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Gen. John M. M'Calla’s Collection of Lexington Funeral Invitations

James D. Birchfield

The University of Kentucky Libraries recently acquired a collection of over 400 printed funeral invitations from Lexington, Kentucky, dating from 1802 to 1846. They were assembled by Gen. John Moore M'Calla, one of the grandees of early Lexington. General M'Calla was a scholar of Transylvania University (A.B. 1810, A.M. 1822), a Lexington attorney, owner for a period of The Kentucky Gazette, a director of the Transylvania Botanic Garden, and a trustee of the town. His residence, by “the college lawn” now known as Gratz Park, is the house called Mt. Hope, or the Gratz House (he sold it to Benjamin Gratz in 1824), situated at the southwest corner of Mill and New Streets. During the War of 1812, M'Calla was Captain of the Lexington Light Infantry. He was one of the two marshals commanding an escort of troops for the visit of Pres. James Monroe and Gen. Andrew Jackson in 1819; he was also a marshal for Jackson’s second visit, as president, in 1832. In 1825, when the Marquis de Lafayette visited Lexington, M'Calla was Marshal of the Day and conducted a military review; he was also Master of the Lexington Masonic Lodge, which gave a ball honoring the French nobleman. A Jacksonian Democrat, M'Calla was appointed U.S. Marshal of the District of Kentucky in 1830; in 1844 he was an attorney for abolitionists Calvin Fairbank and Delia Webster; in 1846 he departed Lexington to become an auditor of the U.S. Treasury in Washington, D.C.

Not only was General M'Calla a votary of Mars, he was a votary of Clio, as well, and his liking for the stuff of history brought to the shelves of his library books, newspapers, and pamphlets by the thousand. At his death in 1873, he was thought to have one of the finest collections documenting the history of early Kentucky. However, because he died in Washington, his enviable mass of choice publications was dispersed far from the fabled Bluegrass that conferred fame upon him. The only item which is presently known to have been in his collection is a scrapbook which he labeled A Mortuary of Lexington, Kentucky. This necrology of
Lexington, in addition to its printed funeral invitations, also preserves numerous clipped death notices and obituary articles, including newspaper pages which enumerate the casualties of Lexington from the cholera plague of 1833. "Never in the course of life, have I spent such a week as the past," wrote the general to a friend on 10 June of that year. "I would incomparably prefer a seven months campaign in a furious war, than to undergo another seven days such as these."

The M'Calla collection of funeral notices, as its compiler no doubt intended, offers the reader from another era an informative glimpse into the Lexington of the early nineteenth century. Unless M'Calla fell heir to another's hoard, it appears that he may have begun accumulating his notices as a boy of nine or ten years old. They extend back to a Bluegrass of men in buckskins — to those who saw Indians as well as buffalo; and, from coonskin caps and tricorns, they come forward to the stovepipe hat. One finds, for example, the printed funeral ticket of Capt. James Masterson, the pioneer and Revolutionary soldier, who was always seen in fringed hunter's garb. Added to the conventional particulars of the invitation is the note: "The Volunteer Battalion, consisting of the Citizen Volunteer Artillery, the Lexington Light Infantry and Mechanics Infantry, will parade at 1 o'clock. It is hoped that the companies will turn out generally to bury this old pioneer and patriot." Also preserved is the announcement for the funeral of Mrs. Thomas Irvine, widow of Col. John Todd, a soldier who was slain by Indians in August of 1782 at the Battle of Blue Licks.

In a work sometimes called "The Indian Fighter," Matthew Harris Jouett painted Capt. Masterson with buckskins and rifle and dog, and Jouett also painted others whose names appear in the roll kept by Gen. M'Calla. Another drawn by Jouett's brush is Dr. William H. Richardson of the Transylvania Medical School. Richardson, who was wounded in a duel with Dr. Benjamin Dudley, lived on the Newtown Pike at Caneland, a house of fourteen rooms built for Dr. William Warfield, amidst pleasure grounds laid out by an English gardener. Mrs. Richard Higgins and Mrs. Augustus F. Hawkins were painted by Jouett, as well, and so were Gen. Leslie Combs and the artist John Grimes. A painter whose funeral notice is included among the invitations is Asa Park, of Virginia, who moved to Lexington in 1816. He was known for his fruit and flower still lifes. For the Lafayette Masonic Ball, he painted a transparency of the American Eagle; according to
The Lexington Reporter, "This was placed in one of the large arches between the two rooms [of the Masonic Lodge], and was often the subject of our gaze and admiration."  

