To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Robert Burnett Hall entitled "The Presentation of the Deceased in Upper East Tennessee, 1900-1975." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

Samuel W. Wallace, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas C. Hood

Suzanne B. Kurtz

Charles O. Jackson

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

A

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1900-1975

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Robert Burnett Hall

June 1980

3041699

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late brother David Gordon Hall (1940-1979), about whom some of the material in Chapter I is written. He was concerned about the progress of my research and deeply interested in my professional advancement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is grateful for the assistance and guidance of Dr. Samuel Wallace my major professor in this project. Appreciation is also expressed to the other members of my dissertation committee for their help and suggestions.

Recognition is given also to Dr. Robert Sessions, Chairman of the Sociology Department at East Tennessee State University, for his help and encouragement. I thank Amelia Schumaier for her gracious assistance in computer programming and data management. And of course a word of thanks goes to my Dean and colleagues at Milligan College.

Without the assistance, support, and forbearance of my wife, Velma, and our children, this project could not have been completed. With their help this dissertation has become a reality.

ABSTRACT

The subject of investigation is the ways in which the dead are presented to the community. Death occurs to every person, and the society in which the person has been raised dictates what the final rituals will be and what ceremonies are acceptable. The presentation of the deceased was examined in the same community at four different points in time. The community is the upper East Tennessee area composed of Washington, Carter and Unicoi counties. The four historical times cover the first three-quarters of the twentieth century: 1900, 1925, 1950, and 1975.

The presentation of the deceased was studied, over time, from samples of the obituaries and funeral notices printed in the Johnson City, Tennessee Press-Chronicle and its predecessors: the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News from 1925 and the Johnson City Comet from 1900.

Newspaper death notices were examined for separate components; sixty-five items accounted for the data. A data sheet was developed for the transfer of information from individual obituaries and funeral notices. These data sheets were coded for statistical manipulation and subsequent analysis.

The longitudinal tracing of death notice presentation of the deceased showed several trends in upper East Tennessee.

(1) Deaths due to illness and disease were increasingly reported, with accidental deaths less frequently mentioned. (2) A majority of the deceased died at home through 1950. The 1975 sample showed that death had moved to institutions, chiefly community hospitals. (3) A majority of the obituaries reported the use of funeral establishments by 1950; the entire sample reported this in the 1975 sample. (4) The home was the place of the funeral in 1900 and 1925. In 1950 the church building was the typical location, but by 1975 it was the funeral chapel. (5) The place of burial changed more slowly from the family burying ground to the community or commercial cemetery. (6) The 1975 sample has illustrated that the presentation of the deceased is a completely managed, packaged presentation in the control of the "professional team." The transition from the home and family centered management of death to the professional virtually has been completed.

Several contributions to sociological knowledge were evident. First, these kinds of data allowed the sketching of the professionalization of the preparation and disposition of the dead in this region. Secondly, widespread changes in community rituals and customs were outlined as the orientation changed to the "limited community" from the "total." A further contribution was made in the use of newspaper death notices as the primary data source for this investigation. This methodological approach demonstrated the value of obituary data to social and ethnographic research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

INTRODUCTION: THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED TO THE COMMUNITY 1

A Sociology of Death and Dying. 2

The Formal and Informal Announcement. 3

The Investigation 5

I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED TO THE COMMUNITY, 1900-1975. 6

Introduction 6

Rites of Passage 10

Pre-Planned Presentation 13

Packaging. 17

Idealization 21

Proper Presentation. 24

Historic Changes in the Presentation of the Deceased 26

Changes in Information 27

Changes in the Nature of the Community 32

Changes in the Nature of Death 35

Summary. 51

II. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED, 1900-1975. 53

The Three-County Area. 58

The Newspapers 60

Data from Death Notices. 61

Methodological Consequences of the Theoretical Considerations 67

CHAPTER PAGE

III. THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1900 70

Johnson City and Washington County, Tennessee. . 70

Sources. 71

Population 72

Modernization of the City. 73

Political Setting. 74

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia. 75

Education in East Tennessee. 76

Marriage and Family. 78

Household and Family Size. 79

Marital Status 81

Transportation 83

Community Professionals. 85

Retail Business in Johnson City. 86

Products Advertised in the Comet 88

Employment in Johnson City 89

Leisure. 91

Churches and Ministers in Johnson City 93

Public Health. 97

From Death to Interment in the Community 101

Preparation. 103

Lying in State 104

The Memorial Service 105

Interment. 106

Sex Differences. 108

CHAPTER PAGE

III. (Continued)

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology. 109

IV. THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1925 112

The Three-County Area in 1925. 112

Sources. 115

Population 117

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia. 118

Education in East Tennessee. 120

Marriage and Family. 121

Household and Family Size. 121

Marital Status 124

Transportation 125

Community Professionals. 127

Business and Commercial Life in Johnson City . . 128

Leisure. 131

Churches and Ministers 132

Churches Mentioned 134

Officiants 134

Church Preference and Affiliation. 136

Public Health. 139

Causes of Death. 139

Death by Age Cohort. 142

From Death to Interment in the Community 142

Preparation. 145

CHAPTER PAGE

IV. (Continued)

Lying in State 147

The Memorial Service 147

Interment. 149

Sex Differences. 151

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology. 152

V. THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1950 155

The Three-County Area. 155

Sources. 157

Population 159

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia. 160

Education. 162

Marriage and Family. 164

Household and Family Size. 164

Marital Status 166

Transportation 168

Professionals and Executives 170

Business and Commercial Life 170

Leisure. 175

Churches and Ministers 176

Churches Mentioned 177

Officiants 177

Church Preference and Affiliation. 179

Church Funerals. 180

CHAPTER PAGE

V. (Continued)

Public Health 183

Causes of Death 184

Cause and Location of Death 187

Death by Age Cohort 188

From Death to Interment in the Community. 192

Preparation 193

Lying in State. 194

The Memorial Service. 196

Interment 198

Sex Differences 198

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology 200

VI. THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1975. 203

The Three-County Area 203

Sources 206

Population. 208

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia 210

Education 212

Marriage and Family 215

Household and Family Size 216

Marital Status. 218

Transportation. 220

Professionals and Executives. 222

Business and Commercial Life. 222

CHAPTER PAGE

VI. (Continued)

Leisure. 227

Churches and Ministers 228

Churches Mentioned 229

Officiants 229

Church Preference and Affiliation. 232

Church Funerals. 232

Public Health. 235

Causes of Death. 235

Cause and Location of Death. 239

Death by Age Cohort. 240

From Death to Interment in the Community 244

Preparation. 245

Lying in State 246

The Memorial Service 247

Interment. 250

Sex Difference 250

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology. 252

VII. TRENDS IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1900-1975. 256

Introduction 256

Population 259

Ethnic Roots 262

Education. 263

Marriage and Family. 264

CHAPTER PAGE

VII. (Continued)

Household and Family Size. 265

Marital Status 268

Business and Commercial Life 271

Churches and Ministers 273

Churches Mentioned 274

Officiants 274

Church Preference and Affiliation. 277

Church Funerals. 279

Public Health. 281

Causes of Death. 282

Cause and Location of Death. 288

Death by Age Cohort. 290

From Death to Interment in the Community 295

Preparation. 297

Lying in State 299

The Memorial Service 301

Interment. 303

Sex Differences. 306

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology. 310

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS. 313

Theoretical Considerations 313

Methodology. 315

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1900 316

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1925 317

CHAPTER PAGE

VIII. (Continued)

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1950. . . . 317

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1975. . . . 318

Trends in the Presentation of the Deceased in Johnson City and Upper East Tennessee, 1900-1975 319

Methodological Changes. 321

The Sociological Significance of This Research. 323

The Future of the Death Notice. 324

LIST OF REFERENCES 327

APPENDICES 337

APPENDIX A. SAMPLE DATA SHEET 338

APPENDIX B. SIX CLASSES OF DATA IN OBITUARIES AND FUNERAL NOTICES 339

APPENDIX C. SAMPLE OBITUARIES AND FUNERAL NOTICES FROM THE FOUR SAMPLE YEARS. 341

VITA 343

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
III-1.	Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900. . .	80
III-2.	Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900	82
III-3.	Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	91
III-4.	Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	95
III-5.	Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900. . .	96
III-6.	Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	98
III-7.	Deaths from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	98
III-8.	Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900. . .	100
III-9.	Death by Age Cohort, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	101
III-10.	Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	102
III-11.	Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	105
III-12.	Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	106
III-13.	Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Comet, 1900.	109
IV-1.	Number of Children Born, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925.	122

TABLE		PAGE
IV-2.	Marital Status of the Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	124
IV-3.	Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	130
IV-4.	Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	135
IV-5.	Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	136
IV-6.	Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	137
IV-7.	Location of Funeral Services, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	138
IV-8.	Causes of Death, from Obituaties in the Johnson City Newspapers, 1900 and 1925	140
IV-9.	Accidental Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	141
IV-10.	Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	141
IV-11.	Death by Age Cohort, from Obituary Data in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900 and 1925	143
IV-12.	Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	144
IV-13.	Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	144
IV-14.	Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	148
IV-15.	Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	150
IV-16.	Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925	151

TABLE PAGE

V-1. Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950 165

V-2. Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 167

V-3. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 173

V-4. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950 . 178

V-5. Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 179

V-6. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 181

V-7. Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950 182

V-8. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 184

V-9. Causes of Death, from 1950 Obituaries, Compared to Tennessee Vital Statistics, 1950 185

V-10. Accidental Deaths, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 186

V-11. Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 186

V-12. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950 188

V-13. Death by Age Cohort, Tennessee Vital Statistics, Compared with Obituary Data, 1950 189

V-14. Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950. 193

V-15. Funeral Establishments Specified in the Obituaries, from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950 195

TABLE		PAGE
V-16.	Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950.	196
V-17.	Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950	197
V-18.	Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950	199
V-19.	Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950	199
VI-1.	Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975.	218
VI-2.	Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	219
VI-3.	Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	225
VI-4.	Occupational Data for Females, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975. . . .	227
VI-5.	Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975.	230
VI-6.	Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975. . . .	231
VI-7.	Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	233
VI-8.	Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975.	234
VI-9.	Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	236
VI-10.	Causes of Death from 1975 Obituaries Compared to Tennessee Vital Statistics, 1970.	236
VI-11.	Accidental Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	238

TABLE		PAGE
VI-12.	Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	239
VI-13.	Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975.	240
VI-14.	Death by Age Cohort, Tennessee Vital Statistics, Compared with Obituary Data, 1975.	241
VI-15.	Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	245
VI-16.	Funeral Establishments, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	247
VI-17.	Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975.	248
VI-18.	Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	248
VI-19.	Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	251
VI-20.	Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975	252
VII-1.	National and State Population Trends, 1900-1975.	260
VII-2.	County Population Trends in Upper East Tennessee, 1900-1975	261
VII-3.	Johnson City Population, 1900-1974	261
VII-4.	Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	266
VII-5.	Marital Status of the Deceased, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	269
VII-6.	Occupational Data, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975	272
VII-7.	Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	275

TABLE		PAGE
VII-8.	Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975	277
VII-9.	Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975	278
VII-10.	Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975	280
VII-11.	Causes of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	283
VII-12.	Accidental Deaths, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	285
VII-13.	Deaths from Illness, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	287
VII-14.	Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	289
VII-15.	Deaths by Age Cohort, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	291
VII-16.	Place of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	296
VII-17.	Funeral Establishments, by County, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1925-1975 . .	298
VII-18.	Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1925-1975	300
VII-19.	Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	302
VII-20.	Place of Burial, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	304
VII-21.	Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975.	307

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED TO THE COMMUNITY

The subject of investigation is the ways in which the dead are presented to the community--since death and the rituals that surround it are both universal and particular culturally. That is, death occurs to every person; in this sense it is universal. But the society in which the person has been raised dictates what the final rituals will be and what ceremonies are acceptable. In order to get a clear perspective of the cultural folkways that dictate the rituals that surround death and burial, the presentation of the deceased will be examined in the same community at four different points in time. The community selected is the upper East Tennessee area composed of Washington, Carter and Unicoi counties. This three-county area is in the southern Appalachian Mountains, with both Carter and Unicoi counties lying along the border of northwestern North Carolina; to the north Carter County lies less than 30 miles from Virginia.

The points in time selected cover the first three-quarters of the twentieth century: they are 1900, 1925, 1950 and 1975. An investigation by this writer lasting seven years has shown the rich and unique material available in newspaper obituaries and funeral notices. It is proposed, then, to study the presentation of the deceased, over time, by means of the obituaries and funeral notices printed in the

Johnson City Press-Chronicle and its predecessors.

In order to understand the culture of the community in which the dead are being presented, considerable research will be presented which will describe in some detail the community of Johnson City, Tennessee, and its environs. Johnson City has been chosen for several reasons. It is the city which dominates the three-county area both culturally and economically. The newspapers to be investigated have been printed in and distributed from this city. Thirdly, the writer has lived in Johnson City for 19 years. He lived in the city as a schoolboy from 1933-1940; and he returned to the city in 1967 to teach at Milligan College. It is hoped that this indigenous feature will contribute to the insight without introducing excessive bias.

A Sociology of Death and Dying

The last few years have seen a rapidly developing literature on death and dying. After having been a topic that was most notable by its absence, death and dying studies are now suddenly commonplace. There is an area in this body of literature that has been overlooked. Most of this literature has been written from a psychological standpoint. Lyn Lofland suggested recently that a neglected area is "the sociology of death and dying."

> The more scholarly work has tended to emerge primarily from psychologists and psychiatrists, especially those concerned with suicide or grief

> and while sociologists have certainly had a part in this tide of attention, a large, comprehensive, and solid body of materials clearly labeled "sociology of death and dying" has yet to be amassed. There is, for example, to my knowledge, no published, or at least nationally distributed, book of readings devoted exclusively to sociological writings or taking exclusively a sociological perspective (Lofland, 1976: 7).

A close study of the presentation of the deceased in the community will result in sociological knowledge. Rather than approaching death and dying as lone, psychological events, it will be helpful to see them in their sociological context. Death and dying do not occur in a vacuum; they are particularly social occasions. These events almost always occur in a community. Communities have developed "appropriate" customs and rituals for the management of death and dying with as little disruption in normal activity as possible. The presentation of the dead to the community has developed as a complex ritual over time. Legal procedures have developed historically which prescribe acceptable ways for the proper handling of "dead human bodies."

The Formal and Informal Announcement

Formal announcements are made to the community about those who have just died. These announcements will reflect changes that have taken place in the conception of kinship groups. These formal announcements in the newspaper specify the actual circle of kinship involved in the public mourning. All of the extended kin group cannot be mentioned oftentimes.

Therefore, the kin that are mentioned allow one to see the kin that are considered "within the network."

Furthermore, the bereaved have changed their ways of presenting their dead to the community. Customary ways have changed, and we can expect that the presentation of the deceased will be different in 1975 than it was when our society was much younger (in 1900).

A person dies; the information goes out from the kin on the scene to those at a distance. Then the word is spread both by word of mouth and public notice to friends, acquaintances, and the community at large. Several groups can be identified as the assembled give final honors to the deceased. The most obvious group that gathers is nuclear and extended family. The remainder of kin not so close emotionally form with the rest the kin group. The next aggregate to be identified is the friends of the deceased; these will be his social interactants, fellow church members, neighbors, work and community associates. The remainder of those who gather will constitute the community audience; these are they who cannot be classified as kin or friends, but perhaps associates and those who were slightly acquainted with the deceased. Therefore, we can define the event-specific community as those who are truly mourning and those who gather to honor the memory of the one who has passed on.

The Investigation

This dissertation will examine the presentation of the deceased to the community in the process which moves from death to interment. The specific data-source will be the obituaries and funeral notices found routinely in the pages of the Johnson City newspapers. This is a comparative study since it looks at the presentation process in four different eras, from 1900 to 1975. The examination will take place within the local cultural matrix of the community and its environs.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED TO THE COMMUNITY, 1900-1975

Introduction

The concept of the "presentation of the deceased" is based on Erving Goffman's theoretical approach which he has labelled "dramaturgy." This approach takes the position that "all of life is a stage," and that people are always, without fail, presenting themselves to their "audiences" and continually giving "performances." This approach is outlined in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Goffman, 1959). Every human act is self-presentation. Life, then, is ultimately and always "social" (Goffman, 1959: 22). The presentation always occurs before an imagined audience, which consists of those whom the actor assumes are his audience or anticipates will become his audience. An audience is made up of those that the presenter is "performing" before or will possibly "perform" before.

The printed death notice will be treated theoretically as one form of the presentation of self to the audience, the community. With the exception of preplanned presentation, the deceased no longer has control over the presentation. Typically his kin are responsible for his "final social performance."

The "audience" generally has expectations for the "proper" presentation of the deceased. The newly bereaved are typically aware of these cultural expectations. This mutual awareness Goffman has called the "working consensus," the prescribed definition of the situation (1959: 9-10). Those involved in the "surrogate self-presentation" must avoid performances which will not be perceived as "authentic" by the audience. The performances must be in accord with the "working consensus". At the same time, from the point of view of the audience, they also wish to maintain the working consensus. The audience wants the deceased to be presented in a "believable" way, so that their credulity is not overly strained. According to Goffman, it is to the advantage, then, of both presenters and audiences to maintain the smooth interactive flow by performing within the framework of the "working consensus" (Chapter 1 "Performances," 1959: 17-76).

Another way of looking at the presentation of the deceased to the community is by use of the concept of "account-giving." Scott and Lyman described accounts:

> By an account, then, we mean a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior--whether that behavior is his own or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else. An account is not called for when people engage in routine, common-sense behavior in a cultural environment that recognizes that behavior as such (1972: 405).

Both the newspaper obituary and the spoken obituary and funeral sermon constitute accounts given to the community to

explain and justify the life lived and its termination (Scott and Lyman, 1972: 411-412). When the audience (whether those at the service or the community) accepts the account presented, they "honor" it. Scott and Lyman's article explained "honoring:" "Accounts may be honored or not honored. If an account is honored, we may say that it was efficacious and equilibrium is thereby restored in a relationship" (1972: 414). Blumstein et al. commented: "A successful account is one honored by the demander" (1974: 552). The form of presentation is characterized by Scott and Lyman's phrases. It can be called a combination of the "formal" and "frozen" in that little audience response is anticipated (Scott and Lyman, 1972: 420-421).

Since presentation of self is at the heart of this discussion, it is important to deal with the problem of the deceased presenting themselves. Following Goffman, the deceased person may "present himself" in two ways, and these are not necessarily mutually exclusive. First, the deceased can continue to present himself to the community--his audience --by planning his "presentation program" in advance. Or, the deceased can be presented by his kin and a professional "presentation team." A specific social self--"deceased"-- is presented which prohibits any subsequent performances (except supernatural). Goffman built upon George Herbert Mead's construction of the tentativeness of the self in his emphasis on the self as a social structure.

> The self, as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure, and it arises in social experience. After a self has arisen, it in a certain sense provides for itself its social experiences, and so we can conceive of an absolutely solitary self. But it is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience. The individual comes to carry on a conversation of gestures with himself. He says something, and that calls out a certain reply in himself which makes him change what he was going to say. . . We mean by significant speech that the action is one that affects the individual himself, and that the effect upon the individual himself is part of the intelligent carrying-out of the conversation with others (1962: 140-141).

If the audience refuses to recognize the deceased as a self, the deceased no longer has a social self.

Mead did not posit the self as a "spirit," completely separate from the physical and physiological. In fact, Mead did not discuss the deceased. His emphasis was on the self "constructed" by means of physiological perceptions and of our interpretations of these perceptions. Mead's discussion of the self does not lend itself to a mind/body dualism.

> While minds and selves are essentially social products, products or phenomena of the social side of human experience, the physiological mechanism underlying experience is far from irrelevant--indeed is indispensable-- to their genesis and existence; for individual experience and behavior is, of course, physiologically basic to social experience and behavior: the processes and mechanisms of the latter (including those which are essential to the origin and existence of minds and selves) are independent physiologically upon the processes and mechanisms of the former, and upon the social functioning of these (Mead, 1962: 1-2).

Mead is clear about the source of self, and this is crucial to understanding Goffman's dramaturgy and the presentation

of the deceased to the community.

> What goes on to make up the organized self is the organization of the attitudes which are common to the group. A person is a personality because he belongs to a community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own conduct. . .The structure, then, on which the self is built is this response which is common to all, for one has to be a member of a community to be a self (Mead, 1962: 162).

Just as a person newly deceased cannot bury himself (with the exception, perhaps, of science-fiction mechanisms) so the deceased cannot present himself--or be presented--without the acceptance and approval of the living. The deceased can present himself--or more likely be presented as a self--only with the concurrence of his audience. Mead seems to allow the interpretation that the deceased's self no longer "exists" as soon as society begins to treat it as a "non-entity." The presentation of the deceased to the community is thus totally a social situation which depends on the continuing agreement of all parties concerned.

Rites of Passage

The concept "rite of passage" has been discussed in the writings of van Gennep (1960). Of course, death is the ultimate rite of passage in human society. In his Introduction, van Gennep commented:

> A few years ago I made an extensive search for empirical descriptions of rites de passage in American culture. A handful of American writers of fiction have produced some vivid portrayals of crisis situations, but I turned up only one factual analysis of burial behavior and that by a minister. The writings of anthropologists and sociologists yielded nothing. This absence of material should be evidence of social

> scientists' neglect of an important segment of human behavior (1960: xiv).

Van Gennep has categories which will put death and the presentation of the deceased in context. According to his analysis, the presentation of the deceased can be called a "rite of separation."

> I have tried to assemble here all the ceremonial patterns which accompany a passage from one situation to another or from one cosmic or social world to another. Because of the importance of these transitions, I think it legitimate to single out rites of passage as a special category, which under further analysis may be subdivided into rites of separation, transition rites, and rites of incorporation. These three subcategories are not developed to the same extent by all peoples or in every ceremonial pattern. Rites of separation are prominent in funeral ceremonies, rites of incorporation at marriages. Transition rites may play an important part, for instance, in pregnancy, betrothal, and initiation; or they may be reduced to a minimum in adoption, in the delivery of a second child, in remarriage, or in the passage from the second to the third age group. Thus, although a complete scheme of rites of passage theoretically includes preliminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and postliminal rites (rites of incorporation), in specific instances these three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated (van Gennep, 1960: 10-11).

It is hypothesized that the rites of separation will dffer somewhat across the United States. These rites will be examined in a three-county area of upper East Tennessee.

A theoretical extension of the concept of rites of passage is seen in Glaser and Strauss' discussion of status passages in their book Status Passage: A Formal Theory (1971). They argue:

> There are also prescribed sequences of steps the person must go through to have completed the passage and regularized actions that must be carried out by various relevant participants in order that the passage actually be accomplished. Scheduling, regularization, and prescription are integral to so many status passages that current analyses naturally have included descriptions of the rituals which tend to accompany at least certain phases of those changes of status (3).

The person (the deceased) goes through (is put through) a prescribed series of steps by all the people who will constitute his "presentation team." When these "regularized" steps are completed in our society, the deceased will have been duly prepared, memorialized and interred.

Death as a status passage is a change of status from alive to dead. Glaser and Strauss have developed twelve points that characterized passages in general, but may be applied to death in particular. Seven of them are included in this quotation:

> 1. The passage may be considered in some measure <u>desirable</u> or undesirable by the person making the passage or by other relevant parties.
> 2. The passage may be <u>inevitable</u>.
> 5. The person who goes through the passage may do so <u>alone</u>, <u>collectively</u>, or in <u>aggregate</u> with any number of other persons.
> 8. The person making the passage may do so <u>voluntarily</u> or have no choice in the matter (or perhaps have degrees of choice either <u>in toto</u> or about aspects of the passage).
> 9. Another property is the degree of <u>control</u> which various agents--including the person undergoing the passage--have over various aspects of the passage.
> 11. The <u>clarity</u> of the sign of passage, for the various parties, may vary from great to negligible clarity.
> 12. These last examples suggest that the signs might actually be clear enough if they were known, but that they may be <u>disguised</u> by relevant parties (Glaser and Strauss, 1971: 4).

On the basis of this list, then, the change of status from alive to dead can be characterized as often undesirable, inevitable, alone, involuntary, with low degree of control on the part of the one dying, varying degrees of clarity about the impending death, and often with signs disguised that death is imminent.

The presentation of the deceased, then, involves the final rites after the death. The death was a rite of separation involving a permanent change in status (whether or not it was desirable, alone, voluntary, whatever degree of control was present in the death situation, and whether the death was disguised or clearly anticipated by the one dying).

Pre-planned Presentation

Some people anticipate their own death, and make formal plans by writing their obituaries in advance and even specifying the details of their memorial services. Harold Lunger made the following suggestion in a recent article in a church publication:

> Especially important was. . .the suggestion that families talk things over and make some basic decisions before the time of need arrives. Otherwise, they will probably become captives to highly ritualized and often inflexible funeral customs and practices (1979: 5).

Many people select their burial sites in advance and others specify their own casket-attire. These are anticipated presentational acts.

There are also informal presentational acts that can

come about by offhanded comments about funerals. Some give clues, or in some instances close kin or friends perceive that clues have been given, as to manner of presentation. The widow at a recent military funeral in which I had part, told me that she was intent on military rites because her late husband just two weeks before had made a comment while viewing a movie on television. In the movie a character was given a formal funeral salute of 21 guns. The husband had commented casually, "that is the kind of funeral that I want." The widow took that as a clue to her late husband's thinking, and insisted on military graveside ceremonies.

Most people do not order and shape in advance their presentations as dead selves in contemporary American society. Typically the relatives--or whoever is responsible for the body--make the formal arrangements under the guidance of the professional undertaking personnel. Even when the deceased has expressed some general feelings about style and expense involved in the presentational process, that expression may often be overruled.

The ignoring or countermanding of the wishes of the deceased can be perpetrated by the well-meaning family or instigated by the funeral director. A former parishioner of mine died in Florida and was shipped to Chattanooga for memorial service and interment. I accompanied Lois, the widow, into the "selection room" for the choosing of the casket. The choice of casket generally sets the price of the entire

funeral "package." When in the "show room" Lois mentioned to the funeral director--an "old friend of the deceased"--that Stan always insisted on a modest funeral with no undue expenses. When Lois inquired about a certain casket, and the "package price" involved, the funeral director stated that surely she wanted a better funeral for Stan than that. By manipulation, the funeral director was able to "work" Lois up to a more profitable package. As I fumed in the background I noted that Lois' emotions, pride, and ego were being appealed to; this resulted in a higher gross income for the funeral establishment and showed that the wishes of the deceased, expressed in the presence of the wife, funeral director, and the minister, were subsequently and quickly ignored.

In the spring of 1979 I accompanied my parents to the selection room of a Johnson City funeral establishment. My youngest brother had died suddenly at 38 and my aged parents had the task of selecting the casket and the funeral price-range. My mother was sensitized to the supposed manipulations of the funeral industry and asked for the cheapest and most inexpensive funeral available. The funeral director--the owner of the establishment and a member of the Bible School class attended by my father--led us through the selection rooms onto a grubby back porch. As he showed us a dull battleship gray casket covered with cloth, he said, "Surely you don't want the 'poverty' funeral!" "This casket costs $100," he stated. "Don't you have any thing other than that

horrible gray color," my mother asked. "No," stated the undertaker, "we have to buy these in large lots and they only come in gray." After that ritual was done with, we then moved off the back porch into the regular show rooms. My parents finally selected the casket and package costing $1,795.00. Then we were asked to select the vault, having learned that Tennessee law required that vaults and concrete lids be used. Nice metal vaults ranging from $1,000 and up were shown. When we objected to the high prices, the funeral director stated that the caskets were shipped in wooden packing crates and they were the minimum that could be used. My parents were quick to agree on the minimum expense, to the undertaker's chagrin. The packing box and concrete lid were secured for $200.00.

The close kin traditionally are required to make quick decisions involving thousands of dollars on the day following the death of their family member. In the intimidating surroundings of the casket selection room and mortician's office the shocked family is pressed to decide the details of the entire presentational process. Included in the process is the selection of the casket, the adorning of the body, the schedule for lying in state, the memorial service, the interment, and many other incidental arrangements. This assumes that the parties responsible for the presentation decisions have already selected the funeral establishment which will serve as the "ritual manager." Therefore,

leaning heavily on the traditions reiterated to them by the undertaker, the family "plans" the presentation of the newly deceased to the community for the "last performance."

Even when the death has been expected most family groups have not done any detailed planning. Detailed planning about death prior to death is "morbid." Lunger suggested that the family plan the memorial service and even take part in the various rituals (1979: 5-6). In the afore-mentioned funeral of my brother, pallbearers were not selected from the church or community. I was able to get the approval of my father for him, my brother, my two teen-age sons, and myself to serve as bearers of the casket from hearse to gravesite (much to the amazement of the funeral director). Even this small act went contrary to the accepted tradition.

Packaging

The process of presenting the deceased involves "packaging." Packaging consists of the development of a social entity to be seen by the public. Features of the deceased which are considered irrelevant, negative or uncomplementary are suppressed. The "packaged" deceased is "constructed" by the presentation team. Goffman commented on the "concealment" properties of performance. In other words, "stage reality" as seen by the audience may not reveal the problems confronted by the performers in learning the lines or perfecting the costuming (Goffman, 1959: 43). When a "package" is presented there may have been much "trimming of

loose ends" and "rounding off of corners." The mourning family presents a "package" to the visitors and fellow-mourners. The funeral director obviously presents a package to his audience. The officiating clergy presents his "religious" package to the audience, concealing many items he might know about the life and behavior of the newly deceased. Even those involved in the preparation of the gravesite for inspection and use are presenting a package in the sense of covering the "open hole" with a casket elevator and frame and covering raw, loose dirt with artificial plastic grass mats. Erving Goffman wrote several comments that can be applied specifically to the packaging performed by the funeral personnel.

> . . .the performer may be engaged in a profitable form of activity that is concealed from his audience and that is incompatible with the view of his activity which he hopes they will obtain. . . .we find that errors and mistakes are often corrected before the performance takes place, while telltale signs that errors have been made and corrected are themselves concealed.
> . . .in those interactions where the individual presents a product to others, he will tend to show them only the end product, and they will be led into judging him on the basis of something that has been finished, polished, and packaged.
> . . .there are many performances which could not have been given had not tasks been done which were physically unclean, semi-illegal, cruel, and degrading in other ways; but these disturbing facts are seldom expressed during a performance. In Hughes's terms, we tend to conceal from our audience all evidence of "dirty work," whether we do this work in private or allocate it to a servant, to the impersonal market, to a legitimate specialist, or to an illegitimate one (1959: 43-44).

In line with Goffman's comments quoted above, when a viewer visits the "viewing room" at a funeral establishment, he sees the deceased in "perfect order." The body is adorned tastefully, the cosmetics lend a life-like appearance, the hair is trimmed. In other words, the package is just right. There is no way for the visitor to know what has gone on in the back regions of the establishment leading up to this "performance." The "dirty work" has been done but it is concealed from the audience; all they see is the public package. Audiences seem to want it this way; they do not demand a peek in the back room. The audience does not want to view an "unpackaged" corpse in total disarray.

The crisis situation of death and the subsequent presentation of the dead requires a particular decorum. And this may be more true in American society than in others. Goffman said about expressive control: ". . .everyday secular performances in our own Anglo-American society must often pass a strict test of aptness, fitness, propriety, and decorum" (1959: 55). Goffman's further comment on decorum reads as if it were directed at the funeral parlor and cemetery:

> . . .other major aspects of decorum, instrumental and moral, in work places, such as: mode of dress; permissible sound levels; proscribed diversions, indulgences, and affective expressions (1959: 110).

Another angle which can be taken with help from Goffman is that of considering the presentation of the dead as a kind of "mystification." It can be seen that this is in addition to the dramaturgical techniques utilizing front and

back regions coupled with the proper decorum. Goffman's comments can be used to describe a proper interaction situation involving embalmer and mortician on the one side and bereaved and audience on the other:

> It is a widely held notion that restrictions placed upon contact, the maintenance of social distance, provide a way in which awe can be generated and sustained in the audience--a way, as Kenneth Burke has said, in which the audience can be held in a state of mystification in regard to the performer (1959: 67).

Not only is the audience hesitant to engage in any close contact with the corpse--and perfectly content to delegate that function to the professionals--but the audience has a feeling that the goings-on behind the scenes constitute a kind of mystery. The audience is uninitiated as to the mysterious manipulations undertaken by the funeral personnel. (In this case, the funeral personnel are looked upon almost as "cult-priests" or as members of a caste, dedicated to the work that no one else wants to perform.)

The newly bereaved family not only wants their dead loved one "packaged," but they are willing to contribute to their "proper" packaging. For instance, my mother was insistent on furnishing the funeral director with the correct jewelry for my deceased brother. She saw to it that his tie clasp was the right one and that he was wearing the correct ring. She also requested that a piece of jewelry be in his coat pocket and that it be buried there. The concerned family contributes to the packaged presentation by the

furnishing of the clothing, the spectacles and the teeth which were the possessions of the newly deceased.

The kin of the deceased have lost control over the presentation process because they have ceded the management of the program to the professionals. For example, the adornment of the deceased which are intended to accompany him into the grave may not end up there. In other words, there is little control which the family can exert over the funeral personnel when they are managing the body behind the scenes. In a recent article in Time the comment was made about the mad rush for gold and silver: "Dealers also quietly bought gold fillings from morticians, proving that you can't take it with you" ("Sell-Off," 1980: 58). This infers then that not only the jewelry and other items of value may not make it into the grave, but even the metal in the teeth of the deceased was not sacrosanct. It is only the visible packaged product that the family and the audience can evaluate.

Idealization

The deceased is "presented" to the community by those most intimately connected with him. Those most responsible for arranging the presentation will vary, typically, by the age at death. If the deceased is young it is quite likely that the presentational arrangements will be handled by his parents. When the death occurs in mid-life the responsibility for presentational arrangements usually falls upon the spouse; whereas arrangements for the aged dead are typically handled

by the children. The presentation intends to convey to the community the deceased in the way that his family wishes for him to be remembered. Goffman has labelled this feature "idealization." He has explained this concept in his essay "Performances."

> It was suggested earlier that a performance of a routine presents through its front some rather abstract claims upon the audience, claims that are likely to be presented to them during the performance of other routines. This constitutes one way in which a performance is "socialized," molded, and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented. . . . Thus, when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole.
>
> To the degree that a performance highlights the common official values of the society in which it occurs, we may look upon it, in the manner of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, as a ceremony--as an expressive rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the moral values of the community (1959: 34-35).

The emphasis is unmistakable in this quotation; the idealized presentation of the deceased is a reflection of the ideal way in which the community wants the presentation. The ceremony reflects rather than refutes community values. An "ideal" account has been offered to the audience by means of the funeral sermon and to the community in the obituary (see Scott and Lyman, 1972: 405).

The presentational process is not only acted out in the funeral establishment and the cemetery, but the printed newspaper death notice is an integral part of the entire ritual. Leroy Bowman wrote two decades ago about the function

of the obituary.

> Of more importance, however, for the conduct of the funeral, is the loss of person to person communication of information about the death and the funeral. It becomes known in much larger measure through the obituary notices in the daily papers. However, because of the cost, not every funeral is advertised in the papers and many are noted in only one or a few such daily periodicals. The news articles of deaths cover a very few of all the deaths, since the large number are of little news value. As a consequence, as city culture becomes more prevalent, a smaller proportion of friends and acquaintances learn of the occurrence of death before the funeral takes place (1959: 115).

Bowman has made several points that are at variance with the practice in the Johnson City newspapers. First of all, there is no charge for an obituary notice; the paper considers a death to be a "news item" and regularly notifies the community of all deaths. There is a charge for the funeral notice; the funeral home is billed for that cost per line of print, and passes on the charge in the itemized bill to the family.

Secondly, the news value mentioned by Bowman affects the <u>length</u> and <u>placement</u> of the obituary, not its appearance (given local newspaper policy). The family may report involvement in a larger number of church and community activities, for example, and this would result in a more extensive obituary. The placement of the death notice depends upon the judgment of those who set up the newspaper format. Deaths of prominent community leaders are more apt to be "front page news."

Lastly, even though the "city culture" has grown and

the population expanded, the length of the obituary and funeral notice has remained constant in recent years. Apparently, then, death is given more attention by the newspapers in this sample than those with which Bowman was familiar 20 years ago.

The newspaper audience is much more extensive than those who will actually attend the memorial service or interment. The audience is much larger even than the number of people in the community that will "drop by" the funeral home, "pay their last respects," and sign the register. In one sense, then, as far as much of the community is concerned, the chief presentation of the deceased is done via the death notice in the paper. In a community as large as Johnson City many deaths would go unnoticed without the printed obituary and funeral notice. Reflecting Bowman's last comment, if the larger community does not learn of the death through the newspaper report, it will generally go unnoticed until sometime after the funeral.

Proper Presentation

The obituaries and funeral notices will serve as impression management channels which present the deceased "in his best light or face." A study of these "documents" will indicate the manner chosen by the kin to present their departed loved one; it will also indicate in "reflection" what the kin feel is the socially accepted way of presenting this particular relative. This presentation ritual is

inextricably entwined with community customs and expectations. Whereas at the turn of the century certain community "notables" would be the accepted arbiters of the proper way to present the deceased, the passage of time has brought a change in the ritual "guardians." Now the professionals who manage the disposition of the dead can subtly--and not so subtly--make the mourning kin aware of "the proper way to do these things." From the architectural construction of the funeral chapel itself to the "instructions" given when the newly bereaved meet with the undertaker, all is aimed at "helping" and making sure that the presentation is done according to community traditions and expectations. And who should know that better than those professionally trained and dedicated to the preparation and presentation of the deceased?

It is difficult to know whether the community is leading the undertakers, or vice versa. Probably the situation is reciprocal and interactive. The bereaved family group is concerned that their presentation of their deceased relative will be "accepted" by the audience made up of relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and even those whose only contact with the presentation process is through the printed notice in the newspaper. The family allows the professionals to assist them in the right and proper conduct of the ritual from the time of death to the "closing" of the grave. Military publications are disseminated so that chaplains and others know with precision the "right way" to

conduct military funerals and memorials (Department of the Army, 1979: 1-31).

Historic Changes in the Presentation of the Deceased

What are some of the theoretical considerations involved in a study of the presentation of the deceased to the community over a 75-year period? First of all, how will the presentation process itself change over this length of time? Secondly, how will the understandings and ramifications of death itself change as life styles and social processes have been altered, over time, in upper East Tennessee? The contemporary funeral is conducted for the benefit of the living, not the dead. In medieval times funeral services in churches were always funeral masses. That is, the mass was said for the benefit of the newly deceased. There was a real concern with the amount of time that the dead person would have to spend in purgatory. In Roman Catholic medieval theology funeral masses and other rituals had an affect upon the amount of time involved before the departed soul was "ready" to enter Heaven.

Even though this study will examine the presentation of the deceased in the same three-county area over the period from 1900 to 1975, various elements in the geographical and ecological area will have changed. So in a sense four glimpses of the research area will involve four "different" areas. The many strands and cultural components of an area

will undergo varying changes and alterations in custom and expectation in 75 years.

A fourth consideration must be kept in mind: the data sources. These data sources will differ in quantity and meaning in three quarters of a century. Changes in information reflect changes in the community. The main source of data for this longitudinal examination is the newspaper death notice. The data for the presentational process have to be interpreted as to their social meanings by hermeneutes who are themselves social creatures.

Three areas of change will be examined. The first will be the changes in information that have occurred over 75 years, in Johnson City and its contiguous three-county area. The second will be the changes in the nature of the community over time. The third will trace changes in the nature and understanding of death itself which have occurred between 1900 and 1975.

Changes in Information

The Johnson City Comet for 1900 is the best source of information for the city and the three counties it served as a trade center. It was a four-page weekly published in Johnson City in the late eighteen and early nineteen-hundreds, carrying the "news" from Johnson City and Washington County and other communities in the county. It also served readers in several other counties; however, Carter and Unicoi counties were covered the most thoroughly. There was no City Directory

for Johnson City until 1908; the majority of the information about the city and the area must be gleaned from the Comet. Subsequent sample years are from times when the news of the city and the surrounding areas was covered by 16 daily editions per week and a Sunday edition. City directories have been available for the city almost every year since 1908.

The area was dependent upon the Comet in 1900 for county and community news as well as information at state, national, and international levels. The weekly paper served as a "community bulletin board" with news items featured from surrounding communities. For example, "Watauga News" was a column appearing frequently which featured recent items from the Watauga community across the county line in Carter County, about six miles east of Johnson City. Items in the "Watauga News" column were as varied as church activities, recent visitors to the community, travellers, the sick, and the deceased. Embedded in the list of news items were death notices.

In the Comet, deaths of the "less than prominent" were often recorded in one brief sentence, e.g., "Jones child died last Thursday." Death was common and infant mortality was high and the Jones family apparently had little prominence. At times even an adult female would be given little identification or personhood in the column. Such a case would read: "Mr. Tom Smith's wife died last Thursday night in Watauga." The obvious meaning to contemporary readers

was that Mrs. Smith had little social importance if her complete identification was by her husband's name and status. More prominent area citizens were given more extended treatment. These special memoriums were often signed or initialed, or at least the "reporter" was known in the community. Perhaps the reporter was the village "gatherer of information." She may have been the outstanding matron in the community, one who served as the social arbiter, the "Emily Post." Perhaps the writer of the news item was a neighbor, a fellow church member, or even a member of the same kin group.

At the turn of the century Johnson City was small enough to be one community; its population hovered around 4,000. Over the course of the decades it changed from a community to an urban trading center made up of a number of communities. Herbert Gans described even the largest cities as containing many "urban villages" (1962). Along with the urban development that was characteristic of many American communities in the twentieth century, a professionalization of many social functions occurred. This professionalization occurred "across the board," affecting agriculture as truly as it affected education, the clergy, the healing arts, and a broad spectrum of occupations and vocations. This professionalization can be seen in the changes between the Comet in 1900 and the Press-Chronicle in 1975. The same tendency is noticeable in the death notices that appear in the

above-mentioned newspapers.

The emphasis in the newspaper at the turn of the century was on family, kin, neighbors, churches, and the accomplishments of community leaders. The function of a newspaper in a "total" community--Johnson City in 1900--was to emphasize the most deeply held moral and religious values and to publicize the prominent citizens who exemplified and upheld these values. The community in 1900 was something like an "extended family;" people were known and treated by their reputations. In other words, most of the status was acquired rather than achieved. The modern community reverses that, with much more emphasis on achievement. It is expected that the more modern death notices will emphasize achievement. This should result in more information concerning occupations and work skills, educational attainment, and membership in voluntary associations.

The three subsequent years sampled--1925, 1950, and 1975--serve to illustrate the social changes that began to appear the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Johnson City Staff-News was published Tuesday through Saturday mornings in 1925. The Johnson City Chronicle was issued Monday through Friday afternoons; the papers put out a combined Sunday edition. From 1925 and forward the newspaper that served this three-county area demonstrated a growing emphasis on business and industrial life and an increased attention given to national and international news. In

Bowman's terms it was serving a "city civilization" (1973: 112). Since 1934 the community has been served by morning, evening, and Sunday editions of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle; their emphasis has changed little from the papers in 1925. These newspapers serve a modern community that is "limited" rather than "total." The population is large enough and the area broad enough that many people's reputations are unknown. One would not expect a modern death notice in a newspaper which claims a circulation area of 400,000 to report deaths like a weekly paper that served in a homey, folksy manner several thousand people at the most.

In all three of the more recent newspaper samples--1925, 1950, and 1975--notices of death were given typically in two forms. These are labelled obituaries and funeral notices. The obituaries typically carried biographical data included along with the announcement of the death. The funeral notices usually cited details of the visitation procedures, "viewing," memorial service, and interment. Oftentimes one edition of the newspaper would carry the news of the death in an obituary. A subsequent edition would carry the details of the ritual disposition of the remains.

The 1900 Comet reflects a different era. There were never separate obituaries and funeral notices. Several questions are raised by the apparent differences in length of death notice as well as the differences in style. What does the length of the death notice signify about the newly

deceased? What does the presence or absence of a eulogy say about the deceased as well as the society? How did the death notices and the obituaries treat those of varying community standing, wealth, or race. Were religious and civic values apparently stressed more frequently in the older death notices? An examination of the obituary data from the four samples is expected to furnish answers for at least some of these theoretical inquiries. Furthermore, did the death notices shift in their emphasis on biographical data included, and if so, in what direction? How did the trend toward professionalization and the "city civilization" affect the handling of the deceased?

This discussion of the timely changes in the sources of information have included the changing nature of the community newspapers. The passing years also saw the community grow in size and complexity; this resulted in the publishing of an annual City Directory. The urbanization and "citification" of the nation as a whole was reflected in upper East Tennessee. The social and cultural changes are expected to be reflected in a decrease in status ascription and an increase in status achievement. These changes should show up in the printed newspaper presentation of the deceased.

