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Death, Death, I Know Thee Now!' Mourning Jewelry in England and New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century

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‘Death, Death, I Know Thee Now!’ Mourning Jewelry in England and New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century

A Thesis

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by
Joanna Tabony

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Abstract

Descriptions of mourning adornments in England and New Orleans in the nineteenth century are used to argue that many of the customs of mourning in England – the designs, themes, and materials – also were present in New Orleans. This study draws from these observations and sources to suggest that mourning practices involving jewelry and costume became more functional and less formal in both England and New Orleans as the century progressed, while French customs retained and even grew in complexity. The high level of trade between Britain and New Orleans during the nineteenth century, reflected in the jewelry and costume of Louisiana, supports an argument that this new world city was influenced by, absorbed and incorporated social customs and activities that were useful to them, drawn from a wider range of cultures and peoples than perhaps are usually mentioned in historical accounts.
He rests--but not the rest of sleep
Weighs down his sunken eyes,
The rigid slumber is too deep,
The calm too breathless lives;
Shrunk are the wandering veins that streak
The fixed and marble brow,
There is no live-flush on the cheek--
Death! Death! I know thee now.1

Introduction

In twenty-first century western culture, there are no longer the external mourning rituals for the bereaved, often making them impossible to identify. As a culture, we have become a death-denying society.2 In the modern era grief or the act of mourning has become an illness, something that needs to be cured. Mourning has moved from a natural process in response to a loss to pathology in need of professional medical assistance.3 However, in nineteenth century Europe and America, a large portion of society remembered the dead through identifiable clothing and jewelry. The etiquette of the wearing of these symbols of mourning was closely regulated through social pressure and, in England, even legislation.

Nineteenth century Louisiana was a permeable society formed from the mixture of several different cultures. Mourning practices, like most customs in Louisiana in the nineteenth century, were a complex mixture of rituals drawn from the Catholic Church and French society. The enslaved population of Louisiana added its own traditions of death brought over from Africa and

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1 “The Early Dead,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, August 1832, 90.


3 If one searches for “mourning” on Google Scholar one is inundated with medical articles and books from the medical field.
the Caribbean. However, it is a mistake to limit one’s gaze to only this pre-conceived “lens” when examining Louisiana society. Blended into the French and African cultural practices were those of the American, Irish, German, and Jewish immigrants. These cultural influences governed everything from costumes and manners to housekeeping standards in the permeable nineteenth century Louisiana society.

In nineteenth century Britain, mourning practices were led less by the church and more by government or royal decree and middle class morals. Mourning practices for “important” persons were determined by government agents and set the national public standard. The standard for public mourning was extended and expanded by the middle class into the private sphere dictating every aspect of daily life in England.

This paper argues that a study of mourning practices can be useful in revealing the cultural history of places and people. Since death and mourning are human activities participated in by all cultures, a study of social practices surrounding these activities makes a useful point of comparison between places and people. This paper will use descriptions and observations of mourning clothing and adornments in England and New Orleans in the nineteenth century, particularly from examples housed in the collections of the Louisiana State Museum and the Fashion Museum in Bath, to suggest that many of the customs of mourning in England – the designs, themes, and materials – also were present in New Orleans, a city characterized as

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4 The beginning of the nineteenth century saw many royal funerals, Princess Charlotte, Kings George III and IV, and King William to name a few, with almost daily instructions, accounts, and descriptions displayed in newspapers throughout the whole of the United Kingdom for each.
America’s “death capital” during that period. This study will also draw from these observations and sources to suggest that mourning practices involving jewelry and costume became more functional and less formal in both England and New Orleans as the century progressed, while French customs retained and even grew in complexity.

In addition, tracing the history of funereal decorative arts in New Orleans points out that although this port city was initially a French and then Spanish colonial city, the high level of trade between Britain and New Orleans during the nineteenth century, reflected in the jewelry and costume of Louisiana, supports an argument that this new world city was influenced by, absorbed and incorporated social customs and activities that were useful to them, drawn from a wider range of cultures and peoples than perhaps are usually mentioned in historical accounts. In France, an alternative fashion movement, emerging from the Paris Exposition, encouraged not a simpler but more complex fashion. An example of the lavish designs popular in France in the mid-nineteenth century can be examined in the neo-baroque style of la Palais du Garnier d’Opéra du Paris. The French opulence is in complete contrast to the model of Britain and New Orleans.

Particular attention will be paid in this paper to mourning jewelry. This lost art played an important part in the private and public culture of mourning in nineteenth century New Orleans and England. It held both a sentimental as well as practical place in the everyday lives of men, women, and children. In a time period of extremely high death rates, mourning jewelry was an outlet for grief that has been lost to both contemporary American and European culture.

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5 In the nineteenth century, New Orleans had the highest mortality of any city in America earning it the image of the “death capital.”
Louisiana Mourning

Catholicism reigned supreme in Louisiana throughout the Nineteenth Century.6 “According to Latin Catholic tradition, the living remember the dead on All Saints’ Day (November 1st) and All Souls’ Day (November 2nd). Loved ones cleaned burial sites, adorned them with flowers and ornaments, and held feasts.”7 In preparation, the family tombs were often whitewashed.8

Every year, on All Saints Day, the Roman-Catholics of Louisiana filed into the “cities of the dead” to attend the tombs of their family and friends.9 According to Huber, loved ones placed wreath constructed of wire and black beads called immortelles on the tombs.10 These wreaths could also be made of metal and shaped into flowers. Immortelles continue to endure into the twenty-first century as beautiful pieces of art as well as their time-honored function as decoration.