Among others mentioned in the profusion of notices preserved by M'Calla are Henry Clay, the statesman of compromise; Mary Nicholas, the widow of Col. George Nicholas; John Bradford, Kentucky's first printer; Matthew Kennedy, Kentucky's first architect; Eliza Todd, mother of Mary Todd Lincoln; W. T. Barry, Congressman and diplomat; Charles Wilkins, capitalist and owner of Mammoth Cave; "Old Duke" Robert Wickliffe, the wealthy land claims lawyer; Mary Owen Todd Russell (later Mrs. Robert Wickliffe), heir of John Todd and, by consequence, wealthiest woman in the Bluegrass. There is Charles Humphreys, whose brother David designed the great seal of Kentucky, and Walter Dun, who imported the first shorthorn cattle into Kentucky.

One finds also references to numerous landmarks, some vanished, others still at hand. Familiar to many are both the Ashland of Henry Clay and the residence of William T. Barry (and later of William Morton) on "Hill," or High Street, designed for Sen. John Pope by Benjamin Latrobe. There are frequent allusions to the old steam mill, the earliest steam mill in the West, which was established to grind flour by pioneer John Maxwell near the intersection of South Mill Street and Bolivar. There are references, as well, to the John Bradford House and the home of Col. Josiah Dunham (who conducted a girl's academy visited by and afterwards named for the Marquis de Lafayette), to the post office, the race course, the McChord Church, the Transylvania Medical Hall, and the watch house. Various hostelries are named, including Postlethwait's Tavern, Mrs. Keen's Tavern, and the Phoenix Hotel (all in the same location), the Franklin house, and apparent boarding houses, such as Mrs. Jouett's.

One quickly discovers that few funerals were conducted in churches. Typically they began at the residence of the deceased or the home of a parent or relative. Also, in the case of boarders, visitors, or strangers, they may have been held in a boarding house or hotel. (One service was held at a bank, and at least one other funeral, not listed in this group of announcements, was held in a store.) It is interesting to see that the funeral for Isaac Legrange was held at the home of Joseph Milward, who was a cabinet maker and whose family business, today the oldest in Lexington, was the beginning of the Milward Funeral Home. It might be that Joseph
Milward provided the coffin for Legrange’s burial, and perhaps hosted his last rites, as well. A further possible instance of a cabinet maker’s home being the place of a funeral is that for Harry M. Dean, held at the home of E. Warner, presumably Elisha Warner, who built the only remaining signed example of early Lexington furniture, a handsome mahogany chest now in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In some instances, a funeral sermon was scheduled for a later date in a church.

A funeral of 1810 was described by Samuel D. McCullough in 1871. According to McCullough:

The body was borne to the grave on a bier, by six or eight persons, who occasionally changed sides, so as not to weary the arms of the pallbearers. The minister, and family of the deceased, followed next in double files, then the friends. All were on foot. On arriving at the place of interment, the body was lowered into the grave, the minister made a short and appropriate address to the living; a hymn was sung, a prayer made, and the benediction pronounced, and the bereaved family, mourners, and friends returned to their respective homes. . . .”

McCullough notes that hymns might be sung by the procession. “In many instances,” he writes, “especially among my old Colored friends, during the march to the grave the minister gave out, line-by-line, the words of some old beautiful hymn, and the mourners sung it to some plaintive air, generally in the minor key.” He deplores the later appearance of brass instruments and “newfangled music.”

