readers
that God "makes no mistakes."² The Franklin Favorite on January 8,
1885 printed a detailed postmortem survey of the career of a Simpson
County businessman, concluding:

Standing now at its close and looking back over it, a
finished and beautiful picture, garlanded with the deeds of
mercy and charity . . . we dimly see through the veil, on
the unfolding scroll in his hand: 'Well done, thou good
and faithful servant.'³

Like these death notices, the wording of the obituaries usually drew
heavily on the Christian faith to comfort the family and community.

A portion of the obituary might be addressed directly to the
family, advising them to look forward to an eventual reunion in Heaven.

Following the 1909 death of an Edmonson County woman, the Smiths Grove
Times memorialist told the family: "Don't grieve, but do as she bid

¹Most postbellum Southern small newspapers used this type of
descriptive obituary. For more information, see Thomas D. Clark, The

²Glasgow Times, May 22, 1899.

³Franklin Favorite, January 8, 1885.
you, prepare to meet her in that bright celestial home."\(^4\) The friend who penned their baby's death notice in the Morgantown Green River Republican instructed Mr. and Mrs. John Deweese of Butler County to "weep not, dear parents, but think of that never ending future life of that dear child whose spirit now waits in Heaven to meet its father and mother."\(^5\)

In the obituary of four-year-old Jake Moulder of Alvaton, Warren County, the Bowling Green Times-Journal writer attempted to visualize his glorious arrival in Heaven:

> When the little children come flocking before the throne, the angels sing, the saints and hosts shout hallelulahs [sic] . . . . Friends, playmates and kinsmen who have gone before flock about the little messenger from earth and ask, 'What news?'\(^6\)

This memorial brought forth an emotional response from one reader. In a letter to the editor, she stated that the tribute:

> . . . brought tears to my eyes; it carried me back forty-three years ago when the angels came to my home and took little Sarah Lizzie on their pinions to Heaven . . . . I imagine she was one of that throng to meet little Jake and welcome him home.\(^7\)

Memorialists may well have used these touching depictions to help distressed parents to find solace in their bereavements.

Many obituary writers described the cessation of life as the coming of the death angel. The July 12, 1906 issue of the Morgantown


\(^5\)Morgantown Green River Republican, September 9, 1909.


\(^7\)Ibid. This letter to the editor appeared the following day.
Green River Republican used a common sentence format for local obituaries: "On Sunday evening, July 1, 1906, the death angel visited the home of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Cohron to claim their little son Dudley." The Glasgow Times report of a little girl's death in the Ponayr community of Edmonson County declared: "... the sad angle [sic] of death came and silently touched her, saying: 'Bid farewell to friends and loved ones, for you must go'" However, the angel of death analogy was not reserved for children's deaths; the Bowling Green Messenger chose this popular metaphor for the heading of a thirty-nine-year-old resident's death notice: "DEATH ANGEL VISITED THE HOME OF HENRY L. PARKS." The writer of an "In Memoriam" for the Glasgow Weekly Times avowed that John W. Evans: "... had more than lived his allotted time, when the Angel of Death took him away on wings and carried him into the presence of God ... ."

Other efforts to avoid harsh terminology used the Victorian analogy of sleep to comfort their bereaved readers. John W. Evans' obituary in the Glasgow Weekly Times stated: "He sleeps his long last sleep." The poem "Sleep on, beloved" concluded the tribute to a Warren County resident in the May 5, 1910 issue of the Bowling Green Messenger. The Russellville Democrat carried this headline on August 31, 1906: "FELL ASLEEP-Mrs. H. S. McCutchen Passes Into The Great

8 Morgantown Green River Republican, July 12, 1906.
9 Bowling Green Messenger, October 5, 1910.
10 Glasgow Times, January 30, 1899.
11 Glasgow Weekly Times, June 3, 1875.
12 Ibid.
Beyond. A Sad Death.\textsuperscript{13} When Harriet Jaynes of Russellville died in March of 1907, a friend wrote: "Dear Harriet has passed through the gates ajar from scenes of suffering to endless rest . . . . How strange to think she sleeps in the tomb."\textsuperscript{14} The memorialist's use of the following poem to conclude an Edmonson County obituary clearly defined the late Victorian connotations in the analogy of death and sleep:

\begin{quote}
She is sleeping, O how sweetly,
In her grave beneath the sod,
And we should not wish to wake her,
From her slumbers there with God.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

Another euphemistic expression for the death process was "passing away." According to the Tompkinsville \textit{Enterprise}, Tobias Vance of Little Sulphur, Monroe County, "passed quietly from earth to heaven."\textsuperscript{16} Of a young Logan countian, the Russellville \textit{Ledger} on March 23, 1892 reported: "... death met her and, claiming her too delicate for earth's rough storms, transplanted her to a gentler clime of the Great Beyond."\textsuperscript{17} The \textit{Weekly Times} stated on December 24, 1875 that the "Bright spirit" of a Glasgow housewife "shook off mortality for a home beyond the skies."\textsuperscript{18} In 1907, the Russellville \textit{Democrat} described Josh Parsons of Camp Ground, Logan County, as having gone to the "bright

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] Russellville \textit{Democrat}, March 29, 1907.
\item[16] Tompkinsville \textit{Enterprise}, March 7, 1889.
\item[17] Russellville \textit{Ledger}, March 23, 1892.
\item[18] Glasgow \textit{Weekly Times}, December 24, 1875.
\end{footnotes}
On hearing of a death, a Smiths Grove memorialist alluded to the river which separated Heaven and earth in an obituary for the Glasgow Times, stating: "I felt that I could almost hear the splashing of the waves on the other side as he landed on the sunlit shores of the river of death." 

But not all images which depicted death brought comfort. The Glasgow Weekly Times described a young woman as "a victim of that fell destroyer-consumption." On March 2, 1892, the Russellville Ledger reported that Judge Van B. Young had "succumbed [sic] to the dread monster." A headline in the December 21, 1910 issue of the Bowling Green Messenger read: "GRIM REAPER-ACTIVE DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS IN THE COUNTY." In 1875, the Glasgow Weekly Times personified death as having an "icy touch" which stilled lives. Blending harshness with the comforting analogy of the spiritual flight to Heaven, the writer of Mrs. H. S. McCutchen of Russellville's obituary related: "All that tender hands and skilled physicians could do proved unavailing to stay the hand of death and after a short illness, her gentle spirit took its flight to realms above." These descriptions...

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19 Russellville Democrat, April 5, 1907.
20 Glasgow Times, January 30, 1899.
21 Glasgow Weekly Times, June 18, 1874.
22 Russellville Ledger, March 2, 1892.
24 Glasgow Weekly Times, February 25, April 4, 1875.
25 Russellville Democrat, August 31, 1906.
served as reminders that death was not seen always as a pleasant experience.

Family members, close friends, and ministers often submitted obituaries to the local newspapers, especially when the deceased was not well-known to newspaper personnel. After the death of a member of Rocky Spring Baptist Church, Warren County, the woman's nephew composed her tribute for the Bowling Green Messenger, describing her life as "a living epistle." When twenty-five-year-old Ella Bagby McDonnold died, her spouse wrote of her death "at the feet of Jesus" for the February 4, 1875 issue of the Glasgow Weekly Times, ending the obituary with a poem which testified that God would make His will plain. Two issues later, one of Mrs. McDonnold's childhood friends answered the husband's apparent difficulty in accepting his loss in a second memorial which urged him to "wait patiently for the time when you shall be called to join her."27

In places where no local newspapers existed, friends often wrote an obituary for inclusion in an area publication. The January 26, 1902 issue of the Morgantown Green River Republican printed a tribute written by "a friend" for Emma Green of Fairview, Edmonson County, who died on December 21. Acquaintances also wrote death notices for the small community reports in area newspapers. When one-year-old Carmen Dotson died in Little Bend, Butler County, in January of 1906, a neighbor, writing the announcement for the Green River Republican, included these lines of poetry:

26 Bowling Green Messenger, November 30, 1910.
Put away the dresses,
That our darling used to wear,
She will need them on earth never,
She has climbed the golden stairs.  

The obituary of an Alvaton, Warren County, child, which appeared in the Bowling Green Times-Journal, was signed "One Who Loved Him."  

In some cases, a minister became the memorialist. Reverend George Browder of Logan County wrote obituaries for the Russellville Herald-Enterprise and the Russellville Messenger upon the specific request of the bereaved families, and Charles Henry Edmonds' pastor composed his memorial for the Glasgow Weekly Times, describing him as having "passed beyond the gaze of a weeping wife and friends into the Spirit Land." Elder John Friend, who had preached the funeral of John W. Evans, also served as one of his memorialists for the Glasgow Weekly Times. 

Even in cases where the newspaper staff knew the deceased, many south central Kentuckians preferred to select their loved ones' memorialists. After receiving a copy of the Bowling Green Democrat in which the tribute to her brother was written, Juliet C. Janin wrote: "The value of the In Memoriam is enhanced by the fact that it was

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28 Morgantown Green River Republican, January 26, 1902, January 11, 1906.


30 Browder Journal, January 27, 1882, April 4, 1883, Browder Collection; Glasgow Weekly Times, August 9, 1877.

31 Glasgow Weekly Times, June 3, 1875.
written by one who knew my brother well, and loved him." On the death of her husband, Mrs. R. D. Salmons sent a note on deep mourning stationery requesting George C. Harris to come to her home. On that visit, she asked that he write the obituary which later appeared in the Franklin Favorite.33

At least in one case, a south central Kentuckian placed literary excellence above the author's personal knowledge of the deceased. When the Parker family of Rocky Hill, Barren County, requested that J. L. Skipworth author their mother's obituary, he wrote: "... as it occurred [sic] in a very aristocratic family [,] I fear that I could not please them ..."34 Providing attorney Clarence U. McElroy of Bowling Green with sufficient details of her life and death, Skipworth asked that he write the memorial in accordance with the family's requirements: "They would like it very affecting, something sad."35

In the September 29, 1881 issue of the Glasgow Times, the eloquent tribute, bearing the signature "A Friend, J.L.S.," told:

Another of earth's most appreciated flowers has been transplanted in a more congenial clime; another light is hung out in Heaven; another crown is worn, another harp strung by our dearest one, to angelic melodies.36

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32 Juliet C. Janin to Robert Dulaney, March 6, 1888, Covington Collection (MSS-KyL). This is a separate collection from the previously cited Katherine (Meador) "Kate" Covington collection.

33 Note by Tom Moody on photocopy of obituary notice and Mrs. R. D. Salmons to George C. Harris, [n.d.], in Simpson County Vertical File (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University).


35 Ibid.

36 Glasgow Times, September 29, 1881.
Along with the obituaries, south central Kentucky newspapers published resolutions of respect written by church organizations. The death notice of John H. Baker, published in the Glasgow Weekly Times on July 22, 1875, included church resolutions from Cedar Grove, Barren County. The Old Union Church of Warren County honored the memory of Joel R. Madison with six resolutions in 1875. After expressing their loss and their sympathy to the family, the third resolution read:

"That we will pray that his mantle may fall upon some of his sons, who while emulating his virtues as a Christian [sic], may fill his place as an officer in this church." 37

The minutes of the Silent Grove Church of Edmonson County contained several obituary reports. In the February 1889 obituary report, lengthy resolutions told of the death of Lucinda Shockley on December 16, 1888. Sister Shockley, who was a member of this church for forty-three of her sixty-nine years, gave her Christian testimony frequently during her last twelve days. The report confirmed that in her death, the church, her family, and her neighborhood suffered a loss. The writers resolved to copy it in the church minutes and give the Shockley family a copy. 38

In a letter written on July 20, 1875, the Sunday School at Pleasant Grove, Logan County, sent a tribute to the memory of fifteen-year-old Nora Orndorff to a Logan County newspaper for publication. After several remarks on her demise, four resolutions were offered: 1) In her death, the Sunday School had lost a prominent member; 2) her

37 Glasgow Weekly Times, July 22, 1875; Bowling Green Democrat, [April ?], 1875.

38 Minutes of the Silent Grove United Baptist Church of Christ, 1885-[?], in Kenneth H. Lee, From the Silent Grove ([n.p.], 1972?), 9.
loss was deeply lamented by the neighborhood and society; 3) her family had the heartfelt sympathies of the members of the Sunday School; and 4) a copy was to be sent to the bereaved family and one to the Pleasant Grove Sunday School. This Sunday School prepared similar resolutions for Daniel B. Flowers who died June 20, 1893. 39

The day that Mrs. Bell Helm died, the teachers of the Sunday School at Morgantown's Cumberland Presbyterian Church wrote their formal tribute which told of "the irreparable loss we have sustained in so valuable a member and noble teacher," expressed their sympathy to the husband and children, and resolved to furnish copies to the Green River Republican and the Cumberland Presbyterian, a denominational publication, and to record the resolutions in their Sunday School minutes. The Ladies Missionary Society of the Morgantown Cumberland Presbyterian Church published two sets of resolutions in the Green River Republican on November 28, 1901: the first, for Mrs. Helm, their deceased president; and the second, for charter member Elizabeth Moore, who had died five months earlier. 40

Fraternal and professional organizations also used resolutions of respect to pay public tribute to their members. When G. H. Walton died in Glasgow, his Masonic brothers submitted resolutions of respect for publication in the February 11, 1875 issue of the Glasgow Weekly Times. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Bowling Green used a similar expression to honor French Gaines, Sr. upon his demise in 1910. The

39 G. D. Prentice to Mr. Rhea, July 20, 1875, and unidentified Logan County newspaper clipping, [n.d.], in possession of Drucilla Jones, Bowling Green; Drucilla Jones to author, April 21, 1983.

40 Morgantown Green River Republican, November 28, 1901.
Fountain Run, Monroe County, Grange recorded resolutions in the Glasgow Weekly Times after the death of twenty-one-year-old M. V. Howard, and soon afterward the Pleasant Ridge Grange submitted a tribute to the Glasgow Weekly Times for one of its members. The Glasgow Bar Association wrote resolutions of respect for Judge John W. Ritter in April of 1874, and G. M. Mulligan's colleagues expressed their esteem through resolutions written by the Scottsville Bar Association which were submitted to newspapers in Bowling Green, Glasgow, and Louisville.41

Also for newspaper publication, the bereaved family often wrote a card of thanks to express their appreciation for the community's deeds of kindness during the illness and death of a loved one. The August 11, 1904 issue of the Morgantown Green River Republican contained this notice:

A Card of Thanks

We desire to extend our heartfelt thanks to our many kind friends and neighbors . . . . We will ever hold in kind remembrance each and every one of them and pray that God's blessings may rest upon them.

W. M. Frizzell
Mrs. M. A. Frizzell42

In the Scottsville Times-Messenger, W. W. Thompson and his family not only expressed their appreciation for their friends' assistance during the illness and death of Thompson's wife, but also their "hope that we

41Glasgow Weekly Times, April 30, 1874, February 11, 25, March 4, 1875, August 30, 1877; Bowling Green Messenger, June 18, 1910.

42Morgantown Green River Republican, August 11, 1904.
may be able to administer to and comfort you when in sorrow." In the book *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, John Morley stated that such a word of appreciation was only to be printed in the local newspaper when the family members were ready to receive guests.

Friends, acting in accordance with acceptable etiquette, paid condolence visits, in addition to funeral attendance, as soon as possible after the death. In *Our Deportment*, John H. Young advised the visit be made within the week after the death in the case of a close associate, whereas visits to acquaintances should be made after the family resumed public worship. Propriety regulated that when received, the visitors, dressed in plain, subdued clothing, should speak only on topics in harmony with the visit and should not refer to the bereavement unless the family began the discussion. There is little mention of these visits in the available journals and correspondence of south central Kentuckians. George Browder and his wife Lizzie, possibly due to his calling as a minister, made numerous visits to widows shortly after their bereavements. A week and a half after the funeral of a Bowling Green baby, Camilla Herdman recorded her visit with the bereaved mother in her diary.

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45 Young, *Our Deportment*, 60; Duffey, *Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette*, 58.

46 Herdman Diary, December 3, 15, 1897, Herdman Collection.
During the period of secluded bereavement, family members wrote letters announcing the death to various relatives and friends who had not been contacted by funeral invitation or telegram. If time and knowledge permitted, the letter detailed the length of illness and deathbed experience. In August of 1880, a Bowling Green woman wrote: "These pages tell you of the suffering & death of a sinless life of a few weeks."\(^{47}\) On December 30, 1871, M. R. Graham of Warren County began her letter: "It is a very painful duty for me to announce to you the sad news of the death of Uncle Joe Lucas."\(^{48}\)

Often the writer did not know all the "particulars" and, in those cases, usually promised to give those details at a later date. In December of 1890, Delia Perkins of Rockfield, Warren County, received "a letter about my precious baby who went to heaven September 29, 1890" from her cousin. Several months after a death in his Allen Springs, Allen County, home, the Reverend J. C. Cosby wrote a letter in which he told of the young woman's twelve-month illness, her struggle with thoughts of leaving her children, and her last words before she peacefully died. If the letter were written after the burial, it frequently described the funeral and its participants. On July 5, 1904, Emily Wood Stone wrote of her son's funeral in Bowling Green:

\[\ldots\] their Eulogies of him were grand & earnest. A large concourse attended his burial \ldots\ldots His coffin was

\(^{47}\)"Mother," Bowling Green to Mrs. S. M. Poyntz, August [?], 1880, Underwood Family Papers (MSS-KyL).

\(^{48}\)M. R. Graham to Carrie, December 30, 1871, Alexander Family Papers.
covered with flowers, offerings from his many friends & he was decently put away to rest.\textsuperscript{49}

Whenever possible, black-bordered mourning stationery was used by the bereaved for correspondence. In all its forms, this letter shared the news of the bereavement with close friends and relatives who did not live in the area.\textsuperscript{50}

Some death messages called upon recipients to consider their own possible fates. These letters attempted to use the news of the death, much as the minister sometimes did the funeral sermon, to reconcile the mourners to God. On October 8, 1870, Emma H. Tarbet used a death message as an opportunity to beg her brother in Bowling Green to repent and turn to God. On the death of his brother, Emily Wood Stone pleaded with her son: "... oh my sone [sic] make peace with God & preparation for death ere it is too late, for we know not the hour of his coming."\textsuperscript{51} The importance these women placed on a salvation experience as preparation for the afterlife was shared by many south central Kentuckians of the period.

News of the death, even when expected, often found family members unprepared. After the death of her sister, Rebecca Gray of Sugar Grove, Butler County, wrote: "I had thought for some time that I would

\textsuperscript{49}Mollie to Cousin Delia Perkins, December 14, 1890, Perkins Collection; John C. Cosby to M. P. Smock, March 23, 1876, John Cooney Cosby Collection; Emily Wood Stone to James Clay Stone, July 5, 1904, Stone Collection.

\textsuperscript{50}Morley, \textit{Death, Heaven and The Victorians}, 72; Habenstein and Lamers, "19th Century Funerals," 93. The width of the black border on stationery decreased as mourning lightened. For a more complete discussion of periods of mourning, see chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{51}Emma H. Tarbet to Thomas C. Calvert, October 8, 1870, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection; Emily Wood Stone to James Clay Stone, July 5, 1904, Stone Collection.
receive such intelligence, but always viewed it in the future, but when I found it had already arrived and that [she]... was now still in the grave, the tears unbidden would flow.\textsuperscript{52} Five days after hearing of a friend's suicide while in a state of delirium, Lizzie Browder of Olmstead, Logan County was "still sad from the fearful shock."\textsuperscript{53} In many cases, grief overwhelmed the individual for an extended period of time. Four months after her twenty-two-year-old son died in December of 1874, Rebecca Gray penned that she had kept busy in quiltmaking, "though I sometimes feel... that I will go down to my grave mourning for my son."\textsuperscript{54} In a letter written two years after her daughter's death, a Bowling Green mother gave a detailed description of the deceased, adding: "Her place can never be filled, and it is so hard for me to be reconciled."\textsuperscript{55} Around 1894, Eliza L. Mottley, also of Bowling Green, advised a friend:

\ldots do not by all means let your mind dwell too much on the death of Attie for of course it will impair your health more rapidly than heretofore. I for nearly one year gave up to the most melancholy feelings after the death of Willie scarcely ever went out and such grief caused bad health.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{52}Rebecca Gray to niece, December 13, 1876, in Tim Ferguson and Dorothy Olinger Range, eds., "Ferguson-Hay: Letters From Kentucky Kin" (typescript, 1970), 57. A copy of this manuscript is in the Kentucky Library (Western Kentucky University).

