

27  
6

PATRICK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, AND THE CIVIL WAR,  
1860-1880

by

Gertrude Harrington Becker

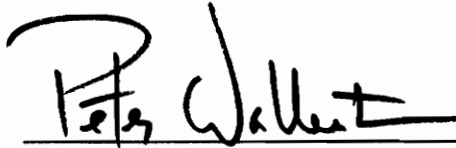
Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

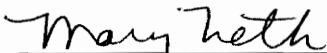
in

HISTORY

Approved:



Peter Wallenstein, Chairman

  
Mary Neth  
Crandall Shifflett

November 14, 1990

Blacksburg, Virginia

c.2

LD  
5655  
V855  
1990  
B435  
c.2

PATRICK COUNTY, VIRGINIA,  
AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1860-1880

by  
Gertrude Harrington Becker

Peter Wallenstein, Chairman  
History

(ABSTRACT)

In 1860, Patrick County, like the rest of Virginia and much of the South, wavered uneasily on the brink of secession. In a county where large planters were few, secession was not overwhelmingly popular. Slaveholding families, however, constituted almost one quarter of the white population in Patrick, as they did across the South, and when Virginia seceded, Patrick Countians flocked to serve in the Confederate Army.

Although situated in Virginia, Patrick managed to escape physical decimation from war. In fact, no battles occurred in the county and Federal troops only invaded the county once in four years. Nevertheless, the Civil War came home to Patrick in a variety of ways: men were killed, livestock and crops impressed, and farms destroyed. With its prosperity of the 1850's disrupted by the war, Patrick's agricultural output dramatically decreased, industry failed, and labor shortages ensued.

Despite the changes the Civil War brought to Patrick, the highest echelon of Patrick's social structure changed little. Those white men who had been

well off before the war continued to flourish and continued to own the most and most valuable real estate. Small farmers before the war generally remained small farmers. Free blacks did not gain much status over the decades, and freedmen owned scarcely any land nor personal property; neither group by 1880 had achieved literacy. In Patrick County the rich stayed rich and the planters remained the most influential.

## Acknowledgments

I began this project for the Patrick County Bicentennial Committee and several members deserve thanks for help they provided: Barbara Baughn, O.E. Pilson, John Reynolds, and especially Mary and David Britt of the Reynolds Homestead. Special thanks go to Peter Wallenstein, advisor and gadfly; his patience, encouragement, and persistence served me well. Andrew Becker read and listened to every word and idea, directed a critical eye towards it all, and offered elegant phrasing for much. This is for him.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION.....1

CHAPTER ONE:

Antebellum Patrick County .....5

CHAPTER TWO:

Impact of the Civil War on the Homefront.....20

CHAPTER THREE:

Slavery and Emancipation.....39

CHAPTER FOUR:

Wealth and Social Structure.....58

CHAPTER FIVE:

Agriculture and Industry, 1860-1880.....72

CONCLUSION.....87

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY.....90

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....97

## Introduction

In the early twentieth century, local history was the purview of amateur historians. These historians served primarily as boosters for their local communities, and produced histories that proudly declared the uniqueness of their locale. Counties across the state of Virginia received such treatment in the early part of the century. Patrick County was the focus of two studies in the 1930's; these works spun tales of the county and provided the reader with a list of the distinguished families of the county. These family genealogies, after all, were the main point of writing such works. These families made the counties unique.

More recent and professionally trained historians have examined local communities in a different light. The boosterism of earlier studies has vanished and been replaced by close analysis of the uniqueness of a place. This uniqueness, however, is undercut by a new interest in relationships between a local community and a greater whole, such as the nation or state. Local historians no longer address a county in isolation but venture to place it in a broader context, to show the effects of the outside world on it, and to compare it to other communities.

I have studied Patrick County, Virginia, using this new approach for local history. Patrick County is situated in southwest Virginia where the Piedmont meets the Blue Ridge Parkway, and it borders North Carolina on the south side. The county was created from Henry County in November 1790, and became an independent county in June 1791.<sup>1</sup> The Blue Ridge Mountains cut through the county creating two different sections. The mountains devote their land to orchards, grazing, and diversified farming; the southern and Piedmont part of the county devotes more of its land to tobacco. The county measures 469 square miles, and today boasts a population of approximately 18,000. The incorporated town of Stuart, 57 miles from Danville and 54 miles from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is the county seat and the largest town with a population of about 1,200.