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6 The Creole allegiance to the Catholic Church was left over from the French Colonial rule of Louisiana. The Code Noir, the set of laws governing the Louisiana Colony, stated everyone must be Catholic.


8 To whitewash the tombs they must first be thoroughly cleaned and the old, loose paint must be scrapped off of the plaster outer walls. Then a fresh coat of white paint could be applied to maintain the beautiful tombs. This was necessary every year due to the humidity in New Orleans and the mold and mildew that would grow on the plaster walls.

9 “Cities of the Dead” refer to the large cemeteries of above ground tombs prevalent in New Orleans. The tombs were constructed in marble, brick, and stucco. This style of cemetery became necessary due to the frequent floods that caused the dead to rise from their graves as the ground water rose in a city already below sea level.

for family tombs. After the celebrations of All Saints’ and All Souls’ Day the immortelles would be removed from the graves and carefully stored for the next year’s festivities.\(^{11}\)

In 1834, John H. B. Latrobe, a traveler to New Orleans, describes in his journal what he saw on a visit to one of the city’s cemeteries.

We went to the Catholic burying ground [St. Louis Cemetery I]. The tombs here are peculiar in place. No grave could be dug of the usual depth without coming to water, and to obviate this difficulty in the sepulture of the dead, the coffin is laid upon the surface of the ground, and a strong structure of brick is built around it. This is then plastered and white washed. In some there are several bodies, and in others only one. On one side of the Yard there is a range of Catacombs, like the cells in a honey comb [sic], in which the coffin is placed, and the mouth closed with the stone containing the inscription. I was informed that these cells were purchased for various lengths of time—Varying from one to ten years, and some were owed in perpetuity. When the lease expired, the tenant was removed, when the feelings of his relatives could not be shocked by the idea of his being inundated instead of buried as Col. Hamilton says all the people here are, and the premises were then ready for a new comer. One of the cells was open this evening.\(^{12}\)

The funeral customs of African Americans in New Orleans have been studied intensely and their influence on mourning traditions in Louisiana has been profound. Funerals with music have been part of African American funeral customs from the city’s earliest days and the practice of deep mourning on the way to the grave and joyous singing and dancing on the way back have influenced burial practices of New Orleans of all ethnicities. “African-American influences on Louisiana mourning traditions included the celebration of funerals with dancing, music, and

\(^{11}\) Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation, Interviewed by Joanna Tabony, Vacherie, LA. March 9, 2010.

singing.”13 As early as 1819, architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe witnessed a funeral of an African-American in New Orleans in which the mourners displayed their grief with “loud Lamentations” before the burial followed by “noise and laughter” afterwards.14 An old Creole proverb brought to New Orleans from Trinidad said, “dents pas ka pôté dëï,” translating to “teeth do not wear mourning” or smile through tears.15

As stated in a Louisiana State Museum exhibit on death in Louisiana “antebellum Louisianans mourned the dead by staging elaborate funerals and processions, decorating graves at the time of death and on certain religious holidays, placing black wreaths on doors and black ribbons on door pulls, and wearing clothes and jewelry that symbolized the stages of mourning.”16

Rules of etiquette associated with mourning were generally required of the Creoles.17 After the death of a family member and for anyone with whom one resided, convention called for a six-month period of “full mourning.” During this time, according to Huber,

...it was improper to wear jewelry or clothes with white or colors. A widow sometimes wore a small flat bonnet, a calotte, with a long black veil, but it was also customary to wear ordinary black hats covered with a

13 Louisiana State Museum, “Disease, Death, and Mourning.”


16 Louisiana State Museum, “Disease, Death, and Mourning.”

17 The meaning of the term Creoles has changed much over time and place however, in this instances Creoles refer to the society of descendants of the French, Spanish, and Caribbean immigrants of Louisiana.
black veil, edged with black crepe.\textsuperscript{18} The men simply wore a black cravat and a black band on their hats, or sometimes a black band on the left arm. When the full mourning was over, a widow was allowed to wear black edge with white collars and cuffs for another six months.\textsuperscript{19}

The fabric and color of garments, and the activities of the mourners were strictly regulated by mourning rituals and were gradually lightened as the mourning progressed. Mourning garments were made of calico, linen, crepe, or silk.\textsuperscript{20} After the first year of mourning one could begin to incorporate some color into one’s wardrobe, like muted purples and grays.\textsuperscript{21} Some jewelry beyond the mourning variety could be added as well. A woman could now begin to re-enter society, dances and remarriage would still be forbidden by society until the first year and a half of mourning was completed.\textsuperscript{22} This convention applied to men as well as women. There were however, exceptions to the rule in the case of both men and women (more often for men) usually due to children in need of two parents.\textsuperscript{23} Historian Drew Gilpin Faust in \textit{This Republic of Suffering}, points out that for the majority of the United States in this period the rules governing mourning generally held harsher restrictions for women than men.

By convention, a mother mourned for a child for a year, a child for a parent the same time, a sister six months for a brother. A widow mourned for two and a half years, moving through prescribed stages and accoutrements of heavy, full, and half mourning, with gradually

\textsuperscript{18} A calotte is a small, brimless, French styled closely fitted cap.

\textsuperscript{19} Huber, \textit{Creole Collage}, 72-73.

\textsuperscript{20} Calico in this period referred to a type of plain-woven cotton fabric.

\textsuperscript{21} Destrehan Employee Information Book, Destrehan Plantation, Destrehan, LA.

\textsuperscript{22} Destrehan Employee Information Book.