\textsuperscript{53}Browder Journal, December 10, 1878, Browder Collection.

\textsuperscript{54}Rebecca Gray to sister, brother and family, April 22, 1875, in Ferguson and Range, "Ferguson-Hay," 49-50.

\textsuperscript{55}Kate M. Covington to Elizabeth Bettersworth, February 28, 1901, Katherine M. Covington Collection.

\textsuperscript{56}Eliza L. Mottley to Kate M. Covington, February 1, [1894?], Hobson Collection (MSS-KyL).
Despite one's personal despair on receipt of a death message, the writing of a condolence letter was deemed necessary to express sympathy to the immediate family. When Mrs. A. C. Allen of Simpson County received a condolence letter from her sister on news of the death of another sister, the writer appeared to be consoling herself through the act of composing the letter. She began her letter by expressing her own difficulty in accepting the death, then discussed the reunited portion of their family in Heaven, and concluded that as they were all sitting on a throne where sorrow was no longer experienced or feared, the family members left on earth should try to accept the death as cheerfully as possible.  

After a death, families usually received many letters of comfort. Lydia M. Clark of Russellville wrote a Bowling Green druggist after his wife's death: "I felt that I wanted to send you a few words of love and sympathy." When her sister died, Clara Covington Dulaney of Bowling Green received a letter from a friend, stating: "There is nothing any one can say to comfort you, or any of them who loved her so tenderly, but we all grieve for you & with you." In an effort to console Sallie Carpenter of Oakland, Warren County, a minister

57 Sister to Mrs. A. C. Allen, February 24, 1876, Allen Collection (MSS-KyL). Other references to the importance of writing condolence letters are found in: Browder Journal, Browder Collection; Joseph Rollin Madison, Drake, Warren County, to Lettie Madison, April 6, 1877, in possession of Novice Robinson, Bowling Green.

58 Lydia M. Clark to John E. Younglove, September 2, 1899, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.

59 Daisy R. Heuben to Clara C. Dulaney, October 9, 1904, Covington Collection.
responded to the news of her daughter's death:

I knew not what to write . . . . But I want you to know that you have one friend who most deeply sympathises with you in your severe afflictions and who prays continually that your strength may be sufficient for this great trial. 60

South central Kentucky condolence letters not only evinced a desire to share the loss and words of comfort, but also to direct the bereaved to depend upon their belief in God and his ultimate wisdom. The condolence letter written to Mrs. Carpenter also depicted her reunion with twenty-two-year-old May in Heaven:

In a little while with a quick step you will pass through the shining portals, and the first one who will meet you will be May radiant [sic] with heaven's light. Oh what rapture will it be when she clasps you in her arms and calls to the angels to bring another crown for you. 61

The sister of Mrs. A. C. Allen added her visualization of their sister's reunion with other deceased family members in Heaven: "I can hear the heavens ringing with joye [sic]."62 These letters also spoke of the deceased's attributes, were rich in religious imagery, and often included poetry. In addition, the writer often expressed his desire to have written or spoken to the deceased another time prior to the death.

Etiquette manuals stressed that condolence letters should be both brief and carefully written. Although stating that "one should be careful to make them expressive of real feeling, and not sound like a mere form of words copied from some 'Model Letter Writer,'" the manuals usually included examples for readers to study. In the majority of

60 Brother G. G. Taylor to Sallie Carpenter, November 19, 1890, Mildred Hardcastle Collection.
61 Ibid.
62 Sister to Mrs. A. C. Allen, February 24, 1876, Allen Collection.
cases, these letters also assured the bereaved of the writer's sympathy, spoke of the deceased's attributes, and referred the recipient to God for his solace. W. D. Kline of Nashville evinced the importance he placed on properly written condolence letters in his comments to his aunt Margaret Calvert of Bowling Green. After his mother's death, he told Aunt Margaret how insulted he was by a letter he received immediately after the death which made no mention of his bereavement, but rather spoke "by authority as to the disposition of ma's things." Two other letters written by family members Kline described as "very acceptable."

Recipients of death messages often requested that the family should write the "particulars" of the last few days of life, the parting words, the death, and the funeral. When his wife died in 1899, John E. Younglove of Bowling Green, having notified some of his friends initially by mailing copies of the newspaper obituary, received numerous inquiries of this type. Amanda L. Wilson, a friend residing in Cincinnati, Ohio, wrote on September 3rd: "Sometime, when you can; I should be pleased to have you write me the particulars of her death, if her sister Sadie and husband and children were with her when she died." Writing from the Korean mission field after hearing of Mrs.

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63 Duffey, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette, 115-16; W. D. Kline to Margaret Calvert, April 14, 1891, Calvert-Obenheim-Younglove Collection. See also Maud C. Cooke, Social Etiquette, Or Manners and Customs of Polite Society (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1896), 324-27, 455-56.

64 Kline to Margaret Calvert, April 14, 1891, Calvert-Obenheim-Younglove Collection.

65 Amanda L. Wilson, Cincinnati, to John E. Younglove, September 3, 1899, ibid; Lydia M. Clark to John E. Younglove, September 2, 1899, ibid.
Younglove's death, Margaret A. Webb asked: "When you have the time and heart, write us all about dear Jennie's last days. I hope she was able to give you some parting words—that she realized her departure was near at hand."  

Often the news came as a surprise to family members who had no knowledge of critical illness. Naturally, they questioned the manner in which a loved one died. A Nashville insurance agent wrote his aunt in Bowling Green concerning his mother's death: "I anxiously await the particulars of her death. She must have died suddenly, as I had rec'd nothing intimating any serious illness." Implicit in a request for particulars was the writer's hope that his loved one had departed life peacefully. On receipt of a letter detailing her brother's demise, Harriet B. Delafield commented: "It is very consoling to me to hear he did not suffer at the last—and that his good and noble spirit passed into Heaven quietly and calmly." Unable to be at the deathbed of a close relative, a Sugar Grove, Butler County, housewife penned a letter to the bereaved daughter: "I imagine that I can see her dear form lying patiently waiting the moment when the immortal spirit will be summoned to leave its clay tenement while you are all seated around

66 Margaret A. Webb, Pyeng Kang, Korea, to John E. Younglove, November 1, 1899, ibid.

67 W. D. Kline, Nashville, to Margaret Calvert, March 1, 1891, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.

68 Harriet B. Delafield to Clara Covington Dulaney, Bowling Green, February 27, 1888, Covington Collection. The Covington Collection contains a number of condolence letters dated from 1887 to 1904. Very similar to this quotation is the sentiment expressed in: Sarah R. (Seddie) Kimbley to John E. Younglove, September 6, 1899, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.
singing those beautiful and appropriate hymns." The condolence letters revealed that this peaceful depiction was the type of deathbed scene which was preferred when news of the particulars did arrive.

The obituary and correspondence concerning the death often included poetry either composed for that particular bereavement or copied as appropriate for the occasion. The books and magazines of the period often included articles and poetry on death. Inspirational poetry books were also given by area residents to intimate associates. The inscription in a copy of *Songs, Sacred and Devotional* illustrated the sentiment:

Lizzie to night we are together and are  
Happy but we know not how soon we may  
Part eather [sic] in death or some other  
Way if we do part while in this wild world  
May we pray that we may meet in  
Happiness on that beautiful shore  
Where there will be parting no more  
Read this and think of me  
Your true sister Doncie[?]  
Morgantown  
Kentucky  
Feb 15, 1884

Many poems within these books were handcopied and given to friends and relatives at the time of a death. A handwritten copy of "If I should die Tonight" by Mrs. J. W. Winston was inscribed "From Auntie" [Sallie Knott of Bowling Green] and dated December 25, 1878. In the Allen Collection from Simpson County, the poem "Widow By The Seaside" was

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69 Rebecca Gray to niece, December 13, 1876, in Ferguson and Range, "Ferguson-Hay," 57-58.

70 Inscription, in H. O. Foster, compiler, *Songs, Sacred and Devotional* (New York, 1880), in author's collection.
inscribed "for Lizzie." Delia Finch Perkins of Rockfield, Warren County, copied "What is home without a Mother[?]" in 1870. In the Shaw Collection of Logan County, an untitled poem "written for one who has lost a dear mother & who deeply feels the loss" was kept. On at least two occasions, Reverend George Browder gave copies of poems to bereaved family members.

Mrs. E. T. Finch of Rockfield, Warren County, wrote a poem entitled "Death of a Friend," which told of the suffering borne by her friend who is now in Heaven, concluding:

Then let us forbear to complain
Because he is gone from our sight,
We soon shall behold him again
With new and redoubled delight.

Rebecca Gray of Sugar Grove, Butler County, kept a notebook in which she wrote poems and essays, several of which were on death. In one of her untitled poems, Mrs. Gray described Heaven as follows:

For there the angels watch and wait
To open the golden gates
Of cities bright and fair
Through which resound the welcome songs
Of the victorious happy throngs
At our glad entrance there.

Thomas J. Forgy, a Butler County native, was living in Fort Worth

71 Mrs. J. W. Winston, "If I Should Die Tonight," Knott Collection (MSS-KyL); "Widow By The Seaside," Allen Collection.

72 "What is home without a Mother[?]," Perkins Collection; untitled poem, Shaw Collection (MSS-KyL).

73 Browder Journal, September 2, 1879, July 25, 1883, Browder Collection.

74 Mrs. E. T. Finch, "Death of a Friend," Perkins Collection.

75 Rebecca Gray, untitled poem dated May 7, 1878, V. S. Hay Collection (MSS-KyL).
Texas, when his seven-year-old son died. In his grief, Forgy composed a poem about his child expressing a father's feelings of helplessness and ultimate dependence upon his Savior who could rescue the child from the darkness of death and guide him to Heaven. The poem, nine stanzas in length, was included in a letter to Thomas' father, James Newton Forgy, Sr., still residing in Butler County, along with the words: "There is in my own bosom an aking [sic] void this world can never fill. May the Lord help me to bear it with patience and fortitude." 76

Throughout the period, area newspapers frequently printed memorial and death poetry, regardless of their literary quality. South central Kentuckians used elegies and odes to give public expression to their grief and to explore personal thoughts concerning their own eventual deaths. Using both the words of others and their own compositions, area residents not only stated their feelings, but also gave the grief expressions permanence in print. On the death of Mary G. Haile of Vernon, Monroe County, her husband wrote two poems which were published in The Overseer, a Church of God newspaper printed in Tompkinsville. The first one, "Farewell," printed on June 15, 1898, was six stanzas in length. Praising the deceased as his companion, Dr. Thomas Harrison Haile referred to the sanctity of her grave:

Green grass o'er thee shall wave,
To make cheerful the spot
Where lieth the idol of my days;
The solace of my lot. 77

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76 Poem and Thomas J. Forgy to James Newton Forgy, Sr., May 11, 1899, James Newton Forgy, Sr. Collection (MSS-KyL).

77 Tompkinsville Overseer, June 15, 1898.
He concluded with the consolation that on his death he would rest with her. The second poem, although possibly not intended to memorialize his wife, also attested to his lasting affection. Published eight months later, it included the lines:

Gone but not forgotten, still  
Rolling years may flit away.  
Remember thee, I ever will  
So long as here I stay.  

A year after they lost their baby, Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Devasier of Rocky Hill, Barren County, submitted a four-stanza elegy to the Glasgow Times, which they felt gave "expression to the deep feelings of our sorrow stricken hearts." Entitled "Our Baby," a portion of it read:

Though within our lonely cottage  
There's a vacant little chair,  
We cannot recall our precious darling  
From the Savior's care.  

On November 4, 1898, Fannie Reed Covington, a Bowling Green native, died of consumption at age thirty-one. A frequent contributor to Bowling Green newspapers, she had written several poems on death. On October 6, 1895, the Bowling Green Sunday Journal printed her "Mother, I'm Home Sick To Night [sic]." Having gone to Asheville, North Carolina, for health reasons, she penned words which touched many of her friends back home:

And when this lone exile has ended at last  
When sickness and sorrow forever have passed,

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78 Ibid., June 15, 1898, February 15, 1899.  
79 Glasgow Times, May 22, 1899.  
80 Ibid.
Then, mother, O mother, on a far fairer shore,
My arms will enfold you, to leave you no more.81

The Sunday Journal in the same issue published her poem "When I Am Dead," probably inspired by the British poetess Christina Georginia Rossetti's ode entitled "Song." Her parents possibly found solace in the grief from the poem's second verse which declared:

Place no cold stone above me,
No sad, memorial stone,
And sing no mournful song for me
No dirge-like funeral tone:

And if you will, remember,
And if you will forget.82

Late Victorian Kentuckians often clipped death and memorial poetry from their newspapers and preserved it in scrapbooks. Eunice Cosby Isbell of Alvaton, Warren County, kept copies of these Fannie Covington poems, the poems "Buried Gems" and "Immortality," and several obituaries from Warren County newspapers in her album. Also in Mrs. Isbell's collection was the "In Memoriam" for three-year-old Alma Maier of Bowling Green who died in October of 1890. It included a poem written by a friend "who loved and was loved by this angelic child."83 In four stanzas, the memorial stated the happiness that Alma was experiencing in Heaven. Agatha R. Strange of Bowling Green kept many memorial poems in the scrapbook she made in the 1890's, including "In

81 Bowling Green Sunday Journal, October 6, 1895; Fannie R. Covington obituary, clipping from unidentified Bowling Green newspaper, November 5, 1898, in "Bowling Green-Warren County: Biography and Obituaries--Covington" Vertical File (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); Kate Covington to Elizabeth Betterworth, February 28, 1901, Katherine M. Covington Collection.

82 Bowling Green Sunday Journal, October 6, 1895.

83 Unidentified clippings in Eunice Cosby Isbell Scrapbook, in possession of Lorene Cosby, Alvaton.
Throughout the late nineteenth century, Kittie Sublett Bland, while living in Logan, Simpson, and Warren counties, compiled a book of poems; some of which she took from south central Kentucky newspapers. After Lida Mason died on February 20, 1887, a friend identified only as Claudia from South Union, Logan County, wrote a memorial poem for newspaper publication. Entitled "Lida Barclay Mason, Maiden, Woman, Mother, Angel," the ode described Mrs. Mason's life in four stages with the third stanza foreshadowing:

... Lida was not strong
And there was a snowy throng
Hovering near, as if in wait,
To bear dear Lida through the gate.  

Mrs. Bland also clipped a "Tribute [sic] of Respect," written by a friend, for Grundy James who drowned in Barren River and was buried in Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green. The fourth verse revealed the importance late Victorians placed on burying the remains:

Yet I thank these gentle fishes, which
around my son did play,
Tempted there by hunger, although
refused their prey.
He lay some time in water, thank
heavens his body is found,
My prayers were heard, his bones are
laid in Fairview burying-ground.  

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84 Ibid.; unidentified clippings in Agatha R. Strange Scrapbook, Strange Collection.

85 Unidentified clippings in Kittie Sublett Bland Scrapbook, in possession of Mrs. J. Vernon Bettersworth, Bowling Green.

86 Ibid.
Kittie S. Bland also composed memorial poetry. One of her elegies was written while she lived in Auburn, Logan County, as a tribute to H. P. McCormick. Printed in a county newspaper, the verses told of the sorrow caused by the loss and the bereaved's need to accept God's will:

Under blankets of flowers
We lay our dear one to rest.
We do not, we can not know the hour,
When our Master thinks it best.87

For some family members, the recording of their emotions in a journal allowed an emotional release not to be found in other expressions. In their diaries, these south central Kentuckians could vent the questions, anxieties, and personal tributes which might not be deemed appropriate to voice publicly. A minister of the gospel could turn to the privacy of his journal to reveal those questions which a death brought to his mind. After the death of his nine-month-old son, Thomas Mitchell Goodnight, a Franklin pastor, wrote:

We have had a hard struggle to be able to
feel right about this matter. We try to
say Thy will be ours, if it be Thy will;
we do not know what to say...88

As a source of record, the journal enabled the mourner to state that every possible remedy was tried to prevent the fatality. Luther Carpenter of Oakland, Warren County, meticulously chronicled his four-year-old son's illness. Not only did Carpenter detail the symptoms, diagnosis, and medication of his child, but he later added to the entry:

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87 Ibid.
Since Blakey's death I have talked to both the doctors & they agreed with me that the disease located or spent its force in the ankle. I firmly believe that had it not been for the pain caused by his ankle we could have cured him.89

Finally, a journal was the best place to keep a personal tribute to the qualities which were valued most in the deceased. Reverend George Browder wrote four of these tributes in his depictions of the deaths of family members. Of his aunt, Betsy Waters, who died on November 11, 1875, he detailed:

She was a true hearted and clear headed woman with many excellent traits of character . . . She had few equals among men or women in general business sagacity.90

In his summation of her abilities, Browder clearly valued her domestic abilities, but added: "That same tact, energy and ambition in a man of reasonable opportunities would have made him wealthy."91 Although these death entries gave the writer an appropriate place for expression of such opinions, they also enabled him to relive his initial grief experiences. On February 13, 1883, Browder revealed that, on reading his account of the death of his daughter Ginnie who died prior to 1870, he had wept afresh for her.92

South central Kentuckians shared words of comfort publicly and personally through obituaries and resolutions of respect published in local newspapers, correspondence, condolence visits, and poetry. The

88Luther Carpenter Journal, September 25, 1876, Mildred Hardcastle Collection.

90Browder Journal, November 16, 1875, Browder Collection. See also the entries for September 17, 1870, February 13, 1883, November 13, 1884.

91Browder Journal, November 16, 1875, Browder Collection.

92Ibid., February 13, 1883.
obituary and resolutions of respect were the community's written response to the bereavement. In many cases, the family answered with the publication of a card of thanks. More intimate were the letters which passed to and from the family regarding the death and the condolence visits to the house of bereavement. Poetry published in local newspapers answered a need to state feelings of loss. By these types of communication, the community attempted to alleviate the grief of the family. But writing journal entries and poetry could allow the mourner to vent his most personal needs which he chose not to voice openly. Thus, all these social and individual expressions tried to assist the bereaved family and friends in their grief.
Chapter 4:

Mementos

Though lost to sight, to memory dear
Thou ever will remain
One only hope my heart can cheer
The hope to meet again.

-W. H. White's epitaph
Simpson County, 1883

During the late Victorian era, south central Kentuckians used numerous types of mementos to assist them in expressing their grief. Photographs, memorial cards and pictures, hair wreaths, memorial jewelry and mourning attire externalized the bereaved's emotional state. Through the use of these items, the mourners could perpetuate and share the memory of the loved one both within the home and with other family members and friends. While sometimes limited by economic status, many families purchased or made these mementos. Although not all the memorials were deemed necessary to show proper respect for the deceased, many area residents chose their keepsakes to perpetuate their loved one's memory in their homes.

The most difficult Victorian expression of grief to interpret to a late twentieth century reader is the use of mourning photography. Although a few individuals still make pictures of the deceased, photography is, for the most part, excluded from present day bereavements. Yet in the late nineteenth century, this medium

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frequently documented the death experience. The subjects included the deceased alone, the survivors, both the deceased and the bereaved family and friends, the funeral procession, and the gravesite.

The use of the Kodak camera, which George Eastman invented in 1888, made photography more accessible to the general public. But most rural Kentuckians still relied heavily on the professional photographers of the larger communities of each county, and, therefore, only had a few pictures made. Particularly in the case of a deceased child, no visual remembrance might exist without the postmortem photograph.