Changes in the Nature of the Community

It can prove helpful in the study of a community to use concepts such as "total community" and its opposite "the community of limited liability" (Greer, 1962: 107-111). A

A total community is one in which all the basic needs of the inhabitants can be met (food, housing, employment, for example). A community of limited liability is one in which some of the inhabitants' basic needs are available, but beyond which they must go for the remainder of their necessities (Greer, 1962: 108). It is assumed that the community under study has moved from the total toward the limited type during the 75-year period. The community, of course, refers to the three-county area in upper East Tennessee: Washington, Carter, and Unicoi. The largest city in this area is Johnson City, in Washington County.

An area in the process of change toward the limited community is experiencing growth in both population and density. This growth typically occurs simultaneously in a move away from the extended family system and toward the isolated nuclear family.

Another process which operates prallel with the movement toward the limited community is called urbanization. In urbanization the society becomes less oriented toward the rural and more toward the urban lifestyles and values. Accompanying this process one expects to find increased access to the area in transportation modes: rail, air, and highway. Changes in occupations and vocations will be expected with a deemphasis on the agricultural and a concentration of commercial and industrial enterprises, thus producing an increase in nonfarm employment. Accompanying the urbanization process

is the emphasis on formal education. Increases in the commercial and industrial spheres will bring about a further division of labor, increased occupational specialization, and separation into classes by occupation, income, and lifestyle. As the populace leaves the country to move to employment in the city it is expected that families will lose some of their ties with their extended kin groups. Urban families will more often be nuclear in living arrangement and orientation (Jones, 1966: 8-10; Baali and Vandiver, 1970: xii-xiii).

What will this move toward the "city culture," seen also in the process labelled urbanization, should be expected to produce (Bowman, 1959: 115)? Will there be a change toward smaller obituaries? Will family and kin connections be muted with more details included which would emphasize achievement rather than ascription? Will this urbanization produce more or less emphasis on voluntary associations in religious and civic life? Will the death notices carry additional information about education and occupational history? An analysis of the longitudinal death notice data will contribute answers to these theoretical inquiries. Because death and funeral practices would not escape the social changes involved in volunteerism and urbanization, it will be expected that details would appear in the funeral notices concerning funeral homes, officiants, memorial services, and places of interment.

The author assumes that the social changes which have taken place in the United States will also be reflected in

upper East Tennessee. No studies have been found which have examined funeral practices in the region being studied. This writer's personal experiences as a clergyman have not revealed differences in custom between this area, central Kentucky, and southern Indiana.

Changes in the Nature of Death

Death rates have decreased consistently during this 75-year period. This decrease, operating in conjunction with other persisting social changes, has contributed to the changing nature of death and therefore changing social perceptions of the meaning of death. This is true in the American culture at large and it is anticipated to be true of upper East Tennessee as well. Along with the generally higher death rates at the beginning of the century, there were higher death rates for infants and children. The twentieth century has seen radical refinements in medical knowledge and technology. There has been a parallel growth in the development of hospitals and other health-connected facilities. These developments, then, have contributed to the declining death rate. Death, not unknown or unexpected in 1900, was considered a strange intruder in 1975, except for the elderly. In light of these social trends, what can be expected in attitudes toward death and the presentation of the deceased to the community?

As death became less common, fewer people were familiar with it close at hand. Garrity and Wyss called that the

"decreasing visibility of death."

> Authors who write about the behavioral aspects of death frequently assert that the technological advances of western society have resulted in decreasing contact with and awareness of natural death. For example, death now typically takes place outside of the home in hospitals and nursing homes. Lerner shows that in New York City over 70 per cent of the deaths occur in institutions and that this proportion grows yearly. This increased institutional involvement replaces family members as primary care-givers with professionals who presumably enhance the chances of recovery. Hence the opportunity for patient-family communication diminishes as does the probability that family and friends will experience significant events during the dying process. After death, the family is replaced in the tasks relating to body preparation, display and disposal by the mortician and his colleagues who typically deal with the corpse from the hospital to the grave with little more required of the surviving family than that they select a coffin, attend a viewing and funeral, and pay the bill (1976: 209-210).

Clark Forrest took the same tack in the introduction to his study of the changing funeral customs in Louisiana:

> This paper will not place emphasis upon the emotions that are associated with funerals, but upon the fact that the highly organized funerary profession now takes care of all the preparations which were handled in the past by the family (1977:4).

Leroy Bowman pointed out two decades ago this identical social change when he noted the "increase in the professionalization of funeral services since the Civil War" (1959: 117). There is, then, in contemporary American society, a "decreasing visibility of death." Less opportunity exists to view death as it occurs in one's circle of family and friends.

With this change in familiarity with death, has there been a corresponding change toward more euphemism in the death reports in the papers? Have obituaries become more or

less "historical" in the inclusion of biographical "facts" in obituaries in the 75 years covered in this investigation? What does it mean for East Tennessee society if the use of euphemistic expressions has increased? What would the increase or decrease in eulogistic treatment of the dead signify in our understanding of Appalachian culture? As this Appalachian region becomes more urbanized and thus less a "total" community will we anticipate a much more "secular" treatment of those who have passed and thus find little "religious" data? An analysis of the data from the death notices will indicate the extent of the trends in this portion of southern Appalachia.

With the much higher death rate in 1900 death was a common occurrence. When death is common in a community, what behaviors are evident? Examples from history are helpful here. Historical accounts report the almost fatalistic attitude toward death in Europe when the plague was common. Death was so widespread then that a shortage of clerical officiants and gravediggers occurred. The same attitude toward death was seen during the slaughter experienced in the trench warfare from 1914 to 1918. Remarque caught the current attitude toward death in All Quiet on the Western Front (1929). Though casualty rates were much lower in the recent Vietnam War, the American public was struck at times by the televised stack of plastic "body bags" at the Saigon Airport, ready to be airlifted back to the United States.

A hypothetical stance is suggested, then, in the fact of ubiquitous death at the turn of the century. With death so common one can expect a much more commonplace approach to the death notice, almost casual and matter-of-fact in nature. Subsequently, with the continued diminution in the rates, one can expect a more formal approach to the announcement of that which has become much less common (and thus, more significant).

The almost casual and even humorous treatment of death in colonial America was discussed in Margaret Coffin's Death in Early America (1976). In the chapter "Gravestones and Epitaphs" the attitude toward death can be seen in the decorations on the stones.

> There have been periods in gravestone ornamentation--beginning with the horrid skulls and crossbones, skeletons, and hour glasses that have run out of time in the Pilgrim century, changing to winged cherubs, angels, and attempts at realistic portraiture in the eighteenth century (Coffin, 1976: 161-164).

These included cherubs, skulls, skeletons, accompanied by pointed and ironic epitaphs (Coffin, 1976: 159-186). An example from Charleston in 1754 read "Yesterday for me Today for Thee" and a bas-relief skeleton was carved at the top of the stone (Coffin, 1976: 161). One humorous example is due here:

> Here lies the body of Jonathan Fiddle.
> On the 30th day of June, 1868
> He went out of tune (Coffin, 1976: 183).

With the decreased mortality rate and the accompanying changes in attitudes, these kinds of cemetery decorations

would be almost unthinkable in America today. In fact, the old church cemetery has evolved into a well-groomed "burial park" where no headstones are permitted. Burial plots are marked by metal plates flush with the ground, the better to facilitate grass cutting. From a distance a modern "memorial garden" has little resemblance to a cemetery or graveyard.

Churchgoers in 1900 might have to tie their horse to a tree or rail and walk through the graveyard past grandmother's grave to get to the church house. Suburban land prices have been so elevated since the Second World War that new congregations have not attempted to purchase the lot for the new building and a corresponding parcel of land for a church graveyard. The church and the cemetery have been effectively separated. So there is a less intimate connection of religion with death and burial.

Population has grown and communities have expanded in area. Thus it can be hypothesized that newspapers will have changed their presentation of the deceased.

The urbanization process and the parallel social change from the total to the limited community has been discussed previously. This shift which has resulted in changes in specialization and the division of labor has been accompanied by the process of professionalization. This society-wide professionalization has occurred not only in health care and the health professions but also in the "disposal of dead human bodies" (as it is termed in the Tennessee Code Annotated).

In 1900, before the time that "undertaking" was a widely accepted service, there was specialization in the handling of the dead. Even though the "laying out" of the corpse was not done by an undertaker in those days, there were often within kin groups and neighborhoods those who "specialized" in the preparation of the dead for "viewing" and burial. Garrity and Wyss described the "folk undertaking" that was practiced in the mountains of eastern Kentucky in the period from 1865-1910:

> After death, the body was prepared by friends and neighbors who verified that life had actually departed, washed the body and applied lotions to retard mortification. The corpse was dressed in its best clothes or burial clothes prepared prior to death. Once in the coffin, or laid out on planks for visitation, the eyelids were shut and weighted with coins and the mouth closed with a bandage around the head and jaw (1976: 214).

Clark Forrest described the division of labor practiced among the French ethnics in Livingston Parish in the early part of this century:

> The body was prepared by a member of the family or by someone brought in from the community who had had previous experience. Many times a body would be prepared by a group of people. Men always prepared the body of deceased males unless the deceased was a child. Women always prepared the body of deceased females (1977: 5).

Garrity and Wyss wrote of the next more recent period in eastern Kentucky as the burial customs changed further toward the contemporary.

> During this period the number of death specialists increased steadily, particularly on the peripheries of the mountain region; coffin makers, tombstone and monument carvers, funeral directors and

> embalmers became established parts of their communities. Though some interior regions, like Breathitt County, acquired the service of local undertakers later, funeral directors from Lexington solicited the mountaineer's business in local papers and publications. In some coal towns like Hazard furniture and hardware stores offered undertaking and embalming services (1976: 215).

The changes that have been described as taking place in eastern Kentucky will probably be paralleled in East Tennessee. Death notice data would show that this specialization in the handling of the deceased has shifted over time from the "lay" or "amateur" to the professional and commercial.

Forrest wrote about contemporary funeral customs in Livingston Parish, Louisiana:

> The last year in which an unembalmed person was buried by the McKneely & Son Funeral Homes was about 1970 according to Mr. Harry McKneely, Jr. and Mr. Bryant Faust. They both are Licensed Embalmers and Funeral Directors. McKneely is also one of the owners of the firm. This compares to the year 1964 given by Mr. Henry J. Beatty, Funeral Director and Licensed Embalmer for the Thomas Funeral Homes at Hammond. Mr. Beatty further said that embalming is now so common that he no longer asks the family whether they want such services (1977: 12).

A final comment will help to characterize the social change that has taken the loved one's body from his residence to the impersonal confines of the funeral parlor. Would people in 1900 turn over their newly deceased loved ones to professionals and strangers? A rural, mountain attitude toward strangers would be: "only trust the family and kin group." What does it mean when a body is turned over to strangers for their mystic and mysterious ministrations, in the back region,

with no monitoring? In modern societies, unpleasant events have been moved from public to private surroundings (Lofland, 1975: 37). Modern man has apparently found the preparation and presenting of the "dead human body" "unpleasant" and has become willing to allow those mysterious "near-outcasts"--the undertakers--to do the "dirty work" (Hughes, 1958: 49-52, 70-72, 122, 137). Hughes specified the "undertaking parlor" in his discussion (70).

The ritual teams (to use a Goffman phrase) are made up of all those that are involved with the corpse from the time of death through the time of interment. With little utilization of trained and experienced undertakers in 1900 the ritual team would typically consist of members of the family, neighbors and clergy. How will the composition of the ritual teams be altered over the 75-year period? Roberts and Salomone described the changes as they analyzed them:

> . . .there was a time when the disposition of the dead was exclusively a family affair of a religious nature, presided over jointly by the next of kin and the preacher. Home, church, and cemetery were the locus of funerary activity.
>
> Technological, organizational and ideological changes have conspired to alter the contemporary situation drastically. The invention of preservatives, and more recently advances in cosmoetology [sic] and dermasurgery have advanced the art of embalming. Embalming gives funeral directors "possession control" of the body in their establishments, which then becomes the central place for conducting funerary activities. At first, funeral homes replaced family homes for purposes of the wake; with the architectural development of funeral chapels, they have come a long way toward replacing churches as the place of the funeral service. The ultimate is acheived [sic] at Forest Lawn where the funeral home, complete with chapel, is located in the middle of the cemetery (1977: 2-3).

The development of specialization and division of labor dictate that changes in the teams will occur as the area becomes more a "city civilization."

Another aspect of the changing handling of the deceased and the nature of death involves the use of Goffman's terminology of "front" and "back" regions. In a performance, the performer will present himself in a particular way; this Goffman has labelled a "front" (1959: 22). The performer displays his "front" in a given "setting" (Goffman, 1959: 22).

> First, there is the "setting," involving furniture, decor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it. A setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking, so that those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it. It is only in exceptional circumstances that the setting follows along with the performers; we see this in the funeral cortege, the civic parade, and the dream-like processions that kings and queens are made of (1959: 22) [my emphasis].

Goffman expanded his explanation of performances with the concept "personal front." This included

> . . .insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex; age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like (1959: 23-24).

Goffman continued to use the dramatic analogy with his specification of "regions." "A region may be defined as any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception" (1959: 106). He expanded his discussion of region by pointing out differences in "front stage" and "back stage."

"Given a particular performance as a point of reference, it will sometimes be convenient to use the term 'front region' to refer to the place where the performance is given" (1959: 107). Thinking of the "viewing room" at the funeral parlor as the front region, it is helpful to utilize Goffman's terms for the regions of the funeral establishment not available to either the bereaved or the general public. These regions can be characterized by Goffman's concepts of "back region" and "back stage."

> . . .it should be just as clear that there may be another region--a "back region" or "back-stage"--where the suppressed facts make an appearance.
>
> A back region or backstage may be defined as a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course (1959: 111-112).

Goffman's discussion of back-region helps the social scientist analyze the private areas where the corpse is prepared; the preparation of the grave is also done away from the eyes of the public.

> Very commonly the back region of a performance is located at one end of the place where the performance is presented, being cut off from it by a partition and guarded passageway. By having the front and back regions adjacent in this way, a performer out in front can receive back-stage assistance while the performance is in progress and can interrupt his performance momentarily for brief periods of relaxation. In general, of course, the back region will be the place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude (Goffman, 1959: 113).

Goffman was careful to point out that front and back stage were not all of "reality;" there is a rather large "residual" he called the "outside."

> Two kinds of bounded regions have been considered; front regions where a particular performance is or may be in progress, and back regions where action occurs that is related to the performance but inconsistent with the appearance fostered by the performance. It would seem reasonable to add a third region, a residual one, namely, all places other than the two already identified. Such a region could be called "the outside" (1959: 134-135).

"Outsiders" may not actually see the show (attend the funeral) however, because of the ritualized conventions common at funerals they can imagine what it is to be like. Goffman continued his discussion of the "outside:"

> Given a particular performance as the point of reference, we have distinguished three crucial roles on the basis of function: those who perform; those performed to; and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it (1959: 144).

It is expected that these three groups will be present in the three-county area, whether in 1900 or 1975. How has the composition of the "performers" changed from 1900 to 1975? Will the constituency making up the "audience" shift over time? Will those who compose the "outsiders" change over the three-quarters of a century, and if so, in what direction?

Another concept from Goffman that seems to have value in the extension of the dramaturgical perspective is that of "teams." "I will use the term 'performance team' or, in short, 'team' to refer to any set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single routine" (1959: 79). With this in mind one can view the presentation of the deceased in several ways. First, all the personnel involved in the presentation may make up one complex team. This team would contain

funeral professionals, clergy, and the bereaved as one team, all involved in the ritual presentation. Secondly, it is possible to think of the elaborate presentation ritual really involving three teams. The "technical" team is made up of embalmers, morticians, and funeral home personnel. The officiating team is made up of the professional clergy and other church related personnel who have been trained in funerary practices. The third team is composed of the bereaved with particular involvement in the drama (but no training!). This team typically is made up of kin who must select the funeral establishment, select the burial site, and make other decisions as required by the first two teams (and society, the "audience").

Goffman elaborated upon teams as they are managed by team leaders. The team leader in the presentation of the deceased is the funeral director. He is the overall "master of ceremonies."

> When one examines a team-performance, one often finds . . .that some one is given the right to direct and control the progress of the dramatic action. . . . Whether it is a funeral, a wedding, a bridge party, a one-day sale, a hanging, or a picnic, the director may tend to see the performance in terms of whether or not it went "smoothly" "effectively," and "without a hitch," and whether or not all possible disruptive contingencies were prepared for in advance.
>
> In many performances two important functions must be fulfilled, and if the team has a director he will often be given the special duty of fulfilling these functions.
>
> First, the director may be given the special duty of bringing back into line any member of the team whose performance becomes unsuitable. Soothing and sanctioning are the corrective processes ordinarily involved.

> Secondly, the director may be given the special duty of allocating the parts in the performance and the personal front that is employed in each part (Goffman, 1959: 97-98) [my emphasis].

It is possible that the team leader will be the clergyman who conducts the religious service, both at the funeral parlor and at graveside. Goffman spoke of the team leader as the coordinator of the various involved personnel. Quite possibly the leadership alternates between the funeral director and the clergyman, in a phased situation. The funeral director is the team leader until time for the religious service. After the service the funeral director is in charge of transferring the remains from the funeral chapel to the burial site. The final ritual at the burial site is usually conducted by the clergyman. At any rate, at any given time, someone is fulfilling the team leader role. Theoretical questions are raised here. How has team leadership changed over time in this three-county area? How has the primacy of team leadership changed in the same period? In the presentation ritual under scrutiny, will there be "stars?" Will specific members of the ritual team always be the leaders?

> When we study a routine which requires a team of several performers for its presentation, we sometimes find that one member of the team is made the star, lead, or center of attention (Goffman, 1959: 100-101).

Then followed a discussion in which Goffman postulated the possibility that the deceased is the "star" of the show, even though it would be difficult to conceive of the corpse as the "team leader."

> [D]uring the showing of the body at a funeral home, usually the social setting and all participants, including both the bereaved team and the establishment's team, will be arranged so as to express their feelings for the deceased and their ties to him; he will be the center of the show and the dramatically dominant participant in it. However, since the bereaved are inexperienced and grief-laden, and since the star of the show must stay in character as someone who is in a deep sleep, the undertaker himself will direct the show, although he may all the while be self-effacing in the presence of the corpse or be in another room of the establishment getting ready for another showing (1959: 101).

Even though the deceased may be the "star" of the show, there is hardly any doubt in the mind of any participant or even the audience that the operation is carefully coordinated by the professionally trained funeral personnel. A possible conflict in this kind of situation could come from the clergy involved in the presentation ceremony. The clergy may feel that the "show" is being mismanaged by the funeral personnel; the clergy may even think that the dramatic presentation is invalid theologically. This is one of the questions that Roberts and Salomone asked in their recent inquiry into possible conflicts between clergy and funeral directors. They found few difficulties:

> From what we read, and from what we reasoned, we came to believe the clergy would be glad to get some of their alleged hidden resentments toward funerals and funeral directors off their chests. We, therefore, constructed a set of questions centering around what we considered the major social and economic issues surrounding contemporary funeral practice (1977: 3).
>
> We believed resentment might show up in the area of spiritual matters, since this is the special realm of the clergy. Again we were surprised. Only 27% thought contemporary funeral practices were

> inconsistent with Christian belief. Most also believed today's funeral customs allowed them ample opportunity to tend to the spiritual needs of the family and the deceased.
>
> Apparently if the clergy feels discontent it isn't with respect to matters of the soul. The clergy may feel the interment and funeral services are their business, while the wake is the funeral director's. They gave little indication they suspected the funeral director was taking over ministerial activities.
>
> The clergy apparently is content with the division of labor as it now stands. They didn't indicate they felt they were "losing ground' [sic] to the funeral director. Nor did they think the funeral director was taking over activities that could be considered the proper responsibility of the deceased's family (1977: 7-8).

Even if there are differences within the ritual team, how would they be expressed in the death notice?

So if there are ideological conflicts between funeral personnel and clergy, it is not expected that they would become known to the bereaved kin. As the prominence of the professional funeral personnel has increased in more recent times, how can possible tensions be noticed? Since the clergy have little to do with the composition of obituaries and funeral notices in the Johnson City papers, one could expect perhaps an increase of information concerning the funeral establishment and a corresponding decrease in information concerning the clergy and the church. An examination of the data will perhaps show if that trend is apparent.

Many parts of Goffman's framework and concepts can prove to be valuable tools for the understanding of the interactions involved in the presentation of the dead to the community, This presentation will be discussed within the

overall dramaturgical perspective.

The dramaturgical perspective is well described by Mitchell in a recent book:

> Goffman conceives of social behavior as "performances" among "actors" who adjust as best they can the "expressions" they "give" and "give off" so as to convey the "impression" that they are what they claim to be. This is done in "front" regions where the actor is in the presence of an "audience" of others who are attuned to viewing the performance as authentic or unauthentic, sincere or insincere, believable or not believable. Actors "prepare" their performances in "back" regions where they are typically not "on" and where they are able to anticipate the chances of pleasing or not pleasing the audience. However, when they are "on," actors are generally aware that audiences expect a coherence "among settings, appearance and manner" that will contribute to a general willingness to "tactfully" accept the appearances of others. In all this, interactions are seen as fragile, delicate things that "can be shattered by very minor mishaps," such as "unmeant gestures or faux pas," and which often require certain "techniques" of performance to sustain them (1978: 84).

How has the ritual presentation changed in its use of front and back regions? Changes can be anticipated and their directions and dimensions will be illustrated by the death notice data. Parallel ritual uses of front and back regions can be illustrated in other common passage-rites. These rites include birth, christening, confirmation (passage into adolescence,) graduation, wedding, and retirement. In each of these, some of the interaction occurs front stage, for the selected audience, and some of it is back stage. In a christening, for example, the dressing and preparation of the infant takes place back stage, as well as the preparation of church and clergy. The front stage christening rite itself

may require only a few minutes.

How do contemporary customs differ from previous ones in delimiting the proper regions? There seems to be a continuing trend to separate the world of the dead from the world of the living. Jackson argues: "for all practical purposes, the dead world has become detached in contemporary society from the living world. Natural death, at least, has increasingly faded from view" (1977: 237).

The changing nature of death has been examined in this section. Death has become much less common in contemporary society (see area death rates in subsequent chapters). Specialization and professionalization have brought about many changes in our society. Several of Erving Goffman's presentational concepts have been used in this section to point up that changes in the nature of death are a part of larger changes that have occurred in the society as a whole.

Summary

Various theoretical considerations have been examined in this material. Erving Goffman's general approach to human interaction labelled "dramaturgy" has been suggested as a helpful way to understand the ritual process which occurs in American society in the disposition of the dead. Other terms and phrases connected to the understanding of life as drama have been discussed, including "front" and "back region," "performance," "presentation" and "teams."

Three general theoretical perspectives were discussed in terms of the presentation of the deceased in upper East Tennessee between 1900 and 1975. The three were changes in information, changes in the nature of the community, and changes in the nature and understanding of death. The changing society was examined in the light of such concepts as urbanization and the move from total communities to communities of limited liability.

It was suggested that upper East Tennessee appears to be moving away from its former rural orientation. This movement suggests that the presentation of the deceased in the community will also undergo substantive changes in the time from 1900 to 1975. It is expected that these changes will be reflected in the death notices to be examined.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED, 1900-1975

The methodology outlined in this section should make it possible for other investigators to replicate this study or to conduct similar research which will extend this study using similar procedures. Newspaper death notices can be a valuable source of information for a society. The decision was made to investigate the presentation of the deceased to the community longitudinally in Johnson City, Tennessee, and its contiguous three-county area. All of the death notices from the local newspapers from four different time periods were examined (see the sampling procedure outlined below).

This preliminary examination enabled the retention of some of the death notices and the discarding of others. Death notices were included in the four samples if they met at least one of the first three "geographical" criteria and then met the fourth, a "content" criterion. 1. The deceased died in the three-county area. 2. The deceased was buried in the three-county area. 3. The deceased was a "client" of one of the funeral establishments in the three counties. 4. The death was reported by an obituary, or an obituary and a funeral notice.

These criteria were developed in order to gain a sample composed of those whose presentation ritual reflected

the customs of this upper East Tennessee area. It is felt that presentational and funerary customs will reflect the attitudes of the kin group and the "funeral professionals" who plan and manage the ritual from death through the interment. In a majority of the cases--other than in the 1900 sample--the death notices met all four criteria (the 1900 sample contained only death notices, not separate obituaries and funeral notices). In some of the cases the deceased died out of the three-county area but was buried within the area in a local cemetery. In some of the cases the deceased was embalmed and prepared for burial in one of the local funeral establishments but buried in a cemetery outside the three-county area.

Deaths and burials that would have occurred completely outside the customs and traditions of upper East Tennessee were not considered. Some local obituaries, for example, report the deaths of those who have lived in the area in the distant past, or who have never lived within this area at all. Those obituaries were not considered to be a part of the sample under investigation since it was assumed that those persons would have been "influenced," "contaminated," by a different set of attitudes and "presentational customs." The sample was delimited by this means because the newspaper utilized typically reported deaths of local interest; in addition this procedure reduced the size of the sample.

Four sample years have been selected for this

longitudinal study. Historical perspective has been gained and social changes in custom and tradition can be plotted over a 75-year period. Several factors influenced the selection of the specific sample years. One is changes in legal statutes. An examination of the legislative acts in Tennessee and the Tennessee Code Annotated (TCA) revealed various changes. For example, in 1873 the legislature first regulated cemeteries in the state. Not until 1909 did the state legislature set up the State Board of Embalmers to begin the licensing and regulating of embalmers and undertakers (Tennessee Public Acts, 1909: Ch. 159). (This Act was not revised until 1934). In 1913, the lawmakers first required a death certificate for every "dead human body" within the state borders (Tennessee Public Acts, 1913). Thus, at the turn of the century legal regulation of the presentation of the deceased was just beginning and customs should not have been affected by such formalizations.

The next sample year selected was 1925 (each subsequent sample year is separated from the others by a quarter century). The year 1925 is centered in a decade of post-war recovery and economic boom. It was also over a decade after the legislative changes; thus time was available for the society to have thoroughly incorporated the legal innovations.

The year 1950 saw the nation once again finished with a world war and beginning an era of economic prosperity. In 1951 the legislature brought their regulation of embalmers

and undertakers up to date with additional, more precise legislation. The title of Chapter 13 of the Tennessee Public Acts reads:

> AN ACT to provide for the creation for the State of Tennessee for a State Board of licensing funeral directors and embalmers, providing for the appointment and qualifications of the members of the Board, and the organization and jurisdiction thereof; for the purpose of safeguarding life and health, and of promoting sanitation and the prevention of the spread of disease, by requiring that only properly qualified persons shall engage in funeral directing and embalming; prescribing the duties and powers of said Board, to issue certificates, and to regulate the practice of funeral directing and embalming in the State of Tennessee, to fix the standards of qualification and eligibility for the practice thereof; to authorize the collection and expenditure of fees for the purpose of this Act; and to make all such legal rules and regulations necessary and proper to carry out the purposes of this Act; and providing penalties for the violation of same; and to repeal all laws inconsistent or in conflict therewith (1951: 35).

Such legislation illustrated the continuing professionalization of the funeral industry, for it used more precise language and clearer definitions than previous Acts. The duties and powers of the State Board, as well as the specific criteria for the licensing of embalmers and funeral directors were spelled out (Tennessee Public Acts, 1951: 37-37-44).

The year 1975, twenty-five years removed from the immediate post-World War II era, found the nation just recovering from the Vietnam years and entering a time of further economic expansion. The state legislature passed the "Reorganization Act of 1959" which restructured the state administrative and regulatory machinery. The Board of Funeral

Directors and Embalmers was placed under the Division of Regulatory Boards in the Department of Insurance and Banking (Tennessee Public Acts, 1959: Ch. 9 § 15). The legislature increased the compensation of State Board members in 1967 and 1973 (Tennessee Public Acts, 1967: Ch. 372 § 2; 1975: Ch. 236, §§ 1).

In 1974, the state legislature made further changes in the laws pertaining to funeral directors and embalmers. The state tightened the regulations on them by providing for suspension of licenses and criteria to be met for license renewal. They also increased consumer protection by requiring specific labelling on caskets and vaults listing the materials used in manufacturing (Tennessee Public Acts, 1974: Ch. 491).

As further evidence of the consistent increase of regulation and professionalization of the funeral industry in Tennessee, a pamphlet was published by the state in 1974 apparently for the guidance of funeral directors and embalmers. It was entitled "Laws, Rules and Regulations Governing Burial Insurance And The Practice of Funeral Directing And Embalming: Directory of Funeral Homes, 1974." The directory contained the names and addresses of 413 funeral homes in the state. An examination of data from the four sample years will give an opportunity to trace and explain changing social customs centering in the presentation of the dead to the community.

The Three-County Area

A number of reasons will be offered for the selection of this particular geographical area. First of all, the writer is a localite and the study of this area is a convenience. I have personally officiated at rites of passage such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. As a college student I served as student minister to rural Kentucky and Indiana congregations between 1948 and 1950. As a seminarian I served rural churches in the same states from 1950 to 1955.

I have served as a military chaplain since 1958 with both the National Guard and the U.S. Army Reserve. In my capacity as both civilian and military clergyman I have officiated at dozens of funerals, in both city and country settings. In this way I have observed the presentation rituals from the inside.

Secondly, the Johnson City newspapers carry rather large obituaries and funeral notices. This available data is rich in information.

Thirdly, Johnson City is located in Appalachia, situated only 35 miles from North Carolina and 25 miles from Virginia, both mountainous Appalachian states. This community is relatively small, with a population of about 40,000 in mid-1975. A community of this size offers a "manageable" number of deaths. The fourth reason for the appropriateness of this region is that the city is changing in size quite slowly; its analysis is made simpler by that fact.

A final reason for the concentration on Johnson City and its surrounding area is that it is quite homogeneous as a community with relatively little in-migration. Appalachia has been noted for its "ethnic homogeneity" and consistently low rate of in-migration. Johnson City and the three-county area are no exception to this. A pilot study of ethnic surnames was done by this writer in 1975, based on obituary data. It was shown that nearly 85% of the deceased had Anglo-Saxon names. This section of the country is solidly Anglo-Saxon and representative of the "White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant" stereotype.

A prior study carried out on the basis of obituary and funeral notice data concentrated on the five-county tier which constitutes the easternmost section of Tennessee (Hall, 1976). A decision was made to further delimit the study to the three-county area which is most fully covered by the Johnson City Press-Chronicle. There were 1,938 obituaries carried in that newspaper in 1975. Approximately two-thirds of them reported the demise of residents of the five-county upper East Tennessee tier. Eighty-two percent of these deceased were from the three-county region most thoroughly covered by the newspaper in question. The Press-Chronicle serves Johnson City and Washington County where it is located; it is also widely read in Carter County and its county seat Elizabethton. It further serves Unicoi County, which has Erwin as its county seat. The two other counties which were

involved in the preliminary study are Sullivan and Johnson. Sullivan County, the most populous of the five counties, is served most thoroughly by two urban dailies, one each in Kingsport and Bristol. Johnson County, with its county seat Mountain City, is also served by the Bristol daily newspaper. The Press-Chronicle serves as a major news source for the three counties selected for study; it does not function in this way for Sullivan or Johnson counties. With this coverage in mind, then, it was decided to concentrate on the three-county area.

The Newspapers

The Johnson City Comet was the community newspaper in 1900. It was a four-page weekly that is presently available on microfilm in the library of East Tennessee State University, in Johnson City. Seventy-two death notices met one or both of the first two criteria specified earlier. None of these death notices made any reference to funeral establishments. The morning Johnson City Staff-News and the evening Chronicle were the city's papers in 1925; they issued a combined Sunday edition. These editions were also available on microfilm. A six month sample of obituaries was considered sufficient for the years since 1900 because of the hundreds of obituaries available. The six month sample for 1925 was gained by using the death notices from the odd months of that year, e.g., January, March, etc. The "alternate month"

sample was simpler to obtain than a randomly drawn sample from the three complete universes. One hundred ninety-two obituaries met one or more of the criteria and thus constituted the 1925 sample.

The Johnson City Press-Chronicle was founded in 1934. After an examination of their morning, evening, and Sunday editions for 1950, four hundred forty-five obituaries were obtained that met the criteria specified above. The six month sample for 1950 used the death notices from the even months of that year, e.g., February, April, etc. These newspapers were also on microfilm.

An analysis of a six month sample (or roughly 50%) from the 1975 newspapers supplied 551 death notices that met the above-mentioned criteria. This sample came from the odd months of the year in the same way as the sample from 1925. Death notices from the 1975 newspapers have been clipped and filed alphabetically by months by this writer.

Data from Death Notices

The deaths of persons in 1900 were reported in the Comet by either a death notice or a eulogy. In general, the eulogistic article served as the death notice. The three more recent samples typically presented the deceased in both obituary and funeral notice. Only those deaths reported by obituaries, or obituaries and funeral notices, were available for use, since the funeral notice by itself did not furnish

sufficient information.

A four-point longitudinal study has been done on a total of 1,260 deaths as reported in Johnson City newspapers, printed over a 75-year period. A prior analysis has shown that about 65 different kinds of information may appear in death notices. (In the 1975 sample the "death notice" is made up of information contained in the combined obituary-funeral notice).

The obituaries and funeral notices were examined for separate items. After many hundreds were analyzed the 65 items accounted for the data in the notices. A data sheet was prepared which contained the spaces for all the standard items of information carried by the obituaries and funeral notices (a sample Data Sheet is included as Appendix A). The categories discovered met the criteria mentioned in Holsti's chapter "Coding Content Data" (1969: 94-126). These criteria were summarized as:

> categories should reflect the purposes of the research, be exhaustive, be mutually exclusive, independent, and be derived from a single classification principle (Holsti, 1969: 95).

Even though the single death notices can be considered "units of analysis," the individual bits of information appearing within the death notices are called "recording units." These individual bits are made up in part of the instances by "single words" and in other instances by "themes." According to Holsti, the theme is "a single assertion about some subject" (1969: 116).

The recording units were extracted from the obituaries-funeral notices and transferred to the data sheets. This "regularized" the data for subsequent coding and tabulation. The data clustered logically in six classes of information (Holsti, 1969: 94-95). These six classes are: 1. Identification of the deceased; 2. Demographic variables; 3. Migration data; 4. Status variables; 5. Morbidity data; and 6. Funerary details. Some of the items from each of these six general classes occur in most death notices. The fourth class "Status variables," is subdivided into two parts. Part A is "Status in life," and Part B is "Status in death." (See Appendix B for the six classes of clustered data). Appendix C exhibits sample obituaries and death notices from the four sample years.

The first class of data is the identification of the deceased. The variable in this class which will be analyzed is the sex of the deceased.

The second class of data is made up of demographic variables. The first variable utilized in this study from this class is age. The next variable in this class is the number of offspring specified. The third variable in this cluster is race. The race of the deceased is seldom specified in the more recent death notice samples. It is sometimes possible to identify the race of the deceased person by use of street address, religious affiliation, funeral establishment and/or cemetery. Sometimes, of course,

identification of race from obituary data is not possible. The fourth variable in this grouping is level of education. This is often not specified; when it is there is the assumption that it is of special significance to the deceased, or the family. In particular, education beyond the secondary level wss more likely to be specified.

The final demographic variable which will be given attention is the occupation, profession, or work history of the deceased. The more recent obituary samples supply work history data in greater detail.

The third class of data is migration data. The fact that places of birth and death are reported is admittedly not surprising. These data are an integral part of the presentation process. Migration data, however, were not considered to be pertinent to the general study of the presentation of the deceased to the community.

The fourth class of data furnished by death notices is status variables. One status variable that has been given particular attention is the reporting of denominational preference or congregational affiliation. This reporting has become increasingly important in the more recent obituary samples. Another status variable which has been analyzed is the military history of the deceased. This information can assist in the forming a picture of status in life, as well as indicate the exposure of the person to other customs and cultures, foreign and domestic. Other status variables which

will be discussed in this paper are the specification of the funeral service officiants and the cemetery utilized.

A final potential measurement of status is the size of the death report itself. The size will be measured in three ways: 1. the number of words in the combined obituary-funeral notice; 2. the number of lines in the combined notice, and 3. the number of separate components included out of the maximum of 65. The inference is that social status is related to size. It is assumed that more extensive death reports indicate higher social status.

A fifth class of information generally available in obituaries and funeral notices is labelled morbidity data. These data are concerned with the details surrounding the death. The place where the death occurred is a component of most death notices. The cause of death is another piece of morbidity data specified in many death notices, whatever the sample year.

The sixth and last class of data contained in the death announcement is funerary details--the announcement to the community at large of the details of the mourning, memorializing, and interment ritual. One of the chief reasons for the funeral announcement is the specification of the day and time of the memorial service and interment. The location of the remains prior to the funeral service is often mentioned for the information of all those who may wish to "pay their respects" to the deceased and family by visiting the mourners

and "viewing" the remains. In these more recent death notices, specification of the funeral establishment is prominent. For here, at least in more recent times, the lying-in-state and the memorial service will occur. The identification of the cemetery is another function of the death notice. If the cemetery is not one widely used then it was often located geographically.

Once it was ascertained that sufficient data were available from the four "target" years, the data sheet was constructed (see Appendix A). Then the death notice data were transferred from the newspapers (or microfilm) and placed on the data sheets, one data sheet for each obituary-funeral notice unit. Once the information was extracted from the four samples and placed on the data sheets, a coding plan was devised and the data were coded. Tabulations were run which made possible the selection of important variables for cross-tabulation. Further analysis revealed the inadequacy of the coding categories and additional tabulation was performed "by hand." Once the tabulation was completed, the data were available for analysis.

Twenty-one interviews were completed in the Johnson City and three-county area which required many hours. In addition, visits to cemeteries in Washington, Carter, and Sullivan counties were required. Informants were selected and "discovered" including two funeral directors in Johnson City and one in Elizabethton. Clergy and "lay" informants

were interviewed who were familiar with segments of the community, particularly in the early years of this century. These interviews produced both background and "foreground" information which made it possible to have a more complete understanding of the area in 1900 and 1925, in particular. Those were the times when the funeral industry was in its infancy in this part of the country.

Professional associations, both formal and informal, with fellow clergy and military chaplains, as well as with funeral directors and funeral home personnel, have provided additional information. Attitudes toward the presentational process, gained "back stage," are revealed in casual conversations and discussions of roles and rituals. This information concerns contemporary funerary practices as well as informal discussions about how funerals were conducted and deceased eulogized in the "old days."

Methodological Consequences of the Theoretical Considerations

A discussion occurred in the previous chapter concerning various theoretical considerations which underlie this study of the presentation of the deceased. These theoretical considerations appear to result in several methodological consequences which must be defined carefully. It has already been noted that the presentation of the deceased in the upper East Tennessee area seems to have undergone

considerable change in the early years of the twentieth century. These changes are best illustrated by the change in newspaper information available to the community in 1900 and again in 1925. There is a considerable contrast between the weekly Comet of 1900, serving a small, "total" community, and the daily and Sunday editions of 1925, serving a rapidly urbanizing community. This infers social changes in community attitudes in the first 25 years of the century. These changing community attitudes are reflected in the change from the death notice/eulogy in 1900 to the obituary-funeral notice by 1925. Different attitudes toward death are revealed. In consequence, methodological considerations have to be kept in mind. They must be taken into account when a longitudinal analysis of various pieces of information is attempted. It does not seem advisable to treat the death notice from 1900 exactly as the obituaries and funeral notices from later samples were dealt with. In other words, each sample-year must be dealt with on its own terms. These death reports must be analyzed and interpreted in their own context without the "rough" imposition of a "modern" framework upon them.

If these methodological considerations are kept in focus, there are then many fewer problems in connection with the "lacunae" in information. Rather than a great concern about the fact that the death notices from 1900 offered much less information on the biographical details of the deceased,

the question that must be put to the data set from any sample year is: "what does this data-set 'say' to the community?" "How are the deceased from this sample-year 'presented'?" In other words, what the death reports reveal in a given year are the important components in the presentation of the deceased in that era.

Along with the varying amounts of data present in the various samples, concerns about "accuracy" of data are reduced by this methodological stance. Since the death notices are to be analyzed and treated as "social documents" questions about accuracy are beside the point. In that sense, then, what <u>is</u> being examined is how the deceased <u>were</u> presented in any sample-year through the medium of the newspaper notice. The material for analysis then is "social reality." To summarize this methodological stance, then, what is important in each sample year is what the death reports present and fail to present.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1900

Johnson City and Washington County, Tennessee

Nestled in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountain range lies Washington County, and its major city, Johnson City, in upper East Tennessee. The Appalachian region as a whole lies in parts of 14 states, running north by east from Georgia to Maine. East Tennessee lies in the southern half of these mountains.

This rolling valley, cut by the Holston and Watauga rivers, has attracted white settlers since the seventeen-sixties (Williams, 1940: 9-10). The first permanent settlement in Washington County was Jonesborough, ten miles to the west of Johnson City, and the county seat. Jonesborough was supplanted, in size and growth, after a century by Johnson City, first chartered in 1869 (McCown and Owen, 1971: 137).

Settlers came to Washington County because the land was flat enough to be farmed. The rolling land seemed flat enough to the migrants who came through the mountain gaps from North Carolina to the east and through Cumberland Gap from Kentucky to the northwest. However, the land was rolling enough that large estates and plantations were scarce. The valley was inviting, with enough rainfall (32 inches per year

on the average (Atlas, no date: 4).

How did the early settlers travel about? The rivers were only navigable for small craft except in times of flood. The rugged nature of much of the terrain in East Tennessee made railroad construction difficult and costly. Therefore, railroads were extended through this mountainous region later than in other portions of the South. In fact, rail construction in East Tennessee continued into the twentieth century.

Sources

In an effort to reconstruct life in Washington County and Johnson City at the turn of the century several sources of information must be drawn upon. Philip Hamer's massive Tennessee: A History (1933) scarcely mentioned Johnson City and treats Jonesborough and Washington County in connection with the colonial settlers, the Revolutionary War, and the State of Franklin (Hamer, 1933). Judge Samuel Williams wrote a very sketchy History of Johnson City and its Environs in 1940. Mary Hardin McCown, descended from early settlers (and in her eighties at the time of this writing), wrote a brief history of the city, apparently in the nineteen-sixties (no date). For the Centennial celebration of the founding of the city in 1969 James Estepp wrote A Brief History of Johnson City, Tennessee (1969). An illustrated "public relations" type of publication was printed around 1917 entitled Illustrated Johnson City, Tennessee (no date). It too is lacking

in much detail, but its photographs enable one to visualize the city as it was during the First World War. The first City Directory was not published until 1908, and it has been impossible to discover telephone books for this area from the turn of the century.

Few citizens are still around who can recall vividly the city at the turn of the century. Several persons have been interviewed who were young children at that time or whose parents were prominent then. Some unpublished materials from that era have been discovered that shed light on the Negro community in Johnson City in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Population

The Twelfth Census, in 1900, revealed that the State of Tennessee contained 2,020,616 citizens (Historical Statistics, 1963: 12). United States census data show Washington County with a population of 23,004; fifty of those were listed as "foreign-born" (U. S. Census, 1901: 521). Carter County, the more mountainous county just to the east had a population of 16,678, with only 18 of them specified as foreign-born (U. S. Census, 1901: 520). South of Carter and Washington counties lies the county with the most rugged terrain, Unicoi. Its population in 1900 was only 5,851, of which only three were listed as foreign-born (U. S. Census, 1901: 521). Johnson City was the trade and commercial center

for this three-county area and its population in 1900 was about 4,200 (Johnson City Chronicle, 1930: A-1). This population represented just over one-sixth of the county's total. Johnson City served as the cultural and trading center for a generally agricultural county with some smaller centers. The communities of Boones Creek to the north and Austin Springs to the northeast were rural villages. Embreeville and Lamar to the south, Telford to the southwest, and Fall Branch and Sulphur Springs to the northwest were all small, though stops on the railroad.

Modernization of the City

The city began to develop public utilities and other services as other cities were doing in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The gravity water works was improved and enlarged in 1891 (electric pumps were added later) (Williams, 1940: 26). The Watauga Lighting and Power Company was founded in 1891 (Williams, 1940: 27). The power company advertised in the Comet in 1900 so it evidently had no shortage of capacity (January 4, 1900: 2). In the same year the Johnson City Street Railway was built with a route that ran five miles in all. Passengers could ride from the downtown square all the way into the country to Cox's Lake (a popular picnic spot) toward the northern end of Washington County (Williams, 1940: 27). The Bristol Telephone Company vied with the Cumberland Telephone and Telegraph Company for the

communications business (Frith, 1979). No tally is available for 1900 but the phone numbers in the Comet were one- and two-digit numbers (1900). Old photographs printed in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle's centennial edition show that the streets were unpaved at the turn of the century (1969). The city may have appeared to be a "metropolis," however, to the county residents who came to shop.