\textsuperscript{23} Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation.
loosening requirements of dress and deportment. A widower, by contrast, was expected to mourn only for three months, simply by displaying black crepe on his hat or armband. The work of mourning was largely allocated to women.24

Alongside family members, servants and slaves, both household and field laborers, also participated in mourning for their masters.25 However, the poor women and children of Southern Louisiana, who could not afford the black clothes for mourning that the more affluent flaunted, would utilize a black band around the hat or arm that men of all classes wore.

Failure to follow the prescribed rules of mourning caused comment and criticism in the community, as J. Roger Boudier, Sr. recalled in his weekly column in New Orleans.26

Folks sitting on front galleries and front steps one summer had a choice bit to bavarder (gossip) about when Mme Fordée was seen at St. Augustine’s, with a gold brooch on her black waist, a white lace collar, and diamond rings, just five months after poor Aristide Fordée, her husband, had died. But worse still, someone volunteered the terrible news that she had been watching the Mardi Gras maskers from behind her blinds. Grand-mère shook her head sadly and said that “death didn’t count any more. People had lost all feeling; in her day people didn’t go into even demi-deuil before nine months at least.”27


25 Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation.

26 J. Roger Boudier, Sr. was a the author of “Historic Old N’Orleans—Pen Point Sketches,” a humorous look back on his childhood, in the Catholic Action of the South, a New Orleans newspaper.

27 Huber, Creole Collage, 73. Grand-mère is a commonly used French term referring to grandmother. Demi-deuil is a French term for the second phase of mourning, what the British would have called half mourning.
Superstition played a large role in Southeast Louisiana’s mourning practices for both Creoles and Americans in the nineteenth century. The dead in Louisiana traditionally were removed from their home feet first. This practice stemmed from two beliefs held by the locals. One, that if the dead were to look at their home as they were removed from it, their spirit would be unwilling to leave the earthly plane and might remain in the home causing discomfort to the surviving family members. The second reason for the practice lay in the belief that a corpse looking back at its former home would beckon to the other living spirits of family or friends in the area to follow it to the next world, thus causing more deaths within the family circle.\(^\text{28}\) Convention called for clocks to be stopped at the hour of death and not to be restarted until after the burial of the deceased.\(^\text{29}\) At a death in a Creole family all mirrors in the house were covered until after the burial. Spirits were believed to be seen in the reflective surface and were thought to entice the living to join them in eternity.\(^\text{30}\)

**British Mourning**

Unlike the nineteenth century New Orleans Creoles, the British held far fewer superstitions regarding death. However, the British did maintain an elaborate and sometimes rigid set of rules regarding behavior, clothing, and housekeeping. In nineteenth century Britain, death and mourning was such a constant theme, one would be hard pressed to find a popular novel that did not include it in its text. Many of the rules of behavior during mourning are described in Elizabeth Gaskell’s novels. Gaskell used her novels as social commentary in an effort to have

\(^{28}\) Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation.

\(^{29}\) Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation.

\(^{30}\) Oral interview with the staff of St. Joseph Plantation.
British society look inward and examine its behavior. In *Ruth*, an old family servant scolds a young woman in the house who was not fulfilling the role of a widow. “Widows wears these sort o’ caps, and has their hair cut off; and whether widows wear wedding-rings or not, they shall have their hair cut off – they shall. I’ll have no have work done in this house.”\(^3\) The British took the etiquette of mourning very seriously. Whether or not a woman should attend the funeral of her father was a subject of grave importance. An image of this conundrum is described in Gaskell’s *Cranford*, set in a small English countryside village made-up almost entirely of widows and “old maids.”\(^2\) A middle-class woman was not to attend such a sight as a funeral; however as, the only survivor of a small family. Jessie Brown demands this rite causing some slight scandal.\(^3\)

Like nineteenth century New Orleans, Britain also had a strict three-staged mourning. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the first stage of mourning lasted for one year plus one day. The two following stages were for consecutively shorter periods, nine months and three months.\(^4\) In nineteenth century Britain, black was not the only color worn during periods of mourning.\(^5\) Under certain circumstances, the colors gray, purple, red, and white were often

\(^{31}\) Elizabeth Gaskell, *Ruth*, (1853; repr., London: Penguin Books, 2004), 121. The cap refers to a small cap in the style of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, made of crepe with a small point at the middle of the forehead and flowing long down the back of the widow.

\(^{32}\) Old maids were unmarried women of an age beyond the usual for marriage, the late twenties or early thirties.


\(^{35}\) It is important to state that not all black clothing and jewelry were specifically designed for mourning in the nineteenth century. Black had become a fashionable color both in and out of mourning.
In the nineteenth century, court mourning in Britain dictated everyday family mourning customs. By the 1880s, the mourning rituals of Britain had become so formal and outrageous that an association lead by high ranking officials of the Church of England stepped up to attempt to curb public spending on mourning and to simplify mourning practices. As the twentieth century dawned, these practices would recede in both places. But for a century, mourning and the fashion surrounding it were a large part of public life in both Britain and New Orleans.

**Definitions & History**

The term *mourning jewelry* refers to a specific styles of adornment considered proper for periods of mourning in western society. According to Cunnington and Lucas in *Costume for Births, Marriages & Deaths* “mourning jewellery [sic] consisted of rings, brooches, lockets, pins, necklaces and ear-rings. The rings were the most important, and were often designed before death and left to friends and relations in the will of the deceased. They were usually decorated with symbolic figures and surrounded by an appropriate inscription.” The practice of wearing jewelry specific to mourning began in Europe centuries earlier and continued into the twentieth century, but in New Orleans and Britain, mourning jewelry reached the height of its popularity in the nineteenth century.