The importance of such photographic image can be clearly identified in the scrapbook kept by Nora C. O'Connell of Russellville. Miss O'Connell placed in her album the funeral invitation of her infant brother, John O'Connell, along with a lock of hair described as "A tiny golden ringlet, laid between the folds of the funeral notice and sacredly kept in the Bible of [his father] Thomas O'Connell--sole memento of the lovely child lent to them for a few short months." In her comments on Baby "Johnnie," Miss O'Connell added: "His mother always regretted having no picture of him and for years cherished a photo which she thought he resembled." Placed in this context, postmortem photographs, (such as illustration II), which are initially distasteful to a modern audience, become expressions of grief made in


3 Ibid.
Copies
May Not Film
Well!
Illustration II. Unidentified child. Bettison Studio, ca. 1880. Author's collection.
order that the loved one could be visually remembered and memorialized.

The Renfro family of Edmonson County kept a family album which contained several late nineteenth century postmortem photographs of children. In the mid-1880's, William Harrison of Austin, Barren County, had a picture taken of his daughter Arro in her coffin. Later, an artist retouched the photograph by painting the child's eyes open. Illustration II was made by the Bettison Studio of Bowling Green upon the death of a baby. Around 1900, S. G. Rogers, also of Bowling Green, photographed two small children in a single flower-covered coffin.\(^4\)

Especially in the case of the retouched Harrison photograph, the postmortem photograph served as a remembrance when no other was available.

Photographs or paintings of the deceased family member were often hung in a place of honor within the home. For example, after the death of seven-month-old Oren Doyel of Edmonson County in 1908, his parents hung a portrait of him in their sitting room. Catherine Johnson Shanks of Browning, Warren County, had a print of her sixteen-year-old son enlarged and hung in her parlor after his demise. By kneeling in prayer before the picture daily, Shanks perpetuated his memory in her home.

\(^4\) Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983; interview with Vivian Foe (Warren County native), Bowling Green, November 1, 1983; Bettison Studio photograph, in author's collection; Rogers Studio photograph, in Photograph Files (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University). The latter photograph was found in the John C. Gerard home in Bowling Green and is now on exhibit in "Growing Up Victorian: A Kentucky Childhood" at the Kentucky Museum, Bowling Green.
A second type of memorial photograph was one made of the survivors. Josephine Goodrum Stone and her two sons chose to document their own appearance after the death of their husband and father, Reverend J. Wood Stone (illustration III). Possibly it was their desire to show his tombstone to the deceased's mother and siblings in Texas that caused them to pose at his gravesite in Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green. Also wishing to have a picture made with two of her seven surviving children, Catherine Shanks chose the studio as the setting of her photograph. In this memorial portrait, Shanks wore a photographic mourning brooch of the deceased son. In Monroe County, Mary Elizabeth Hancock McMillin had her picture taken at home after her husband's death in 1910. Nancy Isenberg, another resident of Monroe County, documented her wearing of deep mourning attire in a picture as well. Another example of these memorial pictures is found in the photographic albums of Johnnie Massey Clay and Hattie Massey Goodrum of Bowling Green. The picture's subject is a woman dressed in mourning and wearing a memorial photographic brooch. The photograph verifies

5 Artifact Files (Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University); interview with Nell Shanks Stone, October 20, 1982. Mrs. Stone further stated that as a small child this action on the part of her mother disturbed her greatly and that she associated the prayer with her mother's possible concern over her brother's salvation. The Doyel painting is also on exhibit in "Growing Up Victorian."

6 Interview with Ronnie D. Bryant, July 25, 1983; McMillian photograph, in possession of Ronnie D. Bryant, Bowling Green; Isenberg photograph, in Ruth Isenberg Savage, Historical Sketch and Genealogy of the Isenberg Family ([n.p.], 1970), 5; other photographs in author's collection. The Shanks' photograph is part of "Four Victorian Women," the slide presentation in "Growing Up Victorian." The only identification on the woman's photograph in the Clay-Goodrum album was the inscription "Baby Girl" on its back.
Copies
May Not Film
Well!
that survivor pictures were not only made for personal mementos, but often were given to relatives and friends.

Other photographs included both the deceased and the mourners. In 1908, three illustrations of this type were made at the funeral of twenty-two-year-old Clarence L. Carver of the Tracy community, Barren County. In the picture of Genie Carver with the deceased (illustration IV), her painful facial expression is, in some respects, more the object of interest for study than Clarence. The photographer also made group portraits with the coffin: one of the family and the other including all in attendance at the funeral. In the latter, the focus of attention is not simply the deceased in the coffin, but also the two women at either side. Several, yet unanswered, questions arise from these photographs as to why the subjects posed as they did. The pictures alone can not explain whether they were simply made to document both the appearance of the deceased and the survivors at the time of the loss or were deliberately positioned in order that the mourners could claim the sympathy of others.

Another interesting use of photography to perpetuate the memory of the loved one was found in a turn of the century portrait belonging to the Isenberg family of Monroe County. The picture closely resembles other family group settings made outside the home with one exception: a painting of the deceased first wife of one of the men is hanging on

7 Interview with R. Terry Houchen, June 1, 1983; Eva Coe Peden, Barren County, Kentucky Cemetery Records (Glasgow, Ky., 1976), 8; photograph of deceased with Genie, in Houchen’s possession; photocopy of family photograph, also in Houchen’s possession; photocopy of entire funeral party photograph, in possession of Nancy Bush, Glasgow.
Copies
May Not
Film
Well!
the house's chimney above his left shoulder while his present wife stands behind him. Isenberg family tradition stated that the man simply did not want his first wife excluded from the family portrait. Around 1900, the Wilson family had a similar photograph made at their residence near Stony Point, Allen County, including a young boy's picture. 8

A family might choose to memorialize the funeral procession rather than make a group portrait at the funeral. Two Monroe County photographs, one from Tompkinsville and the other from Fountain Run, depict turn of the century funeral processions. By showing the size of the funeral, the picture identified the deceased's importance to his community. Large attendance was solicited by the funeral invitations and then usually referred to in newspaper obituaries. Thus, the use of such a photograph could depict the elaborateness of the funeral hearse and procession as well as the identities and number of mourners present. 9

Photographing a monument made it possible to record the type of permanent marker which had been erected for the deceased. In Victorian Delights, Robert Wood explained that "it was considered most proper for photographs of the family headstones to be framed and hung on the walls of the home." 10 The Bettison studio made a picture of the Younglove

8 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Cliva J. Isenberg (Monroe County), Monroe County, May 31, 1983; interview with Mary Jo Cook (Warren County), Bowling Green, August 4, 1983; Isenberg photograph, in Cliva Isenberg's possession; Wilson photograph, in Mrs. Cook's possession.

9 Lucy Albright, Fountain Run: Yesterday and Today (Fountain Run, Ky., [1954]), 20; Tompkinsville photograph, in possession of Ronnie D. Bryant, Bowling Green.

tombstone located in Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, after the death of Virginia Ray Younglove in 1899. This type of photograph also was sent to family members who had not been able to visit the gravesite once the stone was erected. Among the possessions of Emily Wood Stone in Mansfield, Texas, the descendants located a copy of the survivors' portrait made at her son's tombstone in Bowling Green. Edna Willoughby of Allen County received a postcard of her grandchild's tombstone and the mourning family members from Guyman, Oklahoma. On the back of the postcard, the child's parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Willoughby, had written: "This is our Baby's Grave." Whether this photograph had been requested by the grandmother is unknown; but the sending of this photograph to south central Kentucky does correlate with the mailing of local pictures to distant family members.

The gravesite was also photographed to document the flowers which were placed on the grave at the time of the burial. The Goodnight family of Franklin had a picture made of Issac Hershel Goodnight's

11 Photograph in Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection. "Growing Up Victorian" dates the photograph as ca. 1917 based on the death of Esther Younglove's husband, Dr. John E. Younglove, who shares the memorial. But the absence of his death date from the monument, in addition to the change of the Bettison Studio in Bowling Green to an art studio prior to 1905, indicates the making of the photograph soon after Mrs. Younglove's death in 1899. It was possibly made in order to send a copy to her sister; see Sarah Ray Kimbley to John E. Younglove, September 6, 1899, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection and the explanation in Chapter 5. Bowling Green City Directory, 1905-'06 (Marion, Indiana, 1905).

12 Interview with Laurita Sledge (Warren County), Alvaton, March 16, 1983; postcard in Mrs. Sledge's possession; Katie Stone Casstevens to author, October 31, 1983.
grave in 1901 and inscribed on the back "Herschel's flowers." Another family chose to photograph the 1890 funeral flowers of George Wood, Jr. against a solid backdrop with a plate on which his name, date of death, and age were inscribed.

Using all these various subjects, photography clearly served as the expression of grief which could best illustrate the physical appearance of the deceased and the mourners. These mementos could be kept by the immediate family or sent to other family members as lasting memorials of the death experience.

Memorial cards were another popular means of commemorating the loss of a loved one. Standard memorial cards usually were printed in gold ink on a 4-1/2" x 6-1/2" piece of black or white cardboard. Along with funeral imagery, which might include a Bible, a dove, a scroll, and/or angels, the card stated "In Loving Remembrance of," the deceased's name, date of death, and age. Each card included a verse. Often used was the poem:

A precious one from us has gone,
A voice we loved is stilled;
A place is vacant in our home,
Which never can be filled.
God in His wisdom has recalled
The boon His love had given;
And though the body moulders here,
The soul is safe in heaven.

13 Photograph of the grave of Issac Herschel Goodnight, buried July 26, 1903, Simpson County Historical Society Photograph Collection (Goodnight Memorial Library, Franklin).

14 Photograph Files (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University). The county in which the photograph was made is not identified, but cemetery records from Barren and Monroe counties indicate that one of these two counties is likely.
Another prevalent stanza of poetry on these cards was:

'Tis hard to break the tender cord
When love has bound the heart,
'Tis hard, so hard, to speak the words,
Must we forever part?
Dearest loved one, we have laid thee
In the peaceful grave's embrace,
But thy memory will be cherished
'Till we see thy heavenly face.15

By 1904, cards which had a photograph of the deceased in the center were also available.16 The cards were mass produced: among the extant south central Kentucky cards were some printed in Louisville, Kentucky; Middletown, Ohio; Leipsic, Ohio; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Examples of these cards have been located in Allen, Logan, Simpson, and Warren counties. The popularity of their use is evinced in the three separate printings of memorial cards for Mattie H. Massey who died in December, 1889. The cards were sent to various family members and close friends to be placed in photograph albums.17

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, Elder W. L. Harris of Halfway, Allen County, printed a special style of "memorial card." Harris, a Baptist minister, owned a manual printing press and printed

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15 Several memorial cards can be found in the Funeral Items Box (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); the Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection; and the author's collection.

16 A 1910 photographic memorial card, copyrighted in 1904, from Warren County is in the possession of Lorene Cosby, Alvaton.

17 Ibid.; author's collection; Artifact Files (Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University); cards from Logan County, in possession of Era Stinson, Bowling Green; Habenstein and Lamers, American Funeral Directing, 431; Mrs. James Beach, Sr. and James Henry Snider, Franklin and Simpson County: Reflections of 1976 and A Supplement to A Picture of Progress (Tompkinsville, 1977), 342. Subsequent citations refer to the 1976 edition of the work. No evidence can be found as to the appropriate time for distribution of the cards or their cost.
sermons, pamphlets, and books using the professional titles of "Christian Messenger and Job Print," "Artistic Book and Job Printer" (1889), and "Memorial Card Printer" (1890). His presence in Allen County probably made memorial cards available to more lower income families than in other counties where mass-produced black cards were purchased. Harris' memorial cards were actually white paper pamphlets with a cover page resembling a standard black memorial card differing only in that they were printed and bordered in black, were usually 4-7/8" x 8" in size, and stated the deceased's relation to survivors. The second page varied from the first in the absence of the black border. Beginning on the third page and through the remainder of the pamphlet, either one or two memoirs were printed which had been written by the attending physician who described in glowing, flowery, and detailed language the deathbed scene. Unlike the funeral invitations which had to be prepared immediately, these memorial cards could be printed months later. 18

Closely resembling the mass-produced memorial cards, black cardboard chromolithographs, commonly referred to as "memorial pictures," were made to be hung in the family home. Usually measuring 14" x 26", these pictures were richly embellished with funeral imagery.

One extant type had a dove and a flower-wreathed monument into which an

18 Louise Horton, In the Hills of the Pennyroyal: A History of Allen County From 1815 to 1880 (Austin, Texas, 1975), 126; Mrs. Mildred Lyles and Mrs. Jewel Watkins, compilers, History of Mt. Union Association of General Baptists, 1876-1961 (n.p., 1961), 25-28; memorial card of Mrs. Nancy F. Meredith, 1889, author's collection; memorial card of Miss Adda F. Tabor, 1890, in possession of Laurita Sledge, Alvaton. For an example of the delay in printing these cards, Mrs. Meredith died in September of 1888 and her card was not printed until the next year.
appropriate symbol was inserted. The other picture contained a monument with a cross and angels descending from the heavens. Both had openings for the insertion of the deceased's name and dates, and a poem. The family ordered the picture of their choice, framed it, and hung it in their parlor. If the family desired, one memorial picture could be used to commemorate several family members. An example of this type still hangs in the Isenberg homeplace in Monroe County.

The Isenbergs' memorial picture was purchased by Harvey Isenberg, grandfather of present owner Cliva J. Isenberg, in memory of his father (d. 1868), mother (d. 1876), infant brother (d. 1871), and sister (d. 1891). He chose the flowered-wreathed monument style, inserting the anchor, a symbol of hope into the monument, and the following verse:

Weep not o'er the dear departed
Anchored safe where storms are o'er;
On the border land we left them,
Soon to meet and part no more.

When we leave this world of changes,
When we leave this world of care,
We shall find our missing loved ones,
In our Father's mansion fair.¹⁹

Many years later, a tintype of the parents, Daniel and Lydia Isenberg, was placed over the anchor.²⁰

Most memorial pictures viewed by the author contained only one person's name, often that of a deceased child. Arro Harrison of Austin, Barren County; Oren Doyel of Edmonson County; Malley Dona Cline of Allen County; and Luther Shanks of Browning, Warren County were

¹⁹Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Cliva J. Isenberg, May 31, 1983. Memorial picture in their possession. No source identified the cost of memorial pictures.

²⁰Ibid.
among the children remembered by their families in this way. Although these memorial pictures were not deemed necessary in order to prove the family's devotion to its deceased member, they were, nevertheless, an artistic addition to many homes and they served as a tribute to the loved one.

Another type of memorial wall hanging was a floral wreath. On visiting the Barkley family in Russellville in 1871, a Shaker woman from South Union, Logan County, described floral wreath memorials in her journal. She wrote:

The evening before she [the wife] deceased she walked into the garden and prepared a beautiful bouquet[: this with a number of beautiful wreaths which were gathered and laid on her corps [sic] were secured and sent to Chicauga [sic] where they were preserved and set in oval glass frames where they are now represented as fresh and beautiful as they were the day they were gathered.22

This memorial is unique among those mementos found in south central Kentucky. Also in his parlor, her husband "seemed fond to exhibit" several photographs of the deceased and "two little frames that she had

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21 Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983; interview with Nadine Doyel James (Edmonson County), Bowling Green, May 31, 1983; Artifact Files (Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University); Doyel Memorial Picture, on exhibit in "Growing Up Victorian," possession of Nadine Doyel James, Bowling Green; interview with Patricia Sprouse (Warren County), Bowling Green, August 1, 1983; Cline Memorial Picture, in possession of Patricia Sprouse, Bowling Green; interview with Nell Shanks Stone, May 31, 1983. The following interviews indicate the purchase of two more memorial pictures for Monroe County, one for Allen County, and at least two for Edmonson County (the Edmonson County ones are extant): Mr. and Mrs. Cliva J. Isenberg, May 31, 1983; Mary Jamison Pierce (Allen County), Bowling Green, July 26, 1983; Violet Woods (Edmonson County), Brownsville, August 1, 1983.

22 Journal of South Union, Kentucky, probably kept by eldress Lucy Shannon, September 13, 1871, Shakers-South Union Collection.
made and filled with curiosities of rare specimens." 23 In concluding, the writer stressed that the latter had been left as the deceased had placed them. 24

Also in their homes, some area families displayed hair wreaths, usually made by a family member. By wiring strands of hair taken from the heads of deceased loved ones into a circular form and adding flowers, petals, and leaves, also of woven hair, the memorial was made to resemble a flower arrangement. Once completed, the wreath was framed in a deep shadow box. 25

Although no mention was made by south central Kentuckians in available correspondence and journals about the existence or construction of hair wreaths, three Warren County examples survive. Camilla Reynolds Williams of Oakland, Warren County, has a hair wreath with various family members' hair identified by paper tags which was probably constructed by a member of her great grandmother's family. A member of the Robertson family wove a wreath from the hair of several deceased loved ones and placed it in a mahogany glass-topped case. The other wreath was made by Jennie Smith Perkins Herrington of southwestern Warren County around 1880. Despite the presence of these mementos, it is doubtful that many late Victorian Kentuckians from the

23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Dan D'Imperio, The ABCs of Victorian Antiques (New York, 1974), 103; Louisville Courier-Journal, December 19, 1971. No examples of hair pictures were found in south central Kentucky. For a detailed description of this Victorian memorial, see Michael J. Bernstein, "Hair jewelry, locks of love," Smithsonian, 6 (March 1976), 100.
area chose to make such memorials. 26

Victorian Kentuckians also used hair in memorial jewelry which were found in a variety of forms. Brooches or lockets with a plaited hair center were among the most popular; these could include the initials or name of the deceased. Friends and family members wove mourning bracelets and cords for watch chains from lengths of hair. Other types of hair jewelry included cuff links, necklaces, and earrings. By the mid-nineteenth century, Victorian magazines, such as Godey's Lady's Book and Peterson's, periodically printed instructions to encourage women to make these memorial pieces at home. Home-manufactured hair jewelry could be taken to the jeweler to be mounted. Although magazines also included advertisements of companies which made such jewelry, the editors warned of the dishonorable practice by some of these establishments of substituting other hair for that of the loved one. Hair jewelry flourished in America as a home art between

26 Artifact Files (Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University); interview with Camilla Reynolds Williams (Warren County), Oakland, October 27, 1983. None of the other informants asked could remember having seen any hair wreaths from their counties: Mary Jamison Pierce, July 26, 1983; H. H. Pearson (Allen County), Bowling Green, July 27, 1983; Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983; Dale Huffman, A. R. Blair, and Norman Warnell (Edmonson County), Brownsville, August 1, 1983; Violet Woods, August 1, 1983; Era Stinson, March 25, 1983; Ronnie D. Bryant, June 20, 1983; Tom Moody (Simpson County), Franklin, July 13, 1983; Nell Shanks Stone, May 31, 1983. The Louisville Courier-Journal, December 19, 1971 and Lilian Baker Carlisle, "Hair Today, Shorn Tomorrow (sorry!)," Yankee, [n.v.] (January 1974), 94-97, 108, 113, both state that the making of hair wreaths was a popular craft in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Its decreasing popularity late in the nineteenth century might also explain the absence of hair wreaths during the childhood years of some of the informants and their scarcity today.
One advertisement which summarized the Victorians' regard for hair jewelry and wreaths stated:

Hair is at once the most delicate and lasting of our materials and survives us, like love. It is so light, so gentle, so escaping from the idea of death, that, with a lock of hair belonging to a child or friend, we may almost look up to heaven and compare notes with angelic nature—may almost say: 'I have a piece of thee here...'

Most mourning jewelry was made from jet; other materials used included gold, ivory, black enamel, onyx, tortoiseshell, and bog oak. By the late Victorian era, mass-produced jewelry was available at a reduced cost. Jet pins and earrings could be purchased by mail from Sears, Roebuck & Company and Montgomery Ward & Company by the turn of the century. In the late 1800's, photographic mementos of jewelry in which the loved one's image was visible became increasingly popular. In 1902, Montgomery Ward & Company offerings included framed and unframed photo buttons, shirt studs, scarf pins and cuffbuttons beginning at prices as low as 18 cents.

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29 Cooper and Battershill, Victorian Sentimental Jewellery, 7, 16, 31, 34, 36, 53. Mail order houses further increased the accessibility of such items to south central Kentuckians. Montgomery Ward & Co. was founded in 1872. Numerous other mail order houses followed; the most popular of which was Sears, Roebuck & Co. in 1893. For more information, see Wayne E. Fuller, RFD: The Changing Face of Rural America (Bloomington, 1964), 249; Montgomery Ward & Co. 1895 Catalogue; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1902 Catalogue.