Patrick is a difficult county to characterize. Patrick was not a western county nor eastern; it didn't grow much tobacco, very little industry flourished here, the county owned few slaves, Unionist supporters were not overwhelming, there were no urban centers, and with the exception of J.E.B. Stuart, no famous Virginia leaders hailed from Patrick. Patrick couldn't even boast of a train through the county. The county was not first--nor last, for that matter--in any category. It was a chiefly

---

<sup>1</sup> William W. Hening, Statutes at Large, Vol. XIII, 160.

rural community in the Piedmont region of Virginia, made up of mostly white subsistent farmers. In contrast to the Piedmont's slave population of 50 percent and higher, slave population in Patrick never reached 25 percent.

Yet Patrick County was hardly unique, and it can act as a model of the South; Patrick often typified South in areas such as voting, response to secession, slaveownership, and changes caused by war. Its experiences of the period 1850-1880 are fairly typical of other Virginia counties during this time as well as much of the South. Thus, although the county defied categorization, Patrick's experiences demonstrate that, despite its lack of devastation in war, Patrick was often like much of Virginia and much of the South.

Portraying Patrick County before the war, Chapter One depicts a county of few slaveowners, few slaves, and little love for either Lincoln or secession. Chapter Two details the Civil War's immediate and tremendous impacts on the county, in numbers of men lost and hardships endured. In the third chapter I look briefly at the slaves and freedmen and their search for education and literacy after the war. Both the lack of sources and lack of accessible sources necessarily reduced the discussion of slave life in the county. In "Wealth and Social Structure", chapter Four, I suggest that the highest echelon of Patrick's social structure was not

greatly rocked by Emancipation. Rather the wealthy segment remained wealthy and those poor (including the freedmen) remained at the financial and social bottom. Chapter Five measures the war's impact on the agriculture and industry of a chiefly rural county. The story of urban and industrial growth in Patrick remains a "what if" story.

## Chapter One:

### Antebellum Patrick County

A visitor to Patrick in 1850 would find a thinly populated rural farming county of about 500 square miles. Towns were small and scattered. The traveler might visit Samuel Wilson's farm, and see 99 slaves who would produce 30,000 pounds of tobacco that year, the most in the county. In the north of the county along the Smith River, the visitor might discover Samuel Hairston's furnace and forge, the only one in the county, one which would soon become useful in war. These men, among the wealthiest in the county, were hardly representative of the residents of the county. A visitor might run into the more typical white male resident, Samuel Gill, a small farmer who owned 6 hogs, a heifer, and a couple of yearlings; he might also bump into Green Satterfield, a carpenter. These men would better serve as examples of the majority of white Patrick men -- small farmers, laborers, and skilled workers.

Patrick's population that year was predominantly free white with 24.2 percent slaves and 1.0 percent free blacks. From the birth of the county throughout the nineteenth century its population percentages remained fairly steady; slave population peaked at 24.2 percent in 1850 and measured consistently less than Virginia,

Patrick County Population, 1800-1880Race and Slavery Percentages

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>White</u> | <u>Slave</u> | <u>Free Blacks</u> |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1800        | 4,331        | 82.0         | 15.0         | 3.0                |
| 1810        | 4,695        | 78.7         | 15.4         | 5.9                |
| 1820        | 5,089        | 74.2         | 23.8         | 2.0                |
| 1830        | 7,395        | 74.3         | 24.1         | 1.6                |
| 1840        | 8,032        | 75.8         | 22.9         | 1.3                |
| 1850        | 9,609        | 74.8         | 24.2         | 1.0                |
| 1860        | 9,359        | 76.5         | 22.1         | 1.4                |
| 1870        | 10,161       | 77.1         |              | 22.9               |
| 1880        | 12,833       | 78.7         |              | 21.3               |

Race and Slavery Aggregate Figures

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>White</u> | <u>Slave</u> | <u>Free Black</u> |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 1800        | 4,331        | 3,552        | 649          | 130               |
| 1810        | 4,695        | 3,696        | 724          | 275               |
| 1820        | 5,089        | 3,776        | 1,213        | 100               |
| 1830        | 7,395        | 5,496        | 1,782        | 117               |
| 1840        | 8,032        | 6,087        | 1,842        | 103               |
| 1850        | 9,609        | 7,187        | 2,324        | 98                |
| 1860        | 9,359        | 7,158        | 2,070        | 131               |
| 1870        | 10,161       | 7,836        |              | 2,325             |
| 1880        | 12,833       | 10,099       |              | 2,734             |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: Statistics of Population (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1872), 69; Compendium of the Tenth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 376.