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There is little written contemporary analysis of nineteenth century mourning jewelry in New Orleans, although their design and rules on their wearing were complex and an integral part of city life in a city full of “cities of the dead.” An investigation is dependent upon an analysis of the objects left by nineteenth century New Orleanians, of which there are many. Therefore, a survey of the historiography of nineteenth century mourning is here drawn largely from English sources. This collection of commentary points out that fashion has been the route most often utilized by historians to explore mourning. This strategy is seen in Alison Adburgham’s *Shops and Shopping 1800-1914* and *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* by Lou Taylor. Another emphasis is that of the social customs within the Victorian home, as examined in *Death in the Victorian Family* by Pat Jalland and Judith Flanders’s *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England*. Some historians have concentrated on collectors of antique jewelry, like John Benjamin’s *Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery* and Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe’s *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria: a Mirror to the World*. Each of these emphases allows a distinctive look into the closed world of nineteenth century private and public mourning practices.

Adburgham uses the inventories and advertisements of the shops alongside the personal accounts of the shoppers to examine and explain the commercial trends of the nineteenth century. How do these trends change and which ones remain constant are themes within *Shops and Shopping 1800-1914*. Taylor does not limit her study to the nineteenth century but spans the majority of European history. Taylor’s exploration does not stop at the commercial side of mourning but explains the fashion choices of the nineteenth century and the effect of those choices on society and, in turn, how society affected the choices made by individuals.
Jalland uses the private stories of fifty-five Victorian families to paint a complete picture of mourning in the nineteenth century. By examining the full processes of death and mourning, Jalland gives a seldom seen glimpse into the Victorian mindset of private and public grief. Unlike Jalland, Flanders broadens her scope to include all of the middleclass Victorian household. Flanders also uses a variety of personal correspondences to tell her tale but unlike Jalland, Flanders includes contemporary published works like magazines and the Victorian favorite, advice books.

Another source to uncover the mourning practices of the nineteenth century is the jewelry collector’s works. In Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery, Benjamin examines jewelry from ancient times to the early twentieth century. Benjamin also looks at a wide variety of material used in creating the multitude of pieces discussed in his book. Gere and Rudoe, however, chose to limit their scope to the Victorian period. Both books look at a wide variety of pieces from different social classes.

Each of these sources takes only an indirect approach to the topic of mourning jewelry in the nineteenth century. The economics of fashion and the social customs of Victorian society have been extensively examined by historians, while the collectors have sought to understand all forms of jewelry as a whole. These methods nonetheless do not portray the important role mourning jewelry played in society of the nineteenth century.

However, due to the English focus of all of these sources, the New Orleans point of view is harder to locate. In this work, the English examples will be used in correlation with the physical evidence and folklore of Southern Louisiana to complete the picture of mourning in the New Orleans area in the nineteenth century.
Jewelry

Mourning jewelry of nineteenth century Louisiana and Britain is generally found in four different forms: hair; lockets and miniatures – jewelry made in memory of the deceased, usually displaying a lock of hair and/or image of the dearly departed; commemorative pieces – mementos distributed by the deceased's family to fellow mourners; and everyday jewelry worn during mourning. All four types of mourning jewelry were made into a variety of items. Rings and brooches were the most common form for the memento jewelry and were also worn as memorial jewelry alongside necklaces, bracelets, earrings, cufflinks, and tiepins. In an advertisement in The Daily Picayune, May 22, 1864, the jewelry store Lion & Andree, located at the corner of Royal and Bienville streets in New Orleans, offers a variety of these types of mourning jewelry for sale, “Bracelets, Ear Rings, Brooches, Belt Buckles, Necklaces, Sleeve Buttons, Watch chains, etc., etc.”

Images/Themes

A wide variety of symbols were utilized in the mementoes and memorial pieces. Flowers became a popular theme; forget-me-nots for their connection with “remembrance” and lilies-of-the-valley for their representation of “return for happiness (to be reunited in death with loved ones.)” The image of the forget-me-not can clearly be seen on a brooch in the collection of the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans. The brooch is simple in design with a gold casing embellished with a delicate gold braid encircling the brooch’s main feature, the single beige


forget-me-not backed by plain white enamel. The reverse of the brooch displays a plain, tight weave of the dark brown hair of the lost loved one. This brooch is an example of the simple design of jewelry worn during periods of mourning.41

As Benjamin described some of the features and images in this era of mourning jewelry:

…sorrowful rather than savage, these lockets contained little pictures under glass painted to depict distraught ladies prostrate by a plinth with the funerary urn and bearing the message ‘Not Lost But Gone Before’ or ‘Asleep With Jesus.’ A weeping willow tree picked out in hair would form the background and the miniature might be decorated with tiny seed glass pearls suggesting tears. Superior examples were bordered by enamel, sometimes with diamond highlights, whilst fine quality rings contained a classical urn studded with numerous diamonds on a bed of hair.42

Everyday mourning jewelry did not usually display the afore-mentioned images but rather a quiet dignity. In contrast to the bright gold and large stone jewelry in fashion in New Orleans during this period, this style of jewelry was simple, sedate with smaller ornaments in jet and onyx, and dull metals worn rather than the shiny.43

In earlier times, around the seventeenth century, skulls or skeletons had been popular images in mourning jewelry in Europe. Alongside those images might be displayed a coffin, hourglass and/or burial shovel. These rather macabre reminders of death could be interpreted as revealing a


42 John Benjamin, Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery, (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2003), 73.