In a number of instances, General M’Calla has made notes concerning a cause of death — Mrs. Luckie, who was struck by lightning at the Presbyterian Church; John Boswell, killed in a duel with Charles Durand, of New York; John Barton, who committed suicide (he was, in fact, the city coroner); and the notorious Mrs. Carolyn Turner, of a Boston family, who was murdered by her slave coachman, Richard. The widow of Judge Fielding Turner, she had crippled an African American child by throwing it out of a window and killed six other slaves in beatings. While she was beating Richard in August of 1844, he tore loose from his chains and strangled her. (Richard was hanged on 19 November.) Especially piquant is M’Calla’s note on the ticket for Thomas F.
Brennan, M'Calla's editor at The Kentucky Gazette—"Killed by Charles Wickliffe 1829." Under the pseudonym "Dentatus," M'Calla in 1829 published comments critical of Robert Wickliffe. Wickliffe's son, Charles, went to the Gazette office, and, in a bitter exchange with Brennan, attempted to discover the author of the column. Unsuccessful, Wickliffe drew out his pistol and shot Brennan, who died the next day. "The whole," wrote Robert Wickliffe to his fellow Whig, Henry Clay, "has been the work and villainy of the prince of villains, John M'Calla." Tried for murder, the young Wickliffe was defended by Clay, and the jury took only five minutes to return a judgment of not guilty. Later in 1829 appears a notice for the funeral of the hot-blooded Charles Wickliffe, killed in a duel with another editor, George J. Trotter, who later went mad.

Only one of the invitations is clearly for an African American, Mrs. Rachel Bleu, who died in August of 1835. Formerly a slave of Mrs. James Morrison, she was emancipated by her husband, Rolla or Rolly, on 1 August 1825. One, that for Mrs. Anne Armstrong, gives an age—80 years. There are numerous announcements for the funerals of infants—36 (8%) in total; and this does not include others who were children or minors. Overall, 238 (55%) are for males, 191 (45%) for females. The survey ends with 1846, the year M'Calla moved to Washington, D.C.

At a time when there was no governmental charge to gather statistics, M'Calla no doubt saw the saving of these funeral notices as the creation of a valuable record of the community. The Kentucky Gazette was established in August of 1787, but the first published death notice for a Lexingtonian, a newsworthy case of suicide, appears in the Gazette of 28 June 1789; the second, for an execution, appears on 30 May 1795, six years later. The coverage of early local deaths appears to have been notably irregular, perhaps because of an assumption that such nearby events were generally well known within the town. Even the practice of circulating funeral notices was comparatively uncommon until the early 1820s, if evidence from surviving examples provides a representative sampling.

While General M'Calla's extensive collection of Lexington funeral invitations was finding form, another and ultimately larger collection was being gathered by Cyrus Parker Jones, a black huckster who worked in the Market House downtown. Cyrus Jones was called on to deliver many of the notices, and he took care to keep a copy of each in his own scrapbook, located today in the
Lexington Public Library. M'Calla appears at first to have kept his pieces in loose form, making a book of them in Washington during the Civil War, when he was almost seventy years old. At the beginning of the album is the note: “Mortuary of Lexington, Kentucky. Register of deaths in Lexington and Fayette county Kentucky, beginning in the year 1802, and containing the names of various other persons who died elsewhere; with an Index, Compiled by Jno. M. M'Calla September 10th 1862.” Although there is significant duplication between the two collections, the M'Calla collection extends several years further back in time, and it also contains notices not in the Jones collection. Where M'Calla shows 430 invitations for the span of forty-four years, the Jones scrapbook preserves only 192, and of these only 62 (14.5%) are found in both albums.

Below is an analysis of the distribution, year by year and decade by decade, for Lexington funeral notices from the M'Calla collection (M) and the Jones collection (J) for the years 1802 to 1846.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>14/6</td>
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<td>1/1</td>
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<td>1833</td>
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<td>5/-</td>
<td>1827</td>
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<td>1828</td>
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<td>1/-</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1/17</td>
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</table>

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There were nineteen printed notices (perhaps more) in 1822 (two of those in M'Calla's group for 1822 are not in Jones), the first year to average more than one per month. The years of greatest volume were 1833 and 1843. The year 1833 saw a cholera epidemic that reduced the population of Lexington by 10%; and, even with the need to dispose of the usual funerary customs, a surprising number of funeral invitations, at least thirty-two (three from Jones are not in M'Calla for that year) issued from the press.24 The uneven distribution between the two collections may show that Jones was favored by one, or perhaps, two printers for making deliveries, whereas M'Calla's social embrace as well as his connections with the press favored the growth of his scrapbook — though his collection was obviously not comprehensive.