33.2 percent, and far less than the average for the Piedmont region, 50.5 percent. Two hundred and fifty-six residents paid taxes on slaves<sup>1</sup>; approximately 20 percent of white families in the county owned slaves.

In 1850 there were 1,301 white families in the county, and these lived in 1,248 dwellings; families sharing houses suggests a pattern of extended families.<sup>2</sup> The census for later years indicates that a married son or daughter might make their house with their parents, probably to assist in working the farm. There does not, however, seem to be any lack of land in the county which might have restricted a young family from moving out.

The county seat, Taylorsville or Patrick County Court House, was a small unincorporated town on the Mayo River. As early as 1834 the county seat contained "in addition to the regular county buildings, forty dwelling houses, two mercantile stores, three taverns, a tanyard, a saddlery, a tailor, a flour mill, and two tobacco factories."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Documents Containing Statistics of Virginia ordered to be printed by the State Convention sitting in the City of Richmond 1850-1851 (Richmond, 1851), Table 4.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington, D.C.: A.O. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854), 327.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Martin, A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia (Charlottesville, 1835), 257.

Chief occupations of white males over fifteen years, as indicated in the 1850 census, were farmer and laborer. Other occupations included miller, carpenter, shoemaker, blacksmith, doctor, wheelwright, tavernkeeper, tailor, constable, attorney, clerk, and student.

Farming was the major occupation and source of income. The 1850 census records 748 farms, averaging 51 improved and 246 unimproved acres, which grew a variety of items. The chief crops included rye and oats, Indian corn, Irish and sweet potatoes, and flax. These farmers also produced wheat, peas and beans, barley, buckwheat, and hay, butter and cheese mostly for their own use and little surplus for market. While the county produced scant amounts of rice and cotton, it did produce enough tobacco, 44.7 lbs. per capita, to make it a key crop in 1850. Wool, beeswax, and maple sugar were also produced.<sup>4</sup>

An 1834 gazetteer reports little manufacturing in the county other than two tobacco factories.<sup>5</sup> By 1850, however, manufacturing ventures took off: the census shows \$81,250 capital invested and 247 hands employed, producing that year \$119,370 worth of goods. Family

---

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census, Statistics of Virginia, Agricultural Products, 328-331.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, 257.

operations produced an additional \$20,802 worth of goods in 1850.<sup>6</sup> Though the census does not provide the number of manufacturing establishments for the county, an 1855 gazetteer for the state of Virginia records two flour and grist mills, eighteen tobacco factories, two tanneries, one iron furnace, and one iron forge in Patrick County.<sup>7</sup>

In 1850, thirteen churches, seven Baptist and six Methodist, existed in the county. Their combined seating accommodated 3,500 worshippers, or just over one-third of the county's population. The extent of the county perhaps necessitated so many churches, as well as schools. Students (white children) attended 35 different schools, each supervised by one teacher. Most of these schools would have been in the open country because there were so few towns. No private academies or colleges nor any public libraries existed inside the county limits.<sup>8</sup> Patrick was very much a provincial county.

In little more than a decade much of this would change. Twelve hundred white men would march off from

---

<sup>6</sup> Compendium of the Seventh Census, Statistics of Virginia, Manufactures, 331.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Edwards, Statistical Gazetteer of Virginia (Richmond, 1855), 337.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Social Statistics" (1850), Patrick County; also Compendium of the Seventh Census, 327.

Patrick County sometime during the Civil War.<sup>9</sup> Many men would rush to serve in the new Confederate Army to preserve states' rights and beat back Northern aggressors; others would go more reluctantly, and still others only when conscripted. Patrick County men would see active duty in many of the War's most costly and vicious battles; many were to be wounded or killed. Others would be captured and would serve out the remainder of the War in federal prisons. Some would desert both army and home. Patrick would endure one of Stoneman's raids, conscription of white men, impressment of slaves, and shortages of food. The war would come home to the county in a variety of ways.