43 Gere and Rudoe, Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria, 125.
level of comfort with mortality, perhaps due to the high death rates of the period.\footnote{44} By the end of the eighteenth century, mourning jewelry in England began to take on the more romantic look that would become popular in the early nineteenth century in New Orleans. \footnote{45}

Another popular design for mourning jewelry was an urn.\footnote{46} An intricate example of this image in mourning jewelry, or hair jewelry, belonged to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, one of Louisiana’s Spanish colonial governors. A brooch made from Gayoso’s deceased second wife’s hair, Elizabeth Watts, painted in the image of a man leaning on to a tomb, looking at an urn atop the tomb displaying the date of his wife’s death, 1792. A weeping willow is featured on the brooch sheltering the man and the tomb. Surrounding this scene is a lock of the deceased hair, braided then wrapped by a second section of hair. The reverse of this brooch contains a second image, almost entirely erased by time. A man standing on a shore waving to something unknown is all that remains of the original image. This piece displays some common symbols of mourning jewelry, the weeping willow drooping over the head of the man grieving by the tomb of his loved one and an urn displaying the date of the dearly departed’s death.\footnote{47}

Materials

\footnote{44}{Benjamin, \textit{Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery}, 72-73.}
\footnote{45}{Benjamin, \textit{Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery}, 73.}
\footnote{46}{Louisiana State Museum, “Disease, Death, and Mourning.”}
\footnote{47}{Brooch, 8321A.06, circa 1890s, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. The picture on this brooch was constructed by affixing individual strands of hair onto a plain background. This was a very labor-intensive process. See Appendix B for images of this brooch.}
Onyx, jet, enamel, glass, diamonds, pearls, and hair were among the most widely used materials for constructing mourning jewelry in both England and New Orleans in the nineteenth century.\(^{48}\) By the mid-nineteenth century another material widely used in production of inexpensive mourning jewelry in this period was called gutta-percha or vulcanite. Gutta-percha was a mixture of sulfur and rubber processed into a cheap, hard, black material used in place of jet.\(^{49}\)

In mid-nineteenth century England, jet, constructed from the fossilized remains of the prehistoric monkey-puzzle tree, had become the most common material for mourning jewelry, its popularity spurred by its use by Queen Victoria during her mourning. Most of this type of jewelry was produced in the town of Whitby, North Yorkshire.\(^ {50}\) Although jet could be heavy and bulky, Muller argues that the renewed popularity of the larger, heavier fashions of the mid-nineteenth century made the bulky jet jewelry an ideal accessory to the large crinoline dresses.\(^ {51}\) Jet could be polished and shaped into almost any design; however for mourning, jet was usually left unpolished.\(^ {52}\)

**The Four Types of Mourning Jewelry**

1. Hair Jewelry

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\(^{48}\) Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 119-127.

\(^{49}\) Benjamin, *Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery*, 38; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 207.


\(^{52}\) May, *The Victorian Undertaker*, 21.
An unusual but popular type of jewelry made in memory of the deceased was created by using the hair of the deceased, called “hair jewelry.” Specialist jewelers made many of these pieces; however by the middle of the nineteenth century *Godey’s Lady’s Book* was giving detailed instructions to its readers on how to construct the hair jewelry at home.\(^5\) The hair was shaped into a wide range of objects such as rings, brooches, pendants, bracelets, wreaths and family trees.\(^5\) “Hair wreaths,” wreaths constructed of locks of hair from several family members, were usually made by the elderly, unmarried females, who would use the wreath to tell the story of the family, using the wreath as a prop in passing down oral traditions to family members.

An example of a hair wreath is on display at the Destrehan Plantation House Museum in Louisiana. Constructed entirely of hair, the base was woven tightly into a circular pattern with woven leaves and flowers extending from the base. Each section of the wreath was created from locks of hair of deceased family members, so that each flower, leaf, or section relates the genealogy of the family.\(^5\)

A poem describing the memorialization of a lock of hair was published in an 1837 issue of *The Picayune*, a New Orleans newspaper.


\(^5\) Louisiana State Museum, “Disease, Death, and Mourning;” Destrehan Employee Information Book, Destrehan Plantation Collection, Destrehan, LA. Hair wreaths would be added to following the death of each individual in the immediate family, usually by elderly, unmarried females, these would in turn tell the story of the family as a prop to oral traditions. Family trees were sometimes made of the hair of the deceased.

\(^5\) Destrehan Employee Information Book.
To a Lock of Hair.

Bright, dark and glossy lock,
Wilt thou (memento) through life’s troubled sea,
Oh! wilt thou thus forever be to me,
Heedless of years, so beautiful and free,
From time’s rude shock?

Yes, for no angry breath
Shall visit thee within my little cell:
No, nor a threatening cloud where thou dost dwell,
Shall come, in fatal whispering to tell
Of grief or death.

Rest in thy case, no mock
Or playful jeer shall bid thee to depart
From out the gold-bound dwelling where thou art;
Or e’er erase thy memory from my heart
Locket and lock.

Gentle and young the hand,
That from the mass did thee, dear relic, sever;
Bright was the head to which thou art lost forever,
But time will scathe its locks, while thou wilt never
Know his dread hand.

Years will go wandering by,
And in another land perchance that tone,
That made a gentle answering to my own,
Will to another’s ear be fondly known,
‘Neath their own sky.

Then will I turn to thee,
And, as I took thee in my early days,
Still beautiful and bright, thou’lt meet my gaze,
Then shall I say that Heaven’s mysterious ways
Are wrong to me?