30 Montgomery Ward & Co. 1902-03 Catalogue, 496-97. Although this price is extremely low by modern economic standards, the purchase of such a "luxury" item could have proved a hardship to many rural families. Yet if the desire were strong enough, money might have been saved for such a purchase.
Some items of mourning jewelry can still be found in the personal collections of south central Kentuckians. Betty Coles of Bowling Green has a photographic memorial brooch which she purchased locally; Novice Robinson, also of Bowling Green, has a dull black enamel floral pin; and Elizabeth Stagner of Logan County still owns her grandmother's jet beads and a small picture pin with a lock of hair enclosed. Stagner was taught that the insertion of the lock of hair made the pin a memorial. Josephine Goodrum Stone's string of jet beads which she wore in Warren County in the early 1900's are in the author's possession. The difficulty with the interpretation of the jewelry is that present owners have little knowledge of the history of the objects. A much more reliable source of information supporting the wearing of mourning jewelry by south central Kentuckians are the photographs taken during the period. In their memorial pictures, both Catherine Shanks and the bereaved woman in the Clay-Goodrum album wore photographic brooches. Also, Josephine Stone's jet beads can be identified in family photographs.31

Etiquette manuals of the period strictly regulated the wearing of feminine mourning attire and memorial jewelry. As both objects were the public symbols of the internal bereavement, the manuals published during the period gave the rules on the appropriate length and types of mourning to be followed by family members. Although it is doubtful that the majority of local residents could afford the expensive

31 Interview with Betty Coles (Taylor County), Bowling Green, June 2, 1983; interview with Novice Robinson (Warren County), Bowling Green, August 3, 1983; Elizabeth Stagner, Auburn, to author, June 13, 1983; photographs in author's collection.
clothing and time of seclusion of their more wealthy counterparts, the presence of etiquette books in the area indicates that at least a few residents were familiar with the rules given for the "proper respect" for the dead.

The responsibility of wearing mourning attire fell almost entirely on the women and children in late Victorian society. The use of black signified to the world the bereaved's inability to continue normal activity. Men engaged in public work could not withdraw into the seclusion of grief that mourning attire was designed to provide. In *The History of American Funeral Directing*, Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers described the attire of a late nineteenth century widower as:

... a suit entirely of black cloth with plain white linen
... Shoes, gloves, cuff-links, and hat were all of dull black. A conspicuous crepe mourning band adorned the hat. 32

Continuing the discussion, they stated that the widower, after some time elapsed, replaced black with the use of gray. This attire, they concluded, was worn by the men of the immediate family living in the house of bereavement. 33

But little evidence supported the use of special attire by south central Kentucky men. While the women of their region were expected to put on mourning, the men appear to have been exempt from its confines with the occasional exception of the use of a black arm band. In their *Resolutions of Respect for a member written on September 16, 1877*, the Masonic Order of Glasgow included "that we wear the usual badge of

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33 Ibid.
mourning for a space of thirty days."\(^{34}\) Morgantown pall bearers also
donned black arm bands for the funerals. These two instances were the
only references made to male mourning attire. As black was a common
choice for masculine clothing, photographs do not distinguish
specialized dress for mourning.\(^{35}\)

Although making no reference to male attire, most of the period
etiquette manuals gave detailed regulations on feminine mourning
attire, subdividing its degrees as follows:

**Deep Mourning**

Deep mourning requires the heaviest black of serge, bombazine, lustreless alcapa, de laine, merino or similar heavy clinging material, with collar and cuffs of crape. A widow wears a bonnet-cap of white tarletan, known as the 'widow's cap.'

Mourning garments are made in the severest simplicity. They should have little or no trimming; no flounces, ruffles or bows are allowable. If the dress is not made en suite, then a long or square shawl or berege or cashmere with crape border is worn.

The bonnet is of black crape; a hat is inadmissible. The veil is of crape or berege with heavy border. Black gloves and black-bordered handkerchief.

In winter dark furs may be worn with the deepest mourning. Jewelry is strictly forbidden, and all pins, buckles, etc., must be of jet.

**Second Mourning**

Lustreless alcapa may be worn in second mourning, with white collar and cuffs. The crape veil is laid aside for net or tulle, but the jet jewelry is still retained.

**Lesser Degrees of Mourning**

A still less degree of mourning is indicated by black and white, purple and gray, or a combination of these colors. Crape is still retained in bonnet trimming, and

\(^{34}\) Glasgow Weekly Times, September 20, 1877; interview with Nell Shanks Stone, October 20, 1982.

\(^{35}\) Smith, "History of Hearse."
crape flowers may be added. Light gray, white and black, and light shades of lilac indicate slight mourning. Black lace bonnet with white or violet flowers supersedes crape, and jet and gold jewelry is worn.36

In addition, deep mourning totally excluded kid gloves, embroidery, jet trimmings, puffs, plaits, and, for the first month, jewelry of any type. Handkerchiefs were made of very sheer fine linen and were black bordered in decreasing widths as mourning lightened. Silks were to be lusterless, and ribbons without any gloss.37

Degrees of mourning were to be assumed in accordance with one's relationship to the deceased. Absence from the house of bereavement did not dismiss a woman's responsibility to put on mourning, as was the case with male family members. Most important was the widow's attire as she served the world as "a symbol of inconsolable grief."38 Thus, etiquette manuals strictly described her clothing. The widow's prescribed mourning period lasted for two years. For the first year, she wore dull black woolen garments with crape-trimmed collar and cuffs, a simple crape bonnet, and a long, thick, black crape veil. During her second year, silk dresses trimmed in crape with black lace collar and cuffs and a shortened veil were permissible. By the last six months of the second year, a widow could wear gray, violet, and white. A cap or bonnet covered her plain hairstyle, but under no 

36Duffey, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette, 295-96.
37Ibid., 298; Ruth, Decorum, 339-40.
circumstances did the widow wear a hat. After the second year, a woman could indicate her intention to continue her life and possibly remarry by her resumption of everyday clothing. But a large number of widows chose to wear mourning attire until their deaths; thus, they identified themselves as having suffered a loss from which they would never recover.

The etiquette manuals further stressed that feminine mourning for a father, mother, or child was worn for one year. The dress was basically the same prescribed for the widow, although the lengths of each degree were shortened (i.e., after six months, silk could be used, and at nine months, colors were worn). For a grandparent or a friend who left one an inheritance, a mourning period of six months was required. During the first three months, the dress was made of black woolen goods and trimmed with white collar and cuffs, the short veil was of crape, and the bonnet was crape trimmed with black silk or ribbon. This attire was followed by six weeks in black silk trimmed with crape, lace collar and cuffs, and a short veil. For the last six weeks, gray, purple, white and violet could be worn. In the case of a loss of an aunt, uncle, niece or nephew, second mourning (i.e., white linen and white bonnet facings and tulle) was worn at once for three months. Children under twelve years of age observed the mourning period by wearing black-trimmed white clothing in the summer and black-trimmed gray clothing in the winter.

39 Duffey, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette, 296-97; Ruth, Decorum, 338.
40 Duffey, Ladies and Gentlemen's Etiquette, 297-98; Ruth, Decorum, 338-40.
Mail order catalogues were another source of information on mourning attire for the area residents. By studying the ready-made dresses, shirtwaist suits, and mourning costumes depicted by the companies, local women could gain insight into appropriate designs, fabrics, and trimmings for mourning. They learned further details on the fabrics and their colors and prints from the dry goods section. The catalogues also included mourning veils and bonnets, sash buckles "in black for mourning," jet toilet pins, and black-bordered handkerchiefs. Of course, if desired, several etiquette books were also available in the catalogues for purchase.

But the average south central Kentuckian learned at home the type of mourning attire expected by her family and community. Most rules of etiquette were learned from childhood experiences in which other family members put on mourning. Her mother taught Matilda Trent Fox of Monroe County that mourning attire always should include black undergarments. As is common with most routine social behaviors, the use of mourning attire was rarely questioned or commented upon by local residents in their letters, journals, and newspapers. Yet, at times, mention was made of the presence or duration of the mourning period. When Lena Covington Logan wrote to her sister Clara in Bowling Green on April 2, 1901, she described a friend, Mrs. D'Oench, as dressing in mourning for a sister. Writing to a cousin on February 28, 1901, Katherine Meador Covington of Bowling Green declared, "I have been wearing mourning

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41 Montgomery Ward & Co. 1895 Catalogue, passim; Montgomery Ward & Co. 1902-03 Catalogue, passim; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1902 Catalogue, passim; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1908 Catalogue, passim.
going on 21 yrs.--put it on for my father and have never gotten out of it."  
Evidence that mourning did restrict the wearer's social life is found in the September 7, 1872 issue of the Little Patriot of Franklin. Under the heading "Colloquialism," this news item appeared:

... the lady dressed in black is Miss Salmons ... .
Draped in deep mourning as you see is the reason she was not at the 'Hop' last night and is an answer to the many enquiries and regrets express[ed] on account of her absence.

Further evidence of the observation of mourning etiquette by south central Kentucky women can be found in the textile collection of the Kentucky Museum, Bowling Green. A mourning bonnet, several handkerchiefs, and net, silk, and crape veils owned by late nineteenth and early twentieth century women in Logan and Warren counties are included in the collection. The obvious difficulty with the interpretation of such artifacts is the scarcity of information on their occasions of use. In many cases, donors have at best limited knowledge of the origin of the items. Although style research can properly date them, it still leaves pertinent questions unanswered.

One unusual item of mourning attire was used in Logan County. Beulah Williams Sherrod and her two sisters of the Spa Community made

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42 Katherine Meador Covington to Elizabeth Bettersworth, February 28, 1901, Katherine M. Covington Collection; Lena C. Logan to Clara C. Dulaney, April 2, 1901, Covington Collection; Recollections of Clovie Fox Bryant on July 6, 1983, in interview with Ronnie D. Bryant, July 8, 1983. The following informants stated that parents taught their children proper mourning etiquette: Mary Jamison Pierce, July 26, 1983; Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983; Nell Shanks Stone, October 20, 1982; Lorene Cosby (Warren County), Alvaton, June 13, 1983.

43 Franklin Little Patriot, September 7, 1872.

44 Artifact Files (Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University).
mourning aprons on December 6, 1898 (the death date of their mother, Sarah C. Williams), and wore them to their mother's funeral on the following day. The simple round black apron with a wide ruffle was then put away after the funeral, along with a lock of Sarah William's hair, flowers from her grave, and her Bible. At present, it has not been confirmed whether this custom was an expression of grief common to that community during the period or an individual expression by the three daughters. 45

Photographs of the period provide one of the most accurate sources of documentation on the use of feminine mourning attire in accordance with the etiquette of the period. Yet, the photographs are limited in their information as to the alterations in the prescribed attire by individuals. For example, in illustration IV, Genie Carver was wearing a white belt at her waist. Whether there was a personal or community significance placed on the wearing of such belt is unknown. Another problem with these period photographs is the difficulty in distinguishing the color of the clothing. Although memorial photographs do support the conclusion that most feminine area residents used mourning attire, they provide little information as to the length of the mourning period.

On this question, the best available sources were individuals with primary and/or secondary knowledge of family and community mourning practices. Nell Shanks Stone, in speaking of her mother, Catherine Johnson Shanks, stated that after wearing mourning several

45 Interview with Era Stinson, March 25, 1983. Most items are still in her possession.
times during her adolescence, Mrs. Shanks put on the attire for her son and other family members until the last year of her life. Then, after forty-eight years, Mrs. Shanks substituted lavender for her black attire after the repeated requests of her daughter. Clovie Fox Bryant recalled that her grandmother, Matilda Trent Fox of Monroe County, put on mourning for her mother in the 1870's and wore it, due to additional deaths in her family, until her death in 1941. In her 1970 speech to the Simpson County Historical Society, Lucy J. Harris (born in Simpson County in 1884) detailed the attire of a widow as follows: first, a solid black dress, a heavy mourning veil, and black-bordered handkerchiefs; after a few months, a little white ruche was placed on top of the collar; then, a white collar; and finally, a black and white dress. In concluding her discussion of mourning customs, Miss Harris added: "Nowadays, the widow does not show the depth of her grief by her attire." 46

Through each of these memorials, the south central Kentuckian sought to perpetuate the memory of his loved one. Photographs of deceased family members were cherished as visual mementos of those lost to earth. Pictures of surviving family members and friends bore witness to their appearance at the time of the death and could be sent to distant family members along with monument portraits which portrayed the permanent marker erected to the memory of the loved one. Memorial cards and pamphlets provided other keepsakes which were placed in the

46 Interview with Nell Shanks Stone, October 20, 1982; Recollections of Clovie Fox Bryant on July 6, 1983, in interview with Ronnie D. Bryant, July 8, 1983; Lucy Harris speech, March 3, 1970.
photograph albums of family members and close friends. Memorial pictures, paintings, photographs of the deceased, and hair wreaths were hung in family parlors to remind the surviving family members of their loss and of the love which remained despite physical separation.

Of all these tributes paid the dead, the attire and jewelry worn by the mourners were the most regulated by etiquette and the community. The stress placed on mourning attire by advice books signified its importance both to society and the individual. All other memorials could be omitted by personal choice or economic necessity, but the use of feminine mourning attire fell into the realm of a social requirement. Yet the photographs of mourning attire and the remaining artifacts, such as the apron from the Spa community, show that even within such a prescribed memorial the individual and community could personalize their expressions of grief.
Chapter 5:
The Gravesite

Tis sweet to gaze upon the sod,
That wraps thy mouldering clay,
To think thy spirit rests with God,
Who called it hence away.

-Nancy Houchen's epitaph,
Edmonson County, 1870

The Victorian period experienced an increased public interest in burial places. As overcrowded church graveyards fell into disrepair and space became a premium, the American rural cemetery movement, beginning with the creation of Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831, emerged, seeking to beautify interment sites. Victorians popularized the word "cemetery" (i.e., "a resting place, or place of sleep, for the dead"), and the choice of this term reflected their conviction that death was a lasting sleep. "The large amounts of space in the Victorian Cemetery," stated Edmund V. Gillon, author of Victorian Cemetery Art, "were to revolutionize cemetery art, and permit the use of sculpture in a way that the crowded churchyard had never allowed." David E. Stannard, in "Calm Dwellings: The Brief, Sentimental Age of the Rural Cemetery," added that monument sculptures and iconography perpetuated the symbols of the traditional family, making the cemetery a "calm dwelling." But by the 1880's, books, such as William Robinson's God's Acre Beautiful, further sought to change the spacious
rural cemetery into a lawn cemetery in which less emphasis was placed on elaborate monuments, the family plot iron fences were removed, and nature itself was accentuated.¹

But in south central Kentucky rural cemeteries continued to develop late into the nineteenth century. The larger communities located this type of burial ground a short distance from their populated business areas, usually on a hilltop or a rolling piece of land. The Gamaliel Cemetery in Monroe County, established in 1844, was probably the area's first rural cemetery. Other places of interment of this type included: Glasgow's Odd Fellows Cemetery (1875), Morgantown's Riverview Cemetery, Adairville's Greenwood Cemetery, Russellville's Maple Grove Cemetery (1849), Tompkinsville's Oak Hill Cemetery, Franklin's Green Lawn Cemetery (1870), Bowling Green's Fairview Cemetery (1865), Smiths Grove's Odd Fellows' Cemetery (1876), and the public cemeteries of Fountain Run (1855), Scottsville, Brownsville, and Auburn.² Although little is known about the origin of

¹Edmund V. Gillon, Jr., Victorian Cemetery Art (New York, 1972), vii, ix; David E. Stannard, "Calm Dwellings: The Brief, Sentimental Age of the Rural Cemetery," American Heritage, 30 (August/September 1979), 54; W. Robinson, God's Acre Beautiful, or The Cemeteries of the Future (New York, 1880), passim; Farrell, Inventing American Death, 115. The expression "rural cemetery movement" is somewhat of a misnomer as most of them were spacious city cemeteries.

²Rules and Regulations of Maple Grove Cemetery, Russellville, Ky. (n.p., 1921), title page; Glasgow Weekly Times, September 16, 1875; Franklin Gorin, The Times of Long Ago, Barren County, Kentucky (Louisville, 1929); first appeared as a series of articles in the Glasgow Weekly Times in the 1870's), 37; Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 945; Bowling Green Daily Times-Journal, December 20, 1922; Glasgow Weekly Times, November 9, 1876; J. P. Gamble, Gamaliel Cemetery, 1844-1950 (Gamaliel, Ky., 1951?), 12; Albright, Fountain Run, 20.
the majority of these cemeteries, descriptions can be found of the 
formation of some of them.

In 1844, Gamaliel residents buried a former student, in 
accordance with his request, on the school playground, approximately 
500 yards north of the village. The schoolhouse trustees then decided 
it was "entirely fitting and proper to use a portion of this land 
donated by John Hayes and James Crawford as ... a free burying ground 
to anyone who desired to use it for this purpose." By 1898 and after 
471 interments, the trustees passed resolutions in an effort to 
establish a pattern for the location of graves rather than the previous 
method of "digging graves indiscriminately or where they [the citizens] 
may chose." 3

Prior to the Civil War, a number of Bowling Green's citizens 
became interested in establishing a rural cemetery and sold $4,750 
worth of stock to private investors. The project reached fruition in 
1864-65 with the purchase of thirty acres from W. W. McNeal at a price 
of $100 an acre. In 1866, Reverend A. C. Dickerson delivered the 
formal dedication address for "Fairview," the city's new cemetery. One 
half of a lot (240 square feet) could be purchased for $48 in March of 
1866. On December 16, 1885, the Bowling Green Times-Gazette described 
Fairview Cemetery: ". . . the walks that have been laid off and the 
shrubbery which has been planted present a view not only picturesque 
but attractive to the eye of everyone who passed that way." In 1897, 
Bowling Green Major R. M. Cox proudly called the site "a beautiful city

3 Gamble, Gamaliel Cemetery, 6, 12, 13, 15.
of the dead" which would "compare favorably with that of any in much larger cities."  

Two other area burial grounds resulting from the interest of private citizens were the Fountain Run Public Cemetery in Monroe County and Franklin's Green Lawn Cemetery. In 1855 at Fountain Run, Dr. Barton Stone and John Seay, two community residents, donated the land for a free graveyard to be located within walking distance of the town. To add to the attractiveness of the site, Dr. Stone sowed bluegrass seed purchased in Lexington. The citizens of Franklin in 1870 selected the land for Green Lawn to answer their need for additional space.  

In some communities, social organizations took an interest in the procurement of land for this purpose. The fraternal Order of the Odd Fellows in Glasgow and in Smiths Grove, Warren County, developed the rural cemeteries in those towns: the former dedicated in April of 1875, and the latter in November of 1876. In Akersville, Monroe County, the Union veterans organization purchased land for a burial ground in 1891.  

Although many of these rural cemeteries had caretakers, on occasion public assistance was solicited for their maintenance. On  


5 Lucy Albright to author, May 20, 1983; Albright, Fountain Run, 20; Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 945.  

6 Glasgow Weekly Times, September 16, 1875, November 9, 1876; Gorin, Times of Long Ago, 37; R. D. Holder, A Historical Glimpse of a Baptist Church In and Around Akersville from Pioneer Days Until The Present (n.p.), 1977, 37.
April 4, 1878, the Glasgow Weekly Times published a request from the Odd Fellows Cemetery trustees that owners of lots "have them cleared and properly decorated by the 26th of this month, the anniversary of Odd Fellowship." A similar notice in the Tompkinsville Enterprise asked all persons with friends or relatives buried in the city cemetery to "please be in attendance and lend their assistance toward the work" of its cleaning on Friday, May 10, 1889. Since the Victorians regarded their cemeteries as places in which the living community could be uplifted by nature and the monuments' artistic expressions, they valued the care given to the grounds.