On the eve of the Civil War Patrick County did not stand ready to fight. Like much of Virginia, this county hovered uneasily between a desire to preserve the Union and a desire to assert her rights. In the presidential election of 1860 the county split its vote between Breckenridge and Bell, with Bell receiving just two more votes.<sup>10</sup> Bell, a moderate, based his platform on

---

<sup>9</sup> O.E. Pilson, "Patrick County Soldiers in the Civil War", unpublished article, 1990, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Richmond Enquirer, November 16, 1860; W. Dean Burnham, Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892 (New York: Arno Press, 1976), however, gives Bell a majority by one vote.

preservation of the Union while Breckenridge's platform strongly supported slavery and a slave code.

In the 1860 presidential election the slave states voted overwhelming against Lincoln; in fact, the election in the South was more of a contest between two of the four candidates, Bell and Breckenridge. Patrick's vote, almost evenly split between the two men, mirrored Virginia's vote; Bell won the state by a slim margin.<sup>11</sup> The other slave states went with Breckenridge.

That Patrick County did not support Lincoln was no surprise. After all, very little of the South supported him, and in Patrick County Lincoln was not even on the ballot. In the last presidential election, 1856, Patrick's vote tallied 61 percent for the Democrat Buchanan. Similarly, in Virginia's gubernatorial election the year before Lincoln's election, Patrick County cast 54 percent of its votes for the Democratic candidate (and winner) Letcher.<sup>12</sup>

Immediate secession after the election was not Patrick's aim. Unlike South Carolina, which urged secession upon Lincoln's victory, Patrick County, and much of Virginia, preferred to analyze Lincoln's actions

---

<sup>11</sup> Burnham, Presidential Ballots, 246-256 for nationwide vote; 252 for Virginia's vote; 832 for Patrick.

<sup>12</sup> Richmond Whig, November 6, 1860, provides "correct tabulation" for these two elections.

first. Like many counties further west, Patrick harbored many anti-secessionists. Tradition holds that businessmen in the county such as Hardin Reynolds, foretelling economic disaster, lobbied against secession as long as they could.<sup>13</sup> As late as April 4, 1861, Samuel G. Staples, Patrick's delegate to the Virginia State Convention, voted nay on a motion for immediate secession.<sup>14</sup> His vote merely echoed that of Patrick residents earlier in the year; the county had resoundingly held against secession in a referendum on referring the actions of the Convention to the people. Over 81 percent of the county's votes cast at that time desired that the people of Virginia ratify the State Convention's decision on secession.<sup>15</sup>

On April 17, 1861, Samuel Staples responded for secession, however, when the State Convention voted for secession after the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's

---

<sup>13</sup> Patrick Reynolds and Tom Shachtman, The Gilded Leaf, Triumph, Tragedy and Tobacco: Three Generations of the R.J. Reynolds Family and Fortune (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 19.

<sup>14</sup> Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861, Vol. I (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1965), April 4th.

<sup>15</sup> Proceedings, Number IX of the Documents of the Convention of 1861, "Supplementary Report from the Committee of Elections Concerning the Vote on the Question of Referring the Action of the Convention, Etc. to the People". Patrick voted 699 for referring, 161 against.

call for men.<sup>16</sup> Patrick was not an eastern county, where secession was popular, nor was Patrick part of the far western counties of Virginia which finally chose to leave the state rather than the Union. Previously part of the swing group of counties neither for nor against secession from the start, Patrick then became part of the new majority for secession. In this respect Patrick County may be considered representative of the South; a county where slaveowning families represented one quarter of the white population (like the South as a whole), it hesitated to secede until left no choice. The popular election in May of 1861 was pro forma, and widely supported the Convention's action.

Politically, Patrick County was often unusual and difficult to categorize. The county straddled the Blue Ridge Mountains and was, therefore, part Piedmont and part Valley. Patrick manifested both eastern and western characteristics. Slave population, for instance, as mentioned above, peaked at 24.2 percent in the county in 1850, whereas the average slave population for Piedmont counties in 1850 reached 50.2 percent.<sup>17</sup> Patrick's slave

---

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings, April 17th.

<sup>17</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 320-326. Tables for 1850 slave populations for each section of the state from Alison Goodyear Freehling, Drift Toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), Appendix.

population, however, was consistently higher than the Valley's. Patrick hovered in the middle of these two geographic classifications. Patrick's white residents were primarily small farmers, and large tobacco-growing plantations were few. Much of the county lay in the mountains or mountain tops rather than the Piedmont, and the residents often regarded their county as more a western than eastern county. For example, in the constitutional conventions of 1829-30 and 1850-51 Patrick County lobbied for more equal representation for itself and for the western counties.