Political Setting

Upper East Tennessee has always been conservative Republican territory, particularly in contrast with middle and west Tennessee. Since the land was not of the topography that would permit the development of large plantations, there were few slaveholders in the Appalachian region. It it not that the mountain people admired the Negroes or were Abolitionists, they simply owned few slaves and had little interaction with Negroes. In the main upper East Tennessee sided with the forces of the Union Army, though as in the Border states, men from the same communities fought for opposing forces (Hamer, 1933: 549, 551, 555; Chapter 35 "The Revolt of the East Tennesseans," 557-567). The small pre-Civil War Negro population eased the problems of readjustment during Reconstruction. Upper East Tennessee had produced a governor in the years before 1900. Governor Bob Taylor from the Milligan community in Carter County served in Nashville from 1886 until 1890, and from 1896 to 1898, as a Democrat (Hamer,

1933: 694). The pages of the Comet in 1900 indicate more interest in local and state political matters than in national and international. This is apparent even though a war with Spain had recently been concluded, and the American Army was in the Philippine Islands as an occupation force (Comet, 1900).

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia

Census data from 1900 show that the population in this three-county area was quite homogeneous. A study based on surnames appearing in obituaries from the five easternmost counties in Tennessee (Washington, Carter, Unicoi, Sullivan, and Johnson) showed that more than 80% were Anglo-Saxon and Irish names (Hall, 1976). This study was done using 1974 and 1975 obituaries from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle. A perusal of the death notices used as sources for this study indicates the same high Anglo-Saxon constituency. When these names are compared with the name-list in the First United States Census in 1790, there is close correspondence.

If there was a low percentage of foreign-born in Johnson City and Washington County in 1900, the same could be expected of the non-white population. The death notices from 1900 included five Negroes out of the 72 in the sample, or 7%. Three of the five Negroes were from Carter County, leaving only two from Johnson City. What these death notices from 1900 show is a predominantly Anglo-Saxon community with

few non-whites.

Education in East Tennessee

The children of Johnson City had a public education available. Two school systems existed at the turn of the century. Though under the same administrative board, there were separate schools for white and Negro children. Three elementary schools served the white children of the town: Columbus Powell on South Roan Street served the southeast side of the city. Martha Wilder on East Myrtle served the northeast side of town, and Westside school on West Main Street was used by children in that part of town (Illustrated Johnson City, no date). Science Hill Male and Female Institute had opened in August of 1868 for white children. It had been leased to the city school system in 1896 (Williams, 1940: 24).

The Negro children went either to Langston School at East Myrtle and Division streets on the northeast side of town, or attended the two-room frame Roan Hill School on the south side of the city (McKinney, 1979). There were five graduates of Langston High in 1900 (Annual, 1912: 21).

Washington College Academy had been started as a Presbyterian mission school in the western end of Washington County. The Academy boarded pioneer children before 1800. It served as a secondary school west of Jonesborough in 1900.

National figures for 1900 show that just over 6% of

17 year-olds were high school graduates (Historical Statistics, 1963: 207). These same census statistics indicate that more than 10% of the United States population was illiterate (Historical Statistics, 1963: 207). When ethnic origin is examined for 1900, native white illiteracy was 4.6% in contrast to 12.9% as the rate for "Foreign Whites" and 44.5% for "Nonwhite" citizens (Historical Statistics, 1963: 214). The typical American student attended school less than 100 days a year at the turn of the century (Historical Statistics, 1963: 207). Education may have been a matter for less concern then; none of the death notices from the 1900 Comet mentioned schooling, though references to educational attainment occurred from time to time in some of the more recent obituaries.

Buffalo Male and Female Institute was founded by the Christian Churches in 1869 in Carter County, five miles by rail east of Johnson City. This Institute had a secondary academy as well as a college program. In 1882 the name was changed to Milligan College. Many students from Johnson City matriculated there. Figures are not available for the enrolment in 1900 but an old photograph of the 1900 graduating class showed a group of 21 students, thirteen men and nine women (the photograph is in the Milligan Library).

King College, established by the Presbyterian Church before 1800 was 25 miles to the north in Bristol, Tennessee. Tusculum, established by the Presbyterian Church before 1800,

lay 30 miles to the west. Its enrolment in 1900 was 156 (Tusculum Registrar, 1979).

The University of Tennessee in Knoxville and Vanderbilt University in Nashville could be reached by railroad in a day's journey. This notice appeared in the 1900 Comet:

> STUDENTS
> Before deciding, should inform themselves about the University of Tennessee. Literary, Scientific, Engineering, and Law Departments. Superb location and equipment. Lowest expenses. Session opens Sept. 20th. Tennessee students receive scholarship ($65 a year) in Academic dept. Beautifully illustrated annual free.
> address, REGISTRAR
> University of Tenn., Knoxville (July 5, 1900: 3).

In the Comet of June 14th the following advertisement appeared: "Virginia College for Young Ladies, Roanoke, Virginia, opens September 18" (Comet, June 14, 1900: 3). A higher education was available to the citizens of Johnson City in both public and private institutions.

Marriage and Family

In this section will be discussed marriage and divorce, household size, and birth and death rates. Crude rates will be used throughout, for convenience, except where otherwise noted. Fifty-three percent of the population 14 and over were married in 1900 (Statistical Abstracts, 1964: 31).

According to federal census figures, divorce was little practiced in 1900. Three-tenths of a percent of the population 14 years and older was divorced in the United States in 1900 (Statistical Abstracts, 1964: 31). No mention

of divorce occurred in the Comet death notices in 1900.

Household and Family Size

The median household in 1900 was 4.23 persons, with an average household slightly larger at 4.76 persons. According to the U. S. Census of 1900 the average family in Tennessee consisted of five people, slightly above the national average (Historical Statistics, 1975: 41). Households were headed by whites in 88% of the cases, with Negroes heading 11% of the households, and other nonwhites heading less than 1% of the American households (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16). Comet death notices showed family sizes averaging below three persons per household. Forty-nine percent of the death notices for those 18 or older gave any clues to household size. Household size and family size are not the same, but only family size was computable from death notice data. Even so, approximate comparisons are revealing.

Statistical Abstracts carried no national birthrate statistics for 1900; figures from 1910 must be utilized. The American birthrate in that year was 30.1 per thousand population, and that was the highest rate in the Table in the 1910-1962 timespan (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Information from the 1900 Comet is too scanty to allow a computation of the birthrate for Johnson City and Washington County. Table III-1 displays the number of children born to families in the three-county area as seen in the 1900 death notices. The 1900 notices reflected the child-bearing years of a half

Table III-1. Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Number of Children	cases	%
1	5	24
2	6	29
3	6	29
4	2	10
5	2	10
Total cases	21	

Missing data: 51 (71%)

Children under 18: 13

Mean: 2.52 Mode: 2,3 Median: 3

century previously.

The 51 death notices that mentioned no children included 13 children under 18. It will be assumed throughout this paper that deceased under 18 were single and childless. Marriage and parenthood were certainly possible for those under 18; no death notices offer such information however. When these 13 death notices are removed, the remainder is 38 notices that mentioned no children. Seven of those 38 were labelled "Miss" in the notices, which probably means that they never married. If this is so, then 31 remain. What percentage of those were unmarried cannot be discovered. It is possible that some of the deceased males never married. Another unknown percentage of the death notices reflect married couples who were childless. A final unknown percentage involved cases in which the deceased had been married and had

children but whose obituaries made no mention of the children.

It is difficult to discover the death rate, not only for Johnson City and Washington County, but for the nation as a whole. No death rate was given in the Statistical Abstracts for the year 1900 (1963: 52). A headnote in that Table states that not all states were represented in the statistics collected (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). The national death rate for 1910 was 14.7 per thousand. That rate is the highest of any in the Table, running from 1910 to 1962 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Seventy-two death notices were utilized from the Comet of 1900; the Comet reported also some of the deaths from Washington, Carter and Unicoi counties. Thus it is not possible to compute the death rate from the newspaper data. Obituaries in the Comet show that nearly a quarter of the deaths reported that year involved children younger than three. Six of these children were so young (or so inconsequential, or both) that no given names were supplied in the death notices. The notices read "male Stern" or "little Pickel" and one child of two years--"female Epps" --still had no given name supplied at that age. An investigation of Oak Hill Cemetery in Johnson City revealed that two "little Pickels" died in 1900 and lay side by side.

Marital Status

It is possible to discover the marital status of the deceased to some extent; these data may not be available from other sources. Sixteen of the death notices specified that

the deceased had left a living spouse (see Table III-2). Only one of the notices mentioned that the deceased had been preceded in death by the spouse. Fifty-five, or 76% of the death notices, gave no information about marriage partners. Twenty of the death notices that made no mention of spouse can be understood, in that 13 of them reported the deaths of children under 18 and 7 of them were labelled "Miss."

Table III-2. Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Marital Status	cases	%
Spouse Living	16	22
Spouse Deceased	1	1
Spouse Not Mentioned	55	76
Total cases	72	
Children under 18: 13	"Miss":	7

Thus there is no information about spouses contained in 35 of the notices. It can be assumed that some portion of the deceased had never married. Some of the deceased possibly were divorced or separated and thus no mention was made of former spouse. Many of these older death notices were so sparse in detail that little information was given about any of the details of the lives of the deceased. In the sparsely populated total community of 1900, family details were community knowledge. In the cases of the "lower class poor,"

there would be perhaps little interest in intimate details of families in the larger three-county area. These people were well-known in their own circles of family and friends.

This discussion of marriage and family in Johnson City and its environs shows gaps in census data and insights that can be gained from newspaper death notices. A fairly constant rate of marriage and a very low divorce rate have been pointed out. The 1900 birthrate was higher than in more recent times and the pages of the Comet yielded a high proportion of deaths among infants and young children. Information was discussed about both the number of children born and the marital status of the deceased.

Transportation

A chief reason that Johnson City came into being was rail transportation. This can be seen in the very names that were given to the settlement in the eighteen-fifties-and-sixties: Johnson's Tank and Johnson's Depot. Henry Johnson, generally considered the city's founder, built a building to serve as a depot so that the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad would stop at his property. He later constructed a water tank to furnish water to the locomotives. He was postmaster with his office in the depot building (Williams, 1940: 21-22). By 1858 the last link through East Tennessee was completed between Greeneville and Bristol. East Tennessee was thus connected to the cities of the

northeast and the deep South (Hamer, 1933: 451). The three railroads that ran through Johnson City offered in-state transportation as well as inter-continental connections. These railroads were the Ohio River and Charleston (ORC), the Southern Railroad (SRR), with connections throughout the South, and the narrow-gauge East Tennessee & Western North Carolina (ETWNC) that connected through mountainous Carter County into northwestern North Carolina to Cranberry where the iron ore mines were located. In 1900 the ORC Railroad Company constructed an extension of their line southeastward through the Unaka Mountain gorge to Huntdale, North Carolina. This opened up Mitchell and Yancey counties as a trade territory (Williams, 1940: 29). The SRR and ETWNC schedules appeared weekly in the Comet.

These local railroads connected to the other lines running through the larger cities of Tennessee which allowed travelers to journey to points around the nation. For instance, the Burlington Route and the Queen & Crescent Lines advertised in the Comet each week (see Comet March 1 and June 28, 1900). The Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad advertised connections north and south in the Comet (April 19, 1900).

Vacation travel was pushed by the railroads. The Queen & Crescent Lines advertised in the Comet in this way:

> Summer Excursions. The Queen & Crescent Route. Low excursion rate from all points south via Cincinnati; Chataqua, Niagara Falls, Thousand Islands, Put-in-Bay, Petosky, Mackinac (June 28, 1900: 4).

The same railroad advertised a special excursion to the Annual Encampment of the Union Veterans in Chicago in August of 1900 (Comet, August 9, 1900: 3).

For travel around city and county, the horse and horse-drawn vehicles were available. Both Palace and TPA Livery Stables advertised frequently in the Comet (see January 25, 1900) and Studebaker wagons were advertised in the Comet in the January 4 issue. Snapp & Co. advertised "Surreys, Phaetons, & Buggies" in the September 13 issue. An electric streetcar traveled a five-mile route through the city in 1900 (Williams, 1940: 27). Johnson Citians in 1900 had available considerable transportation resources.

Community Professionals

In the absence of a city directory, the professional life of Johnson City at the turn of the century must be gleaned from the advertisements in the pages of the Comet. The largest group of those in the "professions" who advertised in the paper were the lawyers, who typically called themselves "attorneys," or "attorneys and soliciters" and mentioned their ability as bill collectors. The two lawyers who advertised their addresses were downtown on Market Street. In all, nine lawyers in the Comet had offices in Johnson City and one advertised an office in Erwin, Unicoi County (see the Comet for January 4 and April 12, 1900).

Six doctors advertised in the Comet, usually every week. These doctors typically listed themselves as

"physicians and surgeons" and were all located downtown. Most of them had offices on Main Street east of the public square (Comet, see January 4, May 24, 1900, and other issues). Cy H. Lyle, the editor and publisher of the Comet advertised frequently as a justice of the peace and notary public. W. O. Dyer put an ad in the September 6 issue as a "Civil Engineer and Surveyor" (2). There may have been other professionals in the city in 1900 but these were the ones who advertised in the newspaper.

Retail Business in Johnson City

Many retail businesses advertised, often weekly, in the Comet. From these ads, then, a picture can be formed of the business activity in the city at the turn of the century. Seven groceries and meat markets advertised for customers in the Comet (see January 4, 18, February 1, May 10, and October 25 issues).

Dry goods and department stores and specialty clothing stores advertised often; they would advertise routinely and when special sales were to be called to the attention of the public. Eight establishments of this type can be found advertising in the Comet (see January 4, 25, March 8, 15, May 10, August 20). A pawnbroker also advertised clothing in the November 1 issue of the paper. Hawkins Bros. advertised in the May 10 Comet; a notice of Hawkins Bros. bankruptcy proceedings appeared in the July 19 Comet.

Various kinds of commercial firms offered their wares to the public through the pages of the 1900 Comet. Five hardware and implement companies appeared in the paper frequently (see Comet for March 1, April 5, May 31, and June 14). The Piedmont Hotel advertised in the January 4 issue, while the Hotel Hamilton in Bristol, Tennessee advertised frequently (see April 12). The City Drug Store was mentioned in the paper often (see January 4). Two barber shops competed for customers, with the City Barbershop at Main and Buffalo advertising "white barbers" including the slogan "Patronize your own Color" (Comet, January 4). B. A. Mathes presented himself as a "Practical Electrician" in the paper of August 9. A lumber company, an insurance company and an out-of-town chandelier manufacturer appeared in the Comet advertisements (see January 25, March 22, and March 1, in that order).

Two contractors and builders appeared in the paper in 1900. J. T. Linnville advertised frequently (see March 5); C. G. Mitchell described himself as "Architect, Contractor and Builder" with an office on Main Street (April 16). Two bakeries and an ice company advertised for business (see the Comet for May 3, 10, and July 19).

Card Bros. in Chattanooga advertised "Wholesale Fruits and Vegetables" (April 10). Chas. L. Pettis and Co. offered to buy produce for cash: "Dressed Poultry, Game, Furs, Eggs, Butter; 204 Duane St., New York" (October 24: 2). Considerable business activity, then, is seen in this small

town of about 4,200 at the turn of the twentieth century.

Products Advertised in the Comet

A look at the retail products advertised in the local newspaper can give insights into the daily life of a community. Household products that were advertised almost every issue were Royal Baking Powder and Gold Dust Washing Powder, two items commonly used around the household (see February 15 and March 1). So that preparation can be made for the coming season of planting, two seed companies advertised in the Comet in February. Stark's trees were offered in the December 27 issue.

Whiskey and beer were frequently advertised in the Comet and the September 6 issue carried an ad for "Old Virginia Cheroots, 3 for 5¢" (4). Other frequently presented items included hardwood mantles, Peerless fireplaces, patent medicines and Lion Coffee (January 4 and February 8). Slate products were advertised by Alcott, Ross & Scully, Philadelphia in the April 19 issue. At fair time in the fall Mr. Bachman offered "10 Head of Blooded Horses" (September 6).

In an age of less mechanical sophistication the publisher of the Comet advertised that he was the agent for Underwood Typewriters (July 19). United Typewriter and Supplies out of Louisville also advertised (February 1). Armbrust and Smith, a local furniture store, offered Wheeler and Wilson sewing machines in the Comet of February 15.

Hench & Dromgold out of York, Pennsylvania, offered "Sawmill & Engines" in the Comet (September 6). Labor-saving devices were coming to Johnson City (by rail) in 1900.

Employment in Johnson City

The retail stores and businesses mentioned in the previous sections on business offered some employment to the citizens of Johnson City who were not self-employed. In addition, there were several industrial concerns offering jobs in 1900. Outside the city to the west the Johnson City Foundry and Machine Company was in operation. Iron ore was being mined 40 miles to the east in Cranberry, North Carolina and 15 miles to the south in Embreeville. This foundry is the oldest continuously operating industry in the city, having been started in 1883 (Williams, 1940: 26). The northeast side of the city was the site of a brickworks. J. T. Hoss and George W. Hardin had started it in the 600-700 blocks of East Unaka Avenue in 1890 (Johnson City Press-Chronicle, July, 1976). Farther to the east, outside the city, northern interests had constructed the Carnegie Addition which included the Furnace, a steel mill named for Andrew Carnegie, and the Carnegie Hotel. This hotel at Fairview and Broadway has long been closed but the building is still in use as part of the Empire Furniture Company (Williams, 1979).

Just east of the downtown about one-half mile was the tannery, below Tannery Knob, and south of there a quarter

mile was located the Harris Lumber Company which had moved to East Walnut Street in 1899 (Williams, 1979). The three railroads, mentioned above in the discussion on transportation, employed a considerable workforce. This offer of employment appeared in the Comet on March 1:

> NOTICE
> From and after March 1, 1900, The Cranberry Iron & Coal Co. will have work for 500 able bodied workmen at the Cranberry Mines, and will pay such men $1.00 a day, (in the mines.)
> Apply to Capt. J. F. Huddle, Supt. of Mines, at Cranberry, N.C.
> C. H. Nimson, Gen'l Manager, Cranberry, North Carolina
> February 23, 1900

Thirteen of the death notices from the 1900 sample contained information about the occupation and/or work history of the deceased. The variety of jobs and professions that were reported is summarized in Table III-3. Non-skilled and semi-skilled industrial work was most listed. These included a "regular hand at the tannery," a "worker at the chair factory," and a "worker at the Carnegie furnace." Those listed under "Professional and Executive" were the postmaster from Unicoi and the owner of the TPA Livery Stable in Johnson City. None of the female deceased had any occupational information included in their death notices. The small community in 1900 had a much less complex division of labor. Most family reputations and occupations were known in what constituted a "total community."

This section on employment reflects a small town in the mountains with a rural orientation. Occupations were not

Table III-3. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Occupational Data	cases	%
Farming	1	8
Workers	6	46
Railroading	2	15
Clerks	1	8
White-Collar	1	8
Professional and Executive (small firms)	2	15
Total cases	13	

Missing data: 59 (82%)

routinely specified. Three of those with occupations stipulated died in accidents. One was an out-of-town bookkeeper who died in a local hotel of "acute alcoholism." Three were in the Army and died while in the Philippines. One was the 15 year-old night clerk at the Hotel Piedmont. The owner of the livery stable killed himself, and two Negroes who died were identified by their places of occupation.

Leisure

Surely it was not all work and no play in Johnson City at the turn of the century. A perusal of the Comet and an interview with Miss Virginia Williams confirms that there was some time to be devoted to entertainment and "cultural refinement." There was an interesting variety of newspapers

available to the readers of the Comet. They could subscribe to Tennessee papers: the Nashville Banner, the Knoxville Sentinel, or the Chattanooga Weekly Times (January 25, February 15, and January 4, in that sequence). Subscription was available in a combination offer: the weekly Johnson City Comet and the twice-weekly Louisville Courier-Journal (December 27); this would amount to $4.50 per year. From the larger centers of the nation were available the Chicago Record, the Baltimore Sun and the New York Sunday Sun (June 14 and December 27); The New York Sunday Sun would cost $2.00 per year. In addition, the reader of the Comet was invited to subscribe to William J. Bryan's weekly The Commoner for $1.00 per year (December 27).

If the reader wanted to move to a publication with possibly more substance, he was offered several magazines. Scribners, Lippincotts and Colliers were advertised in the Comet (January 18, September 13, and December 27 respectively). Beyond these popular magazines the reader was offered The Designer, a fashion magazine, or the Scientific American (June 6 and September 6). An illustrated book with scenes from the current occupation of the Philippine Islands was advertised in the April 19 Comet: Campaigning in the Philippines was offered as "a book of over 400 pages with nearly 300 beautiful illustrations of troops in action and scenes in the Philippine Islands" published in San Francisco (April 19).

A group of ladies interested in promoting the reading of good books founded the Monday Reading Club in 1895. This group had several meeting places in their attempt to establish a permanent public library in Johnson City (Williams, 1958).

For those interested in escaping the heat of the city during the summer (perhaps with a good book) there was advertised two summer resorts, Austin Springs out in the county north of Johnson City, and Unaka Springs to the south of Erwin in Unicoi County. A stay at Unaka Springs in the mountains could be enjoyed for $20 per month (Comet, May 3 and 31).

Jobe's Opera House had been constructed on Main Street east of the square in 1883 (Williams, 1979). The January 18 Comet invited the reader to buy tickets for "The Ogonita and Hatfield Company, performing at the Opera House." Tickets ranged from 25 to 50 cents (ladies free). For those willing to entertain themselves, pianos were offered for sale by Rosenblatt & Co. in Greeneville, Tennessee (Comet, October 11). A variety of leisure-time activities were available to the residents of Johnson City and environs.

Churches and Ministers in Johnson City

At the turn of the century about 46% of the American population was affiliated with a church (Historical Statistics, 1960: 228). Church membership cannot be computed for Johnson City in 1900 because of incomplete records. Johnson

City was served by at least 12 congregations at that time, four of them ministering to the Negro population. The divisions caused by the Civil War were still evident in the Christian community, since there were both "northern" and "southern" Presbyterian and Methodist denominations represented in the city.

The oldest church building in town (for whites) in 1900 was First Presbyterian Church on West Main Street. The Market Street Methodist Church had been built on East Market in 1872 (The Committee, 1966: 4). The Christian Church had been built on East Main Street in 1879 (McCown and Owen, 1971: 27). The "Johnson City Station" (First Methodist Church) had been constructed on East Main in 1882 (50th Anniversary, 1978: no page). The Baptist Church had built a building on East Main Street in 1882 (The Historical Committee, 1969: 11).

Neighborhood churches included Watauga Avenue Presbyterian Church with a small stone building at Watauga and New streets on the northeastern edge of the city; it was dedicated in 1896 (Illustrated Johnson City, no date). The East Park Methodist Church was situated on the southeastern edge of town on Grover Street. There was a United Brethren Church at the northeastern edge of the city at Chilhowie and Welbourne streets. Several mission churches had been established east of the city limits in the Carnegie Addition (Johnson City Chronicle, April 20, 1930: 4-C).

There were four churches for the Negro population of the city in 1900. The Christian Church had the oldest building, dating from 1869. It was located on West Main Street (and is still in use) (McCown, no date: 1). The Thankful Baptist Church was on Water Street, just off North Roan. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was on East Millard Street and the Bethesda Presbyterian Church was within a few yards of that (Jackson, 1979).

The death notices in the Comet mentioned First Methodist, First Presbyterian, the Christian Church, the United Brethren Church and the "Carnegie Mission." This latter must have been a Methodist mission venture in the Carnegie Addition to the east of the city near the steel mill (see Table III-4).

Table III-4. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Congregation or Denomination		cases	%
Methodist		4	50
Specific congregations	4		
Christian Church		2	25
Specific congregations	2		
Presbyterian		1	13
Specific congregations	1		
Other Churches		1	13
Total cases		8	

Missing data: 64 (88%)

Five of the obituaries mentioned ministers as officiants at funerals, but with no churches named (see Table III-5). Six of the death notices mentioned church and officiant in the same paragraph. Fifty-eight of the 72 notices mentioned neither congregation nor clergy. It is possible that no clergyman officiated at the funerals whose notices omit clergy names. Alternately, the brief notices simply may have omitted the officiants' names.

Table III-5. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Churches and Officiants Specified	cases	%
Church Connections and Officiants Specified	6	8
Officiants Specified	6	8
Church Connections Specified	2	3
Neither Mentioned	58	81
Total cases	72	

The Comet death notices mentioned the names of nine ministers. J. R. Herndon was mentioned five times; Brother Rowan's name appeared in three death notices. Appearing in two notices were the names of Mr. A. A. Ferguson and Mr. Lyon(s). William Miller, J. C. Cowan, Robert Shules, T. C. Garst, and I. H. Miller each were mentioned in one death notice. A study of early church records would allow the

matching of clergy names and congregations.

Public Health

The death notices in the Comet afford an insight into the prevailing health of the community. No doctors are mentioned in any obituary. Six doctors advertised weekly in the Comet; they were discussed in the section entitled "Professionals." The 1909 edition of the Langston High School annual carried a number of courtesy advertisements. Two of the ads were subscribed by Negro doctors (Annual, 1909; Jackson, 1979). Dr. Hezekiah Hankal, a Negro, was practicing medicine in Johnson City in 1900 with a clientele that included both races (Jackson, 1979). There was access to doctors by both segments of the community. No hospitals, however, had been established at that time.

The cause of death was supplied in 75% of the death notices in the 1900 sample. This is the highest percentage of the four samples and infers that this was a matter of keen interest at the turn of the century. These are displayed in Table III-6.

Overwhelmingly, then, the cause of death presented for the deceased in 1900 was illness. The illnesses that were specified allow a view of causes of death and professional and lay diagnostic abilities in 1900 (see Table III-7).

Over half the deaths by illness in 1900 were attributed to specific causes:

Table III-6. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Causes of Death	cases	%
Illness	43	80
Accident	7	13
Suicide	3	6
Homicide or War	1	2
Total cases	54	

Missing data: 18 (25%)

Croup, alcoholism, hemorrhagic smallpox, polio, pneumonia, effects of grip, paralysis, invalid for many years, inflammatory rheumatism, dropsy, rheumatism, liver trouble, general breakdown (Comet, 1900).

Table III-7. Deaths from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Illnesses	cases	%
Long illness	8	19
Brief illness	6	14
Cardio-vascular diseases	6	14
Other specific illnesses	23	53
Total cases	43	

Accidental deaths accounted for 13% of the deaths in the 1900 notices. Three of the deceased were killed in railroad accidents, two died in industrial accidents, one was killed in a mine and one drowned.

The following narrative is the death report for W. E. Norriss "aged postmaster at Unicoi" (Unicoi County) found dead of a slashed throat. The article leads one to think of foul play though the coroner's decision was suicide.

> W. E. Norriss, the aged postmaster at Unicoi, was found dead last Sunday morning on the bank of the creek near his home with his throat cut. The coroner's verdict was that he had committed suicide, but there are many who believe that he was murdered. There seems to be no reason for the suicide theory as the old man lived happily with his family and his postal accounts were in good shape. Those who believe he was murdered based it upon the circumstances surrounding the case. The corpse was found with both jugular veins severed and his pocket knife and razor lying on the opposite bank of the creek together and the knife closed. There were evidences of a struggle and the clothing was cut in one or two places. The old man was a quiet good citizen and was not supposed to have an enemy and the motive for the murder theory seems to be lacking. There may be other developments (Comet, January 24, 1900).

Since death certificates were not required by state law until 1913, the death notices in the Comet provide information that would be difficult to obtain otherwise (Tennessee Public Acts, 1913: Ch. 30).

When the death notice reported the cause of death and the place where the death occurred, then an analysis could be made of the relationship between the length of the illness and the place where the death occurred. This comparison is displayed in Table III-8. Typically, in 1900, when any death was reported, it had occurred in a private home. Four of the five which specified geographic locations were accidental deaths.

Table III-8. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Place of Death	Cause of Death Specified: long illness	brief illness	illness/ disease	Total
Home	3	3	15	21
Institution	0	0	0	0
Geographic location	0	1	4	5
Totals	3	4	19	26

Infants and young children were particularly vulnerable to childhood diseases in 1900. The death rate as seen in the 1900 census shows that 26% of all deaths involved those younger than five (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 62). The comparable data gained from the death notices in the Comet show that 23% of the deaths occurred before the age of five (see Table III-9). Since 32, or 44% of the death notices did not specify age, the actual death rate of the young might have been even higher. The information in the Johnson City newspaper in 1900, and particularly the obituaries, permit an assessment of illness and death at that time.

This section on public health in the three-county area of upper East Tennessee has contained a number of items from the general topic, using death notice data from 1900. Causes of death were examined. A closer look was taken at the accidental deaths. Deaths attributed to specific illnesses

Table III-9. Death by Age Cohort, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Age Cohort	cases	%
-1	6	15
1-4	3	8
5-14	1	3
15-24	5	13
25-34	2	5
35-44	3	8
45-54	4	10
55-64	3	8
65-74	7	18
75-84	5	13
85+	1	3
Total cases	40	

Missing data: 32 (44%)

outnumbered those attributed to illnesses with general descriptions.

From Death to Interment in the Community

The entire process of the presentation of the deceased to the community will be examined. The process begins at death and will end at interment. The first matter to consider is the place, the "situs," of the death. Sixty-one percent of the Comet death notices from 1900 mentioned the death

location. In 28 of those 44 notations, the death occurred in a home; fifteen of those deaths occurred in the home of the deceased. In the other 13 instances the death occurred in the home of another. In nine of those cases the death happened in the home of relatives; in the other cases the home was that of a friend, acquaintance, or employer. Sixteen of the deaths were located geographically (see Table III-10).

Table III-10. Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Place of Death		cases	%
Home		28	64
own home	15		
other's home	13		
Geographical Location		16	36
in-state	11		
out-of-state	5		
Total cases		44	

Missing data: 28 (39%)

Three of these occurred in the Philippine Islands at a time when this nation was involved in a military campaign. Two of the deaths happened in hotels; a traveling businessman died "of acute alcoholism" in the Hotel Greenwood (Comet, February 1, 1900). A lady listed as "the granddaughter of General Andrew Jackson" died at the Jonesborough Inn (Comet, December 6, 1900). Out-of-state deaths constituted only 11% of the

total cases. In most cases of death in 1900, as reported in the Comet, if an accident were not involved, the death occurred in a private home.

Preparation

After the death, the corpse had to be prepared for the wake and the burial. None of the obituaries in the 1900 Comet mentioned funeral homes or undertakers. There is no obituary evidence of embalming. One cryptic comment appeared in the death notice of the alcoholic traveling bookkeeper who died in the Hotel Greenwood. It read, "The remains were prepared by S. H. Pouder and were interred at Monte Vista Cemetery pending advice from his relatives" (Comet, February 1, 1900). In a telephone interview with the late Mr. Pouder's granddaughter, Mrs. Edith Clarke, she stated that her frandfather was not an undertaker nor an embalmer, but "was the kind of man who would help out in a time like that" (August 20, 1979).

Two undertaking firms advertised in the Johnson City Comet of 1900. The Armbrust and Smith Company, a furniture business, advertised in the September 6 Comet: "Go to Armbrust and Smith for Coffins, Caskets, Burial Fixtures and Undertaker's Supplies, phone 84, Main Street." Later in the same year another business advertised that it dealt not only with undertaking but also with embalming. The State of Tennessee did not certify embalmers until 1909 (Tennessee Code Annotated, 7140). This advertisement appeared in this

form (Comet, November 1, 1900: 2).

The Tennessee Furniture & Supply Co.
Dealers in all grades of
Furniture,
Undertakers

All kinds and sizes of Coffins & Caskets
Nice Hearse - Embalming

W. F. Jones, Vice-President & Supt.
W. H. Henderson, Pres. & Sec.
Hart Bldg. Public Square

Since no obituary mentioned the assistance of undertakers or embalmers, it can be assumed that some embalming occurred, but that in many instances the bodies were "layed out" in the homes with the necessary and appropriate preparation rituals performed by family and friends. Funeral supplies and coffins were available at the furniture stores.

Lying in State

After the corpses were prepared and made "presentable" to the community, a "wake" was held, as family, friends and visitors came to the home to comfort the grieving and to assist in "sitting up" with the body. In an interview conducted with two elderly Negro sisters who are lifelong residents of Johnson City, they spoke of the "laying-out" of both of their parents in the living room of the house in which they still reside (August 22, 1979). And these particular wakes occurred in the nineteen-fifties. There is no evidence from the death notices in the Comet that bodies lay in state in places other than in private homes.

The Memorial Service

Sixteen death notices in the Comet mentioned the place where the funeral was conducted (see Table III-11). Fourteen of those services took place in the residence, one in the home of the brother of the deceased, and one in the First Presbyterian Church. In other words, death, lying-in-state, and memorial service all took place, typically, in the home.

Table III-11. Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Place of Funeral	cases	%
Own Home	14	88
Other's Home	1	6
Church	1	6
Total cases	16	

Missing data: 56 (78%)

The Comet indicated that 12 of the funerals were conducted by Protestant ministers. In fact, three of the funerals utilized two ministers and one of them had three officiants. It cannot be ascertained whether the custom in Johnson City at that time involved religious officiants or whether some of the memorial services were conducted by family and friends.

Interment

Where were the dead buried? The death notices from the Comet were equally divided between family graveyards and community cemeteries (see Table III-12). Twelve obituaries mentioned family graveyards; three notices specified the Monte Vista Cemetery, which was located north of the city in Washington County. Nine of the death notices mentioned Oak Grove Cemetery, located two-tenths of a mile west of the public square. Both of these cemeteries date back nearly to the mid-nineteenth century. Sixteen other death notices specified a place of burial geographically without mentioning the cemetery itself. These places ranged in distance from Milligan (within five miles) to "the old home in Pennsylvania" (Comet, January 11, 1900).

Table III-12. Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Place of Burial		cases	%
Family Cemetery		12	30
"family"	12		
Community or Proprietary Cemetery		12	30
Geographic Locations		16	40
Total cases		40	

Missing data: 32 (44%)

If the hand-dug grave was close to the house, the coffin would be carried by the pallbearers. There is a photograph in Tennessee Hill Folk that illustrates this (see Figure 1). The picture, however, is from Cumberland Gap and of a more recent era (Clark, 1972: no page). If the cemetery was out of town the body would travel by horse-drawn wagon or hearse, or by rail. This report of death from the Comet will help set the scene:

> B. D. Lyle Succumbs
>
> Benjamin Dyain Lyle died at his home near this city last Sunday evening about 10:00. He has been in a feeble condition for several years and that he has been able to bear his affliction so long has been a source of wonder to his friends. He was 63 years of age and has been a resident of this county all his life. He was the oldest son of the late John Lyle and was educated in Virginia, and married a noble woman, who survives him, in that state before the war. Two children also survive him, a son H. H. Lyle, and a daughter, Mrs. Frank McCorkle, both of whom were at the bedside with the faithful wife at the time of his death. The funeral occurred at the late residence Tuesday morning and was largely attended. It was conducted by Rev. J. R. Herndon. The remains were then taken to the old family graveyard on the little sunkissed hill opposite the old homestead and laid to rest. Thus ended the earthly career of one of the noblest works of God, an honest man. He was a faithful friend, a loving husband and an indulgent father. He obeyed the scriptural injunction all through his life to do unto others as he would be done him. He never turned one from his door hungry or in need, and ministered to those in distress.
>
> If the world was full of such men it would be a better place to live in, and heaven should be their reward. Over the grave of this bighearted, generous man we beg to drop a tear and extend our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family. May his soul rest in peace (February 1, 1900).

Sex Differences

Middle-aged males consistently received the most

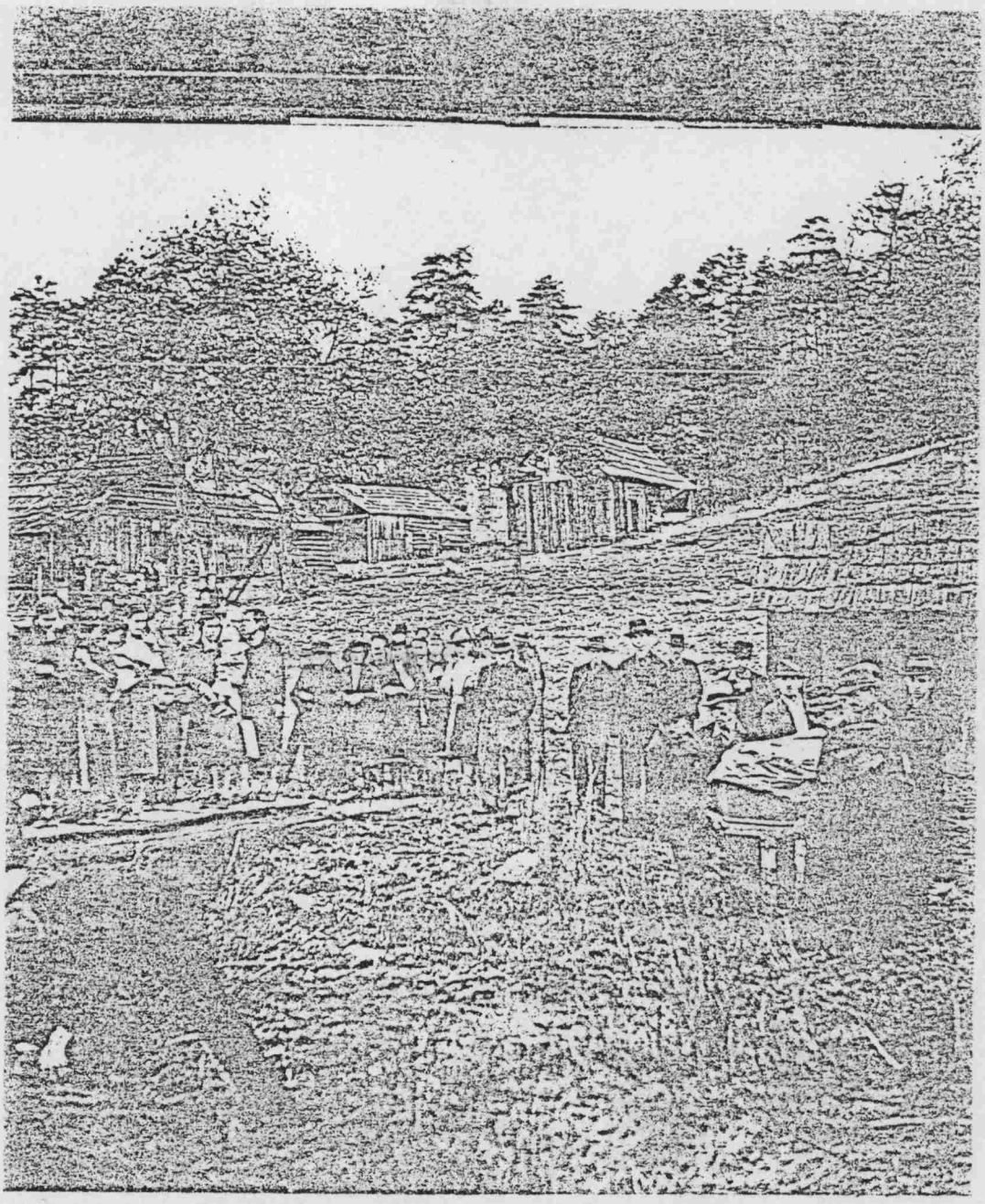


Figure 1. Mountain funeral.

attention in the newspaper death notices (see Table III-13). Females, children, and non-whites usually were attended to in brief notices. For example, all the children under three had death notices which consisted of 50 words or fewer. Fifteen of the 26 adults older than 35 had death notices which were more than 100 words in length. Eight of these deceased were males, with notices averaging 166 words. The seven females had death notices averaging 222 words in length.

Table III-13. Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Comet, 1900

Word Count	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Total
-51	19	48	17	57	36
51-100	9	23	6	20	15
101-200	9	23	4	13	13
201-300	2	5	0	0	2
301+	1	3	3	10	4
Totals	40		30		70

Missing data: 2 (no sex stipulated)

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology

The "presentation team"--to use Goffman's phrase--in 1900 would consist of the following: family, kin group, and friends, possibly undertaker and/or embalmer, and officiant(s) lay or clerical (Goffman, 1959: 79). Hired help may also

have been engaged to transport the body to and from the undertaking establishment and to the burial site.

On "front stage" is the wake, the lying-in-state, the funeral service, the procession to the cemetery and the interment. On "back stage" will be family and/or professional preparation of the body and possibly the preparation of the grave. Thus even in 1900 when the handling of the deceased was less complex than in later years there was alternation between front and back regions.

The presentation of the deceased to the community in Johnson City at the turn of the century has dealt with the ritualized folkways. These habitual activities began with the death (or expectation of death) and ended with the interment of the body. These folkways were flexible enough to allow for a completely lay, nonprofessional presentation of the deceased. They also allowed for professional intervention in several functions: preparation of the remains, the memorial service, the preparation of the grave. The beginning of the twentieth century can be seen as a time when normative practices were depending less on lay expertise and resorting to those with professional training in the terminal ritual.

This discussion has dealt mainly with Johnson City and Washington County in 1900. The writer has no reason to have reservations about extending the general cultural analysis to Carter and Unicoi counties, contiguous to the east

and the south. When this extension is carried out, one must remember that both Carter and Unicoi counties were smaller in population, more rural as far as agriculture and industrialization were concerned, and more rugged in topography. Both populations were connected to Johnson City and Washington County by rail lines and used Johnson City as a commercial center.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1925

The Three-County Area in 1925

The previous chapter introduced Johnson City and its environs in 1900. This chapter will examine the presentation of the deceased to the community 25 years later. Undoubtedly, change occurs continually and Johnson City and its surrounding area is no exception. Isolated in the southern Appalachian Mountains as it might be, the upper East Tennessee region was still interdependent with the remainder of the nation; national and international issues obviously affected this region. The national and international event of greatest magnitude in the quarter-century leading up to 1925 was of course the First World War. Not only the first war on a global scale, it was the first conflict to involve the United States directly on the European continent. Conscription was in effect for the first time since the Civil War, and East Tennesseans went off to war. They were not only scattered about the country in military training camps but they had crossed the Atlantic for service overseas.

Four of the obituaries in the Johnson City newspapers from 1925 contained items about military service. A Johnson Citian was in the war and spent 11 years in the U. S. Navy.

An Elizabethton native was in the 5th Tennessee Regiment, U. S. Army during the same war. The other two were veterans of the Civil War. One of them was described in his obituary: "private, Co. H. 10th Tennessee Cavalry;" the other was a colonel in the 113th Tennessee Regiment.

The newspapers in 1925 and the City Directory for 1925-1926 illustrate the growth that had taken place in Johnson City and the three-county region in the years since 1900. The articles and advertisements point out the continuing business and industrial expansion that had occurred.

Perhaps the two most significant additions to the city were the National Sanitarium (Old Soldiers Home) built to the west of the city in 1903 and the East Tennessee State Normal College at the west end of the city opened to students in 1911 (Johnson City Sunday Press-Chronicle, May 24, 1936: C-9; East Tennessee State, 1911). The Soldiers Home was built to care for the Civil War veterans and those of the recent war with Spain. The State Normal School was designed primarily as a teachers college.

As the city continued to expand, it constructed a new Science Hill High School on the same hill as the old one, moving into the new building in 1916 (Sunday Press-Chronicle, May 24, 1936: D-1). It constructed a separate Johnson City Junior High building which opened in 1922. The city moved to a different form of government involving a city manager and commission in 1917 (Sunday Press-Chronicle, May 24, 1936: C-1).

The first automobile owned in Johnson City appeared in 1910 (Sunday Press-Chronicle, May 24, 1936: B-1). Downtown Johnson City in 1925 appeared similar to the downtown as it was at the turn of the century. The streets were paved and guttered, but the street layout was the same. More street-car tracks were laid and the system expanded. That fact, coupled with the growing popularity of the automobile, saw an expansion in neighborhoods and the building of new subdivisions in the years leading up to 1925.

The city map attached to the 1925 City Directory shows the expanded city limits and the number of streets paved at that time. Neighborhoods were growing westward toward the National Sanitarium and the State Teachers College. The Keystone Addition, a section of modest working class homes, was plotted to the east of the central business district. The Gump Addition, a section of fine houses built by the wealthy, had been developed at the northeast edge of the city.

Another factor illustrated the growth that had come; there were four-digit telephone numbers in use in the city (City Directory, 1925). Telephone usage was increasing due both to prosperity and population growth. In 1922 three telephone companies merged to form the Inter-Mountain Telephone Company which would serve the east Tennessee and southwest Virginia region. These companies were the Chesapeake and Potomac, the Cumberland Telephone and Telegraph, and the

Bristol Telephone Company (Frith, 1979). The city continued to modernize, as did the country as a whole, in the post-war era of the nineteen-twenties.

Sources

Most of the sources used for Johnson City in 1900 were of assistance for the nineteen-twenties. Three kinds of sources produced most of the information for life in Johnson City and environs in 1925. The City Directory, personal interviews with informants active in 1925, and local newspapers have yielded the information for this section.

The City Directory for 1925-1926 contained not only street addresses, but advertisements, a brief informative sketch about the city, and a 1925 city street map. It also has a table which lists businesses, churches, and other components of the city. The directory conveniently placed asterisks by the names of all the "colored" in the city, as well as firms owned by Negroes.

Several interviews have been conducted with knowledgeable informants who were actively employed in 1925 or who have gained information about that time from family and friends. Two Negro informants are the Jackson sisters who have provided a valuable introduction into the "nonwhite" side of the city. The daughter of an undertaker in business in that era was interviewed. Morticians, educators, and others have been interviewed who had access to particular

parts of the community at that time.