Many residents of south central Kentucky chose to be buried in church graveyards or family burying grounds rather than the larger rural cemeteries. Almost every rural church in the area had a place for burials on its grounds. The locations of interment on the period invitations in the Clark Funeral Invitation Collection of Russellville gave evidence of the popularity of family cemeteries; of the forty-two invitations for local interments, eight individuals were buried in family burial grounds often located on the premises where the funeral was held.

These church and family graveyards shared the sentiment and often the elaborate markers which were used in the rural cemeteries of the larger communities. Describing her family burial grounds in Warren County, Keturah C. Chapman wrote:

7Glasgow Weekly Times, April 4, 1878; Tompkinsville Enterprise, May 2, 1889.

8Clark Funeral Invitation Collection.
... that lonely 'God's Acre' set apart by this fearless pioneer [Thomas Chapman] for the burial of his dead, on the grand old bluff above the lovely stream whose rippling murmurs lullabys have soothed many a heart ache when we left our loved ones up there under the oaks and the myrtle. As this description indicated, these late Victorian Kentuckians cherished the place of interment of their loved ones. On December 24, 1910, the Bowling Green Messenger stated: "Each little mound, each monument erected in loving memory, is but a link in the chain that binds us to the life beyond." Earlier that year the remarks on the death of Charles C. Cooke in that newspaper concluded:

It is hard to reconcile ourselves to the wisdom of a Providence that took away so beloved a friend . . . . But we can cherish his memory and keep his grave green with God's sweetest flowers.

Thus, area residents, in keeping with Victorian ideals, identified the gravesite as the setting for the continued expression of their bereavement.

Knowing that she would never visit a particular gravesite, Rebecca Gray of Sugar Grove, Butler County, still wanted to know its location, writing: "I shall never see the place with my natural eyes but in my imagination I will visit it often." After the death of his wife, John E. Younglove received a letter from his sister-in-law which

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9 Keturah C. Chapman (1831-1906), untitled notes, Knott Collection (MSS-KyL).
10 Bowling Green Messenger, December 24, 1910.
11 Ibid., May 19, 1910.
said: "I can not be satisfied not to look upon the resting place of my precious sister." 13 In 1891, a Nashville agent wrote to his aunt in Bowling Green, inquiring about the location of his mother's grave. Fearful that other family members were withholding the information from him, he stated on October 14th: "Is this a heathen land, have all sense of propriety & decency departed from us? I am so mystified concerning it I know not what to say." 14 In a later letter, he added:

... If it is unreasonable that I would like to know, or that I ought not, because I was not able to go to Johnstown when advised by T/D [telegraph dispatch?] of Ma's death, or that it is none of my business, then I was educated wrong, and having held on to what I have learned and my natural instincts being in accord therewith, there seems to be nothing common between us. 15

All these correspondents revealed the importance they placed on the gravesite through their desire to know the location of their loved one's remains.

Many journals and letters expressed the individual's sense of the deceased's continued presence at the gravesite. On leaving the burial site of an infant on December 3, 1897, a Bowling Green woman stated her sorrow for the mother "having to leave the little darling in the cold and rain." An article entitled "Voices of the Dead," reprinted by the Bowling Green Daily Times-Journal on December 22, 1922, detailed the lives of persons buried in the city's

13 Sarah Ray Kimbley to John E. Younglove, September 6, 1899, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection. A photograph of Virginia Younglove's grave was made. It is possible that Sarah's desire to see the grave resulted in the photograph being sent to her.

14 W. C. Kline to Margaret Y. Calvert, October 14, 1891, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.

15 Ibid., November 21, 1891.
cemeteries. Mary Chapman McElroy of Bowling Green wrote to her sister after visiting a gravesite on July 11, 1907: "I used to hate to come away and leave his grave because his body seemed so alone but now there are others all around and that part of the cemetery has been greatly improved." 16

Robert E. Riegel, author of American Women: A Story of Social Change, described the moralist view held by some Victorians that the widow "should spend the rest of her life in unconsolable sorrow, with each day centered upon weeping on her husband's grave . . . ." 17 Although this attitude would certainly not be typical in south central Kentucky, family members and close friends were expected to visit the gravesite regularly. On June 2, 1879, Josephine Calvert stated in her journal that she had taken white lilies to a grave. Several months later, she described an attempt to visit two friends only to find that both women were gone to the cemetery. On June 1, 1907, Miss Calvert wrote to her uncle:

She [his deceased wife] and Aunt Seddie set an example which I will try to follow in the future--in taking their flowers to the cemetery in the morning. I got mine all ready . . . and while I waited [for Maggie] the cars began crowding up so there was no room for me and my flowers. 18

A month later, Mary McElroy, also testifying to the importance of

16Herdman Diary, December 3, 1897, Herdman Collection; "Voices of the Dead," reprinted in Bowling Green Daily Times-Journal, December 20, 1922 (the original article probably dates to the late 1870’s); Mary Chapman McElroy to Sallie Knott, July 12, 1907, Knott Collection.

17Riegel, American Women, 99.

18Josephine Calvert Diary, June 2, 1879, August 12, 1880, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection; Josephine Calvert to John E. Younglove, June 1, 1907, Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection.
cemetery visitation, described her trip to Fairview Cemetery by street car. 19

South central Kentuckians joined other Victorian Americans in setting aside the thirtieth of May as a "Decoration Day" on which the families gathered to put flowers on the graves in their community and church cemeteries. Herbert Houchens, a Barren County native, recalled the large bouquets of field daisies gathered for this occasion. In Monroe County, the day's ceremonies included a morning and afternoon sermon, dinner on the cemetery's grounds, decoration of the graves, a "singing" of religious songs, and often entertainment by special musical groups. Ice cream vendors took advantage of the Monroe County festivities to sell their treats. In the first decade of the twentieth century, a Sunday School group from the Silent Grove Baptist Church of Edmonson County was photographed in the church cemetery on their decoration and memorial day, also indicating the ceremony's significance. 20

Care of the gravesite out of respect to the deceased won south central Kentuckians the admiration of their contemporaries. On December 4, 1883, Reverend George Browder of Logan County wrote of his neighbor:

Sam seems sour & reticent, but the fact he keeps fresh flowers on his wife's grave & keeps a shelter there to protect the the [sic] flowers from the frost, that he may

19 Mary Chapman McElroy to Sallie Knott, July 12, 1907, Knott Collection.

20 Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983; interview with Ronnie D. Bryant, June 20, 1983; photograph of Silent Grove Baptist Church group, [ca. 1905], published in Glasgow Daily Times, November 27, 1965.
gather fresh ones even in winter shows that beneath the rough exterior, there is a feeling heart.\textsuperscript{21}

Those family members living away from the region unable to tend the graves themselves often relied on friends and family members in the area to assist them. A Barren County woman received a request from her brother in Texas to plant roses around the grave of a family member. Writing to her niece in Bowling Green in November of 1887, Harriet B. Delafield of Washington, D. C. stated: "I hope to be able to send him [her nephew] a sweet scented Clematis in the spring to plant by the grave of my dear brother." In 1910, a woman, desirous that her parents' graves in Fairview cemetery be decorated for the Christmas season, wrote a friend for assistance. The Bowling Green Messenger summarized local opinion of her actions, declaring: "The care bestowed upon these graves shows the loving remembrance in which they are held by those who are far away."\textsuperscript{22}

As could be expected, contemporaries abhorred neglected cemeteries. Yet, even in this time of much attention to all grief expressions, some burial grounds fell into ill repair. The March 6, 1879 issue of the Glasgow Weekly Times declared:

\begin{quote}
In a walk out near town the other day, three graveyards were seen, all covered with weeds and rubbish, monuments thrown down, broken, and in one instance graves actually plowed over . . . . Only a few short years ago and with sorrowful hearts the loved ones were committed to earth.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{21}Browder Journal, December 4, 1883, Browder Collection.

\textsuperscript{22}Harriet B. Delafield to Clara Covington Dulaney, November [?], 1887, Covington Collection; E. J. Hindman to Charles Hindman and Belle Lane, September 2, 1882, Lane Collection (MSS-KyL); Bowling Green Messenger, December 24, 1910.

\textsuperscript{23}Glasgow Weekly Times, March 6, 1879.
Sunken and overturned tombstones and a broken fence greeted George Browder when he and his cousin returned to their family's old burying ground: "With great labor Walter & I readjusted & raised these monuments sacred to the memory of our sainted mothers & came back glad that we had made this visit. Our mothers were both good & pure Christian women." Browder undoubtedly believed that the women deserved to have better care given their resting places.

Sadder still were accounts of gravesites no longer identified and, thereby, lost to the survivors. Returning to her childhood home in Hiseville, Barren County, in September of 1898, Mrs. Warren Woodson hoped to erect a tombstone over the grave of her sister who died in childhood. But years of cultivating the field made it impossible to locate the site. To an account of this incident in the Glasgow Times, the reporter added:

... it fills the heart with grief to see those sacred places neglected. Many of us have loved ones resting in some lonely hill under trees which give shade to stock as they stamp the ground that presses heavily over their decaying bodies. What a pleasure it would be, if we could think of our loved ones that have gone without the mind going back to the grave yard and lingering among the mounds and tombs that tell the place where they are resting!25

Despite his protest, the author of the article knew that for his generation the gravesite was the focal point of grief expression.

Thus, many newspaper comments berated readers guilty of neglecting their responsibility to family burial places. The March 6, 1879 Glasgow Weekly Times asserted: "There is no sadder reminder of

24 Browder Journal, December 16, 1873, Browder Collection.
25 Glasgow Times, September 29, 1898.
man's utter forgetfulness of his fellows than the neglect and indifference with which old family burying grounds, scattered all over the country, are treated." Often the family graveyards fell into disrepair when no family members remained in the area to oversee them. Some families kept biblical records of the birth and death dates of those persons interred in their burial grounds and taught their children the precise locations of the graves in an effort to prevent the loss of this information. The descendants of Robert and Rhoda Ground have been buried in the same Three Forks, Warren County, family graveyard since 1850. Between 1870 and 1910, according to family records, sixteen people were buried in that cemetery. Although only field stones marked their graves, the information was preserved orally until a plot book was written in 1936.26

The tombstone was the most permanent memorial which the south central Kentuckian could erect for a loved one. Local tombstone makers' advertisements were directed toward "parties who design perpetuating the memory of the dead by erecting marbled tributes of affection."27 As the description of the Smallhouse Marble Works of Bowling Green stated in December of 1907:


27Glasgow Weekly Times, September 16, 1875. These words appeared in an article describing the opening of the Glasgow Marble Works. For a listing of known local tombstone makers between 1870 and 1910, see Appendix II.
A stone marking the resting place of a departed loved one is . . . expressive of that feeling in the human heart to pay a last tribute to the memory of those who have preceded us across the river.28

The cost of the marker depended on its elaborateness. Only one of the extant advertisements for area tombstone makers listed prices. J. M. Frie, proprietor of the Glasgow Marble Works, offered Italian Marble gravestones at the following prices:29

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<th>Inches Thick</th>
<th>Price</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>$25.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>$30.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thomas O'Connell, owner of Russellville's Kentucky Marble Works, was in business from 1868 to 1920. According to his account book, O'Connell sold a set of children's tombstones for $15 in 1881, a monument for a woman and child for $75 that same year, a set of tombstones and a vase for $62 in 1887, a statue monument (illustration V) for $140 in 1882, a barre granite monument for $350 in 1889, and a cross granite monument for $390 in 1901. George Browder's journal revealed that customers did not always agree with the prices set by local craftsmen. Twice, he commented that he had been overcharged.


29Glasgow Weekly Times, May 21, 1884, February 10, June 16, September 15, 1886, May 1, 1887. This advertisement like many of this trade contained an elaborate picture of a female at a tombstone by a weeping willow.
by Jordan Moore of Russellville for a tombstone. This opinion was most strongly stated in February of 1877: "He [Browder's father] said the stone was not worth over $50. & that it was a swindle to make me pay $100.00 for it. I thought so when I settled the bill."30

In 1875 the development of the Odd Fellows' Cemetery in Glasgow caused competition among the area tombstone makers as can be seen in their advertisements in the Glasgow _Weekly Times_. Ahead of his competitors, S. T. Edwards, Glasgow agent for the Bowling Green Marble Works, began soliciting business through the newspaper on October 15, 1874, offering American and Italian marble and imported work from Italy and Scotland. The Glasgow Marble Works, which opened in 1875, announced: "First sales will be very cheap in order to give hands work, and start up a good business." Not to be excluded, J. W. Dearing, the Glasgow agent for O'Connell's Russellville firm, listed Scotch and American granite among his selection of stones and pledged "to furnish work as cheap or cheaper than it can be had elsewhere."31

Throughout the period, advertisements told the customers to ask for estimates. E. C. Brown and Company of Bowling Green ended its advertisements in a 1892 issue of the _Franklin Favorite_ and two 1893 issues of the _Glasgow Weekly Times_ with the sentence: "Estimates cheerfully given." Ten years later, the T. W. Sweeney Quarry Company of Bowling Green offered its customers the same courtesy. Using a more

30 Browder Journal, February 6-7, 1877, Browder Collection; "Account Book (1877-1920) of Thomas O'Connell," 106, 110, 126, 134, 186, in possession of Mrs. Jack Stengill, Russellville. This is the only tombstone maker's account book from south central Kentucky located by the author.

31 Glasgow _Weekly Times_, October 15, 1874, September 2, 16, 1875.

Some area craftsmen made simple markers for their section of the county. Usually found in church graveyards or family burial grounds, these stones with simple iconography and lettering seldom were signed. The cemeteries at Harmony Church (Allen County), Mt. Union Church (Allen County), and Friendship Church (Warren County) contain tombstones made by William Chase Bonner for his family and friends. Beginning in 1910, Bonner purchased rocks from White Stone Quarry in Warren County, smoothed them with a grindstone, rounded the top of the markers with a chisel and hammer, and then carved them to order. His prices, dependent on the amount of lettering and the size of the stone, varied from $5 to $25. Alphonso Madison, while in his teens, carved the tombstone for his baby brother's grave in Fairview Cemetery. This death, having occurred in 1904, gave Madison an opportunity to use his skill at sculpting which, had he not died prior to reaching maturity, could have made him a capable stone mason. But most tombstones of this type in the area can not be identified by the remaining evidence. 33

Despite the number of area tombstone makers who produced elaborately carved markers and statues, some families acquired their

32 Ibid., September 13, December 13, 1893; Franklin Favorite, September 21, 1892; Bowling Green Times-Journal, October 27, 1903; Morgantown Green River Republican, February 22, 1906.

33 Patricia Thomas, "An Allen County tombstone maker," unpublished paper in Folklore Archives (Western Kentucky University), passim; interview with Novice Robinson, August 1, 1983.
monuments from Louisville, Kentucky; New Albany, Indiana; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Nashville and Clarksville, Tennessee. Lower prices possibly enticed customers to buy out of the region. The ease of river transportation could have been a factor in the decision of some Butler, Edmonson, and Monroe countians to purchase their stones elsewhere as they had no craftsman within their counties for the majority of the period and hauling monuments over land from other counties was more difficult.  

Sears, Roebuck & Co. provided another source of monuments for the area. The 1902 edition of their catalogue advertised tombstones from $5.10 to $26.70, plus freight. By 1908 their selection had increased greatly, offering family sarcophagi and single markers. On the individual tablets, a customer could choose from a plain stone with name and dates, one with a carved lamb resting on the top, and a monument with a sleeping child in a shell cove. If the customer did not find a suitable memorial, a special catalogue of monuments, corner posts, grave lot enclosures, ornamental vases and settees could be ordered free of charge.  

Although not all south central Kentuckians could afford to purchase monuments, those persons who did usually used the tombstones  

34 Signed monuments from the companies outside south central Kentucky have been located in the city cemetery of Scottsville, the Odd Fellows' Cemetery (Glasgow), the Riverview Cemetery (Tompkinsville), the Green Lawn Cemetery (Franklin), the Fairview Cemetery (Bowling Green), the Maple Grove Cemetery (Russellville), and the city cemetery of Brownsville.  

35 Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1902 catalogue; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1903 catalogue. Although no stones have the Sears, Roebuck & Co. signature, several unsigned stones closely resemble the illustrations in the catalogues.
to show the location of graves and as memorials. Each marker identified the place where the remains of the deceased had been laid by name and dates, and often included an inscription telling the relationship of the deceased to other family members. Most gravestones also conveyed a memorial expression, using inscriptions and symbols. Area residents selected epitaphs which paid tribute to the deceased or were intended to comfort the survivors. Many individuals used sculpture and iconography in their monuments as a means of adding beauty to the memorial and attesting to the beliefs and interests of the deceased.

Local inhabitants placed importance on the use of appropriate inscriptions and symbolism on their gravestones. In his condolence letter to Sallie Carpenter of Oakland, Warren County, on the death of her twenty-year-old daughter, Reverend G. G. Taylor wrote:

> When you erect a stone over her grave if you have no better inscription please engrave upon it this simple inscription
> T'was but a flower God planted here
> To bud: and be transplanter [sic] there
> To bloom in Heaven.36

Agatha Strange, after a trip to Fairview Cemetery, stated: "I lingered awhile among the tombs and read some of the epitaphs—Young Warner's was pure and beautiful—appropriate to this character thro [sic] life—which was spotless . . . ." Echoing this sentiment, the article "Voices of the Dead" from a Bowling Green newspaper of the period included tombstone inscriptions with its biographical sketches.37

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36 Reverend G. G. Taylor to Sallie Carpenter, November 19, 1890, Mildred Hardcastle Collection.

The themes used on south central Kentucky tombstones fall into the following categories: first, tributes to the deceased; second, the departure; third, depictions of Heaven; and, finally, ultimate trust in God's wisdom. A large number of local residents used the monument to attest to the deceased's virtues. Some families valued a description of their loved one's Christian faith as the best memorial which could be recorded on the stone. The marker of an Edmonson County woman stated: "She died as she lived trusting in God." A similar epitaph recorded that Susan F. Norris of Morgantown "died as she lived a Christian." In Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County, one church member's monument stated that she "died in the faith" on January 15, 1875. As a tribute to Reverend J. M. Fraley, elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the monument erected in the Mt. Zion Church Cemetery of Monroe County in 1895 read: "He lived consistent and died triumphant." A tablet in Edmonson County's Holly Spring Cemetery bore this witness: "Having served her generation, by the will of God she fell asleep." The epitaphs of Modie H. Pendley (d. 1906) and Susan Watkins (d. 1892) in the Sandy Creek Church Cemetery of Butler County described these women as virtuous due to their continued faithfulness, service, and submission to the will of God.38

Area residents also valued friendliness, honesty, piety, affection, obedience, courage, bravery, and gentleness as virtues to be commemorated on monuments. Some of these epitaphs were stated very

38 Louisa Meridith, 1879-99, and Belle Jackson Browning, 1855-82, Holly Spring Cemetery, Edmonson County; Susan F. Norris, 1843-1906, Riverview, Morgantown; Permelia A. W. Jones, 1845-75, Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County; Rev. J. M. Fraley, 1818-95, Mt. Zion Church Cemetery, Monroe County; Susan Watkins, 1801-92, and Modie H. Pendley, 1885-1906, Sandy Creek Church Cemetery, Butler County.
simply. Of Elizabeth Hammer who was buried in Mt. Zion Church Cemetery, Monroe County, it was written: "She was a kind and affectionate wife, a fond mother and a friend to all." On the monument in Fairview Cemetery erected to pay tribute to a young Bowling Green man who died in 1894, the inscription declared:

Tender and affectionate as son and brother
though he died young he has established
the right to what is written here;
      May he sleep well.

In addition to the verse Revelation 14:13, the obelisk of a Scottsville doctor bore the inscription: "He died at his post." The words of a hymn by this title clarify the epitaph's meaning:

He asked not a stone to be sculptured with verse;
He asked not that fame should his merits rehearse;
But he asked as a boon, when he gave up the ghost,
That his brethren might know that he died at his post.

The sixth verse ended with the assurance to the bereaved friends and relatives:

An example so worthy shall never be lost,
We will fall in the work--we will die at our post.