As early as 1805 Patrick had challenged eastern counties for a more fair constitution. In 1805-1806, Patrick and Henry Counties petitioned the General Assembly that the system of representation as established in 1776 violated the principles of a true republic. They also complained of the expense to the state of two delegates from every county regardless of population, and of the existing apportionment of the Senate. This, they cried, was unjust because it did not accurately reflect economic and social developments in Virginia in the past twenty years.<sup>18</sup> Patrick, Henry, and Pittsylvania

---

<sup>18</sup> Robert P. Sutton, Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 61-62. Original petitions in Virginia State Archives. Freehling, Drift Toward Dissolution, is a more detailed source on the entire convention of 1829-1830; see also J.C. Robert,

counties in 1807-1808 again presented petitions to the Virginia Assembly. The House of Delegates supported the petition for a constitutional convention but the Senate did not.<sup>19</sup> In 1815 the General Assembly received a similar petition from Patrick County. Years after Patrick County's first appeal, the Assembly finally called together a constitutional convention.

The new constitution eventually produced by the 1829-1830 convention provided for representation in both Houses of the General Assembly based on the average of the white population and the federal ratios, and modestly extended the franchise.<sup>20</sup> Suffrage, however, remained tied to property holding or taxpaying, thereby limiting the number of Patrick men who could vote. For Patrick, the constitution established more fair representation for them and for other western counties and reduced the political power of the eastern counties, but not enough.

Patrick's delegate to the 1829-1830 constitutional convention was Archibald Stuart, who would later become a

---

Road from Monticello: A Study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970). Richmond Enquirer, January and February 1806, provides a running account of the speeches in the Assembly.

<sup>19</sup> Journal of the House of Delegates, 1806-07, 67-68; Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 1, 1807.

<sup>20</sup> Sutton, Revolution to Secession, 103. Freehling provides detailed analyses of the whole constitutional convention.

U.S. Congressman. Stuart voted in the affirmative for the new constitution along with the majority of delegates from Piedmont counties.<sup>21</sup> In Patrick, however, residents split their votes; only 52.7 percent of the county voters approved the constitution.<sup>22</sup> Patrick's voters were not sufficiently pleased with the new apportionment of representation and the continued limitations on voting.

In the ratification of the constitution, Patrick voted more like the Valley counties, exhibiting again Patrick's swing between Piedmont and mountain counties.<sup>23</sup> The ratification vote was sectional; Tidewater and Piedmont counties voted heavily in favor, western counties rejected the constitution, and some of the Valley counties were evenly divided. Virginia as a whole voted 62.6 percent for the new constitution.<sup>24</sup>

The slavery debates in the General Assembly followed on the heels of the new constitution. Prompted by the Nat Turner insurrection and by petitions to the Assembly,

---

<sup>21</sup> For brief biography of Stuart, see Sutton, 206 and 219. For Stuart's vote, see Theodore M. Whitfield, Slavery Agitation In Virginia, 1829-1832 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1930), 44-45, from Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829-1830 (Richmond, 1830), 882.

<sup>22</sup> Journal of the House of Delegates, 1830-1831, Appendix, Doc.1.

<sup>23</sup> Sutton, 105-106.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

the 1831-1832 special session spent several weeks on the topic of the future of slavery in the state. The General Assembly eventually agreed on the inexpediency of enacting any legislation against slavery.

Patrick's delegate to the 1831-32 session, Isaac Adams, owned ten taxable slaves. Unfortunately for the historian, on the day of voting for three motions regarding slavery, Isaac Adams was not present. His votes are not recorded.<sup>25</sup>

As indicated by the vote on the 1830 constitution, much of Patrick County was not satisfied with the constitution's apportionment of representation and restrictions on voting rights. When a statewide referendum was held in 1850 regarding the possibility of another constitutional convention, Patrick voted overwhelmingly, 552 to 134, for the convention.<sup>26</sup> The county's eagerness to call together another convention suggests a preponderant dislike of the constitution set forth in 1830.