A special edition of the Johnson City Chronicle was produced in the fall of 1923. This historic edition contained many old photographs, as well as interviews and stories about old Johnson City. The advertisements in that edition provide a view of the life of the city, particularly the business and commercial life. By 1925 the old four-page weekly Comet had long disappeared and in its place was the morning Staff-News and the evening Chronicle. The two were printed on the same presses at Boone between West Market and Main streets; they combined to publish a joint Sunday edition. Compared to the primitive, "rural" Comet, the Johnson City papers in 1925 were modern, and reminiscent of contemporary journalism. Their format was quite similar to present-day papers in Johnson City.

An analysis has been done by this writer of the obituaries and funeral notices from a six-month sample of the total Johnson City newspaper production in 1925. Unlike the Comet in 1900, by 1925 the second page of the first section had become the "obituary page." Death notices were not so clustered in the older newspapers. Exceptions to the rule in 1925 occurred when the death notice reported the demise of an outstanding or popular community leader. In that case, the report would be front-page news.

The obituaries and funeral notices contained data not otherwise obtainable from other newspaper items or from the

City Directory. In fact, data were obtainable from death notices that were available in no other public records. Amassing of comparable data from private documents and personal interviews would appear to be a task of staggering complexity. Thus it is seen that obituary information complements and supplements the materials obtained from other public documents, census statistics, personal interviews, and directories. Often the data from death notices may offer the only information available on individuals, families, and kin groups.

Population

The Fourteenth Census in 1920 reported the population of Tennessee as 2,337,885, an increase of 16% in two decades (Historical Statistics, 1960: 12). Though Tennessee had grown 16%, the nation as a whole grew 52% to 115,832,000 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 12). United States census data show Washington County with a population of 34,552, an increase over 1900 of 51% (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 969). Carter County to the east did not grow as dramatically. Its population in 1920 was 21,488, an increase over 1900 of 29% (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962). Unicoi County, the smallest of the three, grew at the most rapid rate. Its population jumped 73%, to 10,120 (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 969). An educated guess about Unicoi County's drastic population increase is the location there of the headquarters and shops of the

Clinchfield Railroad in the years before the First World War.

Johnson City's population, which stood at about 4,200 at the turn of the century, increased 476% to around 20,000 by 1925 (City Directory, 1925). The population of the city which was just over one-sixth of Washington County in 1900 moved up to about 58% of the county by 1925. Reasons for this significant upswing in the city's population may be, at least in part, the changes in the city outlined in the first section of this chapter. The City Directory for 1925 listed Johnson City's foreign-born segment at only 0.6% of the population, or 120 people. The three-county area continued to be highly homogeneous, with about 2,500 Negro citizens in Johnson City (City Directory, 1925). The city remained the commercial, industrial and educational center of the three-county upper East Tennessee area under study.

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia

The three-county section under investigation continued to be quite homogeneous in 1925. The area remained a heavily white, native-born Anglo-Saxon population. In Carter County, for example, the U. S. Census indicated that the foreign-born population dropped from 18 to 13 people in the years between 1900 and 1920 (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962). The foreign-born contingent increased in Unicoi County in that 20 years from 3 to 22 persons. The foreign-born population in Washington County grew from 50 to 882 in that same period (Bureau

of the Census, 1921: 969). In the three-county area, then, there was a total of 917 foreign-born in 1920, or only 1.3%. At the same time the U. S. Census figures for foreign-born in the South was 2.6%, or double the percentage for this upper East Tennessee area (Historical Statistics, 1960: 12).

The United States population was 9.6% Negro in 1930 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 29). The Negro population in the area under study was much lower than the national percentage. Unicoi County reported four Negroes in a population of more than 10,000 (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 969). Carter County had 569 Negroes, for a percentage of 2.6 (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962); whereas Washington County had a Negro population of 2,250, which was still only 6.5% of the total population (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 969). The City Directory for 1925 indicated that Johnson City was about 12.8% Negro, for a non-white population of around 2,500. Overwhelmingly, then, the three-county area consisted of native born whites.

Of the 192 obituaries in the 1925 sample from the Johnson City newspapers, only four of the death notices mentioned race. Three of the non-white deceased were residents of the Johnson City area. There was a male and female "colored," along with a male "Negro citizen." One non-white was from Elizabethton in Carter County and she was referred to as "female Darky." The death notices, then, present the impression of a nearly homogeneous, native born Caucasian community.

Education in East Tennessee

The United States Census Bureau reported that more than 26 million children were in school in 1924 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 207). The City Directory listed 4,585 children in the public schools of Johnson City in 1925; of these 400 were listed as "colored." The white children were served by Science Hill High School, the Johnson City Junior High, and seven elementary schools. The Negro children had one elementary school each for the east and west sides of the city, and Langston School offered grades 1-12. Altogether the system consisted of a superintendent with 12 principals and 111 teachers (City Directory, 1925). The Census Bureau reported 6% illiteracy nationwide in 1920; Johnson City had 6.6% illiteracy in 1925 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 214; City Directory, 1925). Illiteracy had dropped from over 10% in the nation at the turn of the century.

By 1925 East Tennessee State Normal School had grown to 1,300 students with a faculty of 35. Milligan College by 1925 had grown to 150 students with 14 faculty members (City Directory, 1925).

The death notices in the 1925 Johnson City papers mentioned educational achievement rarely. Six separate obituaries carried educational data. One young man was killed during a high school baseball game and was identified as a student at Science Hill High School. One girl of 19 died while a nursing student. One of the deceased men had

graduated from Cornell University. One of the deceased had died while a student at East Tennessee State Normal. Two of the deceased had been lawyers; one of them graduated from Cumberland Law School in Lebanon, Tennessee, after attending Milligan College. The other graduated from Richmond Law College after his years at Virginia Military Institute. These few educational references in the death notices reinforce the general knowledge that few Americans went beyond a high school education in the nineteen-twenties.

Marriage and Family

This section will deal with marriage, divorce, size of household and birth and death rates. The marriage rate in 1925 was 10.3 per thousand population; this is identical to the rate in 1910 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Federal census reports indicated that divorce occurred very seldom in 1925; the rate was 1.5 persons per thousand people. That had risen from 0.9 in 1910 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52).

Household and Family Size

The median number of persons in an American household in 1930 was 3.4. (The figures were not available for 1920 or 1925). This is in contrast to 4.23 in 1900 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16). The mean household size in 1900 was 4.76 persons. This had dropped to 4.34 in 1920 and by 1930 had decreased to 4.11 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16). Obituary data from 1925 show that the median number of

children born in the three-county area was four. The average number of children born was 4.36. These figures do not take into account adults present in the household; thus East Tennessee families reported in the 1925 death notices were larger than the 1925 national average (see Table IV-1).

Table IV-1. Number of Children Born, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Number of Children	cases	%
1	18	17
2	12	12
3	17	17
4	15	15
5	12	12
6	6	6
7	11	11
8	4	4
9	3	3
10	1	1
11	3	3
21	1	1
Total cases	103	

Missing data: 89 (46%)

Mean: 4.36 Mode: 1 Median: 4

There were 29 deceased under the age of 18 in the 1925 death notices; they probably had no children. That leaves 61 obituaries which did not mention offspring at all. Some of them were single, some of them were married persons who never had children, and an unknown number of them were married people with children but whose obituaries did not

mention them.

Households in 1925 were headed by whites in nearly 90% of the cases. Negroes headed nearly 10% of American households in that year, while other nonwhites were heads of less than 1% of households (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16).

The birthrate per 1,000 population in 1925 was 25.1; this was in contrast to 30.1 for 1910 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Obituary data do not provide enough information for birthrate computation. The death rate in 1925 was 11.7 persons per thousand population. This was in contrast to a death rate of 14.7 in 1910 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Both birth and death rates fell substantially in the first quarter century. Accurate death rate computations are not possible from obituary data. According to the obituaries in the 1925 newspapers, eleven percent of the deceased died before age five while the largest death cohort was ages 75-84. It was noted in the obituaries from the 1900 Comet that six children had no given names supplied. This seemed to comment on their own lack of significance, their family's social standing, or the fact that they died at birth and were given no names. Two children were identified in a similar way in the death notices from 1925. One death notice reported an "infant Hensley" with no name or age; another reported a "male Edwards" who was three years old, but whose Christian name was not reported in the obituary.

Marital Status

The death notices in the Johnson City papers from 1925 furnished further data that may not be available from any other sources. Eighty-three of the obituaries specified that the deceased had left a living spouse (see Table IV-2).

Table IV-2. Marital Status of the Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Marital Status	cases	%
Spouse Living	83	43
Spouse Deceased	21	11
Spouse Not Mentioned	88	46
Total cases	192	

Children under 18: 29 "Miss": 2

Twenty-one of the obituaries mentioned that the deceased had been proceeded in death by the spouse. Eighty-eight of the death notices are silent about the spouse of the deceased. Previously in this discussion mention was made of the 90 obituaries that carried no information about offspring. These 88 omissions must be explained in a similar way. It can be assumed that the 29 deceased under the age of 18 were not married; no mention was made of spouses. Some of the deceased over 17 would have been unmarried. Some of the death notices were so sparse in detail that no mention was made of the spouse, dead or alive.

This discussion has shown decreasing birth and death rates nationally in 1925. Fewer infants and young children died in the three-county area in 1925, when a comparison is made with the deceased reported in 1900. The marriage rate remained constant and the divorce rate rose slightly in the national statistics. The obituary data were able to supply information about numbers of children born that the census reports did not carry. The marital status of 54% of the deceased was obtainable from the death notices.

Transportation

The significance of rail transportation was discussed in the chapter on Johnson City and Washington County in 1900. It was pointed out that the origins of the city were closely connected to the construction of the railroads through upper East Tennessee. The strong influence of the railroad was still felt in 1925. The three rail lines that met in Johnson City at the turn of the century were still in operation. The Southern Railroad and the East Tennessee and Western North Carolina remained basically unchanged with the exception that the ETWNC had extended its line from the iron mines at Cranberry, North Carolina, on north to the city of Boone. The railroad which had been the Ohio River and Charleston in 1900 then became the Carolina, Clinchfield and Ohio, and by 1925 it was called the Clinchfield Railroad (City Directory, 1925). The name itself came from the community in southwestern

Virginia where the coal mines are concentrated. The Clinchfield Railroad was heavily involved in coal hauling. The obituaries from the 1925 newspapers carried 39 references to the occupations of the deceased. Seven of those 39 were railroad-connected occupations. They ranged from the laborers who "worked on Southern Railroad" to the highly technical "resident construction engineer for the ET&WNC," and "general counsel for the Clinchfield" (Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925).

A comment picked up from a 1925 obituary reminds one that horses and horse-drawn vehicles had not disappeared from the Johnson City scene even though more advanced transportation was then available. There is a brief comment that a gentleman was the "owner of a livery stable" (Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925). The electric streetcar line was operating in 1925.

A newly popular means of transportation was in the area in 1925. Four listings in the City Directory of that year were automobile dealerships. Dodge Bros. automobiles were for sale on Market Street just east of the public square. Paige and Jewett cars were sold on Market Street two blocks west of the square (this dealership would soon afterwards offer their now familiar successor, Pontiac). Up the hill on East Main the Sheldon agency sold Studebakers and just south of East Main on Boone Street the Ford autos were sold by the Universal Motor Corporation. The City Directory for that year listed a variety of auto and truck repair businesses.

Apparently the transportation revolution had come to Johnson City as to the rest of the country. The city map was pasted in the back of the 1925 City Directory; it showed that over half of the city's streets were paved, in contrast to the complete absence of pavement in 1900.

Community Professionals

It was difficult to piece together the data concerning the professionals practicing in Johnson City at the turn of the century in the absence of a Directory. The source of information for that era was the Comet. Folkways had changed by 1925 and doctors and lawyers no longer advertised in the papers. In place of that source, however, the City Directory was available. Information was also forthcoming from the obituaries. The Directory for 1925 listed doctors, dentists and lawyers with addresses and in some instances telephone numbers. Twenty-eight doctors were listed, for instance, in the Directory; these included two Negroes.

The death notices studied from the 1925 newspapers revealed the deaths of four "professionals." Two doctors and two lawyers were a part of the sample. One of the lawyers was not in practice in the sense that he was the general counsel of the Clinchfield Railroad. Thus the information available in the City Directory was augmented by that which appeared in the death notices.

Business and Commercial Life in Johnson City

With the advent of the City Directory and the greatly expanded morning and evening daily newspapers much more data are available to trace the business and commercial life of the city in 1925. It can be seen from both the Directory and the papers that retail business continued to expand in Johnson City to keep pace with the population growth. Population increased nearly 500% in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It would not be within the overall scope of this study to go into great detail in describing the retail business scene in Johnson City in 1925. From the pages of the Directory and the newspapers can be seen the wide variety of goods and services available to the consuming public.

Two areas of continued growth in business and commerce are amply illustrated. These are the automotive industry and railroading. New and used car and truck sales, and the accompanying repair garages and parts houses were harbingers of the massive changes that self-propelled vehicles would bring to America, and upper East Tennessee. Because of the inadequate road and highway networks and the relative undependability of gasoline-powered vehicles, both short and long range travel was monopolized by the railroads (U. S. 25 connecting Lexington, Kentucky and Knoxville, Tennessee was still a gravel road through the mountains in 1933). Not only was passenger travel the province of the railroad but nearly all freight was hauled by rail. The coal dug in

southern Appalachia was moved mainly by rail. Twenty percent of the 1925 death notices that carry references to occupations involved railroads.

Employment opportunities continued to multiply in East Tennessee. These can be seen in the retail advertisements as well as advertisements for employees in the daily newspapers. Johnson City employers were listed in the City Directory. Along with the variety of business concerns in existence since 1900, new employment had become available by 1925. Railroad employment continued to expand. The entire auto industry had grown up since 1900. The federal veterans' facility to the west of the city served an ever larger clientele in the nineteen-twenties in the aftermath of the First World War. At the same end of town the state teachers college was an expanding employer.

Thirty-nine of the death notices from the papers in 1925 contained brief comments about the employment history of the deceased. Table IV-3 displays the variety of occupational categories in the three-county area. There is a good balance among the seven clusters. Lest Johnson City and the three-county area be thought of as consisting mainly of occupations connected with manual labor, it can be seen that retail clerks and railroad employees outnumber the less skilled occupations, though farming was reported the most. The obituary data allow glimpses into the lives of the employed that cannot be gained from other sources. Thus "merchant for thirty-five

Table IV-3. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Occupational Data	cases	%
Farming	9	23
Workers	4	10
Railroading	7	18
Clerks	6	15
White-Collar	4	10
Professional and Executive		
small firms	5	13
large firms	4	10
Total cases	39	

years" and "worked at Harris Manufacturing for twenty years" encompass in a phrase the work history of an individual.

Less than 25% of the death notices contained an occupational reference in 1925. It can be assumed that these 39 obituaries are representative of the whole sample; it could be argued, on the other hand, that many of the death notices made no occupational notations because they were not "worth noting." That is, either the family of the deceased who furnished the obituary data or the author of the obituary deemed the work life of 75% of the deceased sampled not significant enough to be mentioned. If the latter is the case, then the occupational sample is skewed toward middle-class and more esteemed occupations. When an examination is made of

obituaries of deceased males over 18 years of age, however, it is seen that 40% of those notices mention work or occupation. Perhaps these occupational notes reflect the male-dominated society of southern Appalachia in the nineteen-twenties. Thirty-seven of the 39 obituaries with comments on occupational experience involved males.

Leisure

As a society becomes more affluent, more time is made available for leisure pursuits. Newspapers and periodicals were more numerous in 1925 than they were in 1900. Not only were the local newspapers greatly expanded in size and coverage since the days of the Comet, but state and national publications were available (Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925). The continent-wide wire services made national and international news more accessible to the readers of the local papers.

The Mayne Williams Public Library had been opened in downtown Johnson City in 1923 as the culmination of the ladies' reading circles dating back into the nineteenth century (Williams, 1958). The city at last had its own free public library, built next door to Science Hill High School.

The daily papers in their sports pages reported on the successes of the major league baseball teams as well as college athletics, local and national. The 1923 Chronicle carried a photograph of the baseball team that played on the National Sanitarium diamond (September 23). High school and

college athletic teams entertained local citizens. Milligan and other area colleges competed in football, basketball, and baseball. One obituary commented at length on the well-known Science Hill High School baseball pitcher who died as a result of an accident during a game (Chronicle and Staff-News).

Perhaps the most noticeable change in the use of leisure time in Johnson City was caused by the "electrical revolution." Commercial radio broadcasting was just beginning in the nineteen-twenties. Motion pictures were advertised daily in the 1925 newspapers. Four motion picture houses were open in Johnson City that year. The DeLuxe was on West Main Street and the Liberty, the Edisonia and the Majestic were all located in the same block on East Main Street (City Directory, 1925). The residents of the three-county area had available a variety of enterprises competing for their leisure time.

Churches and Ministers

About 47% of the American people were affiliated with a religious congregation in 1925; this parallels an approximate affiliation of 46% in 1900 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 228). Church membership in 1925 cannot be computed for Johnson City because of incomplete records. In 1925 the city was served by at least 36 congregations; that number is listed in the City Directory. Of these 36, nine were Negro congregations. The northern and southern branches of the Methodist

and Presbyterian churches were still separated in the city 60 years after the end of the Civil War.

First Presbyterian Church remained at Main and Boone where it had been since construction in 1869 (City Directory, 1925). First Methodist remained at Main and Roan (50th Anniversary, 1978). The other old "downtown" congregations had built larger buildings and relocated since 1900. Market Street Methodist had moved a few feet to the west and been renamed Munsey Memorial Methodist (The Committee, 1966). The Christian Church had been relocated a block and a half further east on Main Street and renamed First Christian (McCown and Owen, 1971: 31-32). The Baptist Church had moved from its old location on East Main Street and built a new building on North Roan, changing its name to Central Baptist (The Historical Committee, 1969: 14). Other downtown congregations included a Lutheran Church, St. Mary's Catholic Chapel and St. John's Episcopal Church. The three neighborhood congregations in operation in 1900 remained in their same locations: Watauga Avenue Presbyterian, East Park Methodist, and the United Brethren Church (City Directory, 1925). Reflecting the growth of the city, an additional 16 congregations were listed in the City Directory of that year. Some of these may have been the outgrowth of mission churches begun before 1900.

The four congregations that were serving the Negro community in Johnson City in 1900 were still in operation at

the same locations. In addition to them five other Negro congregations were listed in the 1925 Directory. They included two Baptist churches, a Presbyterian, a Methodist, and one called the "Sanctified Church." These newer congregations had all been built as neighborhood churches (City Directory, 1925).

Churches Mentioned

The death notices in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News in 1925 mentioned 11 of the city's congregations. These were Central Baptist, First Methodist, and Munsey Memorial Methodist, First Christian, First Presbyterian, St. John's Episcopal, and a Lutheran Church in the down-town area. In the residential part of town were Unaka Avenue Baptist, Second Presbyterian, the United Brethren Church, and the Holiness Church. A total of 24 separate congregations were named in the death notices, both in the city and the surrounding three-county area.

Officiants

Seventy-seven of the obituaries mentioned officiants by name, but no church connections. Six of the obituaries mentioned church connections but did not name officiants. Fifty-five of the death notices mentioned both denominational preference or congregational affiliation and specific officiants (see Table IV-4). This writer assumed that all the memorial services had officiants, but this cannot be

Table IV-4. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Churches and Officiants Specified	cases	%
Church Connections and Officiants Specified	55	29
Officiants Specified	77	40
Church Connections Specified	6	3
Neither Mentioned	54	28
Total cases	192	

substantiated from the obituary evidence.

One hundred thirty-five of the obituaries mentioned officiants (see Table IV-5). One hundred of the obituaries mentioned just one officiant. Twenty-seven obituaries mentioned two officiants; and four of them specified that three officiants took part in the memorial service. This leaves 61 obituaries, or about 32%, which made no mention of officiants. It is not assumed that nearly one-third of the funerals had no clergy officiating. Women and children typically had shorter obituaries; the officiants' names may have been omitted simply because of the sketchy nature of the report.

The obituaries of the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News contained the names of 76 ministers in the 1925 sample. W. E. Sweeney of the First Christian Church, Johnson City, participated in 14 of the funerals mentioned in the

Table IV-5. Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Number of Officiants	cases	%
1	100	76
2	27	21
3	4	3
Total cases	131	

Missing data: 61 (32%)

death notices. M. P. Carico of Munsey Memorial Methodist Church in Johnson City took part in 13 funerals. It should be noted that these men were ministers of two of the original "downtown" churches and thus were undoubtedly well known. Their congregations were among the largest city churches. None of the other ministers were listed even half as many times as these two. Of these 76 ministers 21 of them can be identified by church and/or denomination (City Directory, 1925; Johnson City Chronicle, September 23, 1923).

Church Preference and Affiliation

Church denomination or specific congregational affiliation was mentioned in 59 obituaries (see Table IV-6). Forty-nine funerals were conducted in 31 different churches as reflected in the obituary sample from 1925 (see Table IV-7).

Just as the name of the officiant may have been omitted from certain obituaries when there were officiating

Table IV-6. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Congregation or Denomination		cases	%
Methodist		16	27
Specific congregations	10		
"Methodist"	6		
Baptist		13	22
Specific congregations	6		
"Baptist"	7		
Christian Church		13	22
Specific congregations	6		
"Christian Church"	7		
Presbyterian		10	17
Specific congregations	7		
"Presbyterian"	3		
Free Will Baptist		1	2
Specific congregations	1		
Other Churches		6	10
Total cases		59	

Missing data: 133 (69%)

clergy, it is just possible that for the same reasons church affiliation may not have been specified. Only 31% of the obituaries mentioned any connection with a church; it was noted at the beginning of this section that about 47% of the nation's population claimed church membership. It would not be expected that southern Appalachian church membership would be substantially lower than the national average. Location

Table IV-7. Location of Funeral Services, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Locations	cases	%
Methodist Churches	16	33
Baptist Churches	11	22
Christian Churches	8	16
Free Will Baptist Churches	1	2
Presbyterian Churches	1	2
Other Churches	10	20
Veterans Administration Chapels	2	4
Total cases	49	

of the funeral service will be discussed in the section dealing with the process from death to interment.

An extensive discussion has been presented concerning the religious aspects of Johnson City and environs in 1925. Some of the information has come from the 1925 City Directory, but that has been considerably augmented by information from the obituary sample from the 1925 newspapers.

The churches serving both the white and Negro citizens of Johnson City were located. The growth of the city can be traced by the proliferation of congregations in the first quarter century. Some of the city's churches were specified in the death notices. One measurement of the completeness in detail of the obituaries involved the tallying of the death notices which mentioned church connections

and/or officiants. The percentage of religious affiliation in the three-county area was compared with the national figures. Affiliation specified in the death notices was not as large as the national statistics would lead one to expect. An examination of the obituaries permits the conclusion that the specification of church membership or the inclusion of the officiant's identity were not items of the highest priority in 1925. Data concerning church connection and the presence of clergy at funerals were included with more frequency than another matter of import: the occupational history of the deceased.

Public Health

The cause of death was supplied in some form in 74% of the death notices from the 1925 sample. Twenty-eight doctors were listed in the 1925 City Directory. Two hospitals were in operation in Johnson City in 1925. Appalachian Hospital was located just off North Roan where Memorial Hospital, its successor, is still located. The National Sanitarium was the site of a hospital built to serve the veterans of American wars. This was located just west of the city limits.

Causes of Death

Causes of death were furnished by 75% of the death notices in 1900 and 74% in 1925 (see Table IV-8). Even with one-fourth of the data missing, the causes of death were very similar in 1900 and 1925, at least as far as they were

Table IV-8. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Newspapers, 1900 and 1925

Causes of Death	1900* n	1900* %	1925° n	1925° %
Illness	43	80	113	80
Accident	7	13	24	17
Suicide	3	6	4	3
Homicide or War	1	2	1	1
Totals	54		142	
Missing data:	18	(25%)	50	(26%)

*Johnson City Comet
°Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

reported. The one major change in cause of death was the increase in accidental death from 13% to 17%. Three of the seven accidents in 1900 were due to railroad trains. Vehicular accidents in 1925 increase to 20 out of 34, or 42% (see Table IV-9).

The "Other Causes" were varied, and included poison, drowning, a sports accident, burns, accidental shooting, lightning, an industrial accident, and a fall from a tree.

The four suicides were caused by weapons. Two of the cases specified pistols, one a rifle, and one a "weapon."

The major change in deaths caused by illness and disease was the much larger number of deaths attributed to extended illnesses (see Table IV-10). Nineteen percent of the deaths from illness in 1900 were those of two months or

Table IV-9. Accidental Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Accidental Deaths	cases	%
Railroad	5	25
Vehicular	20	42
Other Causes	8	33
Total cases	34	

longer duration, designated "extended." In contrast, extended illnesses accounted for 39% of the deaths in 1925. A new category was needed for the data from 1925. Four of the death notices simply attributed the death to "sudden illness," or "unexpected illness." Those in the category "Other Specific Illnesses" included, from the most to the least frequent:

> Pneumonia, childbirth, blood poisoning, influenza, complications from surgery, colitis, meningitis, Bright's disease, kidney infection, internal hemorrhage, diphtheria, tuberculosis, typhoid, throat affliction, died during treatment.

Table IV-10. Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Illness	cases	%
Long illness	45	39
Brief illness	24	21
Sudden illness	4	4
Cardio-vascular diseases	12	11
Other specific illnesses	28	25
Total cases	113	

Death by Age Cohort

Infants and young children were particularly vulnerable to childhood diseases in 1900. The 1925 data indicated that this had changed. In fact, when compared with early childhood mortality in the nation as a whole, deaths of children under five were quite low as seen in the East Tennessee obituary data (see Table IV-11).

Seventy-three of the obituaries reported the cause of death and the place where the death occurred. This permits an analysis of the relationship between the length of the illness and the location of the death. Table IV-12 displays these data. Typically, in 1925, when any death was reported, it had occurred in a private home. Those whose cause of death was a specified illness or disease had some likelihood of dying in an institution (this was not seen in 1900).

From Death to Interment in the Community

Sixty-one percent of the obituaries in the year 1900 mentioned the place of death. Twenty-five years later, the newspaper obituaries in Johnson City specified the location of death in 69% of the cases. In 97 of the 133 cases, or 73%, the death occurred in a private home; seventy-nine of these 97 cases occurred in the home of the deceased (see Table IV-13). The other deaths in homes occurred in parent's or grandparent's homes, daughter's or son's homes, sister's

Table IV-11. Death by Age Cohort, from Obituary Data in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900 and 1925

Age Cohort	Obituaries 1900* n	%	Obituaries 1925° n	%
-1	6	15	6	4
1-4	3	8	10	7
5-14	1	3	9	6
15-24	5	13	16	11
25-34	2	5	12	8
35-44	3	8	14	10
45-54	4	10	6	4
55-64	3	8	13	13
65-74	7	18	13	13
75-84	5	13	24	17
85+	1	3	7	5
Totals	40		142	
Missing data:	32 (44%)		50 (26%)	

*Johnson City Comet
°Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

home, or the homes of private individuals. In the death notices from the 1900 Comet deaths in homes occurred in 66% of the cases, so rather than an expected decrease in home deaths, there was instead an increase. Thirteen of the death sites were identified by a geographical notation auch as "in a Virginia coal mine."

Seventeen percent of the deaths in 1925 took place

Table IV-12. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Place of Death	Causes of Death Specified: long illness	brief illness	sudden illness	illness/ disease	Total
Home	34	2	2	20	58
Institution	5	1	0	6	12
Geographic location	1	0	0	2	3
Totals	40	3	2	28	73

in a hospital or sanitarium, whereas in 1900 no deaths in institutions were reported at all. Sixteen of the institutionalized deceased died in local hospitals. Four died in

Table IV-13. Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Place of Death		cases	%
Home		97	73
own home	79		
other's home	18		
Geographical location		13	10
in-state	8		
out-of-state	5		
Institution		23	17
hospital	19		
V. A. Center	4		
Total cases		133	

Missing data: 59 (31%)

federal veterans' "sanitaria," and three died in other types of hospitals. It could not be said of the 1925 sample, as it was of the 1900 obituaries, that in all likelihood if the death was not due to accident, then it would occur in a home. The trend had begun for death to move out of the home and into the hospital.

Preparation

After death the corpse had to be prepared for lying in state and burial and the professionalization of these preparations had begun by 1925. It was noted that two firms in Johnson City advertised in the 1900 Comet as undertakers and embalmers. None of the obituaries in the Comet that year specified that an undertaker had been involved in the preparation of the body. The obituaries in the 1925 Chronicle and Staff-News mentioned undertaking establishments in only 11 cases out of 192 death notices. Three of these establishments were in Johnson City. Cannon-Pangle was mentioned three times, Sterchi Furniture Company was cited in two obituaries, and Ryans Brothers was specified in one. Pouder Brothers Furniture Company was mentioned in one of the obituaries but it had not been advertised in the 1925 City Directory as an undertaking establishment. In an interview Mrs. Edith Pouder Clarke mentioned that her late father had operated the furniture company in Johnson City until his death in 1926 and that the company employed two embalmers (1979). Three obituaries in 1925 mentioned the Curtis Furniture Company in

Elizabethton as undertakers. There was one other reference in this sample; an Allred Undertaking Company was specified in connection with an accidental death out of state and its location has not been ascertained. Obviously most of these businesses were furniture stores; undertaking was only a sideline.

The City Directory for Johnson City in 1925 listed three firms under the heading "Undertakers." J. G. Sterchi Furniture Company was located on East Main Street; Cannon-Pangle Funeral Home was on North Roan, across the street diagonally from the Appalachian Hospital. Ryans Brothers was a Negro funeral home, located two blocks south of there on North Roan, toward the downtown section of the city. The Ryans Brothers advertisement in the Directory mentioned "Real Estate and Insurance, Undertakers and Embalmers" (City Directory, 1925). Since only 6% of the death notices made any reference to undertakers, it can be assumed that many of the deceased were not embalmed, though this is an argument from silence. Another possible explanation for the paucity of references to undertakers is the significance assigned to the undertaking enterprise. In other words, a large number of death notices may not have listed the firm whose embalmers assisted in the preparation of the corpse because it was not "important." Evidence is not available from the obituaries to specify the customary practices involved with the preparation of the corpse in the three-county section of upper East

Tennessee in 1925. The interview with Mrs. Clarke brought out the fact that her father's furniture store made available ambulance service as a part of the services provided to the community (1979). It is possible that even in 1925 the "laying-out" of the bodies was done by family and friends in the more remote sections of this three-county area in southern Appalachia. That is, the use of professional undertaking services was in no way as near-universal as it became in later years.

Lying in State

It would be a matter of interest to know if the "country wake" prevalent at the turn of the century was still in practice in 1925. There is little evidence from the 1925 obituaries to shed light on this part of the presentational ritual. Only six of the 192 death notices, or 3%, made any reference to the location of the body before the memorial service, or before interment when there was no mention of a service. Of these six cases, five specified that the body lay in state at the home of the deceased. One of them mentioned a lying-in-state at a funeral establishment. Perhaps the lying-in-state in the home of the deceased was still so common in 1925 that mention of it in an obituary was redundant.

The Memorial Service

Sixteen, or 22%, of the death notices in the 1900 Comet specified the place where the funeral service was

conducted. In contrast, one hundred fifty-two, or 79%, of the death notices in the Johnson City papers from 1925 mentioned this item (see Table IV-14). Sixty-three percent of the funeral services were conducted in homes in 1925. Nearly a third of the services were held in church buildings. Only five, or less than 3%, of the services were conducted in funeral homes. Apparently the customs involved in the presentation of the dead were changing in the mid-nineteen-twenties. That is, the majority of the terminally ill died in their homes, and the majority of the deceased lay in state in their homes. A bare majority of the memorial services were conducted in the homes of the deceased.

Table IV-14. Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Place of Service	cases	%
Own home	79	52
Other's home	17	11
Church	49	32
Funeral Home	5	3
Graveside	2	1
Total cases	152	

Missing data: 40 (21%)

Even though the presentation of the deceased in 1925 revolved around the home and family of the deceased, the

obituaries from that year mentioned the officiating clergy in a majority of the instances. Though only 17% of the death notices in the 1900 Comet mentioned clergy by name, 68% of the obituaries in 1925 did so. One hundred of the obituaries mentioned one officiant. Twenty-seven of the obituaries specified two officiants, while four of them mentioned that three ministers had participated in the memorial service. In all, seventy-six clergy and one judge were listed as officiants in the 1925 sample.

Interment

The place of burial had begun to shift by 1925 from family cemeteries to community and proprietary cemeteries. In the death notices from 1900 56% of the burial locations were reported. The death notices from the 1925 sample reported the burial location in 77% of the cases. It could be argued that the place of burial became a matter of more interest and significance in the nineteen-twenties. Another reason for the change could be a lack of information available to the obituary writers in 1900. The place of burial was given geographically in 40% of the cases in 1900; the death notices in 1925 were much more precise in locating the place of interment. Only 3% of them located the burial site by mentioning the name of the community or city (see Table IV-15).

Not only is there a trend which can be seen in the death notices from the 1925 sample; the shift from family

Table IV-15. Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Place of Burial		cases	%
Family Cemetery		49	33
"family"	21		
"named"	28		
Community or Proprietary Cemetery		61	41
Church Cemetery		27	18
National Cemetery		5	3
Geographic Locations		5	3
Total cases		147	

Missing data: 45 (23%)

cemeteries to the public and commercial has been noted. A further trend was occurring in the nineteen-twenties, the change of the commercial or proprietary (operated as a business) cemetery from rows of gravestones of all sizes and shapes to the planned "memorial garden." These gardens were designed with graves clustered in areas with distinctive statuary, landscaped with flower beds and shrubbery. The new gardens were designed to be places of beauty and order with metal grave markers flush with the ground; distinctive memorial stones were out of place. Mrs. Edith Clarke spoke of her late father riding his horse many times to the part of Washington County northeast of Johnson City. There Monte Vista Cemetery was being developed into a "burial park" in the early part of the nineteen-twenties. She stated that her

father was proud of redesigning Monte Vista into a lovely park (1979). Monte Vista had begun as a proprietary cemetery in the eighteen-sixties; it was built to serve Johnson City and the northern end of Washington County.

Sex Differences

An analysis of the "word count" of the obituaries from the 1925 sample shows that whereas the modal obituary for females was between 51 and 100 words, the mode for males fell between 101 and 200 words (see Table IV-16). It can be seen in this Table that deceased males received more extensive obituaries than females. The proportion between males and

Table IV-16. Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925

Word Count	Male Deceased n	%	Female Deceased n	%
-51	13	12	5	6
51-100	30	27	30	38
101-200	38	34	28	35
201-300	18	16	11	14
301+	14	12	5	6
Totals	113		79	

females is two-to-one in the cohort that is the largest; more than 300 words in length. How much of this bias is due to a sexual double standard and how much is the function of male

prominence and leadership in the community cannot be ascertained. It was noted in the section "Business and Commercial Life in Johnson City" that 37 of the 39 references in the obituaries to specific employment and occupations involved males. This is seen in the light of the general knowledge that a relatively small percentage of females were employed outside the home in 1925 nationally. In any case, more male deaths were reported in 1925, and when they were reported, the reports were more extensive.

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology

Erving Goffman outlined his concept of dramaturgical "teams" in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959: 79). The presentation team in 1925 consisted of the family, kin group and friends, there was probably an undertaker and/or embalmer, and almost always a clerical officiant. Since there was a growing trend toward the use of public and proprietary cemeteries, it is assumed that transporting of the corpse and preparation of the gravesite would be carried out by professionals, in other words, not by kin or family friends.

Goffman's terminology involving "front and back stages" can be used to illustrate the changes that were occurring in the presentation of the deceased in 1925. On "front stage" is the wake, the lying-in-state, the funeral service, the procession to the cemetery, and the interment; all this

is the same as the "front stage" components in 1900, with the exception that the home is losing some of its significance as the locale of the funeral service. The "back stage" mode has changed to a greater extent. More often than before the preparation of the body was done professionally at the undertaking establishment. The preparation of the grave site and the digging of the grave was done "back stage," without an audience. There was then in 1925 the alternation between front and back stage performances; more of the phases occurred back stage than in 1900.

This discussion has concerned the presentation of the deceased to the community in 1925, chiefly as seen in the data gleaned from newspaper obituaries and funeral notices. The customary practices in the three-county segment of upper East Tennessee have continued to change--though quite slowly --in the direction first glimpsed in the death notices from 1900. More of the rituals connected with the proper disposition of the dead bodies involved "back stage" behavior. That is, more of the duties of the "presentation teams" were being performed by those trained to be "professional" in their task performance.

Professionalization continued in the field of undertaking and embalming as corpses were being "modified" in ways that were foreign to lay people. The general management of the funerals and the interment was increasingly under the guidance of trained and experienced "funeral directors"

(Hartman, 1979; Tetrick, 1979). Clergy were expected to carry out their funeral responsibilities "professionally," as growing numbers of religious ministers who had undergone theological training moved into the pulpits of East Tennessee churches (see congregational anniversary documents). As these changes occurred, then, the mourners--the people immediately affected by the deaths--found that their functions and responsibilities changed and diminished. As there were fewer responsibilities in connection with the bodies of their kinsmen, the costs of the presentation process increased. There were more expenses involved in the undertaking, embalming, transporting, and interring of their loved ones. The days when the death and funeral process involved almost no cash outlay were on the way out.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1950

The Three-County Area

This chapter will examine the presentation of the deceased to the community in 1950. The growth of the three-county area, as that of the nation as a whole in the nineteen-twenties, was slowed down by the Great Depression of the nineteen-thirties. That economic downturn in the decade of the thirties was followed immediately by the Second World War. The draft called up millions of Americans, and East Tennesseans were taken like those in all other sections of the nation. Introduction to other cultures, both domestic and foreign, was accelerated by this world conflict.

Not many obituaries with references to the Second World War could be expected since the 1950 sample involved deaths just five years after the end of that war. Nine of the obituaries from the 1950 sample referred specifically to service during the Second World War. Three of the deceased had served during the war in the U.S. Navy (one of them was a female). Two had served in the Army Air Corps. Three other obituaries mentioned World War II only; one of these specified service with the 80th Infantry Division in Europe.

In addition to the veterans' experience with World

War II five of the obituaries reported the deaths of Spanish-American War veterans. Seven of the obituaries referred to service in the First World War; one of them reported the death of a man who had spent eight years in the Navy, with no war specified. A total of 22 obituaries mentioned military service.

The National Sanitarium established to the west of the city in 1903 had undergone continuous development due to the crop of veterans from the two world conflicts. The City Directory for 1950 supplied the following information which commented on the growth of the veterans' facility:

> There is located within the city the Mountain Home Veterans Administration Center for disabled veterans. The reservation contains 450 acres of land on which are seventy-six buildings. It has six miles of asphalt paved roads and three miles of secondary roads and it also has its own white way. The value of the buildings and plants is appraised at $4,511,276.00 exclusive of the value of the equipment amounting to $785,773.25, or a total value of $5,297,049.25. The replacement value is estimated at $15,000,000.
>
> The bed capacity of the Mountain Home Facility is 556 hospital beds, 1,723 duty and non-duty beds, and some 330 unofficial barracks beds, making a total of 2,609 beds available for the use of the ex-service men in need of hospital and domiciliary care.
>
> Some 5,000 disabled veterans are admitted each year (City Directory, 1950: no page number).

Data from the City Directory demonstrate the continued growth of the city in area. More residential growth occurred and the city continued to expand its limits. Downtown Johnson City expanded more slowly and business growth was generally concentrated there. There were as yet no

substantial suburban business or commercial developments (City Directory, 1950).

Sources

The kinds of sources of information used for 1925 were used for 1950. The City Directory for 1950 had tripled in size in comparison with the Directory for 1925. Several people were interviewed who had lived in the three-county area in 1950. Local newspapers continued to be a valuable source of information. Personal knowledge was drawn upon for some of the background of Johnson City and environs in 1950.

The City Directory for 1950 contains street addresses and telephone numbers in sequence for both residences and commercial establishments. Large numbers of advertisements provide information about the business and commercial activities of the city and county. Several pages of general information about the city were carried as an introduction to the area. A topical index listed businesses, churches, clergy, and other "structural" components of the life of the city. The Directory continued a feature prominent in the 1925 edition; an asterisk was placed by every Negro name or business in 1925. The procedure in 1950 was to place a "c" within a circle to designate "colored" residences and commercial establishments. As far as the representatives working for the publisher of the Directory were accurate, it is then possible to outline the Negro residential and commercial

areas of the city.

Interviews have been conducted with educators, clergy, and funeral directors who were active in the three-county area in 1950 or the nineteen-fifties. Three Negro informants were school teachers in the nineteen-fifties. A professor at Milligan College moved to Unicoi County in 1950 to minister to the First Christian Church in Erwin and teach at Milligan College. The owner of the funeral home which has operated for the longest period of time in Johnson City has been interviewed.

A special edition of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle was published May 24, 1936 which commemorated 50 years since the most recent city charter. This edition contained a variety of photographs and articles about many aspects of "old" Johnson City. It also contained a number of advertisements and articles which allow a view of the city in the midst of the Depression of the nineteen-thirties. The still-existing Johnson City Press-Chronicle, founded in 1934, was the successor of the old Johnson City Chronicle, the Press, the Staff, and the News. The Press-Chronicle was printed at the same location on West Market and Main streets as the old Chronicle and Staff-News. Morning, evening, and Sunday editions were all entitled the Press-Chronicle. The Press-Chronicle of 1950 has continued almost unchanged in format until the present time.

A sample of 445 obituaries has been extracted from

the newspapers printed in Johnson City in 1950. One other source of information must be mentioned. The writer made brief visits to the three-county area in 1952, 1954, and 1956. These visits involved friends and relatives living in the area, coupled with a general interest in the region that can be traced to residence in Johnson City from 1933 to 1940.

Various sources of information have been described that have offered access to Johnson City and the surrounding area in 1950. These sources have included the City Directory, interviews with informants, the newspapers of that year for Johnson City, with a particular emphasis on obituaries and funeral notices. A personal acquaintance with the area under study was also of considerable help.

Population

The Seventeenth United States Census in 1950 found the population of Tennessee to be 3,292,000, an increase of 41% in three decades (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 10). Though the United States as a whole had grown 30% to 150,697,361 Tennessee had increased the larger percentage (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 5). United States census data show Washington County with a population of 59,971 in 1950, an increase over 1920 of 76% (Bureau of the Census, 1952:42-90). Carter County grew even more dramatically to a population of 42,432 in 1950; this was an increase of 97% (Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-77). The more rugged Unicoi County,

situated along the North Carolina border, grew at a slower rate in the 30 years leading up to 1950. Its population rose to 15,886, an increase of 57% (Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-90). German industrialists had established two large synthetic filament plants in Elizabethton in the late nineteen-twenties. Elizabethton, the county seat of Carter County, became the headquarters of Bemberg Corporation and North American Rayon. This large increase in employment opportunity may be the chief reason for the accelerated increase in the population of Carter County between 1920 and 1950.

Johnson City's population, which stood at about 20,000 in 1925, grew to approximately 32,000 by 1950. The City Directory listed a population of 32,715, but noted that the figure included some residents outside the city limits. That factor makes it impossible to compute the exact population of the city itself in 1950 (City Directory, 1950). In approximate figures, though, there was growth from about 20,000 to about 32,000, an increase of 60%. This percentage is in line with the percentages of county growth previously listed. During this 30-year period, the population of these three upper East Tennessee counties grew at a rate greater than both the state and national populations.

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia

The three-county upper East Tennessee section remained ethnically very homogeneous in 1950. This area contained only

1.3% "foreign-born" in 1920 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 12). Census figures are not available for percentage of foreign-born for 1950 but there is no reason to believe that the percentage had increased greatly.

The United States population was 9.6% Negro in 1930 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 29). It had increased to 9.9% Negro by 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 30). The population of Tennessee was 16% Negro in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1964: 26). The Negro population for the section of Tennessee being studied was less than either the statewide or national percentages. The three-county area contained a Negro population of 3,313, or 2.8% of the total population (Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-77, 42-90). Washington County contained a subgroup of nonwhites that numbered 2,893, or 5% of the county. Carter County had a population that was only 1% nonwhite. Unicoi County, with the smallest population of the three, listed only 13 nonwhites, a minuscule 0.8% of their total (Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-90, 42-77, 42-90, in that order). The City Directory for 1950 pointed out that Johnson City itself was 1% foreign-born and 6% "Negro." These statistics make it clear that Johnson City and the three counties in the area remained a society of mainly native-born Caucasians in 1950.

Only one of the 445 obituaries in the 1950 sample mentioned race specifically. A certain Rasberry Young, age 56, who died in the store he owned, was identified in the

obituary as "Negro." No references to Negro funeral homes were present, and there was no mention of the Negro cemetery in Johnson City, Westlawn. When race was not specified in the death notices other clues must be used; they include the funeral home, the officiant's name, congregational affiliation, and the identity of the cemetery. And if all these clues are present, it is still impossible at times to puzzle out the race of the deceased persons simply from obituary information. The material substantiates the white Anglo-Saxon nature of the northeastern tip of Tennessee.