In some instances, in addition to these perishable slips, a Bible entry or a tombstone may still survive. It would be an error, however, to assume that these slips of printed paper, so thoughtfully preserved, will lead, necessarily, to the finding of burial sites. In many cases, no place of burial is mentioned. The earliest burying ground in Lexington, called "First Hill," is situated at the corner of West Main and Spring Streets.25 It was here that many of the oldest citizens, including John Bradford, were buried. This cemetery and its monuments were lost by the building of the First Baptist Church on top of it, although the tombstone of Bradford was once seen beneath the church's foundations.26 The pauper's cemetery located on West Sixth Street, was ploughed under by the Hon. Thomas M. Hickey, and vegetables planted in its place.27 John Maxwell, who in 1775 was among the circle at McConnell's Spring who named the town of Lexington, gave a large parcel, situated near his old steam mill, between Broadway and Upper, and bordering Bolivar on the North, for a city cemetery. Under a large marble slab incised with his name and years, Maxwell himself was buried here in 1819 beside his mother and wife. The cemetery nevertheless passed afterwards through various hands; a workhouse was built and a factory for spokes and wheels. Later a tobacco redryer was erected on the site, and, with entrepreneurial expedience, the ground-up tombstones of Lexington's pioneers were placed in its foundations.28 (Similar ingenuity was shown in making rubble from the W. T. Barry monument from the old courthouse lawn, and placing it in the foundations of the Harrison city school.29) Fragmentary remains from the "Roman burying ground" on Third Street have been sunk
in concrete at the rear of the lot, where they may still be viewed. The Presbyterian burying ground, once called Waverly Square, between Sixth and Seventh Streets and South Upper and Limestone, was dismantled after the Lexington Cemetery was established, and many of the graves once there were relocated to West Main Street. Fugitive tombstones became splash-blocks or printers' imposing stones, lay hidden in basements, or were otherwise scattered.

A somewhat macabre footnote to the occurrence of missing headstone was the occurrence of missing bodies, a continuing supply of which was required for anatomy instruction at the Transylvania Medical College. Writing to Dr. Robert Peter from Louisville on 2 February 1876, Dr. Christopher Graham recalls “resurrecting expeditions” which occasionally resulted in gunplay or arrest. In particular, Graham recollects an evening on First Hill that led to his being fined one cent in court for attempting to recover the body of a drunken Irishman whose death had just provoked the Dudley-Richardson duel.

There are a number of references to family burying grounds on nearby farms. The Allen farm, near the intersection of Georgetown and Nandino Roads, is an example. Mrs. Jane Wilkins (sister of William Short, Thomas Jefferson’s secretary in France) was buried on the farm of Dr. Frederick Ridgley, in a cemetery later lost to the signal yard of the Southern Railway near South Broadway and Angliana Avenue. One of the most-often mentioned burial sites is the family vault of Gen. George Trotter. The Trotters occupied “Woodlands,” a country house of unique architectural features situated where the Woodland Park pool is presently sited (at the end of Park Avenue). The family burial vault was located to the rear of the pleasure grounds, at the present 327 Lafayette Avenue. Covered with earth, it resembled an Indian mound. It was vandalized by youths in 1898, who removed the skull of General Trotter and the name-label from his coffin. In the mid-twentieth century the Trotter family remains were reinterred in the Millersburg Cemetery, the family vault was leveled, and a house was built on the city lot.

The most frequently mentioned cemetery in this group of invitations is the Episcopal Cemetery founded by Christ Church on Third Street in 1833. Established during the period of the Gothic Revival, it is graced with a handsome sexton’s cottage of cruciform plan, adorned with bargeboards and pinnacles. Although burials
ceased in the cemetery in the mid-nineteenth century, and some of its graves were moved to the new Lexington Cemetery, the Episcopal Burying Ground and its cottage remained in place, though they fell gradually into decay. In the early years of the twentieth century Judge James Hilary Mulligan of Maxwell Place went there seeking the monument of the artist John Grimes, and he responded in elegiac tones to the obvious neglect of the disused site:

The tottering headstones, the broken urns, the effaced inscriptions, tell the story, as does the riot of brambles and weeds that met over the hundreds of forgotten graves. The hum of the busy heedless city drifts over its desolation, and the chill autumn air, the sere brown leaves and bared trees harmonize with the forgotten tombs that rise still from out of the bracken.