That convention produced finally a constitution which broadened voting privileges in the state to universal adult white male suffrage. Western counties were pleased with the constitution's new suffrage, but

---

<sup>25</sup> Journal of the House of Delegates, 1831-1832, January 25, 1832, 109-110.

<sup>26</sup> Richmond Whig, June 4, 1850.

suspicious of the special protection slaveholders and slave counties received. For example, taxes on slaves were set at the equivalent of \$300 worth of land, and slaves under twelve years were exempt from taxation. This law, written when slave prices were escalating, effectively undervalued slaves and provided a tax windfall for slaveowners, thus perhaps encouraging the permanency of slavery in the state.

Patrick County ratified the constitution of 1851 by a vote of 509 for and 255 against. Patrick's vote indicates that some residents remained unsatisfied, and the issue was probably regarding slavery, although some may have thought that eastern counties gave up too much. Virginia as a whole similarly ratified the constitution.<sup>27</sup>

In the years preceding the Civil War, Virginia proceeded at a deliberate pace through constitutional conventions to address the inequities of representation and restrictions on voting privileges. Only partly a Piedmont county, Patrick often supported western, rather

---

<sup>27</sup> Craig Simpson, "Political Compromise and the Protection of Slavery: Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-51," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (October 1975), 404. Francis P. Gaines preserves the county votes in "The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-51: A Study in Sectionalism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950), Appendix IV, 306.

than the powerful eastern, counties in their drive towards greater representation and a widening of suffrage. Finally, suffrage was granted to adult white males. Additionally, the 1851 constitution instituted statewide elections for some offices, most notably the governorship. Thus, by 1860, Patrick white men were more involved in politics than they had previously been, and faced with the crisis of secession, exercised their voting privilege. Like Virginia, Patrick hesitated at the outset, like the western counties it rejected secession; yet in the final vote Patrick allied with the Piedmont region, with Virginia, united with the rest of the South, and stood for war.

## Chapter Two:

### Impact of the Civil War on the Homefront

When Virginia finally seceded from the Union, Patrick Countians immediately volunteered their services. Among them was Abram Reynolds, the fourteen-year-old son of Hardin Reynolds, entrepreneur, farmer, tobacconist, and one of the county's wealthiest men. Abram, like many boys his age, wished to join the Confederate army as soon as possible. Father and son reached a compromise: Abram would attend Virginia Military Institute and then would be allowed to enlist provided he did some odd jobs for his father first.<sup>1</sup>

Abram would later recall one of these odd jobs, an expedition from the family home in Critz to obtain salt at the saltworks on the Great Kanawha River for the family store to sell to the community. Reynolds, fifteen at the time, teamed up with another man looking for salt. They rested their horses during the day while they searched for corn to feed their teams; this course of action kept their wagons most often out of view of marauding Confederate soldiers. They survived scares of Federal troops too, as well as a broken wheel, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Reynolds and Tom Shachtman, The Gilded Leaf: Triumph, Tragedy and Tobacco, Three Generations of the R.J. Reynolds Family and Fortune (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 20.

returned to Patrick County loaded down with salt, and their horse "Fat and slick".<sup>2</sup> Evidently, Reynolds procured a large supply of salt as his father was still selling it at his store near the end of the War.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps it was his son's enthusiasm for the war that prodded Hardin to assist Virginia's effort. In June of 1861 the Patrick County Court unanimously voted to appropriate \$20,000 for equipping volunteers from the county. Hardin Reynolds acted as agent in issuing bonds to cover the funds.<sup>4</sup> As one of the wealthiest men of the county, Reynolds probably loaned some of his own funds.

In 1860, 1,617 white men of military age, roughly 15-50 years, lived in Patrick, approximately 45 percent of Patrick's white male residents.<sup>5</sup> In November of 1861 a count of white males over 21 in each county in the state recorded 1,344 white men in Patrick.<sup>6</sup> The rough

---

<sup>2</sup> A.D. Reynolds, Recollections of A.D. Reynolds, 1847-1925 (Winston-Salem, NC: Reynolda House, 1978), 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> In a later story Reynolds mentions that he came home with 4,000 pounds, Ibid., 1, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick County Order Book 8, Patrick County Court House, June 1861, 373.

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population of the United States in 1860, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 502-503. I have included 15 year olds because by 1863 they would have been of military age.