Education

Department of Health, Education and Welfare statistics reported 25,216,000 children in public schools in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 128). This is a slight increase over the total reported for 1924, 24,288,808 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 207). Another way of measuring the educational attainments nationally is to look at the change in the number of high school graduates. There were 494,006 high school graduates in 1924; this increased to 1,199,700 in 1950. The population of the United States had increased 30% from 1920 to 1950; the number of high school graduates had increased 142% (Historical Statistics, 1960: 207). The national illiteracy rate had declined from 6% in 1920 to 3.2% in 1950 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 214).

The Johnson City school children were served by 12

schools in 1950, unchanged from 1925 (City Directory, 1950). The white children attended seven elementary schools, scattered throughout the city, with one Junior High and one Senior High. The Negro children were served by two elementary schools and Langston High, grades 7-12.

The City Directory reported that East Tennessee State College had an annual enrolment of about 2,000 and that Milligan College's annual enrolment was about 450. The Milligan College Yearbook of 1951 listed 199 students (Buffalo, 1951).

The death notices in the Johnson City newspapers from 1950 carried about as few comments about educational achievement as did the obituaries from 1925. Seven obituaries specified educational attainment. Of these seven two mentioned secondary education. Two of the deceased had graduated from Milligan College and two of them had graduated from Tusculum College, located 30 miles to the west of Johnson City. One of the Tusculum graduates had done advanced work at Tulane University. One of those who died in 1950 had received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1949 from the University of Missouri (Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950).

Apparently the public school picture had changed little in Johnson City in the quarter-century leading up to 1950. No new schools had been built, or old ones closed. There had been a gradual increase in post-high school enrolment in the local colleges. There was proportionately less

mention of educational achievement in the obituaries from 1950 than in those from 1925. Few obituary writers presented the deceased to the community with comments about their educational history.

Marriage and Family

Marriage and divorce rates, children born, and birth and death rates will be examined in this section. National and local data will be utilized. The marriage rate for 1900 and 1925 stood at 10.3 marriages per thousand population. It had risen slightly to 11.1 per thousand in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). The divorce rate in 1950 had risen from that in 1925. In that year there were 1.5 divorces per thousand people; in 1950 the rate was 2.5 divorces per thousand (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52).

Household and Family Size

The mean number of persons in an American household was dropping. The figure for 1900 was 4.23 persons; that had changed to 4.11 persons per household in 1930 and dropped further to 3.52 persons per household by 1950 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16). The average number of children born to families in the three-county area remained stable at the two points in time separated by 25 years. The average number of children born to families in 1925 was 4.36, while the number in 1950 was 4.37 (see Table V-1).

The 166 obituaries that mentioned no children included

Table V-1. Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Number of Children	cases	%
1	39	14
2	39	14
3	50	18
4	20	10
5	34	12
6	28	10
7	23	8
8	16	6
9	12	4
10	5	2
11	1	-1
12	1	-1
13	1	-1
15	1	-1
Total cases	279	

Missing data: 166 (37%) Children under 18: 71

Mean: 4.37 Mode: 3 Median: 4

71 deceased under the age of 18; it is assumed that they had no children. In 1925 32% of the data remained unexplained; in 1950 that dropped to 21%. Some of the 95 obituaries that contained no mention of offspring reported on deceased who had never married, while another unknown percentage of them were married persons who never had children. Another unknown percentage were cases in which the deceased had been married and had children but whose obituaries made no mention of them.

The birthrate per 1,000 population had dropped by about one-fifth in the first 50 years of the twentieth century. The birthrate in 1910 stood at 30.1 per thousand. By 1925 it had dropped to 25.1 and by 1950 it was still lower at

24.1 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Obituary data do not provide enough information for the computing of birth rates.

The death rate nationally continued to drop over the same time span. In 1910 the number of persons per 1,000 population who died was 14.7. That had dropped to 11.7 in 1925 and to 9.6 by 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). Both birth and death rates fell substantially during the years from 1910 to 1950. According to the obituaries in the 1925 newspapers, eleven percent of the deceased died prior to age five; the 1950 sample contained 13% of the deaths involving children younger than five.

Of the 63 infants included in the 1950 sample, thirteen were assigned no names. Eight of these infants with no given names reported were males and three were females. Two other infants were identified as "infant surname" without given names or sex identification. It cannot be determined whether their names simply went unreported or if they died so young that they were never named.

Marital Status

It is possible to discover to some extent the marital status of the deceased; these data may not be available from other sources. Two hundred fourteen of the obituaries specified that the deceased had left a living spouse (see Table V-2); this constituted 48% of the obituaries. Only 14, or 3% of the obituaries noted that the deceased had been preceded in death by the spouse. Two hundred seventeen, or 49% of the

Table V-2. Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Marital Status	cases	%
Spouse Living	214	48
Spouse Deceased	14	3
Spouse Not Mentioned	217	49
Total cases	445	
Children under 18: 71	"Miss": 5	

obituaries, gave no information about marriage partners. Seventy-one, or 16%, of the death notices perhaps contained no references to marital status, for they reported on the deaths of persons under 18 years of age.

What does the missing information signify? It constitutes approximately one-half of the obituaries. It can be assumed that some of the deceased 18 and older were not married. Some of the deceased may have been divorced or separated and no mention was made of former spouse. Some of the death notices were so sparse in detail that marital status was left unmentioned. It has been noticed that details as important to the community as officiant, identity of funeral home and place of burial, to use three examples, were oftentimes omitted from the death notices.

This discussion has dealt with several topics within the general theme of marriage and family in Johnson City and the three-county area. It has been noted that the marriage

rate was slightly higher in 1950; the divorce rate had also risen in comparison to 1925. The size of the American household was dropping, but the number of children born to families in upper East Tennessee remained constant when compared with the 1925 figures. The national birthrate had dropped in the 25-year period leading up to 1950. The marital status of the deceased in the 1950 sample was discussed and contrasted to the marital status reported in the 1925 sample.

Transportation

The significance of the railroads to business and travel in the upper East Tennessee area has been noted in the discussions concerning 1900 and 1925. The expectation is that rail transportation would begin to lose its overwhelming importance in this post-World War II era with the continuing improvement of highways for motor transportation. The post-war era saw a great expansion in air travel, stimulated perhaps by the large role of aircraft during the war. The introductory section of the 1950 City Directory contained the following piece which described the transportation facilities available in the Johnson City area:

> Johnson City is served by three railroads, the Southern's Washington to New Orleans and Washington to Memphis line, the Clinchfield main line between Elkhorn, Kentucky and Spartanburg, South Carolina, and the E.T.&W.N.C. The city is served by four U.S. Highways, No. 11E East and West, No. 411 South. Nos. 19 and 23 North and South, ten motor truck lines that do business in and through the city and five bus lines. Johnson City is served by three airlines: Piedmont, Capitol and American with a total of 20 flights per

> day. Tri-Cities Airport is jointly owned and maintained by surrounding counties and municipalities and administered by an airport commission that is currently planning an expansion program of over one-half million dollars (no page).

Johnson City and the three-county region was linked to the rest of the nation by the same three rail lines that were operating in 1900. Trucking and bus lines were mentioned in the above quote, as well as the fact that the upper East Tennessee area had commercial air links to the nation as a whole. If this part of the southern Appalachian region was once looked upon as isolated and hemmed in by mountains, the transportation available by 1950 would suggest that the land-locked era had ended.

It was noted in the discussion of the 1925 era that 18% of the occupations specified in the obituaries were railroad connected. Ninety-two of the obituaries in the 1950 newspapers specified occupations or made job-related comments. Of these 14, or 15%, were railroading occupations. These brief references to work-history ranged from laborer on the Clinchfield Railroad to "General Manager" of the same firm.

The popularity of automobile transportation that saw four new-car dealerships in 1925 continued to increase. The pages of the 1950 City Directory listed ten automobile companies, offering ten different makes of cars. Seven of these dealerships were clustered on the western edge of the downtown, about one-fifth of a mile from the public square. Also, the electric street-car line had given way to motor

busses before 1950.

Professionals and Executives

The City Directory for Johnson City in 1950 listed a number of doctors, dentists, and lawyers. It is not felt that the complete listing of these professionals is pertinent here. The obituaries from the 1950 sample contained no doctors, dentists, or lawyers. There were, however, six executives mentioned among the deceased. These business executives were:

Vice-President, REA Electric, Mountain City
Secretary, Johnson City Lumber Company
Owner, accounting firm, Johnson City
Manager, bottling plant
Manager, Dr. Pepper, Bluefield, West Virginia
Manager, East Tennessee Power & Light

Seven percent of the obituaries that mentioned occupation or work history of the deceased referred to business executives. Railroading has been treated as a separate category in the discussion of occupations. But if the three executives listed under railroad-connected occupations are added to the above, there will be nine professionals and executives, or 10% of the total occupations reported in the obituaries.

Business and Commercial Life

The City Directory for 1950 and the newspapers reflected the continued growth and expansion of business and commercial life. The population of Johnson City grew 60% between 1925 and 1950. The City Directory could be used to

furnish lists of commercial establishments and manufacturers in operation in 1950; this would not, however, be within our main thrust. Quotes from the City Directory from 1950 can serve to summarize Johnson City's business and industrial climate:

> RETAILING AND JOBBING
>
> Johnson City, as the hub of Upper East Tennessee, serves a population of upward of 250,000 people within a radius of 25 miles. In addition to the general mercantile lines of wholesale and jobbing, such as lumber, building material, hardware supplies, dress goods, groceries, machinery and other allied lines of merchandise the city serves as the favorite retail shopping place for this vast and fast-growing area. Retail sales for 1948 are estimated at $40,000,000.
>
> RAW MATERIAL
>
> Johnson City's territory is rich with a wide variety of raw materials including hardwood, lumber, agricultural products, clay, shale, feldspar, lead, zinc, coal, limestone, acid woods, water, power, mica, manganese and other natural resources yet in the crude and undeveloped stage.
>
> INDUSTRIAL
>
> Johnson City enjoys the reputation of being the most diversified trading center of East Tennessee, and one of the leading industrial centers. Johnson City is the second largest hardwood flooring center in the United States. Here industries include furniture, textiles, decorative furniture, rayon yarn, hosiery, fabricated steel, foundry products, bobbins, food products, brick and tile, and gloves along with other products. Represented by about 40 industries employing approximately 4,000 and within an annual payroll of slightly over 7 million dollars (no page).

The railroad business continued to supply much employment to the three-county area, particularly at the Clinchfield yards and shops in Erwin, Unicoi County. The old National Sanitarium had now become the Veterans Administration Center at Mountain Home, Tennessee. This Center, along with the

expanding East Tennessee State College, were among the largest employers in Johnson City and the wider area.

Ninety-two of the obituaries from the 1950 newspaper sample contained information about the occupational and/or work history of the deceased. The variety of jobs and professions that were reported are portrayed in Table V-3. Workers, with jobs as disparate as "U.S. Coastguardsman" and member of the "Johnson City Fire Department" was the most reported category, with 26% of the occupational references clustered in that category. Professional and Executive (small firms) constituted 20% of the jobs listed in the notices. White-Collar occupations made up 16% of the reported occupations. The railroad business still accounted for 15% of the jobs reported, down slightly from 18% of the jobs in the 1925 sample. Farming as an occupation was reported by 8% of the sample in contrast to the 23% who were reported as farmers in the 1925 notices. Occupations categorized as clerks fell from 15% of the 1925 sample to 9% in 1950. Deaths of doctors or lawyers were not reported in 1950, but those of six business executives were. So the professional and executive (large firms) category changed from 10% in 1925 to 7% in 1950. In the 1925 obituaries, farmers constituted 23% of the sample. The 1950 sample presented workers as the largest segment at 26%. White-Collar workers constituted 10% of the sample in 1925 and 15% in 1950. At least as far as reported occupations were concerned, the sample shifted solidly away

from the rural and railroading cast of 1925 to industrial workers and craftsmen, and executives of small firms in the period after the Second World War.

Table V-3. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Occupational Data	cases	%
Farming	7	8
Workers	24	26
Railroading	14	15
Clerks	8	9
White-Collar	15	16
Professional and Executive		
small firms	18	20
large firms	6	7
Total cases	92	

Missing data: 353 (79%) Deceased females: 10

Approximately 20% of the obituaries contained references to jobs, occupations, or work history in both the 1925 and 1950 samples. When deceased under 18 years of age are removed from the sample, then 375 obituaries remain. That procedure in itself raised the percentage of occupations reported to about 25%. When the sex of the adult deceased is used, the variation in work experience can be seen. When the 193 males over 17 years of age are added to the 26 males whose

obituaries reported no age, then a total of 219 is in the subsample. (It is not known how many of the death notices of males with no ages reported involved deceased under 18 years of age). Thirty-seven percent of this 219 have occupational notations. Eighty-two of the 92 occupations reported were for males.

When the 130 obituaries of females over 17 are added to the 26 obituaries of females with no ages stipulated, a subsample of 145 is obtained. Of this female subsample, only ten obituaries mentioned work histories. If these death notices were complete in their reporting, it would mean that only 16% of the adult females had worked at an occupation during their lifetimes. As noted for the 1925 sample, this disparity must reflect a combination of occupational underreporting for female deceased persons, as well as a society that employed many fewer women than men in 1950. Since the occupational reference can be an integral portion of the presentation of the deceased to the community, it can be argued that reporting of the deceased female's occupation and work history was held to be less significant than her participation in the religious life of her community. The ten references to the occupations of the deceased females in the death notices were diverse. Three of the women were clerks, one was an industrial worker, one was a waitress at the "Central Barbeque," and four held white-collar jobs. The white-collar occupations were: two nurses, a social worker, and a school

teacher. One woman had owned two hotels. This occupational diversity infers to the writer the possibility that other women in the sample had had occupations but that they had gone unreported. Only 5% of the occupational references had been to females in the 1925 sample; this had risen to 11% in the 1950 sample. Once again, there must be a mixture made up of less detailed reporting, a change in East Tennessee culture to a higher percentage of working women, and more willingness to present female deceased as participants in the business and industrial community.

Leisure

The availability of newspapers and periodicals in 1950 differed little from the contemporary scene. The present Johnson City Press-Chronicle was established in 1934 and this became the only newspaper printed in the city. Morning, evening, and Sunday editions have been printed at the same site and under the same overall management since 1934. The Press-Chronicle in 1950 differed very little in style and format from the contemporary publication. The style of the death notices were fixed by 1950. As previously discussed, the "normal" print obituary appeared on the second page of the first section of the newspaper along with the funeral notice in smaller print. Obituaries of the "prominent" appeared on the front page.

High school and college athletics were reported on

fully in the pages of the 1950 Press-Chronicle. Not only were the fortunes of the local and area colleges described, but the regional and national teams received coverage in a manner quite similar to the present.

The most noticeable change in American leisure activities to be seen in the papers in 1950 is the rise of television to national prominence. A television company was in operation in Johnson City in 1950 broadcasting to the four state area (Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky).

Churches and Ministers

The obituaries infer that religious activities and affiliations were an integral part of Appalachian customs. Official church affiliation in the United States had remained fairly constant since 1900. Forty-six percent of the nation claimed church membership in 1900; this was almost unchanged at 47% in 1925. The percentage jumped in 1950 to nearly 58% of the population (Historical Statistics, 1960: 228).

In 1950 the number of congregations in the city had risen to at least 58; at least, that many were listed in the City Directory for that year. Of these 58, fourteen served the Negro population of the city. The old historic downtown congregations described in previous chapters were still located where they had been in 1925, with the exception of First Methodist. That congregation had built a new building five blocks south of its former location and occupied it

early in 1929 (50th Anniversary, 1978). Fifty-eight congregations were listed in the City Directory for 1950 in contrast to the 36 mentioned in 1925. This illustrates the continued spread of the city.

Churches Mentioned

The death notices in 1950 mentioned 18 of the city's congregations. A total of 159 congregations were named, representing both the city and the surrounding three counties. Two hundred twenty-one of the obituaries mentioned officiants by name but no church affiliation or preference (see Table V-4). Fourteen of the obituaries mentioned church connections but did not name officiants. One hundred five of the death notices specified both denominational or congregational affiliation and officiants. One hundred three of the obituaries mentioned neither participating officiants nor church connections. It would be expected that all memorial services, even those conducted at graveside, would have designated officiants. This cannot be supported by obituary evidence, since 117, or 26%, gave no information about officiating personnel.

Officiants

Three hundred twenty-six of the obituaries mentioned officiants by name. This is about 73% of the sample compared to 68% of the 1925 sample. One hundred seventy-nine funeral services were conducted by one officiant, according to the

Table V-4. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Churches and Officiants Specified	cases	%
Church Connection and Officiant Specified	105	24
Officiant Specified	221	50
Church Connections	14	3
Neither Mentioned	105	24
Total cases	445	

death notices (see Table V-5). Two officiants were mentioned in 117 obituaries. Twenty-seven obituaries mentioned three officiants, while one mentioned four. Twenty-seven percent of the obituaries made no mention of officiants. It is not assumed that more than one-fourth of the funerals had no officiants. The funeral data reported to the newspaper may have omitted the officiant's identification. The officiant may have been unknown at the time that the death notice was written. Women and children typically had briefer obituaries; the officiants' names may have been omitted simply because of the sketchy nature of the report. In obituaries shorter than 100 words, officiants were named in 53% of the cases. When sex of the deceased is considered, fifty-two percent of the obituaries for males did not mention the officiant. In contrast, obituaries of females named the officiant in 59% of the cases when the briefer death notices are

Table V-5. Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Number of Officiants	cases	%
1	179	55
2	117	36
3	27	8
4	1	-1
Total cases	324	

Missing data: 121 (27%)

considered.

The obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle contained the names of 227 ministers in the 1950 sample. Three ministers were prominent in the obituaries. T. C. Meador of First Baptist Church, Erwin, was mentioned in connection with 13 funerals. W. R. Rigell of Central Baptist, Johnson City, and J. H. Dampier of First Christian, Johnson City, were each mentioned 12 times. These three congregations are "downtown, central-city" congregations. Of these 227 ministers 49 can be positively identified by church or denomination (City Directory, 1950: 716-718; Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950; International Convention. . ., 1949: 610, 615-617; International Convention. . ., 1951: 622-623, 627-629).

Church Preference and Affiliation

Denominational preference or specific congregational affiliation was mentioned in 119 obituaries. This made up

only 27% of the sample. The Baptist denomination was specified in nearly two-fifths of the cases. Included in the category "Other Churches" were Episcopal and Holiness congregations. No members of the Roman Catholic or Jewish faiths appeared in the sample (see Table V-6).

Church Funerals

Two hundred forty-six funerals were conducted in 172 different churches as reflected in the obituary sample from 1950 (see Table V-7). Just as the name of the officiant may have been omitted from certain obituaries when, in actuality, there were officiating clergy, it is just as possible that for the same reasons church affiliation may not have been included. Only 28% of the obituaries mentioned any connection with a church; it was noted at the beginning of this section that about 58% of the nation's population claimed church membership. Sixty-six of the 445 obituaries in this 1950 sample involved persons under 18 years of age. When this youthful cohort is removed from the sample, the percentage of church-connection rises to 31. The most logical reason for such a low percentage is underreporting. A substantial--though unknown--number of obituaries did not report the church affiliation or denominational preference of the newly deceased.

An extended discussion has been presented concerning the religious features of Johnson City and its surrounding area in 1950. Some of the information has come from the 1950

Table V-6. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Congregation or Denomination		cases	%
Baptist		47	39
Specific congregations	42		
"Baptist"	5		
Christian Church		23	19
Specific congregations	20		
"Christian Church"	3		
Methodist		17	14
Specific congregations	13		
"Methodist"	4		
Presbyterian		14	12
Specific congregations	13		
"Presbyterian"	1		
Free Will Baptist		8	7
Specific congregations	6		
"Free Will Baptist"	2		
Other Churches		10	8
Total cases		119	

Missing data: 326 (73%)

City Directory, but more has been supplied by the sample of obituaries from the Press-Chronicle of that year. The rise in church affiliation nationally was noted and a corresponding rise was anticipated in the statistics for the three counties. This was not discovered; the statistics from the obituaries did not support the expectation. A growth in the

Table V-7. Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Churches	cases	%
Baptist	86	35
Methodist	48	20
Christian Church	37	15
Free Will Baptist	16	7
Presbyterian	15	6
Other Churches	39	16
Veterans Administration Chapel	5	2
Total cases	246	

number of congregations serving Johnson City was noted, as well as the large number of congregations mentioned in the sample. There followed a discussion of the number of obituaries which specified the officiants who participated in the memorial services. Nearly three-quarters of the sample named officiants. Fifty-five percent of the funeral services were conducted by one officiant, while another 36% of them involved two officiants.

From the sample totalling 445 death notices, two hundred twenty-seven ministers were specified by name, though in many cases not by church connection. The obituaries specified the Baptists more often than the others, in contrast with the Methodist church being the most mentioned in 1925. The Methodist church was still the largest American

Protestant denomination in 1950 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 228).

The extent of affiliation found in the death notices was not as large as the national statistics would lead one to expect. An analysis of the obituaries allows the impression that specification of church membership or denominational preference was an item of less than high priority in 1950. In contrast, the naming of the officiant for the funeral service occurred in nearly three-fourths of the cases. Is it possible that the naming of an officiant or the designation of the church building as the location of the service would infer the church affiliation of the deceased? This is not too likely; some funeral notices mentioned the officiant of one denomination conducting the service in a church building owned by another denomination. This issue of low affiliation percentage remains a puzzle.

Public Health

The cause of death was supplied in 50% of the obituaries from the 1950 sample (see Table V-8). From the available information, it can be seen that accidents as a cause accounted for 10% of the deaths and illness as the cause of death increased to 89%. Suicide reports almost disappeared in the 1950 sample.

Table V-8. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Causes of Death	cases	%
Illness	200	89
Accident	23	10
Suicide	1	-1
Total cases	224	

Missing data: 221 (50%)

Causes of Death

Next the causes of death from the 1950 newspaper obituaries will be compared to the causes of death furnished by the Center for Health Statistics in Nashville. These vital statistics for Tennessee are seen in Table V-9). Both sets of statistics are for the three-county area: Washington, Carter, and Unicoi. The obituary data came from death notices from six months of 1950. The data from the State Center for Health Statistics report on the entire year of 1950 for the three counties. Though the percentages are not identical the differences are not striking. The Tennessee Health Statistics represent all registered deaths in the three counties during 1950, whether the deceased was a resident or not, and whether the funeral service was or was not conducted in the area. The obituaries reported those whose death, funeral, or burial was in the three-county area or those who utilized a funeral establishment in the same area. So in spite of the fact that the two data sets do not overlap

Table V-9. Causes of Death, from 1950 Obituaries, Compared to Tennessee Vital Statistics, 1950

Causes of Death	Obituaries* n	Obituaries* %	Vital Statistics° n	Vital Statistics° %
Illness and Disease	200	89	954	93
Accident	23	10	64	6
Suicide	1	-1	7	1
Homicide or War	0	0	4	-1
Totals	224		1,029	

*six month sample, Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

°State Center for Health Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health, for 1950

completely their relative coincidence points out the utility of the obituary data.

Accidental death accounted for a smaller percentage of deaths in 1950 than in 1925. Railroad accidents had dropped in percentage from 1925. In addition, vehicular accidents made up a lower percentage of deaths in 1950 than they had in 1925 (see Table V-10). Miscellaneous accidents include a death by fire, three drownings, three falls, an "exposure to the cold" and "frozen to death in a shack in the woods." Only one suicide was reported in the 1950 obituary sample, and it was by hanging.

Table V-11 displays the various reasons involved in the general category "deaths from illness." The most striking change in this category between 1925 and 1950 is the much larger number of causes being listed as "illness" rather than the specification of a particular illness. The modern

Table V-10. Accidental Deaths, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Accidental Deaths	cases	%
Railroad	2	9
Vehicular	12	52
Other Causes	9	39
Total cases	23	

tendency may be to "smooth out" the obituary language. That is, "brief illness" is not as "jarring" as "tuberculosis." In 1925 specific illnesses accounted for 36% of the causes listed. In 1950 specific illnesses accounted for only 15% of the causes. The category "long illness" was larger in 1950, rising to 44% from 39% in 1925. The category "sudden" or "unexpected" illness as a cause of death doubled in percentage from 1925 to 1950. It can be seen from Table V-11 that the

Table V-11. Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Illness	cases	%
Long illness	88	44
Brief illness	67	34
Sudden illness	15	8
Cardio-vascular ailments	22	11
Other illnesses	8	4
Total cases	200	

incidence of childhood diseases has continued to drop. It is probable that "medical discoveries" and a greater emphasis on health care in hospitals has allowed a better control of disease and permitted people to have more extended illnesses.

Nineteen percent of the deaths in 1900 were attributed to "long illness." This increased to 39% in 1925 and now 44% in 1950. The "euphemism" "long illness" has been substituted for the more "vivid" descriptive terms that were used much more often in 1900 and 1925. The category "Other illnesses" contained four instances where euphemisms did not appear. Pneumonia, myasthenia gravis, polio and diphtheria were specified. Three of the "other illnesses" were also listed euphemistically as "natural causes" and another cause offered was "poor health." The cardio-vascular category contained comments which illustrated the complexity of modern medical diagnostic procedures: "apparent heart attack" was listed in several instances as a cause of death. It is common knowledge that cancer has been a major cause of death in recent decades. Apparently the families and the obituary writers have been "unable" to specify cancer as a cause, perhaps because it is so feared. Another reason for the growth in the uses of euphemistic terms may be that the family truly does not know or understand the cause of death. A final comment is that degenerative diseases connected with longevity all lead to a final diagnosis of "heart failure."

Cause and Location of Death

When the obituary specified the cause of death and

the location of the death, then an analysis can be made of the relationship between the length of the illness and the place where the death occurred. This correlation is exhibited in Table V-12. In 1950, when a long illness was involved, the person typically died at home rather than in an institution. When a brief illness was reported (one lasting less than two months) the person typically died in an institution.

Table V-12. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

	Cause of Death Specified				
Place of Death	long illness	brief illness	sudden illness	illness/ disease	Total
Home	65	23	12	10	110
Institution	18	37	2	6	63
Geographic location	2	0	1	6	9
Totals	85	60	15	22	182

If a geographic location was noted, rather than home or hospital, then it was likely that the person's death was attributed to a specific illness or disease. Those with an extended or lingering illness in 1950 "chose" to die at home, rather than be institutionalized.

Death by Age Cohort

Another measure of the change in public health and the quality of medical care is the death rate of infants and

children. Table V-13 displays the percentage of deaths by age cohorts comparing data from the obituaries and the Tennessee Center for Health Statistics.

Table V-13. Death by Age Cohort, Tennessee Vital Statistics, Compared with Obituary Data, 1950

Age Cohort	Tennessee Statistics* n	%	Obituary Data° n	%
-1	107	10	52	13
1-4	24	2	12	3
5-14	13	1	4	1
15-24	19	2	9	2
25-34	51	5	19	5
35-44	59	6	19	5
45-54	101	10	31	8
55-64	189	18	53	13
65-74	226	22	85	22
75-84	183	18	81	21
85+	57	6	28	7
Totals	1,029		393	

*State Center for Health Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health, 1950

°Six month sample, Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

The data from the obituary sample differ widely from the Tennessee Vital Statistics in only a few instances. The obituaries contained a higher percentage of deaths under the age of one year than did the Tennessee statistics. The obituary data showed fewer deaths than the state data in the 45-54 age cohort. The later middle-age cohort of 55-64 was the subset that differed the most. Only 13% of the obituary data reported deaths in that age cohort, in contrast to 18%

of the deaths reported in the Tennessee statistics. The obituary data reported 3% more deaths than the State data for the age cohort 75-84. None of the other cohorts differed more than one percentage point. Overall, the data gained from the obituary sample showed East Tennesseans living longer than did the data furnished by the State Center for Health Statistics. Fifty percent of the obituary sample had died at 65 or older; in contrast 46% of the East Tennesseans died at 65 or older when official statistics are used. To illustrate this in another way, the obituary data contained 13% of the deaths in the 20-year span between 45 and 64. The Tennessee data have 28% of the deaths occurring in the 20 years that can be labelled "late middle age."

How have deaths by age cohort changed in the 25 years between 1925 and 1950 as reported by obituary data? Fewer deaths of infants and young children might be expected if public health and medical services improved in East Tennessee. Table V-13 displayed the deaths by cohort for 1950.

The 1950 obituary sample reported that 16% of the deaths occurred in the two youngest age cohorts. For those in childhood, youth and middle age--from 5 years to 44 years --the percentage of death was lower in the 1950 sample. Fewer older middle-age deaths--the 55-64 cohort--were reported in the 1950 sample. Thirty-five percent of the 1925 sample died after age 64, in contrast to the 50% of the 1950 sample who died after age 64. The average life span was longer in

1925, comparing the two samples. Only 12% of the ages of the deceased were missing in 1950, in contrast to the 26% which were not supplied in the 1925 obituaries.

Johnson City Memorial Hospital and the Johnson City Eye Hospital were available to the general public, as well as several doctors' private clinics. The Veterans Administration Hospital at Mountain Home served the veterans of the area.

This section on public health in the three-county area of upper East Tennessee has contained a number of items from the general topic, utilizing obituary data. Causes of death were compared using obituary data from 1925 and 1950. Causes of death from 1950 obituaries were contrasted with the causes supplied by the State Center for Health Statistics in Nashville. Drastic differences were not apparent from the contrasting data sources. A closer look was taken at the causes of accidental deaths obtained from the 1950 obituaries; these were compared with the accidental deaths reported in the 1925 sample. Deaths from illness were examined and compared with those reported from 25 years previously. Deaths attributed to illness in general continued to increase as compared with deaths attributed to specific named diseases when examined over time.

Deaths from illness were analyzed by location of the deaths. The tendency was noted that deaths attributed to long illnesses generally occurred at home rather than in the hospital. Deaths by age cohort were examined from two

directions. First, obituary data from 1950 were compared to the data obtained from the State Center for Health Statistics. Then death by age cohort from 1925 and 1950 obituaries were contrasted. The comparisons lead to two general comments: the expected rise in length of life was noticed, and there was a general comparability between obituary data and official state statistics.

From Death to Interment in the Community

The newspaper obituaries in Johnson City specified the location of death in 84% of the cases in 1950. This was in contrast to the 69% of the obituaries which carried this information in 1925, and the 61% of the death notices that contained it in 1900. In 202 of the 375 cases, or 54%, the death occurred in a private home; one hundred sixty-five of those 202 deaths occurred in the home of the deceased person himself (see Table V-14). The other deaths in homes happened in parent's homes, children's homes, sibling's homes, the home of a nephew, granddaughter's home, son-in-law's home, or the homes of private individuals. Of the three samples that have been analyzed, the 1950 sample has the lowest percentage of those who died in private homes. Twenty-seven of the places of death were identified only by geographical location. One hundred forty-six of the deaths, or 39%, took place in an institutional setting. Of the 125 hospital deaths, thirteen occurred in out-of-state hospitals and the

Table V-14. Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Place of Death		cases	%
Home		202	54
	own home	165	
	other's home	37	
Geographical Location		27	7
	in-state	14	
	out-of-state	13	
Institution		146	39
	hospital	125	
	nursing home	2	
	V. A. Center	19	
Total cases		375	

Missing data: 70 (16%)

remainder in-state. The deaths that occurred in Veterans Administration Centers were reported to be at the Johnson City Center in 15 of the cases. The four other deaths in that category took place in four separate states: North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Ohio. There is a continuing trend toward the hospital serving as the place of death. No deaths in institutions were reported by the obituaries in 1900. Seventeen percent of the deaths occurred in institutions in the 1925 sample. And now the 1950 sample reported that deaths in institutional settings had risen to 39%.

Preparation

After death the corpse had to be prepared for lying

in state, the funeral service, and burial. The professionalization of these preparations had begun by 1925 and grew in practice between 1925 and 1950. None of the obituaries from the 1900 set specified that an undertaker had been involved in the preparation of the body. The obituaries in the 1925 sample mentioned undertaking establishments in 11 cases out of 192, or 6%. Three of the six businesses were in Johnson City. The City Directory for 1925 listed three firms under the heading "Undertakers;" one of the three was "colored." The 1950 Directory listed four funeral establishments, one of which was located in Jonesborough. None of them was designated as "colored." Appalachian, Kiser, and Morris were listed for Johnson City and Dillow-Taylor was operating in Jonesborough, nine miles to the west (and the county seat).

In contrast to the 6% of the obituaries which mentioned funeral homes in 1925, the majority of obituaries in 1950 specified a funeral home in charge. Three hundred fifty-one, or 79% of the death notices contained the information that the corpse had been placed in the hands of a professional undertaking establishment (see Table V-15). The trend toward the professional preparation of corpses for last rites which was just noticeable in the 1925 sample of newspaper obituaries was now firmly established in 1950.

Lying in State

Only 9% of the obituaries from 1925 specified the location of the body during the period of lying in state.

Table V-15. Funeral Establishments Specified in the Obituaries, from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Funeral Establishment and Location by City and County	cases	%
Washington County		
Appalachian Funeral Home, Johnson City	68	19
Kiser Funeral Home, Johnson City	25	7
Morris Funeral Home, Johnson City	36	10
Dillow-Taylor Funeral Home, Jonesborough	65	18
Forrest Hills Funeral Home, Jonesborough	3	1
Fall Branch Funeral Home, Fall Branch	2	1
Carter County		
Hathaway Funeral Home, Elizabethton	73	21
Tetrick Funeral Home, Elizabethton	48	14
Unicoi County		
Boyd-DeArmond Funeral Home, Erwin	28	8
Sullivan County		
Huff Mortuary, Kingsport	1	-1
"Funeral Home"	2	1
Total cases	351	

Missing data: 94 (21%)

The death notices from 1950 specified the location of the body prior to the funeral in 49% of the cases. In two-thirds of the cases where the location of the body appeared in the funeral notice, the lying-in-state took place in a private home (see Table V-16). The funeral home was used as a place for the relatives and friends to gather for mourning and condolence in 28% of the instances. Thus, again, the use of the

Table V-16. Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Location for Lying-in-State	cases	%
Home	144	67
Funeral Home	61	28
Church	11	5
Total cases	216	

Missing data: 229 (51%)

funeral establishment for the function that had been reserved for the home in former times points toward the further professionalization of the presentation of the deceased.

The Memorial Service

The obituaries furnished the location of the funeral service in 88% of the cases in 1950, in contrast to the availability of this information in 1925 in 79% of the instances. Sixty-three percent of the funerals in 1950 were conducted in church buildings, almost double that in 1925 (see Table V-17).

Table V-17 portrays the growing importance of the funeral home as the place for the service to be held; the use of the funeral home for the service increased from five instances to 51, a ten-fold jump. Whereas the typical funeral was conducted in a private home in 1925, the 1950 obituary sample showed that the typical funeral conducted that year was in a church building. In fact, the percentages are the

Table V-17. Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Place of Funeral	cases	%
Own Home	41	11
Other's Home	16	4
Church	246	63
Funeral Home	51	13
Graveside	28	7
Other	9	2
Total cases	391	

Missing data: 54 (12%)

same; 63% of the funeral services referred to in 1925 were held in homes. Sixty-three percent of the funeral services described in 1950 took place in church buildings. The trend can be seen then, out of the homes of deceased and kin and into public places: church buildings and funeral establishments.

The trends have been seen in the 1950 data to move the presentation of the deceased out of the exclusive province of the family into the funeral parlor and the church building. It then can be anticipated that with the increased use of public buildings the importance of the clergy will increase. Sixty-eight percent of the obituaries in 1925 mentioned clergy as officiants at the funeral services. The 1950 sample specified clergy as officiants in 77% of the

cases. See the discussion of officiants in the section entitled "Churches and Ministers."

Interment

The place of burial had begun to shift by 1925 from family cemeteries to community and proprietary cemeteries. The death notices from the 1925 sample reported the place of burial in 77% of the cases; the 1950 obituaries reported the place of burial in 83% of the cases. The variety of cemeteries used in 1925 was repeated in similar proportions in the death notices from 1950 (see Table V-18).

Nearly one-third of the reported burial locations in both the 1925 and 1950 data sets involved family burying grounds. Just over 40% of the burials reported involved community or proprietary cemeteries in both the 1925 and 1950 samples. Geographical locations of the burial sites occurred in few cases in both samples. The burial customs of 1925 in upper East Tennessee were still in practice generally in 1950.

Sex Differences

The size of the death notice itself can indicate at least two things. First of all, when the number of words in the death notice is tallied, it is seen that the typical death notice from the 1950 obituary sample ran between 101 and 200 words in length (see Table V-19). A similar analysis of the obituaries from 1925 revealed the same modal size

Table V-18. Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Place of Burial		cases	%
Family Cemetery		116	32
"family"	11		
"named"	105		
Community or Proprietary Cemetery		163	44
Church Cemetery		76	21
National Cemetery		6	2
Geographic Locations		7	2
Total cases		368	

Missing data: 77 (17%)

(see Table IV-16, p. 151).

Secondly, the data from the 1925 obituary sample

Table V-19. Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950

Word Count	Male Deceased n	%	Female Deceased n	%
-51	1	-1	8	4
51-100	95	37	74	40
101-200	133	52	93	50
201-300	17	7	9	5
301+	12	5	1	1
Totals	258		185	

Missing data: 2

showed that female deceased received briefer obituary coverage; the 1950 obituaries revealed the same phenomenon but it is evident that the gap was narrowing. Modal word count for both sexes was in the 101-200 range. Females tallied a higher percentage of briefer obituaries, and males had a higher percentage of the longest death notices. Male deaths were reported in larger numbers than female deaths in 1950; the notices reporting male deaths were longer than those reporting deaths of females (no sex was stipulated for two).

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology

The "presentation team"--to use Erving Goffman's language--continued to change over time. The team in 1950 typically consisted of the family, kin group and friends, the funeral director and embalmer, and an officiating clergyman. The presentation team in 1950 also typically involved other personnel employed by the funeral establishment and the cemetery. These personnel were involved in the transporting of the body and funeral party and "the opening and closing" of the grave.

In Goffman's terms, more of the complex presentation of the deceased was taking place "back stage" in 1950. More than likely the "wake," the lying-in-state, the funeral service, the procession to the cemetery, and the interment can still be considered "front stage," but the management of the "front stage" "production" has been carried out "back stage."

That is, the wake, the lying-in-state, and the funeral service are no longer in the private dwellings of the deceased and their kin. These major components of the presentation process have been transferred to the precincts of the professionals. The components are now performed exclusively at the funeral establishment, or mainly there, with the religious service conducted in a church building in about two-thirds of the instances. The funeral service is a "front stage" performance carried on by professional undertaking personnel and the clergy.

The "back stage" phase was still in the process of change in 1950. The corpse was prepared for viewing and burial back stage professionally. During the lying-in-state at the funeral establishment even though the body is "front stage" to be viewed, after viewing hours it is "back stage" again. It is a completely controlled situation, so that even the intimate group of mourners are allowed limited access to the prepared body. The body is thus allowed to be "front stage" at certain prescribed times and in carefully controlled circumstances. The "back stage" functioning of both undertaking and clergy personnel generally goes unquestioned by the "lay" public.

This chapter has considered the presentation of the deceased to the community in 1950, chiefly as reflected in the data gained from an analysis of newspaper obituaries and funeral notices. The customary practices in the three-county

section of upper East Tennessee have continued to change since 1900, though quite slowly. A major part of the change involved the movement of more of the behavior connected with the presentation of the deceased from "front stage" to "back stage." More of the tasks of "presentation teams" were being performed "back stage" by those trained professionally. The general management of death, even in East Tennessee, has come to be increasingly the "right" of trained and licensed "funeral personnel." These trained personnel start the management of the death situation not many minutes after death and do not complete their "presentation" task until the gravesite comes under the supervision of the personnel who operate the cemetery. The time that death was a much "simpler" process taken care of by family and neighbors had begun to disappear in East Tennessee by 1950.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1975

The Three-County Area

This section will examine the presentation of the deceased to the community 25 years later, in 1975. The era since 1950 was not unlike the previous quarter-centuries. The nation had become involved globally during the Second World War. This international involvement continued, unlike the period between the two world wars. The Koren War began just five years after the end of World War II. It ushered in the era labelled "The Cold War" in which the United States and the Soviet Union vied for world leadership in the decades of the fifties and sixties. The nation was again embroiled in a distant war with the gradual increase of American military personnel in Southeast Asia in the nineteen-sixties and the early nineteen-seventies. Since the United States became fully involved in the international scene during the early nineteen-forties there has been no disengagement from global responsibilities. The United States was one of the founding nations of the United Nations Organization during the Second World War. The fact that the UNO has been headquartered in New York City, along with the three decades of geopolitical wrangling with the Soviet Union, has kept the American nation

deeply involved in world events.

Upper East Tennessee was exposed to this international involvement, with both industrial and military implications. Several industries in the area have manufactured goods for both military use and overseas export. Many of the citizens of upper East Tennessee have served in the armed forces since the Second World War. Whereas 23 of the obituaries from the 1950 sample alluded to military experience, ninety-two of the obituaries from the 1975 sample commented on the military history of upper East Tennessee males (this represented 30% of the death notices for males 18 years of age and older). Twenty of the obituaries specified service in the First World War, while 62 of the obituaries referred to service in the Second World War. Six of the deceased males had served during the Korean War and two of the deceased had served during the war in Vietnam.

Eight of the military notations referred to rank gained during service. Ten of the obituaries mentioned overseas countries or areas, e.g., "22 months in the infantry in Europe." Other comments referred to decorations earned and particular branches within military services, for example, the deceased was a "drum major in the U. S. Army Band during the Korean War." The largest class of deceased males with military service was serving during the Second World War. These men were in the 40 to 70 age range in 1975. Of the 62 death notices which mentioned the Second World War, sixteen

of them specifically mentioned service in the U. S. Army. Nine of them specified the U. S. Navy. Four of them referred to service in the U. S. Air Corps, while two of them listed the U. S. Marines. Upper East Tennesseans were thus given opportunities for travel and cross-cultural comparisons. Military conscription did not cease until the early nineteen-seventies in the United States. The obituary sample from 1975 contained more information concerning the military history of East Tennesseans than the other three samples.

The Veterans Administration Center at Mountain Home, Tennessee, on the western end of Johnson City, continued to change. This hospital and domiciliary, established in 1903, met the needs of many thousands of veterans in the period between 1950 and 1975. The Korean War, involvement in Southeast Asia, and other global military conflicts produced many veterans who availed themselves of the services offered at Mountain Home.

Data from the City Directory for 1975 demonstrated the continued development of the city in area and complexity. The city continued to annex areas on its fringes as suburban developments were incorporated into the city. Downtown growth came to a near standstill, in spite of a Downtown Redevelopment program, as shopping centers were constructed in the suburban ring around the city. The greatest growth, both commercially and in subdivisions, took place at the northern edge of Johnson City. This growth was spurred

further by the construction of a shopping mall in north Johnson City in the early nineteen-seventies. This quarter-century from 1950 to 1975 saw growth away from the central city, a trend which occurred in many other urban settlements in the same time period. The type of growth occurring in Johnson City was duplicated in surrounding Washington County; parallel but slower growth was true of the neighboring counties of Carter and Unicoi. Similar growth was seen in the suburban fringe of Elizabethton and Erwin, the county seats of Carter and Unicoi respectively.

Sources

Many of the sources used for the studies concerning 1925 and 1950 were valuable for this study of 1975. The City Directory remained invaluable for many kinds of information. Personal interviews were augmented with the writer's own knowledge; he has been living in the community since 1967. A resident of Johnson City in Washington County from 1967 to 1979, he has recently moved to Carter County. He has taught at Milligan College in Carter County from 1967 to the present. The Johnson City Telephone Directory produced by the United Telephone Company has furnished information unavailable elsewhere (1974). The Johnson City Press-Chronicle contained the obituaries and funeral notices that have been the major source of information for this study.

The City Directory for 1975 contained street

addresses and telephone numbers in sequence for both residences and commercial establishments. Numerous advertisements offered information about the various business and commercial enterprises in the community. One section of the Directory was an alphabetical index of the "structural" components of the city: businesses, churches, schools and many items not directly used in this study. The City Directory no longer featured the identifying mark for the "colored" citizens and enterprises of the community as it had done in 1950 and previous years. Obviously the racial climate had changed and such designations were no longer acceptable.

The Johnson City paper carried 1,938 death notices in their editions during 1975. The research criteria for death notice selection were specified in the Methodology chapter. A six month sample (or roughly 50%) from the 1975 newspapers supplied 551 death notices that met the above-mentioned criteria. This sample came from the odd months of the year in the same way as the sample from 1925. The analysis of these 551 death notices provided the major part of the data.

Various sources of information have been described that have offered an entree to Johnson City and its surrounding area for 1975. These sources have included the City Directory, personal interviews, the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, and a personal acquaintance with the area on the part of this investigator.