Mulligan's rich description recalls the country churchyard of the poet Gray, the so-called Graveyard Poets, and the tradition of Romanticism which savored a past filtered through crumbling architectural remains. A like sympathy informs the prose of a Louisville editor, who preferred the gradual decay of Henry Clay's original Ashland to its demolition and rebuilding by Clay's son, James B. Clay.

If fall it must, every timber and brick should have been allowed to remain where they fell, for, in their very ruin they would have breathed in awful and solemn tones the name of Clay. The Southern Breeze and the Northern blast might have passed over them; the rains, the snows, and the dews might have baptized them with water, and the lightnings with fire, yet all the world would have rendered them dearer and holier to mankind. An old battle-worn banner is the more glorious for its tatters, and the fallen and shapeless pile of Ashland would have been knelt at by myriads of the pilgrims of liberty with deeper reverence than ever was felt by the worshippers at Mecca kneeling at the tombs of the Prophet.

The same Romanticism finds its way into the graphic design of a number of the invitations, which are printed within a woodcut of a cemetery scene, dotted with tombstones, urns, and willows. They are the popular nineteenth-century pictorial legacy of a strong
cultural tradition once seen in the paintings of Poussin and Canaletto, the copperplate engravings of Piranesi, and, more generally, the wood engravings of Thomas Bewick. 39

Some of the earliest-known funeral invitations (true of those collected in London by Samuel Pepys) were engraved. 40 The examples from Lexington are all printed by letterpress techniques. The earliest ten preserved by Gen. M’Calla, dating from 1802 to 1814, show a simple mourning band at the outer edges. In 1815 begins a fashion for “piece borders,” or ornamental borders constructed from small individual typographical units. Some are delicate fleurons, some are bold Greek meanders or other geometrical designs. The boldest of these is a border of approximately two centimeters surrounding the invitation of Dr. John Harvey Wallace. A mortised scenic cemetery cartouche first appears in use on 3 January 1835 and is last used on 6 October 1838. At the same time, there is a more stylized arboral cartouche, with lettering placed between two over-arching trees resting on an ornamental border. A third pictorial ornament appears on three invitations, and consists of a female figure holding a cross and leaning against a large vault surmounted by an urn, with a willow in the background. It is uncertain how many printing offices are represented by the collection. The invitation for John Bradford is doubtless printed by Bradford’s shop, and the same border appears on numerous examples. Two are actually identified in type, thus marked as the work of the Gazette office and The Intelligencer (1838).

The type used in these ephemeral specimens begins with a simple roman Old Style type, showing capitals, lower case, and italic. Curiously, although italic is used over a period of many years, no italic numerals ever appear. The first three slips use the long s, but beginning in May of 1804, the long s disappears. In England, the long s had been banished with the printer John Bell’s series of the British Theatre in 1775. In 1786, a year before publication of the first issue of The Kentucke Gazette, Benjamin Franklin noted the general use of the round s and noted that “in nice printing the Long s is rejected entirely.” 41 In this respect, Lexington appears to have been conservative in its typography by perhaps two decades. Nevertheless, the town did see a variety of typographical fashions, and by 1812 a script face was in use along with roman type. Nineteenth-century typography is characterized by a great variety of typefaces, and the letter stock, as well as the ornament stock, of Lexington’s printers is illustrative of this trend.
By the early years of the century, one sees not only the old-fashioned Caslon style face, but the transitional forms typical of Bell and Bulmer, and then the bolder types drawn by the Italian Bodoni, strong in their contrasts of thick and thin strokes. Script faces and backward slants are common, and a shadowed face (a type reproduced by the Smithsonian as Marble Heart) appears in 1826. A block-serifed Egyptian face first occurs on the notice for Asa Park, set from the cases of the Bradford office in 1827. No doubt patrons were given several examples from which to make a choice, and both simple and flamboyant styles were issued together over a period of many years.

Another valuable source for death data of this period is G. Glenn Clift, *Kentucky Obituaries*, 1787-1854. Clift documents newspaper notices for 204 of the individuals in the M'Calla collection. The obituaries should be consulted, as they often contain useful additional information. In some cases, the printed invitations may reveal errors for dates inferred from the newspaper notices. A measure of General M'Calla's foresight in gathering these notices is that, altogether, there are eighty-nine funeral invitations in M'Calla for which there is no information in either the Jones collection or the Clift obituaries.