On this type of memorial, the family sought to record the virtues they valued most. Many epitaphs not only recorded those characteristics, but assured their viewers that remembrance of the individual's worth was kept in the hearts of his loved ones. Speaking

39 Elizabeth Hammer, 1817-79, Mt. Zion Church Cemetery, Monroe County.
40 William T. Cox, 1861-94, Fairview, Bowling Green.
41 Dr. A. S. Walker, 1811-84, city cemetery, Scottsville.
43 Ibid.
as to the deceased John R. Eberman of Russellville, his tribute vowed: "Not on this perishing stone, but in the book of Life and in the hearts of thy afflicted friends is thy worth recorded." On the base of an elaborate statue of an angel pointing toward Heaven in Maple Grove Cemetery, a simple inscription about the life of Henry Gilson Bowling which ended in 1874 stated: "His virtues are inscribed on the hearts of his family." The J. M. Frie monument company carved the marker of a Glasgow woman which declared:

Think of her, speak of her, not as departed
Short is the distance that parts us today;
Round us, about us, the brave and true hearted,
Linger the deeds that have brightened her way.

These epitaphs included the comfort that through the deceased's goodness, his existence did not end with his death. On a Logan countian's elaborate monument, sculpted with a cross, anchor, and tree covered with ivy and roses, a scroll contained his name, dates, and the epitaph: "... his memory is embalmed in their [his acquaintances'] hearts now that he is dead." In Fountain Run, Monroe County, William Y. Shive's monument stressed the continued presence of the deceased through the memory of others: "Although he sleeps, his memory doth live And cheering comfort to his mourners give." Using phrases, such as "Remembered" (Riverview, 1902), "... thy memory will be cherished" (Green Lawn, 1893), "to memory dear thou ever will remain" (Green Lawn, 1883 and 1884), "his memory is blessed" (Riverview, 1900), and "Love's

44 John R. Eberman, 1844-1900, Riverview, Morgantown.
45 Henry Gilson Bowling, 1828-74, Maple Grove, Russellville.
46 Mary H Jones, 1812-78, Odd Fellows', Glasgow. See also: James H. Wickware, 1852-82, Green Lawn, Franklin.
remembrance lasts forever" (Sulfur Springs, Simpson County, 1890 and City Cemetery, Scottsville, 1896), late Victorian Kentuckians repeated their intent to perpetuate the memory of their loved ones.47

The virtues and interests of the deceased also were illustrated by iconography on the monuments. In the Kirkpatrick Family Cemetery, Monroe County, a couple's tombstones have rose wreaths, symbolic of the reward of virtue. Hewn trees and broken roses depicted the end of lives of beauty. Christian symbols, such as crosses and bibles, identified those persons for whom Christianity was a central focus. The family of D. J. Knight Curd placed the emblem of the fraternal order of Odd Fellows on his tree stump monument in the Old Union Church Cemetery of Warren County. Members of the Modern Woodmen of America often chose the hewn tree for their memorial. The Gideon insignia identified the monuments of its members throughout south central Kentucky.48

Other families chose to identify the occupation of the deceased. The marker of Lucy Douglas Tate in the city cemetery of Scottsville contained a quill, symbol of a writer. The family of Rufus M. Hurt had a cabinetmaker's workbench and tools carved above his name and the epitaph: "His labors is [sic] done." His brother's monument stands beside his memorial in the Auburn cemetery in Logan County, adorned with a trumpet and the inscription: "Auburn Band." The Alexanders of

47 John W. Winlock, 1839-80, Maple Grove, Russellville; William Y. Shive, 1836-77, Fountain Run public cemetery, Monroe County.
48 Moses Kirkpatrick, 1808-80, and Sarah J. Kirkpatrick, 1814-79, Kirkpatrick Cemetery, Meshack community, Monroe County; D. J. Knight Curd, 1830-93, Fairview, Bowling Green.
Scottsville chose the love of music, symbolized by a harp, as the attribute to record on a family member's tombstone in the city cemetery. 49

For a few families, a bust or statue of the deceased memorialized their loved ones. In Auburn cemetery, Logan County, a statue of an angel pointing heavenward looks down on a bust of nineteen-year-old Daisy Donaldson carved into its base. The statue of Ella Carden appears to look out over the Odd Fellows' Cemetery of Glasgow from her seat in a draped chair on the hillside. The sculptors, in both cases, succeeded in lifelike portrayals of their subjects. 50

Departure was another expression common both to epitaphs and iconography. Several tombstones echoed the importance these late Victorians placed on a peaceful deathbed scene. When a stone was erected for a Butler County minister's wife, the epitaph said of her death in 1889: "Her end was peace." 51 Of a church member who was buried at Mt. Union Church Cemetery in Allen County in 1899, it was written:

Such was her end, a calm release,
No clinging to this mortal clod;
She closed her eyes, and stood in peace,
Before a smiling God. 52


50 Daisy Davidson, 1875-95, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County; Ella Carden, 1853-91, Odd Fellows', Glasgow.

51 Helen Bourland, 1863-89, Riverview, Morgantown.

52 Clearie Goodrum, 1827-99, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County.
A poem inscribed on her tombstone described the death of a twenty-four-year-old Butler County woman in 1897 as "calm, suddenly and still."53

Another popular practice was to record the deceased's last words on his tombstone. A marker in the Greenwood Cemetery of Adairville, Logan County, bore the inscription:

Her last words
'It all comes from above
Kind, devoted and true.'54

The obelisk memorializing Shelby and Elizabeth Follis in the Scottsville cemetery gave his words: "Behold I come quickly." Her final statement uttered some five years later was: "The Morning cometh."55

Many south central Kentuckians used "Gone Home," "Gone But Not Forgotten," "Gone too soon," and "Gone Ye Blessed" either alone or in combination with other epitaphs and iconography to express their loss of a loved one. Choosing the inscription "Gone Home" and the iconograph of the finger pointing heavenward, an Edmonson County family also added an epitaph to commemorate the passing of their father to a "mansion of rest" in 1897. The same symbol and the words "Gone, But Not Forgotten" told of the faith of Mrs. M. S. Price's family that though she might be buried at the Dripping Spring Church Cemetery "at rest," her family would cherish her memory. On the tombstone of a four-year-old Scottsville child, the words "gone too soon" were used with

53 Myrtle May Turner, 1873-97, Riverview, Morgantown.

54 Elvira E. Malone, 1828-79, Greenwood Cemetery, Adairville, Logan County.

55 Shelby B. Follis, 1815-95, and Elizabeth W. Follis, 1824-1900, city cemetery, Scottsville.
the symbol of God's hand pulling a link from the family chain of life.\footnote{56}

The clasped hands iconograph served as another popular symbol of departure. As in the case of John Bray's 1890 tombstone in the Gamaliel Cemetery, Monroe County, this symbol often accompanied the inscription "Farewell." "Gone, Ye Blessed" was the inscription frequently carved with Heaven's open gates or Heaven's mansions. The popular Victorian theme of the gates ajar was illustrated in cemeteries throughout the area. Choosing to portray visually his departure rather than write of it, the family of A. Karr, who was buried in the Sulfur Springs Cemetery of Simpson County in 1871, erected a simple slab with an iconograph of a butterfly and an empty cocoon.\footnote{57}

Many epitaphs directly revealed the survivors' difficulty in accepting death. The popular inscriptions for memorial cards, "Tis hard to break the tender cord" and "A light from our household is gone," were used on many of the area tombstones.\footnote{58} On the gravestone of their nineteen-year-old son at the Odd Fellows' Cemetery in Glasgow, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Preston wrote: "Twas hard to give thee up, But Thy
Will, O God, be done." Another familiar epitaph was: "It was hard indeed to part with thee, But Christ's strong arm supported me." While testifying to their sense of loss, those persons erecting stones with this type of inscription also sought to express their ultimate dependence on God. 59

While many of the epitaphs were common, others which were used less frequently seem much more personal to the twentieth-century reader. When his wife died in 1904, J. E. Barker erected an obelisk at the Sulfur Springs Cemetery with the message:

Dearest wife, thou are gone;  
From sin and sorrow free.  
Those two bright eyes in death are closed  
That oftentimes gazed on me. 60

Another stone from that cemetery erected to the memory of Joseph Pennington stated:

Slowly fading, lingering, dying  
Like the leaf he passed away  
Heeding not our tears of anguish  
Heaven has claimed its own today---  
And we weep. 61

Several children's epitaphs had the simple message: "Darling, we miss thee." This epitaph was inscribed on the stones of a two-year-old Morgantown child, a six-month-old Scottsville baby, a one-month-old infant buried in the Oak Grove Cemetery of Butler County, and on the

59 John B. Preston, Jr., 1857-76, Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow; J. C. Hunt, 1859-92, Green Lawn, Franklin; Clarence Buckhanon, 1884-1904, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County.

60 E. A. Barker, 1842-1904, Sulfur Springs Church Cemetery, Simpson County.

61 Joseph Pennington, 1818-92, Sulfur Springs Church Cemetery, Simpson County.
joint monument of five-year-old girls buried in Mt. Union Church Cemetery in Allen County.\textsuperscript{62}

Other epitaphs were written as the deceased might answer the sorrow of the survivors. On the tombstone of nine-month-old Elza H. Cooper of Butler County was written: "Weep not, father and mother, for me, for I am waiting in glory for thee." On her monument in Riverview Cemetery, a Morgantown girl's implied words of comfort to her parents were: "Say not Goodnight, but in some brighter clime Bid me Good morning."\textsuperscript{63} While using the willow tree, a symbol of sorrow, and the lamb, a symbol of innocence, the six-year-old Peden child's gravestone in Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow, had an inscription of comfort:

\begin{quote}
Oh cease dear friends cease your weeping
Above the spot where I am sleeping
My time was short though blessed be he
That called me to eternity.\textsuperscript{64}
\end{quote}

One of the most common period epitaphs of comfort was used in the Brownsville cemetery and the Holly Spring Cemetery of Edmonson County. Worded according to the family members which remained, the verse read:

\begin{quote}
Farewell dear husband my life is past
My love was yours while life did last
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{62}Louminnie Cox, 1891-94, Riverview, Morgantown; Mary Burke Drake, 1893-94, city cemetery, Scottsville; Infant Sweazy, October-December 1907, Oak Grove Cemetery, Butler County; and the joint monument of Hazel Johnson, 1904-09, and Idell Holland, 1903-09, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County.

\textsuperscript{63}Elza H. Cooper, December 1880-September 1881, Union Church Cemetery, Butler County; Mary Carlyn Morehead, 1863-83, Riverview, Morgantown.

\textsuperscript{64}Ebley L. Peden, 1867-73, Odd Fellows', Glasgow.
After me no sorrow take
But love our children for my sake.65

Very similar was the epitaph:

Farewell, my wife and children all
From you a father Christ doth call.66

On Butler Bridges' monument in Riverview, the latter epitaph was combined with the clasped hands iconograph.67

Angelic statues often were combined with departure epitaphs in an effort to comfort the survivors. In the Odd Fellows' Cemetery of Glasgow, the J. S. Clark and Company monument makers of Louisville erected a statue of a winged angel dropping flower petals for a Glasgow woman who died in 1890. The flowing figure on Myrtle May Turner's monument in the Riverview Cemetery, Morgantown, also appeared to scatter petals on her grave. When Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Herrington buried their daughter Pauline, their grief overwhelmed the entire community of Franklin. Although past her adolescent years, the funeral invitations referred to her as "Little Pauline." Buried on July 3, 1890, only her first name was inscribed on the angelic statue erected in Green Lawn Cemetery. Despite their grief, this symbolism provided a source of comfort to those persons who came to that cemetery.68

65 Elizabeth Lindsey, 1865-98, Holly Spring Cemetery, Edmonson County; John D. Houchin, d. 1873 at age 86, Mary D. Barlow, 1867-83, and Mary P. Reed, 1855-88, city cemetery, Brownsville.
66 John S. Davis, 1809-87, New Liberty Church Cemetery, Edmonson County; F. G. Cox, 1821-94, Fairview, Bowling Green.
67 Butler T. Bridges, 1839-77, Riverview, Morgantown.
68 Eliza Trigg Brents, 1832-90, Odd Fellows', Glasgow; Myrtle May Turner, 1873-97, Riverview, Morgantown; interview with Tom Moody, July 13, 1983; funeral invitations in the possession of Mrs. Paul Garrett, Franklin, and Tom Moody, Franklin; statue for Pauline [Herrington], no dates.
The beauty of the statue of a child with flowers in his arm contrasted with the sadness expressed by the parents of Eckels Shroader after his death at age four. On the base of the statue in the Odd Fellows' Cemetery of Smith's Grove, Warren County, the family inscribed: "Goodbye papa, Goodbye mama, I hate to leave you." In the Auburn cemetery, Logan County, a six-year-old girl's grave was graced by her family with an angelic girl carrying flowers in her skirt. These peaceful images gave the mourners comfort rather than stressing their loss. Perhaps the most heartbreaking symbol for a child's death was empty shoes and stockings. Placed on a grave in Old Union Church Cemetery, Warren County, and one in the Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Smiths Grove, Warren County, these visual representations not only expressed the pain felt by the families who had lost these children prior to their first birthdays, but they called to visitors in the cemeteries to share the sense of loss.69

The final type of departure epitaph spoke of the gravesite. Popular in the cemeteries of Edmonson County, especially, one inscription read:

Tis sweet to gaze upon the sod,
That wraps thy mouldering clay,
To think thy spirit rests with God,
Who called it hence away.70

69 Eckels Schroader, 1898-1902, and Howard Gibbs Moore, October 1893-March 1894, Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Smiths Grove, Warren County; Lucile Blakey, 1893-1900, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County; Anna Charline Goodrum, November 1892-September 1893, Old Union Church Cemetery, Warren County.

70 Nancy Houchin, d. 1870 age 63 years, Adolphus Dicus, 1869-87, and Benjamin L. Riggan, 1864-89, city cemetery, Brownsville; Margaret E. Lindsey, 1848-79, Holly Spring Cemetery, Edmonson County.
In the Auburn burial ground, Logan County, the draped monument of M. A. Childres gave the epitaph:

> Shed not for her the bitter tear,  
> Nor give the heart to vain regret,  
> Tis but a casket that lies here,  
> The gem that filled it sparkles yet.  

The use of draping on vases, columns, and monuments was another symbol of sorrow caused by the departure. Among the many period monuments in the area using the draped vase were the markers of F. G. Cox and Asher Lucien Wood in Fairview, Bowling Green, and of Professor D. B. Borthick in Sulfur Springs Cemetery, Simpson County. The Cox family of Bowling Green symbolized their grief at the death of their thirty-two-year-old son with a draped pillar and vase. In the Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow, a draped column marks the grave of thirty-year-old Lititia B. Waters. The Glasgow tombstone company of J. W. Dearing and Brother produced a draped monument topped with a vase of flowers for the Maxwell family to erect in the Auburn, Logan County, cemetery to nineteen-year-old Stella after her death in 1895.

To soften the harshness of the theme of departure, epitaphs assigned several images to the dying. Most common among the depictions of the deceased were the flower, the lamb, the dove, and the angel. In most area cemeteries, at least one family chose to describe their child

71 M. A. Childres, 1842-81, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County.

72 F. G. Cox, 1821-94, Asher Lucien Wood, 1849-82, and William T. Cox, 1861-94, Fairview, Bowling Green; Professor D. B. Borthick, 1850-1900, Sulfur Spring Church Cemetery, Simpson County; Lititia Waters, 1854-85, Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow; Stella Maxwell, 1876-95, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County. For more information about symbolism used on monuments, see American Monument Association, Inc., Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs and Design Types (Boston, 1977), 27.
as a flower which "budded on earth to bloom in Heaven." Frequently, a broken rosebud will be carved in the tombstone. Many flower epitaphs referred to God or an angel as the gardener who transplanted the flower to Heaven. In the Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow, the monument of a twenty-three-year-old woman, who died in 1874, declared: "The sweetest flowers bloom and die. But Sallie will live again."73

The lamb, a symbol of innocence, was used most often on children's tombstones. The McReynolds family of Allen County, the Lee family of Butler County, and the Hazelip family of Edmonson County used the biblical image of Christ as the good shepherd who carried little lambs on his breast in their epitaphs for their one-year-old children. In the city cemetery of Scottsville, the remains of fourteen-month-old "Little May" Walker were marked with a monument which had a carved lamb on its top and the inscription: "Transported to greener pastures."74

South central Kentuckians had doves carved on many monuments. The doves were depicted in flight, perched on limbs, or carrying wreaths or branches in their beaks. At the top of Clearie Goodrum's obelisk in the Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County, the word "hope" was inscribed boldly below an iconograph of a dove. Another aid to

73 Sallie L. Melven, 1850-74, Odd Fellows', Glasgow. Fine examples of the use of the flower are: infant daughter of G. S. and M. E. Black, February-June 1887, and Myrtle May Turner, 1873-97, Riverview, Morgantown; infant son of R. B. and Annie E. Justice, April 3-30, 1900, city cemetery, Scottsville; Novice Givens, 1895-98, Union Church Cemetery, Butler County; Jessie Eugene Merritt, 1878-82, Green Lawn, Franklin.

74 Perry W. McReynolds, 1880-81, Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County; Hunter Hazelip, 1886-87, city cemetery, Brownsville; Dixie M. Lee, 1900-02, Sandy Creek Church Cemetery, Butler County; Little May Walker, d. August 15, 1878, 14 months old, city cemetery, Scottsville.
interpreting this symbol as late Victorian Kentuckians did was the epitaph in the Friendship Church Cemetery, Allen County, which accompanied a dove iconograph: "Like a dove to the ark, thou hast flown to thy rest." 75 This biblical reference to man's covenant relationship with God correlated closely with the Goodrum interpretation of a dove as a symbol of hope in God.

Angels appeared in epitaphs, as iconographs, and as statues memorializing south central Kentuckians of all ages. "Gone to be an angel" was used frequently to comfort family members after the departure of a loved one. When a seven-year-old girl died in Franklin, her parents used an iconograph of a cherub on her marker in Green Lawn Cemetery. On forty-year-old Charity A. Bullock of Edmonson County's tablet, the angel also was chosen. An elaborately carved angelic iconograph graced a bedded monument in the Greenwood Cemetery of Adairville, Logan County. In addition to the angelic figures which appear to drop flower petals were the angels pointing the way to Heaven. Both the Davidson family of Auburn and the Bowling family of Russellville chose the latter to commemorate a loved one. 76

As in other grief expressions, late Victorians frequently preferred to soften the blow of departure by substituting the analogy

75 Clearie Goodrum, 1827-99, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County; Hattie Golden Pearson, 1889-90, Friendship Church Cemetery, Warren County.

76 Willie D. Black 1883-90, Green Lawn, Franklin; Charity A. Bullock, 1864-1905, Holly Spring Cemetery, Edmonson County; Nannie S. Simmons, 1844-73, Greenwood Cemetery, Adairville, Logan County; Simeon W. Goodrum, 1854-1903, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County; Daisy Davidson, 1875-95, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County; Henry Gilson Bowling, 1828-74, Maple Grove, Russellville.
of sleep on their tombstones. In Maple Grove cemetery, Russellville, the inscription of eleven-year-old Eleanor M. Stevenson's dates used "fell asleep" rather than "died." Her epitaph reiterated the theme by boldly pronouncing: "She is not dead but sleepeth." In like manner, a Scottsville adolescent "fell asleep in Jesus" and was buried in the city cemetery in October of 1889. In a tragic shooting accident, fifteen-year-old Nimrod Long Briggs of Russellville was shot to death while playing with his cousin; on his tombstone the words were repeated: "He is not dead but sleepeth!!" 77

The analogy of sleep was used in all eight counties. On the tombstone in Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, which he shared with his brother who was born thirty months later and lived only six months, thirty-three-day-old Eddie Hills was represented as one of the two children sleeping atop the monument and with the epitaph: "Sleep on sweet babe and take your rest, God called you home when he thought best." In Oak Hill Cemetery, Tompkinsville, the ornate tablet of seventy-four-year-old Thomas B. Evans read: "God's finger touched him and he slept." 78

The wording and type of monument often inferred the Victorian belief that the deceased was sleeping in that grave. A marker in Fairview Cemetery was made to resemble a bed in that it not only had a

77 Eleanor M. Stevenson, 1873-85, and Nimrod Long Briggs, 1868-83, Maple Grove, Russellville; Roy Gatewood, 1873-89, city cemetery, Scottsville; Browder Journal, July 8, 1883, Browder Collection.