Population

The Nineteenth United States Census in 1970 found the population of Tennessee to be 3,924,000, an increase of 19% in the two decades (Historical Statistics, 1975: 34). Though the State of Tennessee had grown 19% in the 20-year period, the nation as a whole had grown 36% to a total population of 204,879,000 (Historical Statistics, 1975: 9). United States Census data showed Washington County with a population of 73,924 in 1970, an increase over 1950 of 23% (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-126). First Tennessee-Virginia Development District figures for 1975 listed Washington County as 80,200, a 34% increase in the 25 years since 1950 (Secretary, 1979). Carter County apparently was hard-hit by out-migration in those 20 years, for it gained only 143 citizens in the time between the 1950 and 1970 censuses (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-106). A stagnant population can be contrasted to the increase of 23% in the county to the west, Washington. Mountainous Unicoi County to the south of Carter County lost population between 1950 and 1970. The Census reported a total of 15,254 inhabitants in that county in 1970, a decrease of 632, or 4% (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-125). When the more up-to-date figures are used from the First Tennessee-Virginia Development District, it can be seen that this population stagnation in Carter and Unicoi counties has reversed in the decade of the seventies. In 1975 the population of Carter County had risen to approximately 46,000, an increase

over 1950 of 8%. Unicoi County had a population of about 15,700 in 1975, a decrease of less than 1% from that of 1950 (Secretary, 1979). Thus it is seen that in these two mountain counties, Carter showed almost no growth while Unicoi lost population. The more urban and industrial county, Washington, gained 23% in population over the same period. The 1975 figures from the Development District indicated that Washington County was growing at an increasing pace, while Carter and Unicoi counties were no longer losing ground. Carter County registered a net gain between 1970 and 1975 of 3,425 people and Unicoi County's gain during those same five years was 446 people.

In summary, while the nation as a whole grew 36% from 1950 to 1970, Tennessee grew at a slower rate of 19%. Washington County grew faster than the state during that same period, twenty-three percent; Carter and Unicoi counties came to a halt in population growth during those two decades. This slowing down of population growth reversed during the first half of the nineteen-seventies. If the three-county area is taken as a whole, then the two decades from 1950 to 1970 saw a growth of 11%, slower than both the state and the nation. When the three-county area is examined over the 25 year period, then the population growth was about 20%.

Johnson City's population, which stood at about 32,000 in 1950, rose to 39,800 in 1974 (City Directory, 1975: V). This is an increase over 24 years of 24%. The city,

then, grew at a slower rate than its surrounding county, a sign of suburban development. The City Directory for 1975 made no mention of either foreign-born or non-white elements in the city population. Not that they were not present; just as "colored" segments of the population were no longer "marked" in the Directory, comments were apparently not in order concerning minority groups. This 25-year period saw a slowing down of population growth which had characterized this section of southern Appalachia in the earlier decades of the twentieth century.

Ethnic Roots in Southern Appalachia

The three-county upper East Tennessee section under investigation remained ethnically very homogeneous in 1975. The United States population was 9.9% Negro in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 30), and 11% by 1970 (Historical Statistics, 1975: 9). The population of Tennessee was 16% Negro in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1964: 26), and about the same percentage in 1970 (Historical Statistics, 1975: 34). The same census reported "other races" at 8,000 people in Tennessee in 1970 (Historical Statistics, 1975: 34). The Negro population for the section of Tennessee being studied was less than either the state or national percentages. The three-county area of upper East Tennessee contained a Negro population of 3,222, or 2.4% of the total. This population had decreased by 91 persons in the 20 years between 1950 and

1970 (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-106, 44-125, 44-126). Washington County contained a subgroup of nonwhites that numbered 2,833, or 4% of the county (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-126). Carter County had a population that was less than 1% Negro, with 382 persons (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-106). Unicoi County, with the smallest population of the three, listed only seven Negroes (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-125). The City Directory for 1975 made no mention of nonwhite population, though a good estimate would be about 2,500 Negroes in Johnson City in 1975 (Jackson, 1979). These statistics make it clear that Johnson City and the three-county area remained a society of mainly native-born Caucasians in 1975.

One of the 445 obituaries in the 1950 sample allowed a positive identification as a nonwhite. Also, there were no references to Negro funeral homes or a Negro cemetery. Fifteen of the deceased from the 1975 sample can be identified positively as Negroes. In 13 of the cases, the funeral home involved was Birchette Mortuary, a business that caters only to Negroes. It is located on the near east side of the city. When a cemetery was specified, it was West Lawn in every case, the only Negro cemetery in Johnson City. The two cases that did not involve Birchette Mortuary utilized Tetrick Funeral Home in Elizabethton. They were identified by their affiliation with a Negro congregation--Brown's Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ). There were seven males and

eight females, which constituted 3% of the 1975 sample. Five of the seven males were military veterans. The 13 ages reported ranged from 43 to 88. The Jonesborough (Washington County) and Elizabethton (Carter County) funeral establishments are "integrated." Funeral homes in Johnson City are segregated, so that only Hirchette Mortuary handles Negro deceased. Negro deaths in Carter County and those involving Dillow-Taylor Funeral Home in Jonesborough are difficult to trace unless they utilize a known Negro cemetery or are affiliated with a church that ministers exclusively to Negroes.

Education

The school system in Johnson City expanded considerably in the years between 1950 and 1975. There were two chief reasons. The first is the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 which declared segregated schools unconstitutional. The other reason was the continued expansion of the city in population and area.

The "Brown vs. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas" court decision sounded the end of deliberately segregated public education in the United States. This desegregation process was slow and took more than a decade in the Johnson City schools. In the early years of the nineteen-sixties the Johnson City School Board received many petitions for individual Negro students to be allowed to take classes at Science Hill High School. The bases for the petitions

were that comparable courses were not available at Langston High, the Negro high school. At that time the school board had decided upon a "grade-a-year" gradual desegregation plan, similar to the plans of many school boards around the nation (Jackson, 1979). As these individual petitions were granted, then, several Negro high school students attended the "white" high school for some of their courses. The Negro community in Johnson City became increasingly more impatient and sued the Johnson City School Board in Federal Court in Greeneville, Tennessee in 1965. The court ruled in favor of the Negro suit and the Johnson City public schools were totally desegregated beginning with the fall term of 1965. The three Negro schools were closed and the Negro students shifted away from Douglas, Dunbar and Langston to the formerly all-white schools. The Dunbar building became the visual aids and curriculum resources center for the city system. The Langston building was used for a time by the Johnson City Vocational-Technical School. Douglas School remained empty until it was later leased to the Dawn of Hope Development Center and Sheltered Workshop.

In 1975, then, the school children had nine public elementary schools available; St. Mary's parochial school also served elementary students as well as the University School, a training school at East Tennessee State University. Junior high students in Johnson City could attend either junior high at the Freedom Hall complex, Constitution or

Independence. They could attend junior high classes at University School, or take junior high courses at the Johnson City Vocational-Technical School. Senior high students had the choice of Science Hill High School, the Johnson City Vocational-Technical School, or the University School at East Tennessee State.

Post-secondary education in Johnson City was available at East Tennessee State, which was given university status in the middle nineteen-sixties. The enrolment at East Tennessee State was around the 9,000 mark. Enrolment at Milligan College was approximately 700. Steed College of Business enrolled several hundred students in north Johnson City.

Even though references to educational attainment were few in number in the 1925 and 1950 samples, this changed somewhat in the 1975 sample. There were 21 references to school or college experience, ten for deceased males and 11 for females. One of the deceased was an elementary school student. One was a high school student at death, while three others were high school graduates. Four of the obituaries mentioned that the deceased had attended college. One of the deceased had received her RN as a Nursing School graduate. Seven of the obituaries reported the deceased as college graduates; and four of the deceased were reported as holders of graduate degrees. Of the 21, sixteen had attended school beyond the secondary level. The tendency appears to have

been the mentioning of educational attainment beyond the expected and ordinary. There is no doubt that many of the deceased had completed high school; high school graduation is widely achieved. The majority of the deceased whose obituaries contained edutational attainment were those who had gone to college or graduate school.

Changes in the educational climate in Johnson City has been seen in the quarter-century leading up to 1975. The Johnson City school system expanded in schools and curriculum offerings which has been brought about apparently by the desegregation process and the growth of the city. Enrolment at the post-high school level had increased. Twenty-one obituaries offered specific educational data about those deceased. These 21 emphasized particularly education beyond the secondary level. It can be assumed that education has gained in importance in the overall presentation of the deceased to the community. But it must be noted that these 21 obituaries were only 4% of the 1975 sample.

Marriage and Family

The marriage rate that was constant in 1900 and 1925 at 10.3 rose slightly to 11.1 marriages per thousand in 1950 (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). The figures from 1973 indicate that the rate had risen further; in Tennessee 13.7 people per thousand were getting married that year. It can be seen then that the rate of marriage had risen by a third

in the first 73 years of the twentieth century (Statistical Abstracts, 1975: 68).

Divorce rates similarly continued to rise. In 1925 there were 1.5 divorces per thousand people; in 1950 that had changed to 2.5 divorces per thousand (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 52). The statistics for 1973 showed a continued climb, with the rate at 5.4 per thousand (Statistical Abstracts, 1975: 68). Whereas the marriage rate rose by about one-third in 73 years, the divorce rate in Tennessee went up more than 300% in 48 years.

Household and Family Size

In contrast to rising marriage and divorce rates, the average size of the American household held steady. The figure for 1900 was 4.23 persons; that had dropped to 4.11 persons per household in 1930 and to 3.52 by 1950 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 16). The average household in 1970 rose slightly to 3.58 persons (Historical Statistics, 1975: 41). Figures for East Tennessee family size are not available. Obituary data furnish the average number of children born to families. The average number born to families in 1925 was 4.36 (Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News, 1925). The average number of children born to families from the obituary sample in 1950 was 4.37 (Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1950). This average decreased in the 1975 sample to 3.81 (Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975). Nationally the average family size remained almost unchanged from 1950 to 1970; in

Tennessee, number of children born, which had been stable from 1925 to 1950, now dropped in the 1975 figures. The 1975 obituaries reflected the childbearing years of half a century previously in the nation as a whole. Table VI-1 displays the number of children born to families in the three-county area as seen in the 1975 obituary sample.

The 135 obituaries that mentioned no children included 23 deceased under the age of 18; it is assumed that they had no children. When these 23 are removed, the remainder is 112 obituaries which mentioned no offspring. Four of these 112 were entitled "Miss" in the newspapers, which may mean that they never married. If this is so, then 108 remain. What percentage of those were unmarried cannot be discovered. It is possible that some of the deceased males never married. Another unknown percentage of the obituaries reflects married persons who had been childless. A married population that was about 10% childless would not be unexpected. A final unknown percentage involves cases in which the deceased had been married and had children but whose obituaries made no mention of the children.

Deaths of pre-school age children were reported much fewer times in the 1975 sample. Whereas 13% of the 1950 sample involved children under five only 3% of the 1975 sample were the same subset. Of the 14 infants in the 1975 sample who were less than a year old, four of them had no given names reported. Two were labelled males, one female, and one

Table VI-1. Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Number of Children	cases	%
1	77	19
2	90	22
3	69	17
4	56	13
5	38	9
6	19	5
7	17	4
8	15	4
9	15	4
10	10	2
11	5	1
12	3	1
15	2	-1
Total cases	416	

Missing data: 135 (25%)

Children under 18: 23

Mean: 3.81 Mode: 2 Median: 3

was assigned neither name or sex. The reports infer that they were newborns.

Marital Status

Two hundred seventy-four of the obituaries specified that the deceased had left a living spouse. This constituted 50% of the obituaries, in contrast with the 48% of the obituaries from the 1950 sample that mentioned living spouses (see Table VI-2). One hundred seventeen, or 21% of the obituaries, noted that the deceased had been preceded in death by the spouse. One hundred sixty, or 29% of the obituaries, gave no information about marriage partners. This is a lower figure

Table VI-2. Marital Status of Deceased, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Marital Status	cases	%
Spouse Living	274	50
Spouse Deceased	117	21
Spouse Not Mentioned	160	29
Total cases	551	
Children under 18: 23	"Miss": 4	

than that of the 1950 sample, in which 49% of the obituaries made no comments about spouses.

Twenty-three death notices carried no references to marital status since they reported on the deaths of persons under 18 years of age. Only 4% of the 1975 obituary sample consisted of children under 18, in contrast to the 16% from the 1950 sample.

How can the missing information be explained? It constitutes approximately 29% of the obituaries. Four percent of this is children under 18. It can be assumed that some portion of the deceased 18 and older remained unmarried. Some of the deceased possibly were divorced or separated and no information concerning former spouses was given. Some of the death notices were so sparse in detail that marital status was left unmentioned, as were other generally included details.

This discussion has dealt with several topics within

the general theme of marriage and family in Johnson City and the three-county area. It has been noted that both marriage and divorce rates have risen since 1950. The size of the American household continued to drop, and the number of children born to families in upper East Tennessee was lower than 1950 also. The marital status of the deceased was contrasted with those in the 1950 sample.

Transportation

The Interstate Highway System stretched across the state east to west and north to south. Railroad passenger service had been discontinued in nearly all of the state by 1970. The main railroad terminal in Johnson City had been razed in the early seventies to make room for a four-lane bypass around the downtown. Three interstate motor freight lines served Johnson City in 1975, as well as several trucking companies operating locally and statewide (City Directory, 1975: VI). Three airlines offered service to Johnson City and the three-county area at the nearby Tri-Cities Airport. These airlines interconnected nationally and internationally (City Directory, 1975: VI). National bus connections were provided by Trailways.

The same three railroad companies that ran tracks through Johnson City in 1900 were still in business in 1975, though there was no passenger service. In addition to the interstate highways, the Appalachian Highway was built

between Johnson City and Kingsport. It will eventually connect eastern Ohio with the south Atlantic coast. Access through heavily mountainous territory will be furnished to upper East Tennessee for both employment and recreation.

Fifteen percent of the occupations specified by the obituaries in the 1950 sample were railroad-connected. Two hundred seventy-four of the obituaries in the 1975 sample specified occupations or made job-related comments. Of these, fourteen or 5%, were railroading occupations. These brief references to work-history ranged from laborer on the Southern Railroad to the "transportation director" of the Clinchfield Railroad. The percentage of railroad-connected occupational references moved from 18% in 1925 to 5% in 1975.

The popularity of automobile transportation that saw four new-car dealerships in 1925 is amply illustrated in the telephone book "Yellow Pages" for 1975. Twelve new-car dealerships in Johnson City offered 21 different makes (The Phone Book, 1974: 9-11). These dealerships were no longer clustered on the near-west side of the downtown business district as in the former years. Just as retail business had begun to shift to north Johnson City, so had the automobile dealerships. Nine of the 12 new-car dealers were now located in the north Johnson City area; only two remained downtown.

Changes in transportation modes available to residents of Johnson City and surrounding area for 1975 have been examined. The decline in rail passenger travel has been noted,

with the parallel rise in automobile and air travel. There is no doubt that the travel mode of choice for East

Professionals and Executives

The City Directory for Johnson City in 1975 listed a number of doctors, dentists and lawyers. Seventy-one physicians and surgeons were listed along with 34 dentists (City Directory, 1975: 55 and 24 in order). Twenty-nine lawyers were named as practicing in Johnson City (City Directory, 1975: 29). No doctors, dentists, or lawyers were present in the 1975 obituary sample. There were, however, five executives mentioned among the deceased. These executives were:

Superintendent, Empire Furniture
President, Germite Products
National manager, Moorell Electric Company
Manager, Magnavox
President and owner, Interstate Mining Equipment

Of the obituaries that mentioned occupation or work history of the deceased, only 2% were business executives of "large firms." Railroading has been treated separately under the discussion of occupations. But if the one executive listed under railroad-connected occupations is added to the above, there will be six executives of large firms.

Business and Commercial Life

The City Directory for 1975 and the newspapers reflect the continued growth and expansion of business and commercial

life in the city and the surrounding area. The population of Johnson City grew 24% between 1950 and 1975. The City Directory listed businesses, commercial establishments and manufacturers in operation in 1975. Rather than present these detailed lists, quotations from the general description of Johnson City and area will be furnished. These paragraphs appear in the first section of the City Directory.

INDUSTRY

> Stable, diversified industry has found a good home in the Johnson City area. Items manufactured and processed include aluminum products, bakery products, brick, bedsprings, mattresses, concrete products, electrical heating equipment, fertilizer, gloves, grain products, hardware specialities, paint rollers, and related items, women's products, women's hose and apparel, meat packing items, machinery components, optical products, orthopedic and prosthetic appliances, small woodworking tools, steel fabricated products, soft drinks, textiles, including greige cloth and yarns, dairy products, hardware, flooring, hospital supplies, furniture, gas and electric hot water tanks, electronic equipment--many of which are nationally known.

AGRICULTURE

> Farming is the largest single industry of Washington County with 1973 farm income listed at twelve million. The farm economy is diversified, but principal revenue comes from tobacco and dairying. Johnson City is one of the leading burley tobacco auction sales centers in the South. The county's fine herds of Angus, Shorthorn, Guernsey, and Hereford cattle are internationally known. High state rank is held by the county in egg production, alfalfa, and fertilizer use. The county has 3,000 farms (City Directory, 1975: VI).

The railroad industry continued to supply much employment to the three-county area, along with the Veterans Administration Center and East Tennessee State University.

Two hundred seventy-four of the obituaries from the

1975 newspaper sample contained information about the occupation and/or work history of the deceased. The variety of jobs and professions that were reported are summarized in Table VI-3. White-collar and entrepeneurial employment was most reported in 1950, but the 1975 sample lists 50% of the jobs that can be categorized as non- and semi-skilled industrial and service occupations. White-collar occupations constituted 17% of the 1975 occupational sample. These white-collar occupations included teachers, students, and school supervisors. White-collar occupations were as varied as "tree surgeon," "tobacco warehouseman," and "actress in Australia." Farming was the third largest occupation reported, with 12% of the workforce so engaged. Railroading as an occupational category has dropped to just 5% of the sample, with clerking at 4%. Professional and Executive (small firms) as a category contains occupations as diverse as merchants, contractors, five operators of small businesses, and 11 owners of small businesses. Only five deaths of business executives were reported in the death notices; they form the category "Professional and Executive (large firms)."

At least as far as reported occupations were concerned, the sample shifted solidly away from white-collar workers to non- and semi-skilled occupations in the period of the quarter-century after the Second World War. This may be an indication of the growing industrial strength of Johnson City and environs. Approximately 20% of the obituaries contained

Table VI-3. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Occupational Data	cases	%
Farming	34	12
Workers	137	50
Railroading	14	5
Clerks	11	4
White-Collar	46	17
Professional and Executive		
small firms	27	10
large firms	5	2
Total cases	274	

Missing data: 277 (50%)

Deceased females specified: 39

references to jobs, occupations, or work experience in both the 1925 and 1950 samples. This percentage of occupational references rose to 50% in this most recent sample. This infers the increased significance of work and occupation to the residents of upper East Tennessee. When deceased under the age of 15 are removed from the sample, then 274 occupational reports were furnished by 507 obituaries, or 54%.

Frequency of work experience reports varied widely between male and female deceased. Seventy-six percent of the male deceased over 14 years of age had occupational comments in their obituaries. Of the 201 women over 14, only 20% of

the obituaries reported work or occupational experience. This percentage is up somewhat from the 1950 sample. As noted for the prior samples this disparity in reported work experience between males and females must reflect a combination of occupational underreporting for females as well as a society that employed fewer females than males.

Work and occupational references were available for more than three-quarters of the male deceased over 14 years of age, in contrast to the nearly 20% of the death notices that mentioned occupational histories for females. Since the obituaries reporting deceased females furnished a range of occupations in four of the seven categories, the inference is that the work histories of females went unreported in an unknown number of cases. This underreporting was probably not the doing of the funeral personnel who wrote up the death notices for the newspaper. This underreporting must be charged to the spouse and kin who furnished what they considered to be the "basic" data to the funeral director (see Table VI-4).

This section on business and commercial life as seen through the death notices has presented a shift to the industrial from the white-collar of 25 years before. A somewhat larger percentage of obituaries contained information about the work histories of females. Overall, more than 50% of the sample over 14 years of age furnished occupational data.

Table VI-4. Occupational Data for Females, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Occupational Data	cases	%
Workers	17	44
Clerks	3	8
White-Collar	15	31
Professional and Executive small firms	4	10
Total cases	39	

Leisure

The electronic revolution was still growing in upper East Tennessee. Five radio stations were broadcasting in Johnson City in 1975. Three television stations were located in the tri-cities area. Johnson City also had cable television available; this permitted subscribers to have access to programming as distant as Knoxville, Asheville, North Carolina, Greenville, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia (The Phone Book, 1974: 100-101, 125, 127). The educational television channel was also received in upper East Tennessee. The following quotations from the 1975 City Directory offer a capsule of events and facilities available to the residents of the three-county area:

> CULTURAL INFLUENCE
>
> The city has a fine public library, an able Community Theatre, a community concert program, art shows, and an art film series. Mayne Williams Library houses over 40,000 volumes ranging from

children's fiction to technical books. The city's Community Theatre group, which has an impressive history spanning more than four decades of continuous activity, presents a full season of the best in popular drama. Carroll Reece Museum has exhibitions of local and international interest.

RECREATION

Johnson City and its surrounding area burst with recreational attractions--water sports, fishing, hunting, intercollegiate sports, a highly active high school athletic program, organized municipal recreation activities. Four TVA lakes provide family recreation of water skiing, boating, and some of the nation's best fishing. The city's Park and Recreation Board has many playgrounds, softball and baseball fields. Little League Parks, tennis courts, two municipal pools, a Senior Citizen's program, a multitude of organized basketball, baseball, and softball leagues. The Country Club has a beautiful 18-hole golf course. There is also a lighted 3-par golf course and driving range. The city has two large bowling centers. Teen Town provides a center of activity for youngsters, as do the Boys Club and Girls Club. Four movie theaters are located in the city--plus two drive-in theatres. The Community Theatre provides amateur theatrical entertainment (Johnson City City Directory, 1975: VI).

Possibilities for leisure time activities and recreation have greatly increased in the 75-year period under investigation.

Churches and Ministers

Church affiliation nationwide, which had remained fairly constant the first quarter of the century, climbed to 58% of the population in 1950 (Historical Statistics, 1960: 228). Church membership continued to increase, and the Census Bureau reported it to be 64% in 1970 (Historical Statistics, 1975: 391). In light of this it should not be surprising to find a higher percentage of church affiliation reflected in the obituaries from the 1975 newspapers.

Churches Mentioned

The City Directory for 1975 listed 89 congregations serving Johnson City; no longer were the Negro churches separately designated (16-17). The historical downtown congregations were still located where they were in 1950 with the exception of First Christian Church. It had constructed a new building in north Johnson City, in the vicinity of the shopping mall. Their old building was purchased by another Christian Church congregation.

The death notices in the 1975 Johnson City Press-Chronicle mentioned 45 of the city's congregations; these served as places for the funeral service, or they were mention in connection with church affiliation or preference. A total of 235 congregations were named in the death notices, representing both the city and the surrounding three-counties.

Officiants

Ninety-six obituaries mentioned officiants by name but no mention was made of church affiliation or preference (see Table VI-5). Twenty of the obituaries mentioned church connections but did not name officiants. Four hundred sixteen of the death notices mentioned both denominational preference or congregational affiliation and named officiants. Only 19 of the obituaries mentioned neither participating officiants nor church connections.

Much greater attention was given to religious information in 1975 as Table VI-5 illustrates. Only 3% of the

Table VI-5. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Churches and Officiants Specified	cases	%
Church Connection and Officiant Specified	416	75
Officiant Specified	96	17
Church Connection Specified	20	4
Neither Mentioned	19	3
Total cases	551	

obituaries from the 1975 sample failed to make some mention of religious group or clergy; this is in contrast to nearly one-fourth from the sample 25 years earlier. Since more than 92% of the notices in 1975 mentioned officiant or officiant and church connection, then the specification of some form of religious connection seemed incumbent.

As discussed previously, five hundred fifteen of the death notices mentioned officiating clergy by name. This is more than 92% of the 1975 sample. However, a total of 787 officiants were specified (see Table VI-6). Two hundred eighty-four, or 55%, of the funerals were conducted by one officiant, according to the death notices. Two officiants were mentioned in 198 of the obituaries; this constituted 39% of the sample. Another 28 obituaries mentioned three participating clergy, while one notice mentioned four officiants and

Table VI-6. Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Number of Officiants	cases	%
1	284	55
2	198	39
3	28	5
4	4	1
7	1	-1
Total cases	515	

Missing data: 36 (7%)

another seven. The funeral in which seven clergymen participated was the service of a Protestant minister.

The obituaries of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle contained the names of 397 different ministers in the 1975 sample. Because many clergy were mentioned in multiple instances, there was a total of 787 references to clergy. Two ministers were mentioned more frequently than the other 395. D. C. Byrd was a Free Will Baptist minister who preached in Carter County churches. Paul Brown was the senior minister of the Munsey Memorial Methodist Church in Johnson City. Both of these men were named 12 times in the death notices. It is interesting to note that Dr. Brown was the minister to the prestigious downtown "formal" Methodist church in Johnson City while the Reverend Mr. Byrd was a "mountain" preacher who preached most of his funeral sermons in small churches "out in the woods." Both men were popular in their own circles, preaching the funerals of many who were not of their own flocks.

Church Preference and Affiliation

Denominational preference or specific congregational affiliation was mentioned in 437 obituaries (see Table VI-7). Specification of religious group occurred in only 27% of the cases in the 1950 sample but was made in 79% of the cases in 1975. Thus the deceased were more often cast as religious as they were presented to the community in the death notices from 1975.

It is seen in Table VI-7 that the largest group of Protestants is Baptist, and in this part of the country they are overwhelmingly Southern Baptist. Free Will Baptists, Methodists, and Christians, are similar in representation. All the other groupings combined accounted for about 22% of the total. Included in the category labelled "Other Churches" were Lutheran, Episcopal, Brethren, United Brethren, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Roman Catholic, Missionary Baptist, and 11 other assorted congregations and denominations.

Church Funerals

One hundred sixty-nine funerals were conducted in 122 churches and chapels as reflected in the obituary sample from 1975 (see Table VI-8). Since the various churches appear in different proportions within the two Tables, it can be assumed that deceased persons with no church affiliation were memorialized in church buildings. The obituary data record instances in which the deceased was a Baptist, for example, but whose funeral service was conducted in a Methodist church

Table VI-7. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Congregation or Denomination		cases	%
Baptist		158	36
Specific congregations	139		
"Baptist"	19		
Free Will Baptist		66	15
Specific congregations	59		
"Free Will Baptist"	7		
Methodist		65	15
Specific congregations	56		
"Methodist"	9		
Christian Church		58	13
Specific congregations	53		
"Christian Church"	5		
Presbyterian		33	8
Specific congregations	30		
"Presbyterian"	3		
Other Churches		57	13
Total cases		437	

Missing data: 114 (21%)

building, by a Christian Church minister.

This section has presented a discussion concerning the religious characteristics of Johnson City and its surrounding area in 1975. Some of the information has come from the City Directory for 1975, some has come from the Johnson City Telephone Directory, but most has been supplied by the

Table VI-8. Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Churches	cases	%
Baptist	72	43
Free Will Baptist	35	21
Christian Church	15	9
Methodist	13	8
Presbyterian	10	6
Other Churches	19	11
Veterans Administration Chapel	5	3
Total cases	169	

sample of obituaries from the Press-Chronicle in 1975. The rise in church affiliation nationally was noted and a corresponding rise was seen in the data from the obituaries. A growth in the number of congregations serving Johnson City was seen, as well as the large number of congregations mentioned in the sample. There followed a discussion of the number of obituaries which specified the officiants who participated in the memorial services. More than 92% of the sample specified officiants by name. Fifty-five percent of the funerals were conducted by one officiant, while another 39% employed two officiants.

From the sample totalling 551 death notices, seven hundred eighty-seven ministers were named, though in many cases church connection was not specified. The obituaries mentioned Baptist affiliation or preference more often than the others, just as did the 1950 obituary sample. In the presentation of the deceased to the community in 1975,

religious matters were deemed significant. Over 92% of the obituaries specified religious officiants and 79% of the notices mentioned church membership or preference. Generally, then, obituaries in 1975 pointed out the religiousness of the deceased in Johnson City and the area.

Public Health

Public health in Johnson City and its environs will be analyzed by an examination of the causes of death supplied by the 1975 obituary sample. Deaths by age cohort will be presented, as well as compared with those from the 1950 sample. These deaths by age cohort will also be compared with the data available from Tennessee Vital Statistics. Then will follow a brief discussion of the medical care available to the citizens of Johnson City and environs in 1975.

Causes of Death

The cause of death was supplied in 65% of the death notices in the 1975 obituary sample. This is in contrast to the 1950 data which was available for only one-half of the sample (see Table VI-9). Overwhelmingly the cause of death presented for the deceased in 1975 was illness, just as it was in the 1950 obituary sample. At least as far as the deceased were presented in these two samples, illness as a cause increased in 1975 while accidental deaths decreased. Reported suicides increased from one in the 1950 sample to four in the 1975 sample.

Table VI-9. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Causes of Death	cases	%
Illness	343	96
Accident	10	3
Suicide	4	1
Total cases	357	

Missing data: 194 (35%)

Next the causes of death from the newspaper sample will be compared to the causes of death furnished by the Center for Health Statistics in Nashville. These vital statistics for Tennessee are presented in Table VI-10.

Table VI-10. Causes of Death from 1975 Obituaries Compared to Tennessee Vital Statistics, 1970

	Obituaries* 1975		Vital Statistics° 1970	
Causes of Death	n	%	n	%
Illness and Disease	343	96	1,515	94
Accident	10	3	68	4
Suicide	4	1	17	1
Homicide or War	0	0	9	1
Totals	357		1,609	

*Six month sample, Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

°State Center for Health Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health, 1970

Both sets of statistics are from the three-county area in upper East Tennessee: Washington, Carter and Unicoi. The

obituary data are from death notices from six months of 1975. The data from the State Center for Health Statistics covered the entire year of 1970. Though the percentages are not identical the differences are not striking. Since the obituaries constituted a much smaller number than the vital statistics, the raw scores are not comparable, but the percentage distribution differs little. In both sets of data illness was specified overwhelmingly as the cause of death.

The obituary sample mentioned no deaths due to homicide or war. It should be noted that the Tennessee Vital Statistics are assembled from death certificates filed in the county courts. Obituary information is nontechnical, nonofficial information gathered by funeral directors and newspaper obituary writers with the assistance of the families of the deceased. The Tennessee Health Statistics were a tally of all the deaths in the three counties during 1970, whether the deceased was a resident or not and whether the funeral service was or was not conducted in the area under study. The obituaries reported those whose death and/or funeral was in the three-county area or those who utilized a funeral establishment in the same area. So in spite of the fact that the two data sets do not overlap completely their relative coincidence infers the usefulness of the obituary data.

Accidental deaths accounted for a smaller percentage of reported deaths in 1975 than in 1950 (see Table VI-11). Vehicular accidents accounted for a higher percentage of

Table VI-11. Accidental Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Accidents	cases	%
Vehicular	8	80
Other Accidental Deaths	2	20
Total cases	10	

accidental deaths in 1975 than in 1950. The two "other accidental deaths" were both caused by house fires. The four deaths by suicide reported in 1975 were attributed to gunshot wounds.

Table VI-12 displays the various data involved in the general category "deaths from illness." The trend noticed in the 1950 obituary sample was to move from specific cause of death to the euphemism "long illness," and other similar phrases. This trend continued in the 1975 sample.

In 1950 15% of the causes offered in explanation of death were "specific" rather than "euphemistic." "Specific" causes in the 1975 obituaries dropped to 11%. The largest number of obituaries "smoothed out" the report with such terms as "extended," "illness of three weeks," or "unexpected." The category "long illness" rose in 1975 to 57%, from that of 44% in 1950. Reports of "brief" and "sudden" illnesses decreased. Table VI-12 contains no mention of the childhood illnesses which were prominent in the 1925 obituaries. Nearly all (89%) of the deaths attributed to

Table VI-12. Death from Illness, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Illness	cases	%
Long illness	196	57
Brief illness	98	29
Sudden illness	10	3
Cardio-vascular disease	38	11
Other specific illnesses	1	-1
Total cases	343	

illness, for any age cohort, used the euphemistic expressions. "Specified illnesses" were overwhelmingly cardio-vascular in nature. Thirty-seven heart attacks were mentioned; one death was attributed to heart surgery, and one death was attributed to "complications." Apparently cardio-vascular illness was "socially acceptable" in the presentation of the deceased.

Cause and Location of Death

When the obituary report specified the cause of death and the place where it occurred, then an analysis could be made of the relationship between the length of the illness and the place where the death occurred. This comparison is displayed in Table VI-13. Typically, in 1975, when either a long or brief illness was reported, it occurred in a hospital or nursing home. Six out of ten "sudden" illnesses occurred at home. Nineteen of the 31 persons who died of an illness or specified disease died at home. In other words, those with extended or brief illnesses "chose" to die in a hospital

Table VI-13. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Place of Death	Cause of Death Specified: Long illness	Brief illness	Sudden illness	Illness/ disease	Total
Home	26	8	6	19	59
Institution	162	89	4	12	267
Geographic Location	1	1	0	6	8
Totals	189	98	10	37	334

or other institution rather than at home. This was not true in 1950. Those obituaries reported that persons who died of extended illnesses "chose" to die at home. Thus the further institutionalization of death was portrayed in these data.

Death by Age Cohort

Another measure of change in public health and the quality of medical care is the death rate of infants and children. Table VI-14 displays the percentage of deaths by age cohort comparing data from the obituaries and the Tennessee Center for Health Statistics.

The statistics from the obituary sample differ by more than one percentage point in only two of the cohorts. The youngest cohort differed by two percentage points, with the obituaries containing more infant deaths. The "younger" segment of the aged--those 65-74--contained a four percentage

Table VI-14. Death by Age Cohort, Tennessee Vital Statistics, Compared with Obituary Data, 1975

Age Cohort	Tennessee Statistics* n	%	Obituary Data° n	%
-1	20	1	14	3
1-4	6	-1	3	1
5-14	14	1	5	1
15-24	32	2	5	1
25-34	29	2	2	-1
35-44	47	4	21	4
45-54	166	10	51	10
55-64	293	18	88	17
65-74	354	22	138	26
75-84	416	26	135	26
85+	222	14	67	13
Totals	1,609		529	

*State Center for Health Statistics, Tennessee Department of Public Health, 1975

°Six month sample, Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

point differential. The larger number in this cohort were reported in the obituary sample. The two sets of statistics are very similar. It appears that the official Tennessee data showed people living slightly longer than the obituary data set.

How have deaths by age cohort changed in the 25 years between 1950 and 1975, according to the East Tennessee obituaries? Fewer deaths of infants and young children might be expected if public health and medical services improved in this section of the state. Table VI-14 displays the deaths by age cohort as reported by the 1975 obituary data.

The 1950 obituary sample reported that 16% of the deaths occurred before the age of five. The 1975 sample reflected much fewer deaths in this age cohort. In fact, the deaths of only a fourth as many children under five were reported for 1975. Fifty percent of the 1950 sample died at 65 years or older; in contrast 65% of the 1975 sample died after age 64. The increased life spans are evident in the most recent obituary reports. Ages of the deceased were reported much more frequently in 1975. Whereas 12% of the ages went unreported in the 1950 sample, only 4% of the ages were unreported in the most recent sample.

Johnson City was presented as a "medical center" in the 1975 City Directory. When the city's facilities and medical personnel are combined with those at the Veterans Administration Center it is seen that Johnson City offered Memorial Hospital, Northside Hospital, and the hospital at Mountain Home, for a total of 921 beds. Doctors and dentists, both in the city and at Mountain Home, totalled 159.

MEDICAL CENTER

> Johnson City has two hospitals with a total of 421 beds. There are 88 practicing physicians and 33 dentists. A Veterans Administration Center at Mountain Home includes a 500-bed hospital and a 1,271-bed domiciliary, and has 38 physicians and dentists. The modern medical facilities and large number of practicing physicians, including the specialized fields of medicine and surgery, make Johnson City one of the outstanding medical centers of the south (City Directory, 1975: VI).

The Johnson City Eye Hospital was not included in the paragraph from the Directory.

This section on public health in the three-county area has contained a number of items from the general topic, utilizing obituary data. Causes of death were compared, using obituary data from 1950 and 1975. Causes of death from the 1975 obituaries were compared with the causes stipulated in the Vital Statistics from the State Center for Health Statistics in Nashville. Drastic differences were not apparent from the contrasting data sources. A closer look was taken at the causes of accidental deaths obtained from the 1975 obituaries. Deaths from illness were analyzed and compared with those reported from 25 years previously. Deaths attributed to illness in general continued to increase in percentage as compared with deaths attributed to specific named diseases and illnesses when examined over time.

Deaths from illness were analyzed by location of the deaths. The tendency was noted for deaths attributed to both long and brief illnesses to occur in institutions rather than at home or other places. Deaths by age cohorts were examined from two directions. First, obituary data from 1975 were compared to the data obtained from the State Center for Health Statistics. Then death by age cohort from 1950 and 1975 obituary samples were contrasted. The comparisons lead to two general comments: the expected rise in length of lifespan was found. And the general comparability of obituary data and official state statistics seem to enhance the utility of the death notice data.

From Death to Interment in the Community

The newspaper obituaries in Johnson City specified the location of death in 96% of the cases. This was in contrast to the 84% of the obituaries which carried this information in 1950. In 121 of the 528 cases, or 23%, the death occurred in a private home; one hundred eight of those 121 deaths occurred in the home of the deceased person himself (see Table VI-15). The other deaths happened in the homes of father, children, brother, grandson, or niece. Eighteen of the deaths, or 3%, were identified by geographical location. Six of these were as detailed as "emergency room," "U.S. 23 between Erwin and Unicoi," "at work at Beaunit," "hunting trip on Buck Mountain," "at Sears," and "on State Route 67 east of Mountain City." The remaining 12 listed cities in Kansas, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Illinois, Tennessee, and the District of Columbia.

Three hundred ninety of the deaths, or 74%, took place in an institutional setting. These settings were typically local hospitals and clinics, nursing homes and Veterans Administration Hospitals. There is a continuing trend toward the hospital setting as the place of death, since no deaths in institutions were reported in the 1900 notices. Seventeen percent of the deaths occurred in institutions in the 1925 sample. This increased to 39% in 1950 and in the 1975 sample almost doubled again to 74%.

Table VI-15. Place of Death, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Place of Death		cases	%
Home		121	23
Own home	108		
Other's home	13		
Geographical Location		18	3
In-state	13		
Out-of-state	7		
Institutions		390	74
Hospital	305		
Nursing home	32		
V. A. Center	53		
Total cases		529	

Missing data: 22 (4%)

Preparation

After death the corpse had to be prepared for lying in state, the funeral service, and burial; the professionalization of the preparations had begun by 1925 and grew in scope in the intervening years. None of the obituaries from the 1900 set specified that an undertaker had been involved in the preparation of the body. The City Directory for 1975 listed seven funeral homes, one of which was located in Jonesborough. Of the six in Johnson City, two of them served a Negro clientele only (City Directory, 1975: 30). Three hundred fifty-one, or 79% of the death notices in 1950, contained the information that the corpse had been placed in the

hands of a professional undertaking establishment. This use of funeral professionals increased to 100% in the 1975 sample (see Table VI-16). The names of 14 funeral establishments appeared in the 1975 obituaries. There were actually 15 establishments, because Tetrick in Carter County had branches in both Elizabethton and Roan Mountain. Perhaps because of this fact, Tetrick Funeral Home was reported in nearly one-fourth of the obituaries. Eight funeral establishments were reported that were located in Washington County, the most populous of the three counties. According to the data from the 1975 sample, the trend toward the professional preparation of corpses for last rites which was just noticeable in the 1925 sample has now become a universal practice.

Lying in State

The death notices from 1950 specified the location of the body prior to the funeral service in 47% of the cases. This percentage rose slightly to 50% in 1975. In the cases where the location of the body was specified, the lying in state took place in the funeral home 90% of the time. This was a radical upward shift from 29% in the 1950 obituary sample (see Table VI-17). The use of the home as the location of the lying-in-state ritual dropped to 7% in the 1975 sample. Thus can be seen a complete turnabout in this portion of the "presentation complex" in just 25 years. This shift to the use of the funeral establishment for the presentation of the body to the community for "viewing" confirms

Table VI-16. Funeral Establishments, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Funeral Establishment and Location by City and County	cases	%
Washington County		
Appalachian Funeral Home, Johnson City	78	14
Birchette Mortuary, Johnson City	13	2
Hartman Funeral Home, Johnson City	33	6
Morris-Baker Funeral Home, Johnson City	66	12
Woodall Funeral Home, Johnson City	43	8
Dillow-Taylor Funeral Home, Jonesborough	40	7
Fall Branch Funeral Home, Fall Branch	11	2
Gray Funeral Home, Gray	4	1
Carter County		
Hathaway-Percy Funeral Home, Elizabethton	77	14
Memorial Funeral Home, Elizabethton	14	3
Tetrick Funeral Home, Elizabethton and Roan Mountain	126	23
Unicoi County		
Erwin Memorial Funeral Home, Erwin	25	5
Ledford Chapel, Erwin	20	4
Sullivan County		
Hamlett-Dobson, Kingsport	1	-1
Total cases	551	

the continuing move toward the professionalization of the entire process.

The Memorial Service

The obituaries furnished the location of the funeral service in 87% of the cases in 1950; the 1975 sample carried this information 97% of the time (see Table VI-18).

Table VI-17. Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Location for Lying-in-State	cases	%
Home	20	7
Funeral Home	255	92
Church	1	-1
Total cases	276	

Missing data: 275 (50%)

Sixty-three percent of the funerals in 1950 were conducted in church buildings, in contrast to 32% of the funerals in

Table VI-18. Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Place of Funeral	cases	%
Home	2	-1
Church	169	32
Funeral Home	314	59
Graveside	39	7
Other*	11	2
Total cases	535	

Missing data: 16 (3%)

*Veterans Administration Chapel	5
Veterans Administration Center	2
National Cemetery	1
Monte Vista Mausoleum Chapel	1
Happy Valley Memorial Park	1
Hazard, Kentucky	1

1975. This was a drop in frequency of about one-half. The instances where funerals were conducted in funeral homes rose even more dramatically. Funeral homes were used for this purpose in 13% of the cases in 1950; this rose to 59% in the 1975 sample. The funeral home has become "multi-purpose;" it now functions as did both home and church in the past. Whereas the typical funeral was conducted in a church building in 1950, the 1975 obituary sample showed that the modal funeral was conducted in a funeral home chapel. The "transformation" is now almost complete; the funeral has been moved from the home to a special public place. In fact, the trend has developed more fully; when the home and the church are removed from the sample, it can be seen that funeral services were conducted at other sites in 358 instances, or 67% of the cases.

The trends have been seen in the 1975 data; the presentation of the deceased has been moved out of the exclusive province of the family into the funeral parlor and the church building. It can then be anticipated that with the increased use of public buildings the importance of the clergy will increase. Seventy-seven percent of the obituaries in 1950 mentioned clerical officiants at the funeral services. The 1975 sample specified clergy as officiants in 92% of the cases. Two of these officiating clergy were female. See the discussion of officiants in the section entitled "Churches and Ministers."

Interment

The obituaries from the 1950 sample reported the place of burial in 85% of the instances; this rose to 95% in 1975 (see Table VI-19). Nearly one-third of the reported burial locations in both the 1925 and 1950 data sets involved family burying grounds. Just over 40% of the burials reported involved community or proprietary cemeteries in both the 1925 and 1950 death notice samples. Geographical locations of the burial sites occurred in few cases, in both 1925 and 1950 samples. The burial customs of 1925 in upper East Tennessee were still in practice generally in 1950.

The trend away from home and family discernable in other features of the 1975 data is evident in place of burial also. Burial in family plots decreased to about one-fifth of the cases. The use of community or proprietary cemeteries increased to nearly two-thirds of the cases. The proportion of burial places that were identified only by a geographical notation dropped to 1% in 1975. The burial practices in upper East Tennessee in 1975 had shifted away from private and church cemeteries to the community and proprietary. Three of the burials in the "locations" category were place names; one of these was in Kentucky, one in Alabama, and one in Arkansas. The other four locations involved mausoleum interments.

Sex Differences

When the number of words is tallied from the death

Table VI-19. Place of Burial, from Obituaries in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Place of Burial		cases	%
Family Cemetery		105	20
"family"	2		
"named"	103		
Community or Proprietary Cemetery		337	64
Church Cemetery		51	10
National Cemetery		24	5
Geographic Locations		7	1
Total cases		523	

Missing data: 28 (5%)

notices in the 1975 sample it is seen that the typical death notice ran between 201 and 300 words in length (see Table VI-20). This is the largest modal size of the four obituary samples. The 1925 and 1950 samples had modal lengths between 101 and 200 words.