No, let me ever wear
This treasured relic in a sister’s breast,
Close to a sister’s heart be fondly pressed;
A sister’s tenderness can cherish best,
Her brother’s hair.\footnote{56}{"To a Lock of Hair," Picayune (New Orleans), January 26, 1837.}
In this poem, a sister is lamenting the untimely death of her brother. She will miss him in her life but forever carry him with her, through a lock of his hair, cut from his corpse and made into a piece of mourning jewelry to wear around her neck.

The hair of the deceased could be worked in many ways; braided or woven, painted, or palette to create different types of items.\(^57\) The braided or woven pieces of hair jewelry are by far the most common type. The Louisiana State Museum holds a good example of this type. This brooch is a sample of turn-of-the-nineteenth century New Orleans mourning hair jewelry and formally belonged to the Gayoso family. It is an oval gold double-sided and reversible brooch which rotates on two small spindles attached to two gold cords wrapped around one another. Within the glass casing of the body of the brooch contains hair from the former Louisiana Governor himself. One side of the brooch displays a tight weave of brown hair with two locks of light brown hair wrap around the top and bottom of the encased hair leaving an impression of a eye. The reverse shows the same tight weave in brown hair as the other side, however, without the light brown hair on top.\(^58\)

To use the hair as paint, the hair would be finely ground into a pigment base for the paint. For palette work, the hair would be carefully laid out together and glued to a thin, tissue-like base creating the desired design. An example of this style of construction is seen in the earlier mentioned Gayoso brooch containing the hair of Elizabeth Watt Gayoso.


\(^{58}\) Brooch, 8660.44, circa 1800, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix C for images of this brooch.
As previously stated, the working of hair into the different objects originally was a task of the professional. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, women of England and France were performing the art in their homes. Everything needed for the task could be found within most households: some bobbins and thread, a frame, and some wires, tubes, or pencils for molds. Sections of clean hair could then be woven or braided into a pattern and boiled to maintain its new shape. To complete the new trinket, a jeweler would mount it.\(^5\)^59 In its study collection, The Fashion Museum in Bath holds a child-sized bracelet made of woven hair. The bracelet is two inches by one and one fourth inch by a half inch. A gold cylinder clasp holds the weave in its oval shape. The weave of the piece is airy, yet sturdy and strong, with a little bit of give, which allows ease in removing.\(^6\)^60 A slightly earlier example of the same style of construction from Louisiana is held in the collection at the Louisiana State Museum and is a brooch of loosely woven blonde hair in the shape of a bow. The bow is fastened in the center with a small gold clasp. The clasp is engraved on the front with the initials *MGI* and on the reverse is displayed “WHI Died Mar 10 1863 Age 39.”\(^6\)^61

2. Lockets and Miniatures

A second type of jewelry made in memory of the deceased includes lockets and miniatures. Like the hair jewelry, lockets often contained small amounts of the deceased hair.\(^7\)^62 However, in


\(^7\)^Brooch, 4448/5354, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix E for images of this brooch.

\(^62\)^Benjamin, *Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery* 74-75.
the case of the lockets the hair was not usually manipulated into designs but was simply bound in ribbon or left loose within the locket’s closed compartment. An example of the loose-hair style can be seen in a piece held in the jewelry collection of the Louisiana State Museum. This example is a small faux lady’s watch, which would have hung from a chain, now missing. The watch face is painted onto the front of the locket. The inside of the locket contains a tangle of blonde hair. On the reverse of the locket, the image of the forget-me-not is engraved.63

Not all lockets from the nineteenth century contained hair. An example from the middle of the nineteenth century is also held by the Louisiana State Museum. The locket is made from gutta-percha and has a smooth oval outside. On the inside of the front piece is carved the image of the forget-me-not. Facing the flower is a small tintype of a deceased infant. The once black gutta-percha has faded to a dark brown finish, a common occurrence with this type of material.64

A common type of this style of mourning jewelry is the miniature. Miniatures could be made using photography or paint. The Louisiana State Museum holds an example of a painted miniature of Jean Michel Fortier in its collection. The gold, oval brooch or pendant (it could be worn as either) is double sided. The front of the brooch displays a portrait of Fortier as a young man, dressed as a gentleman of the early nineteenth century. The reverse in a small glass covered oval is a large weave of brown hair.65

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63 Locket, 4454, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix F for images of this locket.

64 Locket, 1970.21.5 circa 1860s, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix G for images of this locket. A tintype is the result of a style of photography popular in the mid-nineteenth century.

65 Miniature, 2002.087, circa 1830s, Visual Arts Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix H for images of this miniature.
3. Commemorative Pieces

The third common type of mourning jewelry found in both Britain and New Orleans took the form of commemorative pieces, usually purchased by the wealthy to commemorate the death of important personages, such as for Britain’s royal couple, Prince Albert and Queen Victoria.\(^{66}\) In the commemorative brooch produced in 1901 marking the death of Queen Victoria, she is pictured in the widow’s weeds that she wore for forty years after the death of her husband, Prince Albert. Victoria is dressed in a simple black dress and a small crown sits on top of her widow’s cap. The portrait is framed in gold-plate and a small black crepe bow adorns the top of the brooch. Queen Victoria remains the iconic modern image of a Victorian widow.\(^{67}\)

Although the mass-produced commemorative piece like the Queen Victoria brooch is the more common type, there were also smaller pieces made by individuals for important mourners and given out at the funeral. An example of this type of commemorative mourning jewelry is in the form of a small gold ring made in honor of John Trim of New Orleans held at the Williams Research Center, part of the Historic New Orleans Collection. The gold ring has a band of black enamel with “John Trim Died 22 May 1808 Aged 65” written in gold on top.\(^{68}\) Jalland states that

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\(^{66}\) Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria*, 56-57.