78 Joint monument of Eddie Hills, November 12, 1874-December 15, 1875, and Frank P. Hills, September 14, 1877-March 24, 1878, Fairview, Bowling Green; Thomas B. Evans, 1832-1906, Oak Hill, Tompkinsville.
headstone and a smaller footstone, but it had side enclosures as well. Of P. E. Mastin, "husband of M. F. Mastin," it was written: "Here is one who is sleeping in faith and love."79 The White Company of Cincinnati, Ohio carved the scene of a child knelt in prayer at his bedside while two angels hovered above him for Taylor Drane Mansfield's headstone in the Scottsville cemetery. This eight-year-old child's marker stated:

Taylor's Little Prayer

Now I lay me down to sleep;  
If I should die before I wake,  
I pray the Lord my soul to take;  
This I ask for Jesus sake.80

Viewing the departed family member as asleep quite naturally resulted in one of the popular depictions of Heaven as a place of rest. By this interpretation, Heaven became a home of tranquility where afflictions and sorrows no longer hindered the individual's happiness. As the epitaph of a Fairview, Edmonson County, couple avowed: "They are at rest in Heaven." One very popular area verse, used at the Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County, the Barren River Church Cemetery, Warren County, and Green Lawn, Franklin, expressed the sentiment:

A loved one has gone from our circle,  
On earth we shall meet her no more.

79Philander Stubbins, [infant], Fairview, Bowling Green; P. E. Mastin, 1861-94, Sandy Creek Church Cemetery, Butler County. The Mastin marker was the only one in south central Kentucky on which an adult male was identified by his spouse.

80Taylor Drane Mansfield, 1864-73, city cemetery, Scottsville.
She has gone to her home in heaven,
And all her afflictions are o'er. 81

To many families, the simple assurance that the deceased had gone
to be with God was sufficient. When A. L. Dockery died in Butler
County in 1886, his epitaph stated: "To him we trust a place is given
among the saints with Christ in heaven." The image of Heaven as the
other shore was repeated among permanent memorials. On the death of
their seventeen-year-old daughter, the Howard family of Morgantown had
inscribed on her tombstone that she had "passed gently to the thither
shore, sweet little Mattie, mumurless." The angels, as the epitaph on
his monument in Green Lawn Cemetery told, called a Franklin child to
"yonder shining shore." Two-year-old Ella Marvin Seay, as her parents
recorded in the Fountain Run Cemetery, was at rest from her sufferings
on "Canaan's happy shore." 82

To these Victorian Kentuckians, Heaven also was represented as
the kingdom of God where Christ reigned and the saints received their
robes, crowns, and mansions. The gravestone in Tompkinsville's Old
Soldiers' Cemetery for Abbie G. Speakman who died in 1909 stated:

We trust our loss will be her gain
And that with Christ she's gone to reign. 83

81 Joint monument of Jno. W. Webb, 1829-1903, and Jemima A. Webb,
1834-1900, church cemetery, Fairview, Edmonson County; Jane Hinton,
1832-74, Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County; Elizabeth M.
McGinnis, 1814-82, Barren River Church Cemetery, Warren County; Ellen
Tatham, 1827-90, Green Lawn, Franklin.

82 A. L. Dockery, 1852-86, and Mattie Howard, 1859-77, Riverview,
Morgantown; Basil Duke Munday, 1888-94, Green Lawn, Franklin; Ella
Marvin Seay, 1877-80, Fountain Run public cemetery, Monroe County.

On the double tablet which marked the graves of two siblings (aged four years and aged one day) in the Manning Road Cemetery of Butler County, the parents testified to their belief in a majestic Heaven: "An early deathbed is an early crown." Two Brownsville sisters, according to the epitaph they shared, had been given white robes and golden crowns after crossing the "troubled waters" of death. On Simeon W. Goodrum's monument in Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County, the family expressed this concept with an iconograph of angels holding a crown under a star, which symbolized immortality. Used with the epitaph "I am near my beautiful home," Nannie Lee Morehead's marker in Riverview Cemetery, Morgantown, had a five-pointed star and the word "Immortality."84

The "beautiful home" of which the Morehead epitaph spoke was often identified as filled with mansions. An Edmonson countian had this inscription placed on his wife's monument in the burial ground at Raymer Lake:

My own dear wife has gone  
To mansions above yonder sky  
To gaze on the beautiful throne  
Of him who is seated on High.85

Some area residents, such as the family of Mattie Maxwell of Auburn, Logan County, preferred the illustration of the gates of Heaven as their portrait of the "better land." When Modie H. Pendley died in

84 Joint monument of L. C. Thomason, 1899-1903, and H. Thomason, October 9-10, 1899, Manning Road Cemetery, Butler County; joint monument of Mattie B. Riggan, 1855-99, and Fannie E. Riggan, 1867-93, city cemetery, Brownsville; Simeon W. Goodrum, 1854-1903, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County; Nannie Lee Morehead, 1861-81, Riverview, Morgantown.

85 Mary F. Hack, 1883-1900, Raymer Lake Cemetery, Edmonson County.
1906, the tombstone maker carved mansions at the top of her obelisk which was placed in the Sandy Creek Church Cemetery of Butler County. Her epitaph quoted the Bible: "In my Father's house are many mansions." A monument in the Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County, included the cross and crown iconograph, symbolic of the sovereignty of God, above the gates ajar. 86

Finally, late Victorians viewed Heaven as a place of eventual reunion with the dead. In south central Kentucky, the theme of meeting again in Heaven was popular throughout the period. Most often used on tombstones for adults, these epitaphs could be very personal. In Green Lawn Cemetery, a Franklin doctor left this message on the box tomb of his twenty-two-year-old wife who died in 1875: "Tina, I will meet you in Heaven, Jimmie." At the Auburn cemetery in Logan County, the tablet of F. M. Veirs combined the departure iconograph of the clasped hands with the inscription "We'll meet again," and an epitaph which linked the two themes by stating that although he had left his family they would be reunited in Heaven. 87

When their twenty-six-year-old son died in 1887, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Hinton of Allen County chose the iconograph of the hand pulling a link from the family chain of life and the very popular epitaph:

Not lost, blest thought
But gone before

86 Mattie Maxwell, 1875-1905, city cemetery, Auburn, Logan County; Modie H. Pendley, 1885-1906, Sandy Creek Church Cemetery, Butler County; John W. Sledge, 1880-1910, Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County.

87 Tina Bowling, 1853-75, Green Lawn, Franklin; F. M. Veirs, 1835-77, Auburn Cemetery, Logan County.
Where we shall meet
To part no more.88

A Barren County woman's family used this symbol of the broken link alone on her marker to testify to their faith that she had been taken to Heaven.89 On the base of the statue at the grave of Samuel W. Brents in Glasgow's Odd Fellows' Cemetery, the J. S. Clark Company of Louisville carved a familiar inscription which verbalized the broken link's symbolism:

Another link is broken,
In our household band,
But a chain is forming,
In a better land.90

The family of Asher Wood of Bowling Green expressed this same hope on his monument in Fairview, stating: "Tis sweet, as year by year we lose friends out of sight, in faith to muse how grows in paradise our store."91

The theme of Heaven as a place for reunion was closely akin to the final theme of trust in God commonly used in area cemeteries. In a period of frequent unexplainable deaths, south central Kentuckians found comfort in using permanent memorials to testify to their faith in the omniscience of God. John Evans' plain marker in Tompkinsville's Oak Hill Cemetery asserted: "In God we trust." Having lost their three-year-old son Spencer, the Long family purchased a statue of a boy

88 Joseph P. Hinton, 1861-87, Mt. Pleasant Church Cemetery, Allen County.

89 Maryil Reavis, 1822-1903, Odd Fellows', Glasgow.

90 Samuel W. Brents, 1818-90, Odd Fellows', Glasgow.

91 Asher Lucien Wood, 1849-82, Fairview, Bowling Green.
with a lamb from the Thomas O'Connell company to place at his grave in Russellville's Maple Grove Cemetery. Along with the banner across the base of the statue which read "Mama's darling," the Longs selected the epitaph: "God is standing in the shadow keeping watch above his own" (illustration V). 92

In the Green Lawn Cemetery, Franklin, the loved ones of Joseph W. Grow, who died in 1887, recorded:

Though cast down, we're not forsaken
Though afflicted not alone;
Thou didst give, and thou hast taken
Blessed Lord, Thy will be done.93

After an infant died on the day of her birth, her parents erected a stone in the church burial ground at Fairview, Edmonson County, with a similar sentiment, stating that although they had desired to keep the child, they were submissive to the will of God. Of Larra Lendsey of Edmonson County, the marker included the words: "... her life was craved, But God denied." Although not as harsh, the same thought was expressed in the children's epitaph found throughout the area: "A little time on earth he spent till God for him his angel sent." In the Holly Spring Cemetery, a sixty-two-year-old Edmonson countian's epitaph revealed that no matter how long one lived, the family might still have difficulty with the death: "Just when we learned to love her best, God

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92 John Evans, 1801-79, Oak Hill, Tompkinsville; Spencer C. Long, 1876-79, Maple Grove, Russellville.

93 Joseph W. Grow, 1833-87, Green Lawn, Franklin.
Copies
May Not
Film
Well!
A belief that the loved one now resided in a better place possibly added to the late Victorians' ability to accept death. On his monument in the Old Soldiers' Cemetery, Tompkinsville, the parents of twenty-seven-year-old Ulyssis S. Roddy testified: "We deeply mourn his loss, but our loss is his eternal gain." Other epitaphs shared this hope by depicting the safety of the deceased. A loved one described as "Safe in the arms of Jesus" (Scottsville, 1892) did not need to be mourned. Neither would it be justifiable to wish for a family member back who was now "... anchored safe where storms are o'er" (Scottsville, 1884, 1902). Instead, the family and friends called upon their religious faith for assistance in their grieving process. Carved into a monument produced by J. W. Dearing of Glasgow was a female mourner, the symbol of unconsolable grief, holding to a cross and the inscription "Simply To Thy Cross I Cling" (illustration VI).95

Many monuments cited Biblical passages for the exaltation of the mourners. Among those verses used were: Job 14:14-15; 19:25; Psalms 116:15; 120:1; Matthew 5:8; Luke 18:16; 22:12; John 11:25; II Timothy 4:7; and Revelation 14:13. Through the theme of trust in God, south central Kentuckians stated the core of the Victorian attitude toward

94 Pearl Madison, b. & d. August 9, 1905, church cemetery, Fairview, Edmonson County; Larra Lendsey, 1855-1900, and Tincy E. Vincent, d. 1902 aged 62 years, Holly Spring Cemetery, Edmonson County; Hugh M. Dodd, 1897-98, city cemetery, Scottsville; infant Womack, September 11-20, 1907, Union Church Cemetery, Butler County.

death: a person should be able to accept death despite personal desire and a lack of understanding its purpose.

Between 1870 and 1910, the gravesite became the permanent physical location where the south central Kentuckian could express his grief and his desire to perpetuate the memory of his loved one. The development of rural cemeteries in the area created pleasant resting places for the remains. Victorian society expected and encouraged cemetery visitation, disdaining those individuals who allowed the burial grounds in which their loved ones slept to fall into ill repair. The tombstone served as a permanent memorial to the deceased, enabling survivors to express words of tribute to the loved one and words of comfort about the departure, Heaven, and the omniscience of God. Thus, the gravesite was a focal point of late Victorian grief expression.
Copies may not film well!
CONCLUSION

The ways in which south central Kentuckians expressed their grief between 1870 and 1910 were significant to a complete understanding of late nineteenth century culture due to death's frequency and the lack of medical knowledge as to its causes. Each form of expression was designed to assist the mourner in his grieving process. Neighbors and family members saw the care given the deceased's body as their last act of compassion for that individual. At the funeral service, the family and community bore witness to the loss of a member. Throughout the period, newspaper obituaries, resolutions of respect, death poetry, and cards of thanks publicly acknowledged the significance of deaths in the area. South central Kentuckians used personal letters announcing deaths, condolence letters, journals, and memorial poetry as more private communications of their bereavements.

Through photography, these late Victorians were able to document death, recording the deceased and the survivors' appearance, the funeral procession, the flowers, and the tombstones. The mourners, in accordance with their tastes and economic abilities, used memorial cards and pictures, framed photographs or paintings of the deceased, and hair wreaths within their homes to perpetuate the loved one's memory. Community expectations and the rules of etiquette deemed feminine mourning attire and jewelry necessary to pay respect to the
deceased. Late Victorian Kentuckians also highly valued the proper care and visitation of the gravesite. If finances allowed, a tombstone with an appropriate epitaph and/or symbol, either statuary or iconographic, served as the most permanent tribute and expression of grief available to the survivors.

All these expressions included the themes of the peaceful departure, the existence of a Heaven of eternal rest and happiness where eventual reunion with the deceased would take place, and the ultimate dependence of the mourner on the omniscience of God. Echoing the teachings and hymns of their churches, these beliefs gave south central Kentuckians the ability to accept death as they experienced it between 1870 and 1910.

Medical knowledge has decreased mortality rates throughout the region's population and increased basic understanding of the causes of human fatalities. The professionalization of funeral directing has removed the deceased's care and funeral service from the home. Generations which followed this late Victorian society abhorred their "obsession" with death and destroyed many of the memorial cards and pictures, funeral invitations, obituaries, hair wreaths, and postmortem and funeral photographs which would have benefitted this study. But from scattered remaining evidence, gathered from attics, archives, antique shops, and family collections, the construction of the paradigm of south central Kentuckians who faced and accepted death as a natural part of their lives was possible.

In the 1970's, sociologists began to identify their society's inability to deal with natural death effectively. For years,
individuals have attempted to ignore its impact on the survivors; in many cases, those bereaved individuals who did not ignore their grief were labeled as abnormal and overlooked by their contemporaries. As American culture begins to redefine how it should deal with fatalities, it is not unwise to recognize the value of these grief expressions used by late Victorian Kentuckians who openly admitted their loss rather than trying to dismiss the experience as inconsequential. Perhaps rather than advising the bereaved to return immediately to their normal routines "as if nothing had happened," one should allow them open expression of their grief, recognizing as these late Victorian south central Kentuckians did:

To forget is vain endeavor
Love’s remembrance lasts forever.

-Inscription on J. Alice Borthick's tombstone,
Simpson County, 1890
CRITICAL ESSAY ON SOURCES

In a study of this type, correspondence, journals, newspapers, and artifacts were equally essential. In many cases, a single letter, entry, newspaper, or memento provided a necessary element in completing the paradigm for all eight counties. Among the collections of south central Kentucky which included items dated between 1870 and 1910, the Calvert-Obenchain-Younglove Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) was the most comprehensive. Within this collection, the most valuable sources for this study were the condolence letters, the Josephine Calvert Journal, the John E. Younglove Scrapbook, the funeral notices, a tombstone photograph, and several obituaries. The scope of the collection gave an accurate representation of the memorials kept by family members after a death.

Two other manuscript collections had a dual contribution. The Mildred Hardcastle Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) contained the journal of Luther Carpenter and condolence letters; while the Strange Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) contributed both Agatha R. Strange's journal and scrapbook of newspaper clippings.

The Browder Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) was the most helpful among the collections in which the only references to grief expression were contained in
journals. Reverend George Browder of Olmstead, Logan County, kept a journal (beginning prior to 1870 and ending with his death in 1886), recording funeral sermons, deathbed visits, family death accounts, payments for coffins and tombstones, the sending of telegrams, the writing of obituaries, and grave visitation and maintenance. Rich in his descriptions, Browder allowed the twentieth-century reader insight into his emotional reactions to daily death occurrences. Other journals with period entries of interest were the T. M. Goodnight Journal, Issac Goodnight Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); the Camilla Herdman Diary, Herdman Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); the Lila P. Proctor Diary, Proctor-Pendleton Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); the Journal of South Union, Kentucky, probably kept by elderess Lucy Shannon, Shakers-South Union Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University); and the Journal (North and East families), Shakers-South Union Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University).

Of the collections of correspondence, the best letters were found in the Covington Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) which referred to three family deaths and the wearing of mourning attire, the Katherine (Meador) Covington Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) with its references to the duration of grief, and Tim Ferguson and Dorothy Olinger Range, eds., "Ferguson-Hay: Letters From Kentucky Kin" (typescript, 1970) in which descendants copied the
letters of Rebecca Gray of Sugar Grove, Butler County, including references to family grief experiences. Of limited use for correspondence and poetry were the Alexander Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) and the Perkins Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University). Numerous individual letters, as cited in the footnotes, also contributed to attaining a comprehensive study.

Other scrapbooks which assisted in the discussion of poetry and obituaries included the Nora C. O'Connell Scrapbook from Russellville, in possession of Mrs. Jack Stengill, Russellville; the Kittie Sublett Bland Scrapbook kept in Logan, Simpson, and Warren counties, in possession of Mrs. J. Vernon Bettersworth, Bowling Green; and the Eunice Cosby Isbell Scrapbook from Alvaton, in possession of Lorene Cosby, Alvaton. Rebecca Gray's poetry notebook in the Vincent Smiley Hay Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University), while complementing her letters in the "Ferguson-Hay" typescript, were also useful in the poetry discussion.

Without the collections of south central Kentucky newspapers, research on obituaries, resolutions of respect, cards of thanks, and memorial poetry would have been limited to the few clippings preserved in manuscript collections and scrapbooks. The number of available newspapers varied greatly from county to county. Remaining issues of the Glasgow Weekly Times and Glasgow Times combined to illuminate Barren and surrounding counties from 1874 until 1910. The issues proved the best newspaper source in south central Kentucky. The other local newspapers, although equally helpful when available, had few
issues which had survived the years. The Morgantown Green River Republican provided a wealth of information on Butler and surrounding counties in its remaining 1901-09 issues. Among the Logan County newspapers were an 1880 issue of the Adairville Logan Sentinel, 1891 issues of the Russellville Logan County Union, 1892 issues of the Russellville Ledger, and 1906-07 issues of the Russellville Democrat. Despite the number of clippings from Warren County newspapers cited in the footnotes by the author, complete issues of these period papers were very scarce, with the exception of the Bowling Green Messenger in 1910. Only a few copies remain of the Tompkinsville Enterprise, the Tompkinsville Overseer, the Scottsville Times-Messenger, the Franklin Favorite, the Franklin Patriot, and the Franklin Little Patriot.

The artifacts of these late Victorian Kentuckians, like few other sources, remain and continue to bear witness to the significance they placed on grief expressions. By examining the photographs, funeral invitations, memorial cards and pictures, mourning attire and jewelry, and hair wreaths which were cited throughout the text, the author was brought to an understanding of these mementos. Narrative does not always have the power to engage its reader that artifacts have over their viewers. Although scarce, their use was invaluable to the study. In like manner, the remaining public cemeteries, church graveyards, and family burying grounds, along with their tombstones which varied from simple to elaborate epitaphs and symbols, provided the researcher with a wealth of information too long left to professionals of other disciplines. Without this physical evidence, the author could not have begun to identify the role of the gravesite in late Victorian south
central Kentucky.

Area account books, although possibly the most scarce source, supplied much needed insight into cost (and, thereby, the availability) of undertakers' services and tombstone makers' craftsmanship. The account books of the Gerard Undertaking Establishment of Bowling Green, Gerard Collection (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) gave detailed inventories of services rendered and their costs during the entire period. Beginning in 1900, the records of the Hatcher and Willoughby firm of Glasgow, in possession of Hatcher and Saddler Funeral Home, Glasgow, were fairly detailed. The "J. W. Yokley Record Beginning January 1, 1910" (William B. Harlan Memorial Library, Tompkinsville), simply gave the customers' names and total cost without descriptive information as to the services or type of coffin. Together, the three sets of undertakers' records did allow general comparisons to be made. Unfortunately, no other account book was located to compare with the "Account Book (1887-1920) of Thomas O'Connell," proprietor of the Kentucky Marble Works in Russellville, in possession of Mrs. Jack Stengill, Russellville. Therefore, this record, supplemented by one price list in a Glasgow tombstone maker's advertisement, was irreplaceable.