The data from the 1975 sample showed that female deceased received briefer obituary coverage, on the average, than deceased males. Modal word count for males was in the 201 to 300 word range, but for females it was in the 101 to 200 range. Also, males had a higher percentage of the longest death notices, those over 300 words in length. There were no obituaries for females longer than 375 words. There was, however, an obituary for a deceased male which ran more than

Table VI-20. Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, 1975

Word Count	Male Deceased n	%	Female Deceased n	%	Total
-51	2	1	0	0	2
51-100	11	3	6	3	17
101-200	129	39	114	51	243
201-300	167	51	93	42	260
301+	19	6	10	4	29
Totals	328		223		

475 words. Male deaths were reported in larger numbers than female deaths in 1975; in addition, the notices reporting male deaths were longer than those reporting deaths of females. The impression gained from the data in Table VI-20 is that men were treated as more important and more significant citizens in the community. They are presented by a larger "biographical sketch" in obituary form. Their relatively larger obituary allows for more details to be presented to the readers.

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology

The "presentation team"--to use Erving Goffman's concepts--had fairly well completed its changes by 1950. The team then typically consisted of the family, kin group, and friends, the funeral director and embalmer, and officiating clergy. The presentation team in 1950 also typically involved other personnel employed by the funeral establishment and the cemetery. These personnel were involved in the

transporting of the casket and the "opening and closing of the grave." No changes have occurred in the presentation team since 1950. With the shifts outlined above, out of the home and church, and into the funeral establishment, more emphasis has been put on those professionally trained to manage the presentation of the dead to the community. It is evident from the obituary data from 1975 that professional teams are in charge of the deceased almost from the moment of death. Except for the fairly minimal involvement of the clergy, perhaps at the lying-in-state, and obviously at the memorial service and interment, the entire preparation and disposal of the remains is in the hands of a professional, "secular," team consisting of funeral home and cemetery personnel.

In Goffman's terms, more of the complex presentation of the deceased in 1950 was taking place "back stage." On the basis of the obituary data from the 1975 sample, it can be affirmed that nearly all of the presentation process is now managed "back stage." "Front stage" are the carefully controlled and scheduled components of the "expected" community rituals. The lying in state is announced, typically, for a two-hour period on the night before the day of interment. The body is moved from the "viewing room" to the funeral home chapel at the pre-planned time (or the viewing room and the chapel are the same). The service is expected to last a certain number of minutes. The "funeral managers"

know the amount of time required to transport the body in the cortege from the place of service to the place of interment. And it is generally known how long the graveside "last rites" will take. All of these generally accepted and expected components have been removed from the control of the family and are performed according to the manner prescribed by the community and the funeral professionals. Even the ministrations of the clerical participants are done with the guidance and programming of the professional funeral personnel. The minister coordinates the beginning and completing of the memorial service with the funeral director. The minister often is transported to the cemetery in the hearse itself or the funeral director's limousine. And the officiating clergy coordinates the graveside ceremony with the undertaker so that he may know when the minister has completed his portion of the committal service. Then the funeral director will know when to begin ushering the bereaved family group back to the limousines to transport them to the funeral home. From beginning to end, then, the funeral service is a "front stage" performance carried on by professional undertaking personnel with the assistance of the religious officiants.

The corpse is "back stage" whenever it is not being presented to the family or the public. Except for the times that the body is lying in state, or in the casket during the service, it is unavailable to either the family or the public. Neither family nor public feel at liberty to break in to the

"back stage" area of the funeral establishment and take part in the preparation of the body, or even view it without the permission of the funeral home personnel. The body is thus allowed to be "front stage" at certain prescribed times and in carefully controlled situations. The "back stage" functioning of both undertaking and clerical personnel generally goes unquestioned by the public, and the bereaved.

This discussion has concerned the presentation of the deceased to the community in 1975, chiefly as reflected in the data gained from an analysis of newspaper obituaries and funeral notices. The customary practices in the three-county section of upper East Tennessee have continued to change since the first sample in 1900--though the change has not been rapid. A major part of the change has involved the movement of the behavior connected with the presentation of the deceased from "front stage" to "back stage." More of the tasks of the "presentation teams" are now performed "back stage" by those trained professionally. The general management of death, even in this part of southern Appalachia, has come to be increasingly the task of trained and licensed "funeral personnel." The time that death was a much "simpler" process, taken care of by family and neighbors, has disappeared in East Tennessee by 1975.

CHAPTER VII

TRENDS IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE DECEASED IN JOHNSON CITY AND UPPER EAST TENNESSEE, 1900-1975

Introduction

This chapter will serve to synthesize the data which have come specifically from the analyses of the contents of newspaper obituaries and funeral notices from the four periods. It will not be necessary to explain the methodology which has dealt with newspaper obituary data. No further rationale will be developed to substantiate the validity of this type of data source. It is the intention of this segment of the study to illustrate, particularly in tabular form, the trends that have occurred in this geographical and cultural segment of the southern Appalachians pertaining to the presentation of the deceased to the community.

The introductory sections which described the city itself and the three-county area are sufficient in themselves and will not have to be summarized in this material. The sources of information have been dealt with in the four chapters as they have been used. Chapter II introduced the sources and dealt specifically with the death notices as the chief data source. The specific discussions of both transportation and business and commercial life in Johnson City and the three-county area have served to illustrate the

cultural changes and development of the area. There will be a discussion of the changes in occupation and work history as seen in obituary reports; other than that these topics will not be summarized in this chapter. The information from the City Directory will be used when necessary, but the main concentration will be upon obituary data as they illustrate the changing presentation of the deceased to the community.

One strand of data which illustrated the exposure of the culturally segregated Appalachian region to the other facets of American culture--and foreign culture--was the record of military service reported in the death notices. There were only two specific references to military service in the death notices from the 1900 newspapers. In spite of the fact that 1900 was separated from the end of the Civil War by only 35 years no references to veterans of that war were seen. The two comments on military service reported the deaths of two East Tennesseans in the Philippine Islands; there was an American occupation force "on the ground" as a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898. These two deaths --one a first lieutenant and the other with no rank stipulated--occurred in the Philippines in 1900.

The obituaries from 1925 mentioned that four of the deceased had been involved in the military. Two of them had served during the First World War and two of them had fought in the Civil War. One of them had been a Union Army colonel in the 113th Tennessee Regiment and the other was a private

in the Tenth Tennessee Cavalry.

The death notices from 1950 specified that 21 of the deceased had fought in wars. Five of them were veterans of the Spanish-American War. Eight of them had fought in the First World War and eight in the Second World War.

It was not unexpected--as time passed--that the deaths of an increasing number of veterans would occur. The Second World War sent more Americans into military service than any other of our conflicts. Ninety-two of the obituaries from 1975 reported the death of veterans.

Twenty of these deaths involved those who had been in the First World War. Sixty-two of the men had been in the Second World War. Six of the deceased had served during the Korean Conflict and two of them had been in service during the Vietnam War. Two of the deceased had served in both World War II and the Korean War. Some of the obituaries contained additional comments concerning military service; these included in a few cases details pertaining to military rank, the service involved, the military branch within the service, and various countries in which they had served. Several of the deceased were presented as those who had made a career of the military, and length of service was mentioned in a few cases. The obituaries gave increasing attention to military service in the four years sampled. These military data support the assumption that East Tennesseans were exposed to distant and different cultures, and so were not completely

isolated in the valleys and ravines of upper East Tennessee.

Population

The 70 years between 1900 and 1970 saw the population of the United States grow nearly 270% (see Table VII-1). At the same time the population of Tennessee rose at the smaller rate of 194%, as seen in the same Table.

Unicoi County, the least populous and most rugged topographically, of the three counties, grew 268% in the three-quarters of a century between 1900 and 1975 (see Table VII-2). Carter County was in between Unicoi County and Washington County in both population size and topography. It grew at about the same rate as Unicoi County in the same time span. As seen in Table VII-2, Carter County's population grew 276% in 75 years. Washington County has been the largest county of the three in population, and the least mountainous. It also grew at the fastest rate among the three counties. Table VII-2 displays a growth of 349% in the 75-year period. While Unicoi and Carter counties grew at about the same pace as the nation as a whole, Washington County grew more rapidly than the other two counties, or the nation.

Table VII-3 portrays the growth of Johnson City in a 74-year period. The fastest growth occurred in the era of the First World War; overall the city grew at the high rate of 948% in that 74 years. Thus this city, located in Washington County, grew at a rate approaching four times faster

Table VII-1. National and State Population Trends, 1900-1970

Area	1900	1925*	1950	1970
United States	75,994,575[1]	105,710,620[1]	150,697,361[1]	204,879,000[2]
Tennessee	2,020,616[3]	2,337,885[3]	3,292,000[4]	3,924,000[5]

*1920 data for Tennessee

[1] Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 5.

[2] Historical Statistics, 1975: 9.

[3] Historical Statistics, 1960: 12.

[4] Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 10.

[5] Historical Statistics, 1975: 34.

Table VII-2. County Population Trends in Upper East Tennessee, 1900-1975

County	1900	1920	1950	1975
Carter	16,678[1]	21,488[2]	42,432[3]	46,000[4]
Unicoi	5,851[5]	10,120[6]	15,886[7]	15,700[4]
Washington	23,004[5]	34,552[6]	59,971[7]	80,200[4]

[1]Bureau of the Census, 1901: 520.
[2]Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962.
[3]Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-77.
[4]Secretary, First Tennessee-Virginia Development District, 1979.
[5]Bureau of the Census, 1901: 521.
[6]Bureau of the Census, 1921: 969.
[7]Bureau of the Census, 1952: 42-90.

Table VII-3. Johnson City Population, 1900-1974

	1900	1925	1950	1974
Johnson City	4,200[1]	20,000[2]	32,000[3]	38,800[4]

[1]Johnson City Chronicle, 1930: A-1.
[2]Johnson City City Directory, 1925.
[3]Johnson City City Directory, 1950.
[4]Johnson City City Directory, 1975: V.

than the nation as a whole, and nearly five times faster than the State of Tennessee. Johnson City and Washington County, then, were the most rapidly growing sections of the three-county area.

Ethnic Roots

Population figures for the three counties have shown a consistently small number of nonwhites and foreign-born in the 75-year period under investigation. While the nation as a whole saw its percentage of Negroes rise slowly from 9.4% of the population in 1900 to 11% of the population in 1970, the Negro population of the three-county area has decreased in proportion to the total population. The Census figures for this three-county area for 1970 showed a Negro population of 3,222, or 2.4% of the total (Bureau of the Census, 1973: 44-106, 44-125, 44-126). The Census data for this area in 1920 showed a Negro population of 2,823, or 4% of the total (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962, 969).

The City Directory for 1925 reported a Negro population of 12.8%; this is in contrast to the estimated 5% in 1975 (Jackson, 1979). So like the three-county area, the Negro population of Johnson City actually shrank in the period between 1925 and 1975.

The great immigrant streams of the late eighteen-hundreds and early nineteen-hundreds never reached this part of southern Appalachia. The total foreign-born population of the three-county area in 1900 was reported to be 71

persons (Statistical Abstracts, 1963: 520-521). This had increased to 917 persons by 1920 (Bureau of the Census, 1921: 962, 969). Overwhelmingly, then, the three-county area was made up of native-born white people throughout the period under study.

This ethnic homogeneity was underscored by the paucity of Negro deceased specified in the obituary samples. The 1900 sample contained five Negroes that could be identified out of 72. The death notices from 1925 numbered 192; four of these were identified as Negroes. Only one Negro deceased can be identified out of the 445 obituaries from 1950; fifteen Negroes were found in the 1975 sample made up of 551 obituaries.

Education

The material from the four historical eras established the availability of educational facilities for the area. Schooling was offered from the first grade through high school for most children. Colleges were located in the area. The death notices typically did not present the deceased accompanied by educational notations. Only one of the 72 obituaries in the 1900 sample mentioned educational attainment. Six of the 192 obituaries in the 1925 sample specified schools attended; five of these were on the college or graduate school level. Seven of the 445 death notices in the 1950 sample indicated educational achievement. Of these, three of the

deceased had completed college and two more of them had obtained a graduate degree. There were 21 educational references in the most recent sample. Sixteen of these specified that the deceased had done work in school beyond the secondary level; four of these had graduate degrees.

All this should not be taken to infer that there was not widespread schooling among the populace of upper East Tennessee. The obituaries tended to mention schooling beyond the ordinary and expected. At times, for example, graduate schooling was specified. At other times, professional training was stipulated for those in education, law or medicine. The educational data served to point out, perhaps "special" educational attainment.

Marriage and Family

A longitudinal view will be taken of marriage and divorce rates, children born, and birth and death rates, both nationally and locally. The marriage rate was constant in 1910 and 1925 at 10.3 marriages per thousand population. This rose to 11.1 in 1950 and to 13.7 in 1975. Thus in the 65-year period, the marriage rate per thousand went up about one-third nationally.

According to federal census figures, divorce was little practiced in 1900. Three-tenths of a percent of the population 14 years and older was divorced in the United States in 1900. That rose to 1.5 persons per thousand for

1925. The divorce rate continued to rise; it reached 2.5 per thousand in 1950 and 5.4 per thousand in 1975. So in 75 years the recorded rate of divorce per thousand persons rose about 1800%.

Household and Family Size

During the period that both marriage and divorce rates were rising, the Bureau of the Census reported that the size of the average American family was decreasing. The size of that household in 1900 was 4.23 persons. This dropped to 4.11 in 1930 and 3.52 in 1950. It then rose slightly to 3.58 in 1970. Obituary data did not furnish household size, but the average number of children born per family can be computed. The average number of children born to those who died in 1900 was 2.52. This rose to an almost identical figure of 4.36 for 1925 and 1950. This then dropped to 3.81 for 1975. All these averages reflect the childbearing years of 30 to 50 years previously. With this in mind, then, the data for the number of children born in 1975 can be compared to the average American family size in 1925. The average size of the American household decreased in the first half of the twentieth century. Reflecting this, the average number of children born to residents of upper East Tennessee decreased as reported in the 1975 obituary sample. Table VII-4 displays the number of children born to families in the three-county area as seen in the four obituary samples. An examination of the Table does not reveal a high proportion of very

Table VII-4. Number of Children Born to Families, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Number of Children	1900[1] n	%	1925[2] n	%	1950[3] n	%	1975[3] n	%	Total
1	5	24	18	17	39	14	77	19	139
2	6	29	12	12	39	14	90	22	147
3	6	29	17	17	50	18	69	17	142
4	2	10	15	15	20	10	56	13	93
5	2	10	12	12	34	12	38	9	86
6	0	0	6	6	28	10	19	5	53
7	0	0	11	11	23	8	17	4	51
8	0	0	4	4	16	6	15	4	35
9	0	0	3	3	12	4	15	4	30
10	0	0	1	1	5	2	10	2	16
11	0	0	3	3	1	-1	5	1	9
12	0	0	0	0	1	-1	3	1	4
13	0	0	0	0	1	-1	0	0	1
15	0	0	0	0	1	-1	2	-1	3
21	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	21		103		279		416		810
Missing data:	51	(71%)	89	(47%)	166	(37%)	135	(25%)	
Children ≤18:	13		29		71		23		
Mean:	2.52		4.36		4.37		3.81		
Mode:	2,3		1		3		2		
Median:	3		4		4		3		

[1]Johnson City Comet [2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News
[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

large families. Apparently family size has changed slowly in the 75-year period. Both the average and the median fell in 1975. This generally reflects children who were born to families in the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties.

The obituaries have offered increasingly more complete information over the 75-year period. Whereas 71% of the obituaries from 1900 were silent concerning offspring, only 25% of the 1975 sample mentioned no offspring. These missing data are undoubtedly due to several reasons. Included in the 135 obituaries that mentioned no offspring in 1975 were 23 which reported deceased under 18 years of age. An additional four obituaries reported deaths of persons labelled "Miss." Other components of the missing data are unmarried males and divorced and separated parents whose offspring were not mentioned. Then there is the unknown percentage of cases in which children were born but were not mentioned in the death notices. And finally, there existed an unknown percentage of families reported in the obituaries who were childless.

Another view of East Tennessee families afforded by an examination of the death notices is given by the number of deceased who died before they were 18 years of age. Of the 40 obituaries in the 1900 sample that included age at death, thirteen, or 33%, were less than 18 years of age. Twenty-nine, or 20% of the 1925 sample, died before the age of 18. This situation changed little by 1950. In that case 71, or

18%, did not live to age 18. There was a substantial drop in infant and child deaths observed in the 1975 obituary data. Only 23, or 4%, of this most recent sample died younger than 18. The number of children born has dropped, but at the same time deaths among the young have been greatly reduced. Modern families in East Tennessee had a much better chance of remaining intact, according to obituary evidence.

Marital Status

Table VII-5 displays the changing marital status of the deceased over the period under investigation. The obituaries from the 1900 sample specified marital status in only 23% of the cases. Twenty-two percent of the deceased in that year were reported to have living spouses. Seven of the deceased were labelled "Miss" and another 13 of the obituaries involved children under 18 years of age. These two categories accounted for 20 of the 55 obituaries in which spouses were unreported. In a sense then, instead of having to contend with 76% of the cases in which no information was available, the consideration of the unmarried females and the children reduced the unknown segment to 49%. As the Table illustrates, the closer the data samples are to the contemporary era, the more the percentage of missing information is reduced.

In the 1925 sample, 54% of the obituaries specified the marital status of the deceased persons. When the children under 18 and the deceased labelled "Miss"

Table VII-5. Marital Status of the Deceased, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Marital Status	1900[1]		1925[2]		1950[3]		1975[3]	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spouse Living	16	22	83	43	214	48	274	50
Spouse Deceased	1	1	21	11	14	3	117	21
Spouse Not Mentioned	55	76	88	46	217	49	160	29
Totals	72		192		445		551	
Children ≤18:	13		29		71		23	
"Miss":	7		2		5		4	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

were subtracted, thirty percent remained from which no information was forthcoming about marital status. The two data samples closest to the present contained more information than the former.

The 1950 sample contained information about marital status in 51% of the cases. This percentage climbed to 71% for the 1975 death notices. When the children under 18 and the unmarried females are removed from the portion which did not mention spouses, then the number of nonreporting obituaries dropped to 32% for 1950. The same procedure applied to the 1975 sample reduced the "unexplained" residue to 24%. Thus it is seen that the contemporary sample offered the most information about the marital status of the deceased. The Table also reveals the tendency for the more recent death notices to mention the spouses who preceded the deceased in death. The percentage of the deceased who left widows or widowers differed little since 1925.

This section has taken a longitudinal approach to several topics within the general theme of marriage and family in Johnson City and its contiguous three-county area. It has been noted that both marriage and divorce rates have risen consistently since 1900. The number of children born, as reported in the newspaper obituaries, has consistently dropped since 1900. Ever since 1900 death notices have offered more information about the marital status of the deceased. Since the 1925 sample the percentage of living spouses reported by

the obituaries has changed little. Obversely, the percentage of obituaries that have made no mention of spouse has decreased steadily since 1900.

Business and Commercial Life

The city directories and the newspapers reflected the continued growth and expansion of business and commercial life in Johnson City and area. This section will deal with a view of the growth of business and commercial life over the 75-year period. The notations specifying the occupations and work histories of the deceased afford information perhaps unavailable in this form from any other sources. It has been convenient to divide the occupational notations into seven categories to be found in Table VII-6. Some of the categorizing of the various occupations noted may have been subjective, but it is felt that the subjectivity has been consistent. That should mean that "worker" in 1900 has a quite similar meaning to "worker" in the 1975 sample. A perusal of the Table will show that occupational notations have been of little concern until recent years.

The 1975 sample offered occupational data in 50% of its cases. This is in great contrast to the 1900 obituary sample; only 18% of those obituaries offered any occupational information. Generally speaking, railroading and clerking as occupations seemed to be decreasing in recent times. The category "worker" increased strongly since 1925. In summary,

Table VII-6. Occupational Data, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Occupational Categories	1900[1] n	%	1925[2] n	%	1950[3] n	%	1975[3] n	%
Farming	1	8	9	23	7	8	34	12
Workers	6	46	4	10	24	26	137	50
Railroading	2	15	7	18	14	15	14	5
Clerks	1	8	6	15	8	9	11	4
White-Collar	1	8	4	10	15	16	46	17
Professional and Executive								
small firms	2	15	5	13	18	20	27	10
large firms	0	0	4	10	6	7	5	2
Totals	13		39		92		274	
Missing data:	59	(82%)	153	(80%)	353	(79%)	277	(50%)
Deceased females specified:	0		2		10		39	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

the city and its surrounding area contained a wide spectrum of employment opportunities. None of the samples reported a high percentage of females at work; the occupational subsample was skewed toward the deceased males.

Churches and Ministers

One measure of religiosity is percentage of church membership or formal affiliation. This factor can offer one view of the degree of religious interest or commitment. On the national level this 75-year period saw an increase of nearly 50% in affiliation with congregations and denominations. About 46% of the population claimed formal religious connections in 1900. This held constant, in that 47% of the nation was affiliated with religious groups in 1925. The percentage of affiliation climbed to 58 in 1950 and 64 by 1970. As far as this measurement was concerned, then, the interest in a formal affiliation with religious sects and denominations had risen sharply in a 70-year period. It should be expected, then, that the three-county area of upper East Tennessee should also exhibit a rise in religious affiliation. Church membership figures are not available for the churches of the city and area, but parallel measurements can be used. The number of organized congregations in the city rose from 12 in 1900 to 89 in 1975, according to the City Directory and church historical documents.

Churches Mentioned

Another way of measuring the growth of local interest in religious matters is by noting the frequency that churches are mentioned in connection with the deceased. In the presentation of the deceased churches are specified for funeral service locations; they are also mentioned in the framework of congregational affiliation or denominational preference. The 1900 obituary sample mentioned five separate congregations in Johnson City. Eleven city churches were specified in the 1925 sample. This rose to 18 different churches in Johnson City mentioned in the 1950 sample. The most recent sample for the year 1975 carried the names of 45 different city churches in connection with the deceased.

When the entire area is examined, the growth in the number of congregations appearing in the death notices was much greater. Only five congregations were mentioned in the entire 1900 sample. Twenty-four churches were named in the sample from 1925. This grew to 159 churches in 1950 and 235 congregations in 1975. This increase in the specification of churches parallels the national growth in church affiliation.

Officiants

Another indication of the increase in religious interest is demonstrated in Table VII-7. This Table displays the proportions of obituaries which mentioned officiants and church connections. A clear trend can be discerned in the manner in which the deceased were presented in obituaries.

Table VII-7. Church Connections and Officiants, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Churches and Officiants Specified	1900[1]		1925[2]		1950[3]		1975[3]	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Church Connections and Officiants Specified	6	8	55	29	105	24	416	75
Officiants Specified	6	8	77	40	221	50	96	17
Church Connections Specified	2	3	6	3	14	3	20	4
Neither Mentioned	58	81	54	28	105	24	19	3
Totals	72		192		445		551	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

The oldest obituary sample typically mentioned neither officiants nor church connections. The 1925 sample named an officiant in 40% of the cases. This practice increased to 50% in the 1950 sample. The typical procedure in 1975 was the specification of both church connection and clerical officiant. Three-fourths of all the death notices in that sample carried both church connections and officiants. Longitudinally, then, there is consistent evidence of more interest in presenting the deceased in a religious context. This does not argue for the increased religiosity of either the deceased or the presenters, though there is probably some concomitance. The data did contain much more information about the religious preferences of the deceased and the kin group in the more recent obituary samples. The percentages of death notices that carried neither officiant nor church connection fell from 81% in 1900 to 3% in 1975.

As discussed above, the more recent obituary samples in a majority of cases mentioned officiating clergy. Table VII-8 portrays not only the increasing specification of officiating clergy, over time, but the increase in multiple officiants. It can be seen that in the two most recent samples 45% of the funerals were conducted by more than one officiant. Some of these multiple clergy teams are made up of ministers from the same congregational staff. It was more likely, however, for these teams to be made up of clergy from different congregations, and in many cases, different

Table VII-8. Number of Funeral Officiants, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Number of Officiants	1900[1] n	%	1925[2] n	%	1950[3] n	%	1975[3] n	%
1	12	100	100	76	179	55	284	55
2	0	0	27	21	117	36	198	39
3	0	0	4	3	27	8	28	5
4	0	0	0	0	1	-1	4	1
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	-1
Totals	12		131		324		515	
Missing data:	60	(83%)	61	(32%)	121	(27%)	36	(7%)

[1]Johnson City Comet
[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News
[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

denominations. Many of these officiating ministers were well-known in the communities and were in demand for this particularly crucial service of memorializing the dead.

Church Preference and Affiliation

Denominational preference or specific congregational affiliation is portrayed in Table VII-9. The connection of a deceased person with a church or congregation was specified very rarely in the oldest obituary sample. Only 11% of the death notices mentioned church preference or denominational affiliation. This connection of deceased with religious group increased in frequency to 31% in the 1925 sample. The frequency of church specification dropped slightly to 27% of the obituaries in the 1950 sample; but then the connection of the deceased to a church rose sharply to 79% in the 1975

Table VII-9. Congregational Affiliation or Denominational Preference, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Congregation or Denomination	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
Baptist	0	0	13	22	47	39	158	36
Specific congregations	0		6		42		139	
"Baptist"	0		7		5		19	
Free Will Baptist	0	0	1	2	8	7	66	15
Specific congregations	0		1		6		59	
"Free Will Baptist"	0		0		2		7	
Methodist	4	50	16	27	17	14	65	15
Specific congregations	4		10		13		56	
"Methodist"	0		6		4		9	
Christian Church	2	25	13	22	23	19	58	13
Specific congregations	2		6		20		53	
"Christian Church"	0		7		3		5	
Presbyterian	1	13	10	17	14	12	33	8
Specific congregations	1		7		13		30	
"Presbyterian"	0		3		1		3	
Other Churches	1	13	6	10	10	8	57	13
Totals	8		59		119		437	
Missing data:	63	(89%)	133	(69%)	326	(73%)	114	(21%)

[1]Johnson City Comet
[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News
[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

set. Table VII-9 portrays the ascendancy of Baptist groups in this three-county region since the Second World War. The category "Other Churches" contains groups as disparate as Christian Science, Seventh-Day Adventist, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic. The fact that the deaths of only two Roman Catholics were reported points out the "Protestantness" of this section of southern Appalachia.

The paucity of affiliational data in the 1900 sample can be explained, at least in part, by the general brevity of the death notices. This explanation cannot be used for the more recent samples from 1925 and 1950. More than two-thirds of those failed to specify either congregational affiliation or denominational preference. This seems to indicate the perception on the part of the obituary writer, or information-gatherer, that other obituary components were of more significance or interest than this religious notation.

Church Funerals

Table VII-10 exhibits the locations of funeral services over time when the service was in a church building or chapel. The largest number of funeral services were conducted in church buildings in the 1950 sample. Fifty-five percent of all funeral services reported took place in church buildings that year. The 1975 obituary sample saw the percentage of funerals in church buildings decrease to 31%. Since 1950 funerals were conducted in Baptist buildings more often than in any other churches.

Table VII-10. Funeral Services Located in Churches, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Churches	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
Baptist	0	0	11	22	86	35	72	43
Free Will Baptist	0	0	1	2	16	7	35	21
Christian Church	0	0	8	16	37	15	15	9
Methodist	0	0	16	33	48	20	13	8
Presbyterian	1	100	1	2	15	6	10	6
Veterans Administration Chapel	0	0	2	4	5	2	5	3
Other Churches	0	0	10	20	39	16	19	11
Totals	1		49		246		169	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

This discussion has concerned the religious characteristics of Johnson City and its surrounding area in the four time periods under study. Some of the information has come from city directories and telephone books, but most has come from the four obituary samples. The rise in church affiliation nationally has been reflected in the rise in obituary notations that referred to church connections or denominational preferences. A growth in the number of congregations serving the area was seen, as well as the rise in the number of congregations appearing in the obituaries. The more recent the obituary sample, the more likelihood that clergy would be named as officiants at the funerals. As the presentation of the deceased to the community has been traced through the four samples, the consistent rise in religious notations has inferred the increased interest in religious matters in East Tennessee and the rising interest in supplying data concerning the religious bonds and connections of the deceased.

Public Health

Public health in Johnson City and its environs will be analyzed longitudinally by an examination of the causes of death supplied by the four samples. These will be examined in more detail as the types of accidental death will be compared. A closer look will be taken also at the categories under the rubric "death from illness and disease." The

circumstances of the illnesses will then be examined in relation to the place where the death occurred. Deaths by age cohort will be presented and examined for trends. Finally, there will follow a comparison of the medical care available to citizens of Johnson City and its surrounding area at the four times under investigation.

Causes of Death

Table VII-11 displays the causes of death furnished by the four obituary samples. Interestingly enough, the sample with the largest percentage of missing data was the one from 1950 with only 50% of the data. The oldest obituary sample had the least amount of data missing. By far the largest number of deaths were attributed to illness or disease, whatever the time period. An examination of the Table reveals, however, that illness given as the cause continued to increase over the 75-year period so that of all the deaths in 1975, 96% of them were explained by "illness or disease." Accidental death which constituted as much as 17% of the cases in 1925 had diminished to just 3% by 1975. Reported suicides were extremely rare, whatever the year. They were typically attributed to gunshot wounds. Only one death in each of the first two samples was attributed to homicide or war. Overwhelmingly, then, the causes presented for the deceased in all the time periods were illness or disease. Accidental death was on the decline and suicides were seldom reported.

Table VII-11. Causes of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Causes of Death	1900[1]		1925[2]		1950[3]		1975[3]	
	n		n	%	n	%	n	%
Illness	43	80	113	80	200	89	343	96
Accident	7	13	24	17	23	10	10	3
Suicide	3	6	4	3	1	-1	4	1
Homicide or War	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	54		142		224		357	
Missing data:	18	(25%)	50	(26%)	221	(50%)	194	(35%)

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

In previous chapters the causes of death as reported in upper East Tennessee death notices were contrasted to the causes furnished by the State Center for Health Statistics in Nashville. These figures were only available for 1950 and 1975 so they have not been portrayed in a composite Table in this section. As noted in the previous discussions of the separate samples, the vital statistics from the State have differed little from the data obtained from the obituary samples.

An examination of the trends seen in reported accidental deaths will be revealing. Table VII-12 shows accidental death for the four sampled years in three general categories: deaths caused by railroad accidents, deaths caused by vehicular accidents (including pedestrian deaths), and other kinds of accidental deaths. The changes in the culture of East Tennessee are seen in this Table. Whereas railroad accidents accounted for part of the deaths in 1900 and 1925, none were reported for the subsequent years. On the other hand, the rise in the popularity of the automobile can be traced. Beginning with the 1925 sample, vehicular accidents were predominant. "Other accidents" over time became a diminishing factor in accidental deaths. Our society may have become more safety-conscious, and less accident prone, on the one hand. On the other hand, reporting of death may have obscured some of the accidents in the more recent samples. Before the use of emergency vehicles and hospital emergency

Table VII-12. Accidental Deaths, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Accidental Deaths	1900[1]		1925[2]		1950[3]		1975[3]	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Railroad	3	43	5	25	2	9	0	0
Vehicular	0	0	20	42	12	52	8	80
Other Causes	4	57	8	33	9	39	2	20
Totals	7		34		23		10	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

rooms, accident victims might have been declared dead at the site of the accident. Now, many of those same accident victims are reported to have died at or on the way to the hospital.

The accidental deaths included industrial accidents, falls, drownings, exposure, and fire. The two accidental deaths in the 1975 sample were caused by house fires.

Table VII-13 displays the various data involved in the general category "deaths from illness." Several "historic" trends can be observed in this Table. First, there is the increased use of euphemistic, obscurantist terminology over time. Whereas only 33% of the deaths were attributed to "long or brief illness" in the 1900 sample, these general illness categories accounted for 89% of the deaths in the 1975 sample. These terms became stereotypes: long, extended, lingering, brief, sudden, unexpected. In the more recent obituary samples it was no longer possible to guess at the illness or disease that caused the death. The obituary writers in 1900 were much more blunt and to the point. Sixty-seven percent of the death notices from 1900 specified the illness or disease. Only 11% did so in 1975.

Another discernable trend was the rather consistent percentage of deaths attributed to cardio-vascular problems, over time. Between 11% and 14% of the specified reasons in the four samples of death notices were cardio-vascular in nature. In the most recent sample, out of the 343 cases

Table VII-13. Deaths from Illness, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Illness	1900[1]		1925[2]		1950[3]		1975[3]	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Long illness	8	19	45	39	88	44	196	57
Brief illness	6	14	24	21	67	34	98	29
Sudden illness	0	0	4	4	15	8	10	3
Cardio-vascular diseases	6	14	12	11	22	11	38	11
Other specific illnesses	23	53	28	25	8	4	1	-1
Totals	43		113		200		343	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

which specified causes, thirty-eight were cardio-vascular, one stated "complications," and the remainder were "euphemistic."

The third trend which can be seen in this display was the willingness of the older obituary writers to specify the cause of illness as they knew it. In 1900 deaths were attributed to consumption, typhoid, alcoholism, "general breakdown" and other terms. This specification of illnesses diminished in the subsequent samples. Yet in 1925 36% of the causes of death were specified illnesses and diseases. This decreased to 15% in 1950 and 11% in 1975. So there is the obvious attempt, as obituaries are seen in more recent times, to "smooth off the rough edges" and make the presentation via the death notice "nice" and "in good taste" as more pointed language is avoided. With the increasing trend toward extended hospitalization and the use of Herculean life-support measures, it will become more possible to sustain life until the final cause of death can be attributed to "heart failure."

Cause and Location of Death

When the obituary report specified the cause of death and the place where the death occurred, then an analysis was possible of the relationship between the length of the illness and the place where the death occurred. This correlation, over time, is displayed in Table VII-14. In 1900 the typical death was attributed to a specific illness or

Table VII-14. Death from Illness, by Place of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Cause of Death, by Location	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
"Long Illness"								
Home	3	100	34	85	65	76	26	14
Institution	0	0	5	13	18	21	162	86
Geographic Location	0	0	1	3	2	2	1	1
"Brief Illness"								
Home	3	75	2	67	23	38	8	8
Institution	0	0	1	33	37	62	89	91
Geographic Location	1	25	0	0	0	0	1	1
"Sudden Illness"								
Home	0	0	2	100	12	80	6	60
Institution	0	0	0	0	2	13	4	40
Geographic Location	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0
"Specific Illness/Disease"								
Home	15	79	20	71	10	45	19	51
Institution	0	0	6	21	6	27	12	32
Geographic Location	4	21	2	7	6	27	6	16
Totals	26		73		182		334	

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News [3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

disease, and the deceased died at home. This had already changed by 1925, in that the typical death occurred at home, but was attributed to "long illness." This was true also of the 1950 sample where the typical deceased had had a lingering illness and had died at home. The cultural shift became apparent in the 1975 obituaries. In that sample the typical death was attributed to a long illness, and the death occurred not at home but in a hospital. When type of illness is used as the independent variable, it can be observed that those dying of a long illness died at home, with the exception of the most recent sample. Those dying of a "brief illness" died at home in 1900 and 1925; since then they died in a hospital. Those whose deaths were attributed to "sudden illness" died typically in their homes. And those whose deaths were attributed to specified illnesses or diseases typically died at home, whatever the time period. The trend seen here is the tendency to attribute death to "long illness" and for those who died of long or brief illnesses to have died in institutions rather than in their homes.

Death by Age Cohort

A measure of change in public health and the quality of medical care is the percentage of deaths that occur to children and infants younger than five. Table VII-15 portrays deaths by age cohort, over time. The trend line is not straight, but the overall trend is to fewer infant and child deaths reported by the more recent obituary samples.

Table VII-15. Deaths by Age Cohort, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Age Cohort	1900[1] n	%	1925[2] n	%	1950[3] n	%	1975[3] n	%
-1	6	15	6	4	52	13	14	3
1-4	3	8	10	7	12	3	3	1
5-14	1	3	9	6	4	1	5	1
15-24	5	13	16	11	9	2	5	1
25-34	2	5	12	8	19	5	2	-1
35-44	3	8	14	10	19	5	21	4
45-54	4	10	6	4	31	8	51	10
55-64	3	8	19	13	53	13	88	17
65-74	7	18	19	13	85	22	138	26
75-84	5	13	24	17	81	21	135	26
85+	1	3	7	5	28	7	67	13
Totals	40		142		393		529	
Missing data:	32	(44%)	50	(26%)	52	(12%)	22	(4%)

[1]Johnson City *Comet*

[2]Johnson City *Chronicle* and *Staff-News*

[3]Johnson City *Press-Chronicle*

Twenty-three percent of the deaths in 1900 were of children younger than five. This diminished to the point that only 4% of the deaths in the 1975 sample involved children this young. The Vital Statistics for Tennessee in 1975 showed that less than 2% of the deaths in the three-county area involved young children in the same age grouping. So the obituary data portray a larger percentage of young deaths than the state statistics, though the young deaths have decreased over time in the obituary data.

A perusal of the Table shows that the percentage of deaths involving children in elementary and junior high school has consistently decreased over time. The 1900 sample mentioned that 3% of the deaths were in the age cohort 5-14. That had decreased to just 1% by 1975. Has there been an increase in the average life span over the 75 years? When age 65 is used as typical retirement age, then it is seen that with successive obituary sets a higher proportion lived past 64. In the 1900 sample 34% of the deaths occurred after age 64. This changed little in the 1925 sample, where 35% of the deaths occurred after 64. The 1950 sample showed that 50% of the deaths came after age 64, and the 1975 sample contained 65% of the deaths in that "retirement" cohort. These figures point to a greatly increased longevity in the upper East Tennessee population when 1975 is compared with 1900. The number surviving past 64 almost doubled in the 75 years.

An interesting cohort to examine is that between ages

15 and 64. The youngest segment of this cohort has lived through the time when death would have been caused by infant and childhood diseases. The upper end of this cohort is the early sixties when "old age" begins and the end of the work-life is expected. The obituary sample from 1900 contained 44% of the deaths in this cluster. The 1925 sample had an almost identical 46% of the deaths here. There was a change in death percentages between 1925 and 1950, since the latter sample reported that exactly one-third of the deceased died in that cohort. This changed little to 32% of the 1975 sample. This shift to fewer deaths during the time span when families were raised and occupations were pursued could result in fewer orphaned children, fewer widows during the child-rearing years and fewer careers cut short. And that apparently has been the experience of our society during that era.

Another factor illustrated in this Table is the much greater frequency that age at death was reported. The 1900 sample lacked ages in 44% of the cases. This lacuna diminished over time, so that the 1975 sample had only 4% of the ages unreported. This suggests not only obituaries with more detail because of larger size, but an increased interest in specifying the age of the deceased as he is being presented to the community.

Johnson City was presented as a "medical center" by the City Directory for 1975. The Directory specified a total

of 159 doctors and dentists, in contrast to the six doctors who advertised in the Johnson City Comet of 1900. The Directory listed 921 hospital beds for 1975, whereas there were no hospitals in Johnson City in 1900. Obviously, both medical facilities and personnel have developed in the city and surrounding three-county area in a way which parallels the nation as a whole.

Public health in Johnson City and surroundings has been examined longitudinally by an analysis of the causes of death. Whatever the time period, the major cause of death has been reported as illness or disease. Two of these general categories--illness and accident--were examined in more detail. The trend toward lengthy illness as the major cause presented in the obituaries was outlined. Also the trend over time to fewer accidental deaths was noted.

A Table was presented which correlated cause of death with place of death. The trend identified here was for those dying of "illnesses" to die in institutions rather than at home. Those whose deaths were attributed to "sudden illness" or a specific disease typically died at home. In an examination which compared age cohorts, fewer young deaths were seen, over time, and longer life spans became more common. It was also noted that the more recent obituary samples reported age at death with much more frequency. Finally, the growth in medical personnel and hospitals was traced in Johnson City over the 75-year period.

From Death to Interment in the Community

The presentation of the deceased to the community will be analyzed for patterns and trends which may have occurred during the 75 years, 1900-1975. This longitudinal analysis will look at six kinds of information involved in the presentation. First, the location of deaths at the four points in time will be discussed. Then, the change from a personal to professional handling of the corpse will be discussed. Thirdly, the place where the body lay in state will be located over the 75-year period. Next, the changes in the funeral service location will be traced. Fifthly, the location of interment will be compared among the four samples. Lastly, the size of the obituaries will be examined for changes over time.

The obituaries in the Johnson City papers typically specified the places where death occurred. Table VII-16 shows that the majority of obituaries in all four samples contained that information. As can be expected, however, the more recent the obituary sample, the more information one can expect to find. Sixty-one percent of the oldest obituary sample specified the place of death. The 1975 sample offered this information in 96% of the cases. A clear trend is observable in this Table which illustrates changing social customs, at least in upper East Tennessee. Nearly two-thirds of the specified death locations in the oldest sample were private homes. Nearly as many died in the homes of others as

Table VII-16. Place of Death, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Place of Death	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
Home	28	64	97	73	202	54	121	23
own	15		79		165		108	
other's	13		18		37		13	
Geographical Location	16	36	13	10	27	7	18	3
in-state	11		8		14		8	
out-of-state	5		5		13		10	
Institution	0	0	23	17	146	39	390	74
hospital	0		19		125		305	
nursing home	0		0		2		32	
V. A. Center	0		4		19		53	
Totals	44		133		375		529	
Missing data:	28	(39%)	59	(31%)	71	(16%)	22	(4%)

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

in their own. No deceased from this 1900 sample died in institutions. The high percentage of deaths in homes continued through 1950. Seventy-three percent of the deaths in 1925 occurred in homes. As late as 1950 more than half the deaths occurred in homes. Only in 1975 can a shift in custom be seen. Less than 25% of the deaths occurred in homes and nearly three-quarters of them happened in institutions. This move to institutionalized death occurred sometime after 1950, according to the obituary evidence.

More than a third of the 1900 death notices identified the place of death by a geographical comment. This identification may have occurred because it was the best information available, while it may have been taken for granted that death took place in homes as a matter of course. Either more information was available in more recent times, or more care was taken to identify the place of death; only 3% of the 1975 sample placed the death by geographical notation. The 1975 sample was the only one in which out-of-state locations outnumbered in-state.

Preparation

After death the corpse had to be prepared for "viewing," the funeral service, and burial. The professionalization of the preparations had begun by 1925 and grew in practice in the following years. None of the obituaries from the 1900 sample specified that an undertaker had been involved in the preparation of the body (see Table VII-17). Less than

Table VII-17. Funeral Establishments, by County, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1925-1975

Number of Funeral Homes by County and Year	1925[1] n	1925[1] %	1950[2] n	1950[2] %	1975[2] n	1975[2] %	Totals
Washington County							
1925: 3	3	60					
1950: 6			199	56			
1975: 8					288	52	490
Carter County							
1925: 1	2	40					
1950: 2			121	34			
1975: 3					217	39	340
Unicoi County							
1950: 1			28	8			
1975: 2					45	9	73
Sullivan County							
1950: 1			1	-1			
1975: 1					1	-1	2
"Funeral Home"							
1950: 1			2	1			2
Total Cases	5		351		551		907

[1]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News [2]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

3% of the obituaries in the 1925 sample stated that a funeral home or undertaker was involved in the preparation of the remains. Three of those funeral establishments were located in Washington County and two of them were in Carter County. A cultural change occurred in upper East Tennessee between the 1925 and 1950 obituary samples. The 1950 sample showed that 79% of the death notices specified a funeral establishment. The cultural shift was completed by 1975, as that sample showed that 100% of the deaths reported mentioned the services of a funeral establishment. The obituary data, then, portrays a complete cultural turnabout in East Tennessee customs. No funeral establishments or undertakers were listed in 1900; the 1975 sample specified funeral homes in all cases.

Lying in State

It is a general custom in American society for a corpse to lie in state for a period of time before the interment. As Table VII-18 indicates, the old customs were still in effect; the obituary data indicate that the majority of bodies lay in state in homes as recently as 1950. It was some time after 1950 that the custom changed along with the general utilization of the funeral establishment. The 1975 sample showed that 92% of the bodies lay in state in the funeral parlor. Typically the body was available for "viewing" by the family, friends and interested public during the hours designated by the funeral home (with family consultation). The funeral notice generally mentioned that the family

Table VII-18. Location of the Deceased Prior to the Funeral Service, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1925-1975

Location of Lying-in-State	1925[1] n	1925[1] %	1950[2] n	1950[2] %	1975[2] n	1975[2] %
Home	5	83	144	67	20	7
Funeral Home	1	17	61	28	255	92
Church	0	0	11	5	1	-1
Totals	6		216		276	
Missing data:	186	(97%)	229	(51%)	275	(50%)

[1]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[2]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

would be in attendance at the funeral home the night before the day of interment. In this way, the community could "pay its respects" by visiting the funeral home the night before the funeral. At the funeral home they could comfort the family, view the remains, and sign the register (for family memories). Typically, the public "views" the body but does not attend the service.

The missing data for the two earliest samples might be explained by the assumption that everyone in the community would already "know" that the lying-in-state would take place in the home. The transition to the use of funeral homes had begun by 1950 and nearly been completed by 1975. More precise directions were then required in case the mourners might assume that all bodies would be in the home in 1950 and that

all bodies would lie in state in funeral parlors in 1975.