\(^{67}\) Brooch, BATMC VI,12,6158, 1901, Fashion Museum, Bath, England. See Appendix I for a digital image of a Commemorative brooch marking the death of Queen Victoria. She is pictured in her widow’s weeds that she maintained throughout the final forty years of her reign.

\(^{68}\) Mourning Ring: John Trim, 1993.76.36, 1808, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, LA.
commemorative pieces continued to be worn throughout the mourning period and even beyond the formal period of mourning.\textsuperscript{69}

4. Everyday Jewelry Worn During Mourning

In the nineteenth century, in England and New Orleans, another common type of mourning jewelry consisted of a simpler design than the shiny and larger pieces of jewelry worn outside of mourning. The Louisiana State Museum houses two examples of this style of mourning jewelry. The first is a very simple elongated oval brooch of jet with a single pearl in the center from the mid-nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{70} The second, from the end of the nineteenth century, is slightly more ornate and was to be worn toward the latter part of formal mourning. The brooch is a perfect circle of alternating gold and black enamel. The four sections of gold hold eight small pearls, two per section, and the four sections of black enamel displays three, four, three, and four tiny seed pearls.\textsuperscript{71}

Mourning for Men

In the nineteenth century, the wearing of mourning jewelry was not limited to women. Men showed their mourning by wearing such subdued items as “black jewelled [sic] shirt and


\textsuperscript{70} Brooch, I.1990.1035, circa 1850s, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix J for an image of this brooch.

\textsuperscript{71} Brooch, 1987.60.8, circa 1890s, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix K for an image of this brooch.
waistcoat studs.” However, Taylor states that in England during the first period of court mourning, or mourning regal or important figures, men should not be adorned with even buttons for their shirt pockets or sleeves, though black scabbard and buckles were allowed. "The duration of Court and national mourning varied according to the nearness of the deceased to the Sovereign, both in the geographical sense and in the sense of relationship." According to Cunnington and Lucas, men typically would have had a much easier time during periods of mourning due to the fact that in daily life they did not normally use many of the normal accessories that women utilized in daily life, like fans and parasols, all of which would have had to be subdued or altered for mourning. A tiepin, however, was a common article of male jewelry in the nineteenth century. As the fans and parasols had to be modified for use for mourning for women in the nineteenth century tiepins also had to be altered for men. In a private collection there is a rare circa 1830s British gentleman’s 9 ct. gold mourning tiepin. The head of the tiepin is shaped into a small shield, displaying a forget-me-not in small diamonds on black enamel. The back of the pin’s head contains a tiny, glass-covered compartment of a tangle of brown hair.

72 Gere and Rudoe, Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria, 137.

73 Taylor, Mourning Dress, 127-128. Court mourning refers to standardized mourning practices issued by the government in response to the death of a high-ranking individual.


75 Cunnington and Lucas, Costume for Births, Marriages & Deaths, 252.

76 Tiepin, circa 1835, Private Collection of Joanna Tabony, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix L for images of this tiepin.
Shift to Simplicity

Although sentimental images were popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Louisiana and Britain, by the mid-nineteenth century, both Britain and New Orleans had seen a shift toward a simpler style, such as “pretty plumes of hair tied with gold wire in borders of half pearls and frames of rococo gold.” A brooch held in the collection of the Fashion Museum in Bath is an example of this type of simpler design. The brooch is double sided and can be flipped to display either side. On one side, six sections of a golden-brown hair are gathered at their base by three half pearls and two fine strands of gold wire. A third strand of the gold wire is coiled and draped upward from the other two. From the pearls, six sections of hair are fanned into a bouquet of plumes and laid upon white enamel backing. A woven chain of gold wire frames the entire design. The opposite side displays a single section of light brown hair twisted and coiled, laid upon a tightly woven bed of dark brown hair. Like the other side of the brooch a chain of tightly woven gold wire frames the design. The brooch is attached to a heavy, gold-plated frame by two screws, allowing it to rotate to show either view. The three different types of hair and the three pearls imply that the individual who wore this brooch was in mourning for three people.

The Louisiana State Museum holds in its collection an even simpler design of a similar nature: a circa 1890s, double-sided oval brooch with a tarnished gold-plate casing. The front of the brooch displays a brown haired medium weave with blonde and brown hair looped and loosely braided on top and a medium weave of brown hair on reverse. Both sections of hair are

77 Benjamin, *Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery*, 74.

encased in glass. Two-sided cameo lockets and brooches with the lock of hair displayed on the opposite side were also a popular design for mourning.

In the late nineteenth century, both in England and New Orleans, mourning jewelry began to evolve to include a practicality regarding dress. For instance, spherical covers were designed that could snap over flashy, bright stones, transforming them into black enamel for those in mourning. This design allowed individuals to save on the already expensive experience of burying a loved one. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Benjamin Henry Latrobe wrote in his journal detailing a funeral in New Orleans costing over 1000 dollars. In Britain, throughout the nineteenth century mourning had become big business. So-called mourning warehouse were located in every large city to cater to the need of the masses. On January 13, 1899 The Scotsman even ran an advertisement promising “mourning orders in a few hours’ notice” by M’intyre & Company. The extravagance of funerals had become such a problem toward the end of the nineteenth century that a few prominent members of the Church of England formed a politically minded club to battle what they considered the outrageous

79 Brooch, 1987.60.9, circa. 1890, Mourning Jewelry Collection, The Costume and Textile Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA. See Appendix N for images of this brooch.