Here lie the records for a few events of Lexington during a period of four early decades. The roll reminds one of the old steam mill, the race course, the churches and churchyards, and the dueling ground. Also recalled are Col. Dunham, the schoolmaster who received Lafayette; David Weigart, who died while drilling with Capt. Beard's company; Mr. Harper, the banker; Mr. Norton, the bookbinder; their neighbors and their relatives, who fell to epidemics, illnesses, weapons, accidents, and age. A Thornton Wilder of more recent times might see in these the makings of a second *Our Town*, and many of the cast in today's Lexington will find their forebears in these pages.
NOTES

'I am grateful indeed for information from Mr. Burton Milward, Lexington historian, provided both in conversation and from his research files. Thanks are due, as well, to Ms. Diane Wachs and Ms. Lisa Blackadar, of Lexington’s Headley-Whitney Museum, for bringing this unusual collection to the attention of the University of Kentucky Libraries, where General M’Calla’s original album is now housed in the Division of Special Collections & Archives.


Hume, Lafayette in Kentucky, p. 81; Robert Peter, History of Fayette County, Kentucky, With an Outline Sketch of the Blue Grass Region, ed. William H. Perrin (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1882), pp. 405, 406, 409, 410, 443, 444. Dr. Peter, p. 422, writes that M’Calla was “a clear, astute, and efficient political debater . . . well-remembered for his earnestness, energy, and integrity.”


General John M. M’Calla,” Kentucky Gazette, 5 March 1873: “This gentleman, who was formerly a citizen of Lexington, died at his residence in Washington City, where he moved more than twenty years ago to accept an office in one of the Departments. General M’Calla was an old Jackson Democrat in this city when Democrats were very scarce. He owned a collection of three thousand volumes of old pamphlets, newspapers, &c.,
relating to the early history of Kentucky, which the State ought to buy. They would form an invaluable addition to the public library.”

7Frankfort Argus, 12 June 1833.

8See William Barrow Floyd, Matthew Harris Jouett: Portraitist of the Old South (Lexington: Transylvania University, 1980), pp. 50-51; see also William Barrow Floyd, Jouett, Bush, Frazier, Early Kentucky Artists (Lexington: The Author, 1968), p. 54. See also unidentified clipping in M’Calla’s Mortuary of Lexington, Kentucky: “In this city, on Tuesday last, Mrs. Mary Masterson, the oldest inhabitant of our city. She was the relict of the late James Masterson, whose eccentricity in his dress, &c., is well recollected by all of our citizens.” Masterson was buried on his land east of Lexington and moved in 1853 to the Lexington Cemetery. See Bettye Lee Mastin, “Early Hero Built House at 715 Bullock Place,” Lexington Herald-Leader, 29 January 1977. In 1949 C. Frank Dunn noted that Masterson’s grave was unmarked, although a stone, illustrated in Burton Milward, A History of the Lexington Cemetery (Lexington: Lexington Cemetery Company, 1989), p. 90, reveals that one has since been erected. See Dunn, “Potato Patch, Highway, Signal Yard, Industries Operating Over Graves of Revolutionary Heroes,” Lexington Herald-Leader, 3 July 1949; also Dunn, “More Revolutionary Soldier Graves Found Unmarked Here,” Lexington Herald-Leader, 28 August 1949.

9The Richardson portrait is reproduced in W. B. Floyd, Matthew Harris Jouett: Portraitist of the Old South, p. 70; see this and Jouett, Bush, Frazier for material on the subjects identified.


17 Coleman, *Famous Kentucky Duels*, p. 139.

18 According to G. Glenn Clift, "The newspapers made quite an issue of his suicide, the question being whether he had failed to perform his duty when he did not hold an inquest over his own body, previously, to elicit all the facts concerned with the event." *Kentucky Obituaries 1787-1854* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977), p. 120.


22 Fayette County, Kentucky, Deed Book U, p. 201.

23 The Jones scrapbook has been transcribed by Linda Ramsey Ashley and Elizabeth Tapp Wills as *Funeral Notices: Lexington, KY., 1806-1887* (Rochester, MI: s.n., 1982).


James Hilary Mulligan, Mulligan Papers, University of Kentucky Libraries; other copies courtesy of Frances Keller Barr and Burton Milward (from transcript by Judge Samuel M. Wilson).