<sup>6</sup> Journals and Papers of the Virginia State Convention of 1861 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), Vol. III, Document 37.

estimate of 1,200 enlisted white Patrick men, nearly universal participation, hints at the most palpable effects of the war on the county: first, the prolonged absence of these men, and secondly, the great loss of life. Almost 75 percent of Patrick's white men aged 15-50 left the county for some time.

Patrick County men enlisted in these groups:

1. Company I of the 24th Virginia Regiment, 98 men under Captain A. M. Lybrook. Left Patrick Courthouse on May 28, 1861.
2. Company I of the Confederate Reserves, 76 men, under Captain A.D. Reynolds. Marched first to Dublin, Virginia.
3. Company H of the 42nd Virginia Regiment, 100 men from both Patrick and Henry counties under Captain John E. Penn. Left Penn's Store on July 1, 1861 for Lynchburg.
4. Company C of the 51st Regiment of the Virginia Infantry, under Captain D. Lee Ross. Reorganized one year later as Company D with W.T. Akers as Captain. R.J. Woolwine appointed Captain in 1864.
5. Company H of the 51st Virginia Regiment of Infantry, 100 men, under Captain Green R. Conner. Left the county in July 1861.
6. Company H of the 58th Virginia Regiment, 101 men under Captain George E. Booker. Left September 1861.

7. Company K of the 58th Virginia Regiment, 101 men, under Captain J.T. Lawson. Engaged in battles of Fort Donaldson and Murfreesboro in Tennessee.<sup>7</sup>

One Patrick County resident participated in the Civil War in another way. Major W.H. Werth, a chemist and soldier, and owner of Patrick Springs, was employed by the Confederate government in 1864-65 to take ore from mines to crucible to make blistered steel.<sup>8</sup>

Patrick County's most famous son, General J.E.B. Stuart, served in the Civil War. Born in 1833 near Ararat in Patrick County, he left his position in the Federal army when Virginia seceded. He became a Confederate cavalry commander, fought at Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, and was widely known for his bold reconnaissance raids. He was killed at the age of 31 at Yellow Tavern. In 1884 Patrick County Court House, the county seat, changed its name to Stuart in recognition of its favorite son.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Maynard Conner and William Bing, An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County (Charlottesville, 1937), 17.

<sup>8</sup> V. G. and L.G. Pedigo, History of Patrick and Henry Counties, Virginia (Roanoke, 1933; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1977), 57.

<sup>9</sup> Biographies of JEB Stuart are mostly popular works: Burke Davis, JEB Stuart, The Last Cavalier (New York: Rinehart and Co, Inc., 1957), John W. Thomason, JEB Stuart (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), and H.B. McClellan, I Rode with Jeb Stuart: The Life and Campaigns of Major General J.E.B. Stuart (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1958).

Over 600,000 men perished in the Civil War; about 260,000 of these were Confederate.<sup>10</sup> The South lost approximately 25 percent of the white men of military age.<sup>11</sup> Figures on mortality among Patrick soldiers are sketchy, but can give some indication of the Civil War's most vicious touch. The 51st regiment enrolled approximately 371 Patrick men. Of this number, twenty-nine died of wounds, ten of disease, ten of unknown causes, and three died in Federal prisons, for a total of 52 dead, or 14 percent. Other regiments fared similarly or worse. At least 113 men from Patrick served in the 42nd Regiment, yet only six were paroled at Appomattox. Others died in Federal prisons or deserted. The remainder of the men were killed in battles such as Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, and Petersburg.

A look at Patrick County Death Registers reveals the dramatic impact of the war on the county. In 1862, 334 residents of Patrick died, and much of these (30.5 percent) were directly caused by war.<sup>12</sup> By 1865,

---

<sup>10</sup> On numbers of casualties of the war, see William F. Fox, Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865 (Albany, 1880) and Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865 (Boston, 1901).

<sup>11</sup> James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 856.