The Memorial Service

Along with the shift in location of the death, the preparation of the body for the interment, and the place where it would lie in state, it would not be unexpected to find a shift in the location of the funeral service. Table VII-19 portrays that changing custom. This Table illustrates that there have been two shifts in funeral service location in the 75 years under study. The first two death notice samples indicated that the service was conducted in private homes in 94% of the cases in 1900 and 63% in 1925. Funerals conducted in homes decreased to 15% in the 1950 sample. That sample showed the majority of funerals occurring in church buildings.

The most recent sample made visible a further shift, to the funeral chapel. There was nearly as high a proportion of funerals in funeral homes in 1975 as there was in churches in 1950. The growing importance of the funeral establishment can be seen in this Table. Over 90% of all funerals in 1975 were held either in church buildings or funeral chapels. The "Other" categories in 1950 and 1975 included a funeral in a "school house," five in "cemeteries," ten in Veterans Administration chapels, two at the "Veterans Administration," one in a mausoleum chapel, and one located in Hazard, Kentucky. The fact that "missing data" accounted for only 3% of the 1975 sample indicated that the location of the service was an important segment of the presentation process in recent

Table VII-19. Place of Funeral, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Place of Funeral	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
Own Home	14	88	79	52	41	11	2	-1
Other's Home	1	6	17	11	16	4	0	0
Church	1	6	49	32	246	63	169	32
Funeral Home	0	0	5	3	51	13	314	59
Graveside	0	0	2	1	28	7	39	7
Other	0	0	0	0	9	2	11	2
Totals	16		152		391		535	
Missing data:	56	(78%)	40	(21%)	54	(12%)	16	(3%)

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

times. It is possible that the large amount of missing data in the oldest sample pointed to the prevailing custom of conducting services in the home of the deceased, or in a nearby home. If that were a "given" custom, then the brief death notice at the turn of the century would not have to mention it. As soon as a substantial number of services began to be conducted outside the home, then the funeral notice had to carry the information, as seen in the 1925 sample.

The trends that have been seen in these longitudinal Tables have been the moving of the presentation of the deceased out of the exclusive province of the family into the funeral parlor and the church building. These moves have occurred in the presentation of the body for "viewing," in the changing locations of the preparation of the body and the public memorial services. It can then be anticipated that with the increased use of public buildings and impersonal agencies the importance of the clergy will increase. This is illustrated by the fact that whereas only 16% of the funerals reported in the 1900 sample mentioned officiating clergy, ninety-two percent of the obituaries in the 1975 sample specified clergy as officiants. See the discussion of officiants in the section entitled "Churches and Ministers."

Interment

The same cultural processes that moved the body out of the home for preparation, lying in state, and memorializing, also changed the situs of interment. Table VII-20

Table VII-20. Place of Burial, from Obituaries in Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

Place of Burial	1900[1] n	1900[1] %	1925[2] n	1925[2] %	1950[3] n	1950[3] %	1975[3] n	1975[3] %
Family Cemetery	12	30	49	33	116	32	105	20
"family"	12		21		11		2	
"named"	0		28		105		103	
Community or Proprietary Cemetery	12	30	61	41	163	44	337	64
Church Cemetery	0	0	27	18	76	21	51	10
National Cemetery	0	0	5	3	6	2	24	5
Geographic Locations	16	40	5	3	7	2	7	1
Totals	40		147		368		523	
Missing data:	32	(44%)	45	(23%)	77	(17%)	28	(5%)

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

exhibits the changes that have taken place in the 75-year period under discussion. The use of family burying grounds held constant from 1900 to 1950, according to the obituary data. Close to one-third of all burials in the three-county area were in family plots. This percentage only decreased in the most recent sample, in which it fell to one-fifth. The use of community and proprietary cemeteries increased consistently over time, moving from less than one-third to nearly two-thirds. Many of these cemeteries in the two most recent samples were the "memorial gardens" which were originated in this area in the nineteen-twenties. The use of church cemeteries reached its peak in the 1950 sample.

The number of burial sites located geographically has decreased. Four of the locations cited in the 1900 sample were out-of-state; the remainder were in-state. Two of the locations were out-of-state in the 1925 sample. Four of the seven locations were out-of-state in the 1950 sample, and the three locations in 1975 were all out-of-state. The other four locations were mausoleum burials.

There was an increasing tendency to report burial locations over time. Whereas 44% of the oldest obituary sample did not report location, that omission fell to 5% in the 1975 sample. Thus the trend away from the personal to the professional is amply illustrated in this analysis of place of burial in Table VII-20.

Sex Differences

The typical obituary length in words, over time, can be seen portrayed in Table VII-21. This Table reveals several items of interest. First of all, there was a general increase in obituary length from 1900 to 1975. The typical obituary in the 1900 newspaper sample was less than 50 words in length. The typical obituary in the most recent sample ran between 201 and 300 words. These statistics include, of course, the combined word count of both obituary and funeral notice. The size of the daily newspaper in Johnson City has increased little since the nineteen-twenties; the size of the death notice has increased since 1925, with the most recent obituary sample containing the longest obituaries. The more recent newspapers have given more extensive obituaries and the more recent death notices have included more biographical and funerary details in the presentation of the deceased.

An examination of Table VII-21 permits the conclusion that deceased males received slightly longer obituaries than deceased females. An explanation of this must involve the differential importance assigned to males in upper East Tennessee society as well as the attention given to the work histories of males. It can be seen, however, that prominent females were given extended death notices in all four samples. An overall summary of the category "301 words and more" shows that there were 19 females in that category, out of a total of 65.

Table VII-21. Number of Words, by Sex, in Obituaries from Johnson City Newspapers, 1900-1975

	1900[1]				1925[2]				1950[3]				1975[3]				
Word Count	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Totals n	Totals %
-51	19	48	17	57	13	12	5	6	1	-1	8	4	2	1	0	0	65	5
51-100	9	23	6	20	30	27	30	38	95	37	74	40	11	3	6	3	261	21
101-200	9	23	4	13	38	34	28	35	133	52	93	50	129	39	114	51	548	44
201-300	2	5	0	0	18	16	11	14	17	7	9	5	167	51	93	42	317	25
301+	1	3	3	10	14	12	5	6	12	5	1	1	19	6	10	4	65	5
Totals	40		30		113		79		258		185		328		223		1256	
Missing data:	2				0				2				0					

[1]Johnson City Comet

[2]Johnson City Chronicle and Staff-News

[3]Johnson City Press-Chronicle

The presentation of the deceased to the community by means of obituaries and funeral notices was analyzed for patterns and trends. This analysis of death notice samples from 1900 to 1975 took into account six kinds of information involved in the presentation. The first trend that was observed was the change in place of death. The home was the place of death from 1900 through 1950. Only the 1975 sample indicated that the typical place of death in upper East Tennessee had changed to the hospital.

The next trend was the changing responsibility for the care of and preparation of the corpse. This preparation was done by "amateurs" in 1900, for the sample of obituaries from that year made no reference to funeral homes or undertakers. The shift to the professionals did not occur until the 1950 sample. And the 1975 sample showed that 100% of the deceased were prepared for "viewing" and interment by funeral home personnel.

The third change in customary practice had to do with the location for the viewing of the body by kin and community. No comments appeared in the 1900 sample concerning the location of the deceased prior to the funeral. It must be assumed from this silence that the body was "laid out" in the home. The home was still the place for the lying-in-state in 1925 and 1950. It was not until the 1975 sample that the change was detected; the great majority of death notices from that year referred to the lying-in-state, noting that the body

could be viewed at the funeral home at the prescribed time.

The fourth change in custom that was observed had to do with the location of the funeral service. The majority of funerals were conducted in the home as seen in both the 1900 and 1925 funeral notices. The typical funeral was conducted in a church building in 1950, according to the evidence from the death notices from that year. The location of the funeral changed again in the 1975 obituaries. That sample presented the majority of funeral services in funeral home chapels. So in this 75-year period, the location of the funeral services which was in the home to begin with, was next seen mostly in churches, and then in funeral chapels.

The fifth change that has been observed in funeral customs in upper East Tennessee in the twentieth century has been the change in the place of burial. There has been a gradual shift in burial sites from family cemeteries to community and proprietary cemeteries. The 1975 sample, then, showed that nearly 80% of the burials took place in cemeteries other than those of the family.

The sixth and last change that has been observed in the manner of presentation of the dead has been the gradual increase in the size of the printed presentation. In each sample subsequent to 1900 the typical obituary has grown in total number of words. This change in the obituaries has allowed a more complete "sketch" of the deceased. The obituaries have come to contain both more biographical data and

funerary information. A final comment is in order concerning this last trend. The obituaries for males have consistently been more detailed than those for females.

The Death Notice and Presentational Terminology

Erving Goffman's suggestive language in his The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life has furnished several helpful concepts in framing the death notice data. In this longitudinal study it has been possible to observe changes in death and funeral customs as revealed by an examination of four obituary samples from the newspapers of Johnson City, Tennessee. The chief concept that has aided understanding of the data is the overall emphasis on dramaturgy. That is, life can be understood to be continuous dramatic presentation of self. Thus, it is instructive to note how, even at the end of life, death notices present the deceased dramaturgically.

Two other concepts have been of particular help. The first is the idea that Goffman presented as ritual "teams." Typically, everyday occurrences take place ritualistically and formal or informal teams work together in this presentation. The entire process of death has been considered as a ritualistic "whole," from the time of death until the disposition of the remains. The team that operated at the turn of the century typically consisted of family, friends and oftentimes clergy-officiants. As the four obituary samples

have been examined, changes in the composition of this team have been obvious. Since 1950--according to obituary evidence--the presentation team has typically consisted of the family, kin group and friends, professional funeral and cemetery personnel and officiating clergy. In other words, the team has changed in nature: from an almost completely "lay" composition, to the heavily "professional," with the ministrations of family and friends almost unnecessary.

The other concept from Goffman's writings that has helped illuminate the changes in presentational customs in upper East Tennessee has once again been dramaturgical. His use of "front stage" and "back stage" terminology has allowed an analysis of the proceedings in this light. The oldest obituary evidence under scrutiny has inferred that most if not all of the presentation ritual took place "front stage." The family and friends were intimately involved in the preparation of the deceased for presentation to the community in every aspect. This preparation included the preparation of the corpse for public viewing, the memorial service, the preparation of the gravesite, and the interment itself.

Now, as the obituary data from 1975 have shown, that "front stage" nature of the presentation has changed drastically so that much of the "ritualistic whole" has been shifted to "back stage." The family is present at the funeral home during at least a portion of the lying-in-state. The family obviously will be present at the memorial service and the

interment ceremony, but there is little for them to do except "observe," "be present," mourn, and remunerate the "professionals" who have done all the "work." The "back stage work" done by the professionals generally goes unquestioned and unobserved by the public and even the close family.

This chapter has dealt with the presentation of the deceased to the community as it has been examined in a longitudinal frame, from 1900 to 1975. This presentation to the upper East Tennessee "community" has been observed chiefly as it has been reflected in the sampled newspaper obituaries and funeral notices from Johnson City papers in 1900, 1925, 1950, and 1975. The customary practices in the three-county area have continued to change since 1900, though the change has not been rapid. A major part of the change has involved the movement of the presentation ritual from "front stage" to "back stage." More of the tasks of the "presentation teams" are now performed by those trained professionally. These have gradually taken over the work of the presentation ritual. The general management of death, even in this portion of southern Appalachia, has come increasingly to be the task of trained and licensed "funeral personnel," with the assistance of trained and licensed clergy. Death in the present culture of southern Appalachia is no longer the simple process that it was a few decades ago in these same mountain slopes and valleys.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Theoretical Considerations

The presentation of the deceased to the community has been analyzed using the dramaturgical approach (Goffman, 1959). The newspaper death notice represents one public form of presentation of the self to the community. A person's physical death is an occasion for social "accounting" which presents the person's important social selves and marks the official end of his or her social life. The presentation of the deceased in the newspaper, and at funeral services, marks the terminal passage-rite.

A small minority of people plan their final presentation rituals in advance, but usually terminal rituals are composed in the first day or two after death from increasingly more standard scripts. The family, typically, is faced with the proper disposition of the deceased, and they utilize the services of professionals who guide them in the use of "packaged" presentations. Those responsible for the deceased receive the careful guidance of community folkways, interpreted by the funeral personnel.

At the first of the twentieth century folkways surrounding terminal rites were upheld by kin, friends, community leaders and clergy. In more recent times the rituals

increasingly have been directed by professionals, both undertakers and clergy. Thus, various performers, and community members work together to make certain that the presentation of the dead meets community standards of proper social death.

Three areas of change have been examined in the Theory chapter. The study community, Johnson City and the surrounding three-county area, has grown in population and complexity during the twentieth century. Sources of information became more numerous over this period with the coming of the daily newspaper and the annual City Directory. In the local paper the death notices have become standardized into routine obituaries and funeral notices. However, the newspaper death notices have not shrunk in size and importance; rather, they have increased in size and detail. Family and kin receive more coverage in more recent longer death notices. Yet, increased emphasis has been placed on achieved selves, e.g., work roles, rather than ascribed roles. Also, more space has been given to religious activities.

The second change reflects the importance of death to the community. Death itself was given more attention in the newspapers as the rate continued to decrease in the community. And as death became less common it has also become more and more a "special problem." This "special problem" in 1975 was handled by the professionals--the "death experts."

Finally, as the presentation of the deceased has been

moved from the parlor to the funeral home, the change has been from "front stage" to "back stage." The "back stage performance teams" have gradually taken over the handling of the dead, from death through the time of interment. The changing nature of death is a part of the larger changes that have taken place in society in this century.

Methodology

In Chapter II criteria were specified for the selection of the death notice samples from four target years. Reasons for the selection of Johnson City and the three-county area were supplied. As the analysis of the death notice data proceeded, comparisons with obituaries from other newspapers were made. That comparison brought the realization of the genuine fortuitousness, if not serendipity, of the use of death notice data from the Johnson City newspapers.

The death notices in the Johnson City papers from 1925 forward contain the most information of any of the newspapers that have been examined. Local deaths in particular are reported both by the obituary "news item" and the funeral notice. Another reason for the usefulness of the Johnson City newspaper data is the stability and regularity of the reporting of death, beginning with the 1925 Chronicle and Staff-News. The reporting format has changed little since then and this fact permits helpful comparisons of these three data samples. A final note about the use of the death

notice data from Johnson City is in order. The fact that the investigator was familiar with the territory proved to be invaluable. General knowledge of the area aided the understanding of a number of otherwise "cryptic" notations. Access to local informants contributed greatly to the understanding and ordering of the death notice data.

Procedures were outlined for the extraction of "recording units" from the death notices and their transposition to data sheets. The six classes of information derived from Johnson City death notices were described. A final theme having to do with "social reality" appeared in the methodology chapter. The death notices are allowed to "speak for themselves" as they were treated on their own terms.

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1900

Chapter III has treated the presentation of the deceased in Johnson City and the three-county area at the turn of the century. Johnson City was a small town and the presentation of the deceased at that time was typically non-professional, as reflected in the 1900 Comet. At this time professional intervention in the presentational process was beginning, at least as reported for this area. Lying in state and memorializing took place in the homes of the bereaved relatives. No undertaking services were reported in the sample death notices from that year.

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1925

During the post-World War I era Johnson City was a small city rather than a town with a rural orientation. The business and industrial base had grown and the newspapers were published daily and Sunday. The death notice sample indicated that undertaking and embalming were becoming more common practices in upper East Tennessee. Even though the growth of professionalism was apparent in the handling of the dead, the "old ways" lingered. The typical death occurred at home and in the majority of the cases was memorialized at home, though the use of funeral homes had begun. Fewer than one-third of the death notices specified religious affiliation or preference.

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1950

Johnson City's population expanded in the years between 1925 and 1950. Both education and commerce expanded similarly. The obituaries revealed a rise in the occupational status of the deceased, compared with the earlier periods. This may reflect a changing occupational structure. Once again, fewer than one-third of the obituaries specified religious affiliation or church preference. The majority of death notices reported the home as the place where death occurred. This is the first sample in which the majority of death notices reported the services of funeral personnel. In spite of the growing use of undertaking establishments,

bodies typically lay in state in the homes of the deceased.

In 1950 the typical place for the funeral service had shifted out of the home into church buildings. No longer was the typical burial in a family graveyard, for the majority of the burials were in church or community cemeteries. The care of the dead in upper East Tennessee was in the process of changing in 1950. More of the services connected with the preparation and presentation of the deceased had changed venue from front to back stage. The professionalization of the care of the dead increased; the family and kin group were no longer typically in charge of the body of the deceased.

The Presentation of the Deceased in 1975

This chapter treated Johnson City and environs in the contemporary era. Even though the city and the area had continued to grow, the death notices in the newspapers were little changed since 1925. The major change was that the obituaries generally were longer and more detailed. The low rate of religious affiliation had reversed dramatically since 1950. In 1975 close to 80% specified some connections with organized religion. Only 3% of the death notices failed to specify religious officiants. In addition, no longer was the home the place of death, for nearly 75% of the notices specified that death occurred in an institutional setting. All of the obituaries reported the professional ministrations of undertaker and embalmer. Nearly all reported that the

corpse was "viewed" in the funeral parlor. Approximately two-thirds of the obituaries reported that the funeral services took place in the funeral home. Only one-fifth of the burials reported in 1975 used family cemeteries.

The move toward the professionalization of the care of the dead was almost complete. From the death to the burial the complex ritual was under the management of professionals. In 1975 the presentation team was made up of funeral home personnel and clergy, with some contribution from cemetery personnel. The care of the dead has become a controlled series of rituals with a majority of the "work" performed back stage.

Trends in the Presentation of the Deceased in Johnson City and Upper East Tennessee, 1900-1975

This chapter compared the findings of the previous four chapters in a longitudinal approach. There was no clear trend in the number of children born. The mean number of children reported decreased but the median was slightly curvilinear. When the marital status reported was examined, there was an increase in reported living spouses and a decrease in the "none mentioned" category.

When the occupational data are examined, the percentage of "workers" increased after 1925. Railroad-connected occupations were less frequent and white-collar occupations more frequent later in the century.

Obituary reports which failed to mention congregational affiliation or denominational preference or funeral officiants decreased dramatically over the 75 years. Reporting of religious connections became increasingly more common after 1900.

Deaths due to illness and disease were increasingly reported and accidental deaths less frequently over the study period. When illnesses were examined more carefully, it was seen that "long illness" was increasingly offered as the cause of death with cardio-vascular diseases a consistent though small segment of the causes. The large number of death reports for those past 65 increased over the 75 years as life spans lengthened. As people lived longer, their place of death changed in general.

A majority of the deceased died at home through 1950. The most recent sample showed that death had moved to institutions. A majority of the obituaries reported the use of funeral establishments in 1950; the entire sample reported this in the 1975 sample. The home was the place of the funeral in 1900 and 1925. In 1950 the church building was the typical place, but by 1975 it was the funeral chapel. The place of burial changed more slowly, over time, from the family burying ground to the community or commercial cemetery.

The death reports themselves changed. Comparison of the modal sizes revealed that the length of the notices has

increased in each sample.

As the community and area have changed, so has the manner of the presentation of the deceased. The most recent sample has amply illustrated that the presentation of the deceased is a completely managed, packaged presentation in the control of the professionalized presentation team. The transition from the home and family centered management of death to the professional virtually has been completed.

Methodological Changes

Two changes in the research design should be considered in future studies. First of all, all of the obituaries-funeral notices in each sample would be analyzed. Those which did not meet the study criteria would be used as "control groups." This would allow comparisons among local, Tennessee, and out-of-state presentational customs. Secondly, several other kinds of funeral notice data could be treated. The additional items were not utilized in this report because of the overall magnitude of the data available.

If the normal restrictions of time and space which are imposed by dissertation research were not functioning, these following extensions of the data should be pursued. First of all, attention could be given to the death notice items which furnish migration information. A comparison of birth and death locations in individual notices reveals migration behavior. A number of the obituaries contained

notations about residential history. Even though the deceased was born and had died in the same town, he may have lived and worked elsewhere in the intervening years.

The city and state addresses of the "significant" kin group are a component of the obituaries. These significant kin usually include the parents, spouses, siblings, and children. With these data the family migration patterns can be traced.

A second productive area of investigation may be the correlation of the size of the death notice with religious, associational and educational variables. The size of the death notice is made up of three elements. These are the number of words, the number of lines of print, and the number of components or "recording units." Size can be related to both presence of religious information and degree of religious participation. It can also be correlated with the presence and type of associational and community enterprises. These include civic, service, political, and military organizations. The size of the death notice can, in addition, be related to the level of education attained. These comparisons can offer further clues to community status and lifestyle. In addition, a "community status coefficient" can be correlated with the presentational style.

A third area which may merit further research is the comparative size of the "memorial and funeral team." This team would consist of numbers of officiants, pallbearers

(both active and honorary), musicians, and flower-bearers. The varying size of the memorial and funeral team could have a relationship to the "social significance" of the deceased.

Residential address of the deceased may furnish information for a productive comparison. In other words, do people from the city receive obituary coverage different from people who lived in the rural areas? Rural versus urban lifestyles could be reflected in differential obituary content.

The Sociological Significance of This Research

Lyn Lofland was quoted in the Introduction to the dissertation. She called for a sociology of death and dying. That will have to be a vast body of materials; however, it is hoped that this research report will become a part of that body. It is proposed that this dissertation will contribute to the general body of sociological knowledge in at least four ways.

1. This longitudinal approach has brought out the changing presentation of the deceased in this specific area of upper East Tennessee. The varying manner in which the deceased were presented to the community in the newspapers was clearly illustrated in the four death notice samples. Social reactions to death have changed in this section of southern Appalachia. These reactions were traced by means of the newspaper notices.

2. The professionalization of the preparation and disposition of the dead were outlined. The successively more modern death notice samples showed the advent of the undertaking profession in upper East Tennessee and followed its development. By 1975 the professional care of the dead had become universal in this region.

3. A more general view of the upper East Tennessee segment of southern Appalachia was outlined. Widespread changes in community rituals and customs were seen as the orientation changed from the rural to the urban and the total to the limited.

4. A contribution to sociological knowledge of some significance was made in the use of newspaper death notices as the primary data source for this investigation. This methodological approach demonstrated the value of obituary data to social and ethnographic research. Personal and intimate family data were extracted from these newspaper sources. Death notices serve as a largely untapped source of biographical data, selective and stereotypical as they may be.

The Future of the Death Notice

As far as the local Johnson City newspaper as a source for death data, present policy will continue. That is, extensive death notices will continue to appear, particularly for local and area residents. This can be

anticipated with the corresponding continued decrease in death rates. Thus a continuing source of biographical data will be available for examination. Local and area funerary practices will be reported for analysis.

What about trends in funeral customs in the area? On the basis of the trend established for the Johnson City area in the first 75 years of the twentieth century, more of the same is anticipated. Universal utilization of funeral professionals should be expected. A continuing trend away from family burial grounds is projected. A possible counter-trend in usage of church building rather than funeral chapel for memorial services might develop. In informal interviews clergy and "sensitive" lay-people have proposed this counter-trend to the author. They conceive of the funeral service as a religious celebration and even a worship experience for those who do not look at death as terminal but as a part of the pilgrimage of the believer, in keeping with Christian theology.

This study of death notices has covered small samples in a limited geographical area. These deaths have been reported by the newspapers in one small Appalachian city. In its present form this study cannot be generalized and extrapolated to American society. A number of comparative studies are in order within southern Appalachia as well as inter-regionally in order to test this piece of research.

Broader investigations are needed to show whether the

trends discovered in this research paper can be found in other sections of the country. These investigations must take into account size and type of city and geographical region as well as time period. Analyses of death notice data from cities of varying sizes across the nation should yield information of richness and breadth. Obituary studies are in order in the larger cities which support several newspapers. These studies may find that the style and content of death notices differ among the newspapers themselves. It would seem that the uses of death notice data are in the beginning stages of investigation.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

Annual
1912 The Langston High School Annual. Johnson City, TN: (May 17).

Atlas
San Jose, CA: Gousha/Chek-Chart, no date.

Baali, Fuad and Joseph S. Vandiver (eds.)
1970 Urban Sociology. New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts.

Bennett, Charles M.
1977 Washington County, Tennessee, Tombstone Inscriptions. Nashville, TN: TRAECO Printing.

Blumstein, Philip W. et al
1974 "The Honoring of Accounts." Americal Sociological Review 39 (August): 551-566.

Bowman, Charles
1979 Interview. Owner of Appalachian Funeral Home (August 16).

Bowman, Leroy
1973 The American Funeral. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

The Buffalo
1951 Milligan College Annual.

Bureau of the Census
1921 Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1952 United States Census of the Population: 1950. Vol. I. Number of Inhabitants. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1960 Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1963 Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1963. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1973 Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, U. S. Summary, Section 2. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1975 Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Casson, Herbert N.
1910 The History of the Telephone. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co.

Church Secretary
1979 Interview. Watauga Avenue Presbyterian Church, Johnson City, Tennessee (August 9).

City Directory
1908 Johnson City City Directory, 1908-1909. Asheville, NC: Piedmont Publishing Co.

1925 Johnson City, Tennessee City Directory, 1925-1926. Asheville: Commercial Service Co. Vol. X (June).

1950 Johnson City City Directory, Vol. 4. Charleston, SC: Baldwin Directory Co.

1975 Johnson City City Directory, Vol. 8. Chillicothe, OH: Mullin-Kille Co.

Clark, Joe
1972 Tennessee Hill Folk. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Clark, Thomas D.
1964 The Southern Country Editor. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.

Clarke, Edith Pouder
1979 Interview. Daughter of undertaker (August 20).

Coffin, Margaret M.
1976 Death in Early America: The History and Folklore of Customs and Superstitions of Early Medicine, Funerals, Burials, and Mourning. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

The Committee on Special Gifts and Memorials
1966 Munsey Memorial Methodist Church--1956 (Revised November 1966).

Creger, G. E.
1979 Interview. Former manager of Intermountain Telephone Company (August 9).

Dellinger, Clyde J.
1975 Tweetsie and the Clinchfield Railroad. Morganton, NC: News-Herald Press.

Department of the Army
1979 "Conducting Military Funerals and Memorials." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, (21 November).

East Tennessee State Normal School
1911 Bulletin. Johnson City, Tennessee.

Estepp, James D.
1969 A Brief History of Johnson City, Tennessee. Johnson City, TN: Carroll Reece Museum, East Tennessee State University (June).

Fields, Orville T.
1976 Cemeteries in Carter County, Tennessee. (privately published).

50th Anniversary First United Methodist Church, 1928-1978, (no date).

Fifty-Sixth General Assembly
1909 Acts of the State of Tennessee. Nashville, TN: McQuiddy Printing Co.

First Presbyterian Church
First Presbyterian Church History: A Hundred Years of Service. 1869-1969, (no date).

Foreman, J.
1973 "Theory and the Ideal Type of the Professional: The Case of the Funeral Director." Omega 4 (Fall): 221-227.

Forrest, Clark
1977 "Changing Funeral Customs in Livingston Parish, Louisiana: A Brief Comparison and Contrast of Four Racial-Ethnic Groups From a Sociological Perspective." Submitted for Presentation at the Annual Meeting Mid-South Sociological Association, Monroe, LA (November 3-5).

Frith, Allen
1979 Interview. Manager of United Telephone Service, Johnson City, TN (August 10).

Gans, Herbert J.
1962 The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. New York: Free Press.

Garrity, Thomas F. and James Wyss
1976 "Death, Funeral and Bereavement Practices in Appalachian and Non-Appalachian Kentucky." Omega 7, 3.

Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss
1971 Status Passage: A Formal Theory. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.

Goffman, Erving
1959 The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

1961 "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," in Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

1967 Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

1980 "The Great Sell-Off," in Time 115, 2 (January 14): 58.

Greer, Scott
1962 The Emerging City: Myth and Reality. New York: The Free Press.

Guthmann, Robert F. Jr. and Sharon Kay Womack
1978 Death, Dying and Grief: A Bibliography. Lincoln, NE: Pied Publications.

Habenstein, Robert W. and William M. Lamers
1955 The History of American Funeral Directing. Milwaukee: Bulfin Printers.

Hall, Robert B.
1976 "A Study of Surnames from Newspaper Obituaries." Unpublished paper.

Hamer, Phillip A.
1933 Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932, 4 volumes. New York: The American Historical Society.

Historical Committee
1969 History of Central Baptist Church, Johnson City, Tennessee. In celebration of the 100 Anniversary 1869-1969. Bristol, TN: Preston Printing Co.

Hodge, Tom
1979 Interview. Editorial director of Johnson City Press-Chronicle (August 7).

Hartman, Horace
1978 Interview. Owner of Hartman Funeral Home, Johnson City, Tennessee (November 28).

Holsti, Ole
1969 Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hughes, Everett C.
1958 Men and Their Work. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Illustrated Johnson City, Tennessee. The C. E. Weaver Series, "Illustrated Cities," no date.

International Convention
1949 "1949 Year Book (July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949) of International Convention of Disciples of Christ." Indianapolis.

1951 "1951 Year Book (July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1951) of International Convention of Disciples of Christ." Indianapolis.

Jackson, Charles O. (ed.)
1977 Passing: The Vision of Death in America. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Jackson, Elberta and Mary Frances
1979 Interviews. Local Negro teachers and informal "curators" of historical items (August 22 and September 17).

1900 Johnson City Comet.

1923 Johnson City Chronicle.

1925 Johnson City Chronicle (January, March, May, July, September, November).

1925 Johnson City Staff-News (January, March, May, July, September, November).

1930 Johnson City Chronicle.

1936 Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

1950 Johnson City Press-Chronicle (February, April, June, August, October, December).

1969 Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

1975 Johnson City Press-Chronicle (January, March, May, July, September, November).

1976 Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

Jones, Emrys
1966 Towns and Cities. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kastenbaum, Robert and Ruth Aisenberg
1976 The Psychology of Death, Concise Edition. New York: Springer.

Kastenbaum, Robert, Sara Peyton, Beatrice Kastenbaum
1977 "Sex Discrimination After Death." Omega 7, 4.

Langston High School
1909 The Langston Voice, Langston High School annual, Johnson City, TN: 1, 1 (May).

1974 Laws, Rules and Regulations Governing Burial Insurance And The Practice of Funeral Directing and Embalming: Directory of Funeral Homes. Nashville.

Lee, Alfred M.
1973 The Daily Newspaper in America. New York: Octagon Books.

Lofland, Lyn H. (ed.)
1976 Toward a Sociology of Death and Dying. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lunger, Harold L.
1979 "Families and Funerals." The Disciple (March 18): 5-6.

McCown, Mary H.
Brief Chronological History of Johnson City Tennessee and Three Suggested Historical Tours, no date.

1979 Glimpses of Yesterday's Lights for Tomorrow; 1829-1979, 150th Anniversary of the Annual Meeting of Christian Churches in the First District of Tennessee.

McCown, Mary H. and Josephine C. Owen
1971 100th Anniversary History and Directory, 1871-1971 First Christian Church. Johnson City, Tennessee. Johnson City, TN: Tri-Cities Lithographing Co.

McKinney, Ernest
1979 Interview. Negro vice-principal of Science Hill High School, Johnson City, TN (August 20).

Mitchell, Jack N.
1978 Social Exchange, Dramaturgy and Ethnomethodology: Toward a Paradigmatic Synthesis. New York: Elsevier.

Mead, George H.
1962 Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of A Social Behaviorist. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mott, Frank L.
1962 American Journalism: A History 1690-1960, third edition. New York: Macmillan.

Personnel
1979 Interview. Bolton Vault Company, Johnson City, TN (August 16).

Personnel
1980 Interview. Snyder's Crematorium, Inc. (March 25).

Pine, Vanderalyn R.
1971 The American Funeral Theater. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Raether, Howard
1971 Modern Funeral Practice. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Registrar
1979 Interview. King College, Bristol, TN (August 23).

Registrar
1979 Interview. Tusculum College, Greeneville, TN (August 23).

Remarque, Erich
1929 All Quiet on the Western Front. Boston: Little, Brown.

Rhodes, Frederick L.
1974 Beginnings of Telephony. New York: Arno Press.

Roberts, Suzanne H. and Jerome J. Salomone
1977 "The Clergy vs. the Funeral Director, or the Clergy vs. Jessica Mitford?" A paper prepared for presentation at the meeting of the Mid-South Sociological Society (November 4).

Schatzman, Leonard and Anselm L. Strauss
1973 Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Scott, Marvin B. and Stanford M. Lyman
1972 "Accounts," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology, second edition, by Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Secretary
1979 Interview. First Tennessee-Virginia Development District, Johnson City, TN office (March 15).

Smith, Mr.
1979 Interview. Long-time member of Munsey Memorial United Methodist Church, Johnson City, TN (August 18).

Snyder, Dallas
1979 Interview. Long-time resident of Boones Creek, TN (August 17).

Stannard, David E.
1977 The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tennessee Code Annotated.

Tennessee Public Acts.

Tetrick, Richard
1979 Interview. Owner of Tetrick Funeral Home, Elizabethton, TN (May 18).

United Intermountain Telephone Company
1974 The Phone Book (September).

United States Census Office
1901 Census Reports. Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. William R. Merriam, Director. Washington: Government Printing Office.

van Gennep, Arnold
1960 The Rites of Passage. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Webb, Henry E.
1979 Interviews. Minister of First Christian Church, Erwin, TN 1950-1965, and professor of history at Milligan College 1950-present.

Williams, Samuel C.
1940 History of Johnson City and Its Environs. Johnson City, TN: The Watauga Press.

Williams, Ed
1979 Interview. Long-time resident of Johnson City, TN (August 17).

Williams, Virginia
1958 A Sketch of Mayne Williams Public Library. Mimeographed (March).

1979 Interview. Long-time resident of Johnson City; Washington County school teacher (August 14).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

SAMPLE DATA SHEET

Obituary and Funeral Notice Data 5/77

1. Dateline____2-3. Names_____4. Nick_____
5. Spouse's prominence_____6. Age____
7. Res. address_____8. Community_____
9. Place of birth_____10. Res. history_____
11. Place of death_____12. Reason_____
13. Day and date of death_____14. Time_____
15. Cause of death_____16. History of cause_____
17. Institutionalized at death_____
18. Military branch_____19. Details of service_____
20. Conflict_____21. Military rank_____
22. Other military details_____
23. Educational data_____
24. Employment_____
25. Profession or skill_____26. Job title_____
27. Retirement data_____28. Employment history_____
29. Voluntary organizations_____
30. Specific activities_____
31. Member spec. congregation____32. Denomination only_____
33. Preference only_____34. Church offices_____
35. Degree of religious activity_____
36. Parents_____37-39. Deceased kin names, relationships, and dates of deaths_____
40-42. Surviving kin: names/kin/residential location_____
_____
_____
43. Prominent offspring or kin_____
44. Funeral home in charge_____

- -

Check: 1) name 2) age 3) day of death 4) time of death
5) place of death

6. Date of service_____7. Time of service_____
8. Location of body until interment_____
9. Place of service_____10. Visitation times_____
11. Location of mourners_____12. Mourners' availability___
13. Officiant_____
14. Pallbearers: names/num./category_____
15. Pallbearers' instructions_____
16. Honorary pallbearers: name/num./category_____
17. Flower bearers_____18. Musicians_____
19. Ritual honors_____
20. Place of burial_____21. Cemetery address_____
22. Graveside rituals_____
23. Funeral establishments____24. Addresses_____
25. Memorial donations_____
26. Instructions to Kin_____

APPENDIX B

SIX CLASSES OF DATA IN OBITUARIES AND FUNERAL NOTICES

CLASS ONE. The Identification of the Deceased

- Full Name
- Nicknames
- Parent's Names

CLASS TWO. Demographic Variables

- Age
- Current Address of Deceased
- Place of Birth
- Number of Surviving Children
- Number of Deceased Children
- Race
- Level of Education
- Place of Employment (Present or Past)
- Occupation/Profession
- Work History
- Retirement Data

CLASS THREE: Migration Data

- Dateline
- Place of Birth
- Place of Death
- Residential History
- Kin Addresses

CLASS FOUR: Status Variables

A. Status in Life

- Voluntary Associations
- Kind and Type of Employment and Profession
- Religious Affiliation
- Degree of Religious Activity
- Prominent Kin
- Military History
- Educational Attainment

B. Status in Death

Size of the Funeral
Funeral Home Utilized
Funeral Officiant
Cemetery
Ritual Honors
Graveside Rituals
Memorial Gifts in Lieu of Flowers

CLASS FIVE. Morbidity Data

Location of Death
Day of Death
Time of Death
Cause of Death
Details of Cause

CLASS SIX. Funerary Details

Funeral Home Utilized
Date of Funeral Service
Time of Funeral Service
Location of Body Prior to Memorial Service
Officiant
Location of Funeral Service
Visitation Schedule for Lying-in-State
Location of Bereaved Kin
Availability of Bereaved
Active Pallbearers
Honorary Pallbearers
Flower Bearers
Musicians

APPENDIX C.

SAMPLE OBITUARIES AND FUNERAL NOTICES

FROM THE FOUR SAMPLE YEARS

W. L. Gibson, traveling salesman for the American Tobacco Co., was here last week.

The epidemic of grippe is still raging here. The tannery is only working eight hands, where they usually work twenty-five.

Stella Holly, a colored woman, died last Monday and was buried Tuesday.

Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Albertson are both confined to their beds with grippe.

Lee Smith, who has had grippe, is able to call upon his best girl again.

Mrs. W. T. Rucker, of Murfreesboro, who has been visiting relatives here, is now visiting in Johnson City.

John Morton, colored, who has been a regular hand at the tannery here for about ten years, died Sunday morning.

Civil Engineer Dyer, of the Va. & S. W. is surveying a line of road northwest of our place to cross the Watauga river about a mile below here and up Brush Creek to the Carnegie furnace.

Miss Margaret Range has returned from a visit to relative in West Virginia.

VIOLET.

Comet (March 8, 1900)

LITTLE BOY IS BURNED TO DEATH

(Special Correspondence)

Telford, Dec. 27.—Death of the 3-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. J. Edwards, of Telford, occurred this morning, following severe burns received when the little boy's clothing caught fire at an open fireplace. Details of the tragedy have not as yet been learned. It is understood that funeral and burial will occur Tuesday

Johnson City Staff-News
December 28, 1925

Mrs. Bascom Little Died Wednesday; Funeral Today

Mrs. Nellie Little, age 44, residing at 113 West Maple street, succumbed to an attack of paralysis at 2 p. m. Wednesday. Her death was not unexpected, as she had been seriously ill for several months, having recently been confined in the Grady hospital in Atlanta, Ga. However, after a slight rally she returned to her home here and was again stricken at noon Monday of this week and never regained consciousness until the end came Wednesday afternoon.

She is survived by one son and two daughters, Clyde H. Little, of Atlanta, Ga., Clara and Mabel of this city, two sisters and one brother, Mrs. H. E. Patton, of Bristol; Mrs. R. E. McKinney, of Appalachia, Va., and E. J. Crumley, of Richmond, Va.

Funeral services will be conducted from the Hunsey Memorial church at 2:00 p. m. Thursday by Rev. M. P. Carico, the deceased being a long and faithful member of this church. Interment at Monte Vista cemetery immediately after.

Mrs. Little was a true type of Christian womanhood, modest and unassuming, taking motherly interest in her children and all others with whom she came in contact always endeavoring to cast a ray of sunshine into the lives of all her neighbors and friends with whom she has mingled with during her life of usefulness.

Mrs. Little was a widow of the late B. L. Little, who was at one time connected with the police department of this city. She was born and reared at Stony Point, Hawkins county, Tennessee, and resided in Johnson City for the past ten years.

Johnson City
Staff-News
December 31, 1925

CHARLES G. BEASLEY

Charles G. Beasley, 82, retired ET&WNC Railway superintendent, died at 3:30 p. m. Sunday at his home, 114 Harris avenue.

Survivors are two sisters, Mrs. Hattie Crockett of Warrenton, N. C., and Mrs. Sallie P. Campbell of Elizabethton.

Beasley had been prominently identified with the Masonic Order for years He was worshipful master of Dashiel Lodge No. 233, F. and A. M., in Elizabethton in 1897; and a member of the Thomas E. Matson Chapter, No. 131, Royal Arch Masons; Holston Council No. 101, R. and S.M.; Watauga Commandery No. 125, Knights Templar; Kerbela Temple and Order of Eastern Star.

Funeral will be at 3:30 p.m. today in the chapel of Kiser Funeral Home, which is in charge. The Rev. E. M. Umbach, former pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethton, of which Beasley was a member, will officiate. Burial will be in Highland Cemetery, Elizabethton.

The Masons will have charge of the graveside service.

Johnson City
Press-Chronicle
May 1950

AUBREY KENNETH WHITE

Funeral for Aubrey Kenneth White, 30, who died at 6:30 p.m. Friday after a lingering illness at the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leroy White, route 3, Johnson City, will be at 2 p.m. Sunday at the Keystone Baptist Church. The Rev. Sherman L. Ray will officiate. Burial will be in Fairview Cemetery.

Survivors besides the parents are; three sisters, Mrs. Sidney Lyon, Maryville; Mrs. Lee Lyon and Mrs. Clyde Alexander, both of Johnson City; five brothers; Sherley White, Knoxville, Cecil, Paul Haskel and Leon White, all of Johnson City.

Johnson City
Press-Chronicle
May 1950

ROBERT G. ADAMS

Robert G. Adams, 59, 2305 W. Walnut St., died in the Veterans Administration Hospital, Mountain Home, Monday night.

Mr. Adams was a native of Scott County, Va., but he had lived in Johnson City most of his life. He was a retired employe of Klopman Mills. He was a member of Southside Baptist Church. He was an Army veteran of World War II. He was a son of the late James and Liza Mosley Adams.

Survivors include three sons, William C., Larry A. and Robert P. Adams of Johnson City; two daughters, Mrs. Linda Lowery, Johnson City, and Judy Adams, Roanoke, Va.; one brother, Bill Adams, Roanoke; two sisters, Mrs. Nell O'Brien, Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Blanche Brickey, Roanoke; four grandchildren.

Morris-Baker in charge.

Robert G. Adams

Funeral services for Robert G. Adams, age 59, of 2305 West Walnut St., who died in the VA Hospital, Mountain Home Monday evening, will be held at 2 p.m. Thursday from the Morris-Baker Funeral Home Chapel with Rev. Hall and Rev. C.W. Jones officiating. Interment will be in the Roselawn Memory Gardens. Pallbearers who are requested to be at the chapel at 1:45 p.m. Thursday well be Johnny and Ronnie Long, Terry McLemore, Frank Carter, Gery Lowry, Ray and John Oliver. The body will remain at the funeral home where the family will receive friends from 7-9 p.m. Wednesday. Morris-Baker Funeral Home, 2001 Oakland Avenue, is in charge of the arrangements.

Johnson City
Press-Chronicle
December 1975

EDWARD J. JENKINS

Edward J. Jenkins, 88, 702 E. Fairview Ave., died at 7:30 a.m. Friday in Johnson City Memorial Hospital.

Jenkins was a native of Hampton and had lived in Johnson City since 1918. He was a member of the Christian Church.

Survivors include his widow, Mrs. Sally Jackson Jenkins; two sons, Robert J. Jenkins, Soddy, and Walter Jenkins, Cypress, Calif.; two daughters, Mrs. Grady Smith and Mrs. Jess Blessing, both of Farmdale, Ohio; 18 grandchildren; several great-grandchildren.

Woodall is in charge.

Edward J. Jenkins

Funeral services for Edward J. Jenkins age 88 of 702 E. Fairview Avenue who died at 7:30 a.m. Friday in the Johnson City Memorial Hospital will be at 1:30 p.m. Sunday from the Woodall Funeral Chapel with Rev. Chester Parker officiating. Interment will be in Monte Vista Burial Park. Pallbearers will be Tom & John Wilkinson, Bill, Jerry and Jack Smith, Edward May, and Paul Kilgore. Woodall is in charge.

Johnson City
Press-Chronicle
October 1975

VITA

Robert Burnett Hall was born in Louisville, Kentucky on April 22, 1929. He attended elementary schools in Johnson City, Tennessee, but was graduated from Male High School in Louisville in June 1946. The following September he entered the Cincinnati Bible Seminary, and in May 1950 he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Biblical Studies. He entered Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville in September 1950 and continued his ministerial studies until May 1952. In September 1952 he entered the Butler School of Religion to continue his seminary studies. He received a Master of Divinity degree from Butler in Indianapolis, Indiana in May 1954. In September of that year he entered the Graduate School of Butler University in the Master of Arts program. He received his Master of Arts in New Testament from Butler in May 1955. In September 1955 he entered Vanderbilt University Graduate School, Nashville, Tennessee, to continue his Biblical studies. These were continued through 1957.

He received the Master of Arts in Sociology in June 1970 from the Graduate School of East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee. He entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee Knoxville, in 1972. He received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a

major in Sociology in June 1980.

The author has been teaching Sociology at Milligan College, Tennessee, since September 1967. At present he is an Associate Professor of Sociology at that school. He is a member of both the Southern Sociological Society and the Mid-South Sociological Association, as well as a Chaplain with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Tennessee Army National Guard.

He is married to the former Velma J. Jones of Scottsburg, Indiana. They have three children, Mary Katherine, Robert and John.