80 Cunnington and Lucas, Costume for Births, Marriages & Deaths, 255.

81 Gere and Rudoe, Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria, 221; Martha Gandy Fales, Jewelry in America: 1600-1900, (Suffolk: Antique Collector’s Club, 1995), 312-313.

82 Latrobe, The Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Vol. III, 336-337. The funeral described was in honor of a member of the upper class of New Orleans and paid for by Nicholas Girod, a wealthy merchant and former mayor of the city of New Orleans.

83 Mourning warehouses were similar to the department stores of today, one stop shopping for all of your mourning needs.

84 Advertisement, Scotsman (Edinburgh), January 13, 1899.
standards society had placed upon itself. In 1883, the Church of England Funeral and Mourning Reform Association was created to curb the spending of mourners on ostentatious funerals. The Association, headed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, used its position as pillars of the community to influence the people in their dioceses and even petitioned their government officials in an attempt to rein in the public’s excessive spending on mourning their loved ones.85

The Association has been founded to counteract the evils which...it is believed, have mainly arisen from a natural and laudable desire to pay honour [sic] to the departed; but the manner in which that desire has been commonly manifested involves an expenditure wholly out of proportion to its object, in many cases beyond the means of the surviving relatives, and its also, often, a source of evil to the public health. It is a matter of every day experience that when the head of the family has passed away, the widow and children are found soon after in a state of destitution, though a large sum has been received from clubs or private benevolence, most of which has been spent on an ostentatious funeral and mourning.86

According to the Church of England Funeral and Mourning Reform Association their object was:

To promote a better appreciation of the idea of Christian burial.
(1) By encouraging the adoption of such observances as give prominence to the Christian principles of faith, hope, and love.
(2) By discouraging ostentatious and expensive arrangements, feasting and treating, the use of crepe, scarves, plumes, and the like.87


In the Church of England Funeral and Mourning Reform Association’s annual meeting of 1889 the association put forth this reform measure:

Though mourning is no longer as conventional as formerly, yet many lack the courage to dispense with certain formalities regarding it, who personally would willingly do so. Members of the Association can set the example of a more reasonable practice in this custom which, when extravagant, presses so hardly on the poor. Mourning reform will be brought about only by a more general acceptance of the Bishop of Lincoln's words;

"To the Christian, death is not the end, but an event in life, a new start with an extended knowledge and a purer love."88

Among the funeral reforms the Association wished to make during the were listed as such:

3. --The disuse of crepe, scarves, feathers, velvet trappings and the like.
4. --The avoiding of excessive floral decoration.
5. --The discouraging, on the occasion of the funeral, as far as possible, of all eating and drinking beyond that of every-day life.
6. --The meeting in the Churchyard or Cemetery instead of at the house of mourning.
7. --The dispelling of the idea that all the Club money must be spent on the funeral.89

Conclusion

In nineteenth century New Orleans and England, mourning customs, such as the wearing of hair of lost loved ones and dressing in particular colors and styles for long periods, were complex practices integral to everyday life, both as a sign of respect for the dead and for distinction in a complex society. Mourning jewelry images, styles, and techniques were similar in New Orleans and in England and in both places evolved to a simple style as the century progressed.


89 Church of England Funeral and Mourning Reform Association’s 14th Annual Meeting, 1891, E.W. Benson Papers, Official Letters, 1892, HOME B.17-C.42, VOL.106, 57-64.
In researching this topic, it became apparent that historical documentation of Louisiana mourning jewelry is sparse, often anecdotal, with a narrow emphasis. In contrast, English scholars have used mourning jewelry to shed light on a wide range of social customs and patterns. For example, an exploration of The Costume Museum at Bath, England, will reveal that most of their holdings of mourning jewelry have at least a minimum of information regarding the history of each piece (names of owners or deceased and a general date of the jewelry’s creation). This information is invaluable to researchers. In contrast, for example, the Louisiana State Museum, although holders of many pieces of mourning jewelry, furnishes little background information or analysis of its holdings. There could be a bounty of information on the origins, owners, uses and evolution of the items. More work on the designers, wearers, and uses of these pieces could enhance our understanding of society, social interaction and cross-cultural influences in Nineteenth Century New Orleans.
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Appendices

Appendix A
Appendix B

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Appendix D
Appendix E
Appendix H

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Appendix I
Appendix J
Appendix K
Appendix M
Appendix O

Joanna Tabory
3100 Domaine St
New Orleans, LA 70119

April 18, 2011

Dear Wayne Phillips

Curator of Costumes and Textiles
Louisiana State Museum
P. O. Box 2448
New Orleans, LA 70176:

I am completing a Masters thesis at University of New Orleans entitled 'Death, Death, I Know They Now!' Mourning Jewelry in England and New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century. I would like your permission to reprint in my dissertation excerpts from the following:


The excerpts to be reproduced are: three images, one image of the brooch and two images of the miniature (front and back).

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Sincerely,

Joanna Tabory

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Wayne Phillips

Date: 4-12-11
Vita

Joanna Tabony is a Louisian native. She received her Bachelor of Arts in History from the University of New Orleans in 2009. She received her Masters of Arts in History with a concentration in Public History from the University of New Orleans in 2011. She has worked with the Louisiana State Museum in both the Costume and Textile and Mardi Gras Collections. Joanna has also worked with the Fashion Museum in Bath, England and the Destrehan Plantation House Museum in Destrehan, Louisiana.