Oral history's contribution to this study was three-fold, including the childhood remembrances of grief expression which area residents witnessed, the oral traditions retold by funeral directors, undertakers' descendants, and local historians, and the artifacts' histories shared by present owners. Although each interview cited in the text supplied valuable information, a few individuals deserve
particular mention. Nell Jane Shanks Stone (Warren County) and Herbert Houchens (Barren County) retold their childhood impressions of funerals, mourning attire, and mementos, detailing the significance their families placed on each expression. Due to his interest in history, Ronnie D. Bryant (Monroe County) was able to recall significant information told to him by senior adults. Their continuation of family businesses allowed Dwight C. Smith (Butler County), John Baker (Monroe County), and Henry Bradley, Sr. (Warren County) to detail the role of south central Kentucky undertakers between 1870 and 1910.

Other sources akin to the interviews included a speech and several letters to the author. The Lucy Harris speech to the Simpson County Historical Society, March 3, 1970 (tape on deposit at Goodnight Memorial Library, Franklin) contained remembrances of death announcements, funerals, and mourning attire in Franklin, which fortunately were not lost with Miss Harris’ death. In addition to the interviews, the author received many letters in response to individual requests which can also be categorized as the oral history was. Most helpful among these letters were the responses of Acie Carroll of Bee Spring, Edmonson County; Lucy Albright of Fountain Run; and Martha Alma Yokley Emberton, granddaughter of J. W. Yokley, Cr.

Period etiquette manuals and hymnals were particularly necessary to the study. Prior to their use, determination of the accessibility of these types of literature in south central Kentucky was essential. The collection at the Kentucky Library (Western Kentucky University) provided volumes with period inscriptions from the area in both cases.
Most helpful among the etiquette manuals were Mrs. E. B. Duffey, *The Ladies' and Gentlemen's Etiquette: A Complete Manual of the Manners and Dress of American Society* (Philadelphia, 1877); John A. Ruth, compiler, *Decorum, A Practical Treatise On Etiquette And Dress of the Best American Society* (New York, 1879); and John H. Young, compiler, *Our Deportment, or the Manners, Conduct And Dress of the Most Refined Society* (Detroit, 1884). Hymnals of interest which were in use included *The Baptist Hymn Book* (Philadelphia, 1871); *Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Congregations of Christ* (7th ed., Toronto, 1871); *Psalms and Hymns Adapted to Social, Private, and Public Worship In The Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1867); and Thomas O. Summers, compiler, *Songs of Zion: A Supplement to the Hymn-book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville, 1873).

Other period works that served as reference works for the study included flower symbolism dictionaries, mail order catalogues, state and local directories, Kentucky State Board of Health reports, and United States census records. The meanings placed on various flowers by Victorian Americans were stated in dictionary fashion in Frances S. Osgood, *The Poetry of Flowers* (New York, 1860), and Kate Greenaway, *Language of Flowers*, reprinted in *Kate Greenaway, The Complete Kate Greenaway* (New York, 1967; first published in 1884). The Montgomery Ward & Co. 1895 Catalogue, *Montgomery Ward & Co. 1902-03 Catalogue*, Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1902 Catalogue, and *Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1908 Catalogue* enabled determination of mourning items available for purchase by the general public. The *Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1876-7* (Louisville, 1876), *Kentucky State Gazetteer...*
and Business Directory, 1879-80 (Louisville, 1879), Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1883-84 (Louisville, 1883), Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1896 (Detroit, 1896), Gardner & Gaines' Business of Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Russellville, Clarksville, Woodburn, Franklin, Gallatin, & Glasgow For 1876-7 (Bowling Green, 1876), Gaines and Collier's City and Business Directory of Bowling Green (Bowling Green, 1886), and Bowling Green City Directory, 1905 (Marion, Indiana, 1905) listed the undertakers, tombstone makers, newspapers, job printers, photographers, and florists for their respective dates. For information on mortality rates and causes of death, period United States censuses; the "Registration Report," Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health, 1879, II (Frankfort, 1880); the "Biennial Report, 1910 and 1911," Bulletin of the State Board of Health, II (March 1912); and the Warren County, Kentucky, Burial Permits, 1877-1913 (Manuscript Division, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University) provided necessary data.

Many general works on the Victorian period and death customs were consulted during the research. Two studies on American funeral customs were particularly useful: Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, The History of American Funeral Directing (Milwaukee, 1955), and James J. Farrell, Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920 (Philadelphia, 1980). To a lesser extent, Glen William Davidson, "Basic Images of Death in America: An Historical Analysis" (doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1964); Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, "The Pattern of Late Nineteenth-Century Funerals," in Charles O. Jackson, ed., Passing: The
Vision of Death in America (Westport, Conn., 1977); and John Morley, Death, Heaven and The Victorians (Pittsburgh, 1971), enriched the study. On hair mementos, Michael J. Bernstein, "Hair jewelry, locks of love," Smithsonian, 6 (March 1976), 97-100, was one of the better discussions of this unusual memorial. As a general work, Edmund V. Gillon, Jr., Victorian Cemetery Art (New York, 1972), supplied generalizations on the Victorian view of the rural cemetery movement. Many other monographs, as cited in the footnotes, gave information on particular aspects of Victorian life.

Many sources were very limited in their assistance. Due to the unpopularity of death with twentieth century writers, the county and local histories seldom referred to death, with the exception of listing undertakers and tombstone makers as businessmen. Among these books, Mrs. James Beach, Sr. and James Henry Snider, Franklin and Simpson County: A Picture of Progress, 1819-1975 (Tompkinsville, 1976); Cecil E. Goode and Woodford L. Gardner, Jr., eds., Barren County Heritage: A Pictorial History of Barren County, Kentucky (Bowling Green, 1980); and Lynwood Montell, general ed., Monroe County Folklife (Tompkinsville, Ky., 1975), gave the most information useful to this study. The majority of county studies could be used only for information on population, newspapers, and the opening date of the public cemetery. A few unpublished papers, cited in the text, gave additional information in some instances.
APPENDIX I:
KNOWN AREA UNDERTAKERS, 1870-1910

Only confirmed dates of operation are given. Several of these men could have established their businesses earlier or closed later within the period. Footnotes are incorporated to confirm the dates given.

ALLEN COUNTY

Eli Garrison (1875-94)--Scottsville
1894--Date of death, tombstone, city cemetery, Scottsville. (Garrison was referred to as a "noted furniture maker and wood-worker" in Allen County's Historical Calendar, 1976, volume I, published by the Scottsville Woman's Club.)

Rumsey Garrison (1894)--Scottsville
1894—Took over his father's business. Covington, "History of Medical Profession and Funeral Homes."

J. Warren Martin (1896)--Scottsville
n.d.--Covington, "History of Medical Profession and Funeral Homes."

W. M. Williams (1899)--Allen County
1899--Coffin receipt, Siddens Collection.

Cooksey (n.d.)--Scottsville
n.d.--Covington, "History of Medical Profession and Funeral Homes."
A. F. Pearson & C. H. Tabor (1903-10)--Scottsville
1906--Tabor joins in partnership. Scottsville Times-Messenger, February 15, 1907.

**BARREN COUNTY**

W. S. Smith (1873-74)--Glasgow
1873-74--Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times, July 19, 1873-April 23, 1874.

William McCown (or McQuown) (1876-84)--Glasgow
1876-77--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1876-77--Gardner and Gaines' Business Directory, of Bowling Green, Russellville, Clarksville, Woodburn, Franklin, Gallatin and Glasgow For 1876-7 (Bowling Green, 1876).
1883-84--The Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1883-84 (Louisville, 1883).

W. H. Warder and Company (1885-1900)--Glasgow
1885-1900--Succeeded by Hatcher & Willoughby after fifteen years in business. Glasgow Times, January 30, 1900.
1886--Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times, February 10, 1886.
1895--Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times, September 4, 1895.

W. D. Jordan (pre-1902)--Glasgow
prior to 1902--Lucille Williams Fitzgerald to author, May 13, 1983.

(Jesse, Jr.) Hatcher & (W. M.) Willoughby (1900-10)--Glasgow
1900--Article, Glasgow Times, January 30, 1900.
1900-10--Untitled account books in possession of Hatcher-Saddler Funeral Home, Glasgow.

F. P. Williams (1902)--Glasgow
1902--Moved to Glasgow from Fountain Run. Lucy Albright to author, May 20, 1983.
  n.d.--"... the first undertaker after W. D. Jordan ... When he retired at age 61, he sold out to Jess Hatcher." Lucille Williams Fitzgerald to author, May 13, 1983.
R. S. Palmore & Co. (1903)--Glasgow
1903--Advertisement, Glasgow Times, Illustrated Souvenir Supplement, July 1903.

West Isaac (1896)--Glasgow Junction
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.

G. T. Gardner (1896)--Cave City
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.

Hayden Gillock (1908?)--Austin
1908?--Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983.

Roy Rutledge (1909?-11)--Lucas
1909?-11--Interview with Herbert Houchens, July 29, 1983.

BUTLER COUNTY

Benjamin F. Smith (1886-1910)--Morgantown
1886-1910--Interview with Dwight C. Smith, July 27, 1983;
Dwight C. Smith, "History of Hearse."
1902--Advertisement, Morgantown Green River Republican,
May 29, 1902.

T. T. Rone (1906)--Morgantown
1906--Advertisement, Morgantown Green River Republican,
February 1, 1906.

Phillip Manley and Brother (ca. 1885)--Rochester
ca. 1885--William McClellan, That Last Boat in the Evening,
58.

EDMONSON COUNTY

C. S. Johnson, George Woodcock, and Dossey (1887?-1910)--Brownsville
after 1887--Bowling Green Park City Daily News, August 2, 1961
n.d.--"Mr. Johnson and Dossey started our business."
Jerry Patton, Patton Funeral Home, Brownsville, to
author, February 26, 1983.

Eugene Meredith (n.d.)--Brownsville
LOGAN COUNTY

Evans Furniture Company (1890-91) -- Russellville
1890 -- John Evans to Sally Evans, February 23, 1890, Sally (Barclay) Evans Collection.
1891 -- Advertisement, Russellville Logan County Union.

William E. Harrison & Co. (1876, 1900-10?) -- Russellville
1876-77 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1900-30? -- During this period, William E. Harrison is listed as a funeral director. Edward Coffman, The Story of Russellville (Russellville, 1931), 68.

Walter Procter (1900-10?) -- Russellville.
1900-30? -- As above, exact date was not given. Edward Coffman, The Story of Russellville, 68.

S. C. Gooch (1880) -- Adairville
1880 -- Advertisement, Adairville Logan Sentinel, September 24, 1880.

H. W. Stagner & Co. (1870-1910) -- Auburn
1895-96 -- Journal (North and East families), June 3, August 21, 1895, July 8, December 29, 1896, Shakers, South Union, Ky. Collection.
1896 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.

MONROE COUNTY

J. W. Yokley, Sr. (1870-1905) -- Tompkinsville
1889 -- Advertisement, Tompkinsville Enterprise, February 28, 1889.
1905 -- Death date. Helen Martin to author, April 9, 1983; Martha Alma Yokley Emberton to author, March 25, 1983.

J. W. Yokley, Jr. (1905-10) -- Tompkinsville
1906 -- Receipt for one-half of six accounts to Nancy A. from John, Jr. dated November 11, 1906 (William B. Harlan Memorial Library, Tompkinsville).
1909—Receipt for one-half of 1909's accounts to Nancy A. from John, Jr. no date (William B. Harlan Memorial Library, Tompkinsville).

John Haile (ca. 1905)--Cumberland River area
ca. 1905--Interview with son Hascal Haile (Monroe County), Tompkinsville, February 19, 1983.

Williams & Son (1884-1902)--Fountain Run
1902--Frank (F.P.) moved to Glasgow. Lucy Albright to author, May 20, 1983.
n.d.--James E. Hughes, Hughes Funeral Home, Fountain Run, to author, February 24, 1983.

Euclid Gibbs (n.d.)--Fountain Run
n.d.--Lucy Albright, Fountain Run: Today and Yesterday, 20. A photograph of a funeral procession which he directed.
soon after 1902--Lucy Albright to author, May 20, 1983.

Charlie (C.Z.) Austin and Sam Austin (ca. 1910)--Fountain Run
ca. 1910--Lucy Albright to author, May 20, 1983.

SIMPSON COUNTY

James H. Dashwood (1870-1900?)--Franklin
1869--Began undertaking. Advertisement, Franklin Sentinel, in Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 950. Advertisement also copied in "Ads from Franklin Sentinel, 1869," Business folder, Local History File (Goodnight Library, Franklin).
1874--Advertisement, Franklin Patriot.
1876-7--Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.
1876-7--Kentucky State Gazetter.
1879--Advertisement, Simpson County Fair Program in Funeral Items Box (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University).
1879--Advertisements, Franklin Favorite.
1879-80--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1892--Advertisement, Franklin Favorite.
1896--"& Son," Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1900--Advertisement, Franklin Favorite, in Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 950.
J. W. Woodrow & Son (1876-80) -- Franklin
1876-7 -- Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.
1879-80 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1880 -- Advertisement, Franklin Patriot Daily.

J. G. Harris (1879-84) -- Franklin
1879-80 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1883-84 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.

E. M. House (1894-1907) -- Franklin
1894-1907 -- Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 951.
1896 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.

McMillan, Dishman, and Company (1880?-87) -- Franklin
1880?-87 -- Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 950.

(D.W.) Saunders, (H.A.) Proctor, and (C.F. Saunders) Company (1887-95?) -- Franklin
1887-95? -- Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 950.

Meador and Saunders (1896-1900) -- Franklin
1896 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.
ca. 1902? -- Sold to V.N. Booker. Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 951; unidentified notes, Business folder, Local History File (Goodnight Library, Franklin).

V. N. Booker (1900-10) -- Franklin
1900-10 -- Virgie J. Burrus, Franklin to author, February 10, 1983.
ca. 1902? -- Beach and Snider, Franklin and Simpson County, 951; unidentified notes, Business folder, Local History file (Goodnight Memorial Library, Franklin).

(Warren County)

(Warren County)

Warren County

(John C.; Frank; F. C. and brother; Gerard and Gerard) The family business referred to collectively in the thesis as Gerard Undertaking Establishment (1870-1910) -- Bowling Green
1876-77--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1879-80--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1883-84--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1886-87--Gardner and Collier's City and Business Directory of
    Bowling Green (Bowling Green, 1886).
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1905-06--Bowling Green City Directory.

Womack & Nicoll (1886-87)--Bowling Green
1886-87--Gardner and Collier's Directory.

(John Thomas) Prather and (T. Hawley) Payne (1895-1908)--Bowling Green
1895--Advertisement, Bowling Green Warren County Courier.
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
"partnership of many years"--Obituary of Prather, Bowling Green Park City Daily News, January 15, 1929.
1899--Advertisement for Payne, Bowling Green News, August 4, 1899.
1908--Enochs succeeds Payne, article, Bowling Green Times-Journal and Warren County Courier, February 12, 1913.

(Charles) Enochs and (W.C.) Morris or (J.H.) Kelley (1908-10) Bowling Green
1908--Enochs succeeds Payne, article, Bowling Green Times-Journal and Warren County Courier, February 12, 1913.
1910, February--"Morris & Enochs" advertisement with Morris as manager, Enochs as embalmer and funeral director, and J.T. Prather as funeral director, Bowling Green Messenger.

J. L. Byrum (1876)--Woodburn
1876-7--Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.

B. F. Martin (1896)--Smiths Grove
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
APPENDIX II:
KNOWN LOCAL TOMBSTONE MAKERS,
1870-1910

Only confirmed dates of operation are given. Several of these companies could have been established earlier or closed later within the period. Footnotes are incorporated to confirm the dates given.

ALLEN COUNTY

William Chase Bonner (1910)—eastern Allen County
1910—Patricia Thomas, "An Allen County tombstone maker," unpublished paper (Folklore Archives, Western Kentucky University).

BARREN COUNTY

Glasgow Marble Works—O. C. Salyards, proprietor (1875-76)
1876—Kentucky State Gazetteer and Business Directory For 1876-7 (Louisville, 1876).
1876—Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory, of Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Russellville, Clarksville, Woodburn, Franklin, Gallatin & Glasgow For 1876-7 (Bowling Green, 1876).

Glasgow Marble Works—J. M. Frie, Proprietor (1878-84)
1878, 1880—Signed monuments in Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow. Signed monuments do not give exact indications of the companies' presence as the length of time after the death before the monument was erected can not be determined.
1879-80—Kentucky State Gazetteer And Business Directory For 1879-1880 (Louisville, 1879).
1883-84—Kentucky State Gazetteer And Business Directory For 1883-84 (Louisville, 1883).

Glasgow Marble Works—J. E. Watson, proprietor?
The Allen County Citizen-Times on October 10, 1918 stated that Mr. Watson ran this company for 47 years prior to his death.
J. W. Dearing & Brother (1887-96) -- Glasgow
1887, 1889 -- Signed monuments in Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Glasgow.
1893 -- Signed monument in Odd Fellows' Cemetery, Smiths Grove, Warren County.
1895 -- Signed monument in Auburn Cemetery, Logan County.
Dec, 1896 -- Advertisement, Glasgow Times.

Comer & Coombs Marble & Monument Works (1903) -- Glasgow
August-December 1903 -- Advertisement, Glasgow Times.

A. C. Wicker (1875) -- Glasgow Junction
Sept. 16, 1875 -- Article, Glasgow Weekly Times.

BUTLER COUNTY

C. C. Rone (1887-1896) -- Morgantown
1887 -- Signed monument in Riverview Cemetery, Morgantown.
1896 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.

(E. B.) Neel & (Estill) Neel (1903) -- Morgantown
August 1903 -- Advertisement, Morgantown Green River Republican.

C. H. Neel (1906) -- Morgantown
1906 -- Advertisement, Morgantown Green River Republican.

EDMONSON COUNTY

John L. Stout (1879-84) -- Brownsville
1879-80 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1883-84 -- Kentucky State Gazetteer.

LOGAN COUNTY

Kentucky Marble Works -- Thomas O'Connell, proprietor (1870-1910) -- Russellville
1871 -- Signed monument in Auburn, Logan County, Cemetery.
1875--Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times.
1876-77--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1876-77--Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.
1878, 1880--Signed monuments in Maple Grove Cemetery, Russellville.
1879-80--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1883-84--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1884--Advertisement, Russellville Herald-Enterprise.
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.

Jordan T. C. Moore (1876, d. 1882)--Russellville
1876, 1882--George Browder Journal, Browder Collection. Browder mentions paying him for a tombstone. It is possible that Moore was in O'Connell's employ.

SIMPSON COUNTY

(Henry) Jordan & Son (1891-1910)--Franklin
1895--Signed monument in Mt. Union Church Cemetery, Allen County.
1896--Kentucky State Gazetteer.

WARREN COUNTY

Bowling Green Marble Works--J. L. Stout, proprietor (1874-76)
1874-75--Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times.
1876--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1876--Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.

(Hugh) Smith & Broeg (1876, 1881)--Bowling Green
1876--Gardner & Gaines' Business Directory.
1876--Kentucky State Gazetteer.
1876, 1881--Signed monuments in Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green.

Henry Jordan (1888-91)--Bowling Green, Richpond
1888-91--Franklin Favorite clipping in Travelstead Scrapbook. Beach and Snider, Reflections, 236.

E. C. Brown & Company (1892-94)--Bowling Green
1892--Advertisement, Franklin Favorite.
1893--Advertisements, Glasgow Weekly Times.
Mike S. F (1894)—Bowling Green
1894—Advertisement, Glasgow Weekly Times, 1894.

Edward Smallhouse (1899-1910)
1899—Advertisement, Bowling Green News.
1902—Advertisement, Warren County Courier.
1905-06—Bowling Green City Directory (Marion, Indiana, 1905).
1907—Article, Bowling Green Times-Journal and Warren County Courier, December 19, 1907.
1910—Advertisement, Bowling Green Messenger.

T. W. Sweeney (1903)—Bowling Green

A. P. Durham & Company (1905-06)—Bowling Green
1905-06—Bowling Green City Directory.