<sup>12</sup> Patrick County Death Register, 1862, Patrick County Courthouse.

however, deaths in Patrick from war-related causes had dwindled to nothing; only eleven of 83 deaths that year were of soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

In 1862, 30.5 percent of the county's deaths (102) were of white men between the ages of fifteen and fifty. These men did not succumb to old age nor did they die in Patrick County; 100 percent of them died because of the war. The Death Register for the county records causes of their deaths as diphtheria, measles, typhoid fever, pneumonia, consumption, and dysentery. Other causes of death included "camp fever", "wounded", and "killed in battle." These men died in places such as Staunton Hospital, Norfolk, Richmond, Chattanooga, Lynchburg, and Charlottesville. Henry Goad, 19 years old, was killed at Cedar Run in August of 1862. Edward Hazelwood, 23 years, died of camp fever in Petersburg; Hamon Dalton, 39 years, died of wounds received at Sharpsburg.<sup>14</sup>

Like many of the fatalities of the Civil War, deaths of Patrick soldiers occurred at Petersburg, Cold Harbor and Manassas, yet not on the battlefield. Patrick's muster roll records names of men killed in battles, but reveals, however, that a greater number perished "in army", "in camp", "in service" or "in hospital".<sup>15</sup> These

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 1865.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 1862.

soldiers, such as Edward Hazelwood, died of such illnesses as pneumonia, dysentery or typhoid. Disease ran rampant in Confederate (and Union) camps; often whole troops would be laid low by one virus after another. Poor hygiene, poor sanitation, and poor nutrition were the primary causes of many illnesses. Disease, in fact, was a far more common cause of death during the war than wounds. Among the Confederate and Union troops alike, mortality from disease was nearly double that from wounds.<sup>16</sup>

Muster rolls also indicate that death came to Patrick men of all ages. Thirty-two year old Joseph Bishop, a physician, died of illness on his way home to Patrick. Henry Goad, a 19 year old, perished at Cedar Run. Gordon C. French, a 48 year old man, was killed in the Battle of Winchester in 1864.

One Patrick County soldier, James A. Taylor, "went north".<sup>17</sup> Deserters in the Confederate army were not

---

<sup>15</sup> Patrick County Muster Roll, 1861-1865, Virginia State Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Paul E. Steiner, Disease in the Civil War: Natural Biological Warfare in 1861-1865 (Springfield, Ill: Charles S. Thomas Publishers, 1968), chapter 1, especially page 8. Most of Steiner's figures are culled from Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (1861-1865), prepared under the direction of the surgeon general, U.S. Army (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875-1888).

<sup>17</sup> Patrick County Muster Roll, 1861-1865, in Order Book 18; copy in Virginia State Archives.

rare, yet little is known about them.<sup>18</sup> An accurate number of Patrick Countians who deserted is hard to come by due to unclear records. A soldier would be considered AWOL or deserter if the roll call clerk could not locate him; sometimes a soldier had been transferred or perhaps was in the camp hospital.

Despite poor records, there are some clear cases of desertion among Patrick County soldiers. A local historian from Patrick suggests that over one-half of all Patrick soldiers went AWOL one or more times during the War.<sup>19</sup> For example, records of Patrick County men in the 51st Regiment indicate 40 men who deserted and another 17 who deserted to the North.<sup>20</sup> Isaac Underwood recalled his desertion later in life: "I went North and stayed there ten months in the winding up of the rebellion for I was no war man anyway, and it was slaves that the issue was about, and I had none of these to fight for, and I

---

<sup>18</sup> The basic study is still Ella Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1928; reprint Peter Smith, 1966); see also Georgia Lee Tatum, Disloyalty in the Confederacy (Chapel Hill, 1934; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970), and Daniel Crofts, Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989). Crofts focuses more on the political misgivings of mountain Southern folk with the secession crisis than on desertion, but does provide reasons for later desertions by these people.

<sup>19</sup> O. E. Pilson, "Patrick County in the Civil War", unpub. article, 1990, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 10.

thought it was wrong for me to fight for other people's property unless they paid me for it"<sup>21</sup>. While in the army Underwood suffered from a variety of diseases, smallpox, typhoid, pneumonia, and scrafulus.<sup>22</sup> He was no doubt safer in the North than in an army camp.

Desertion was encouraged in the counties surrounding Patrick by a Unionist group called the Order of Heroes of America. Members not only avoided the draft, but also deserted when they could, and actively worked to undermine Confederate efforts in the area. The group was secret, but Confederate officials learned of its existence. A contemporary source even suggested that in counties such as Floyd, Pulaski, Giles, and Montgomery most white men belonged.<sup>23</sup>

Some Patrick County residents may have belonged as well; the county's order books imply a problem with deserters. Early in the war, Patrick's court formed patrols to arrest deserters.<sup>24</sup> One unfortunate Patrick wife, Sabrina Frashure, suffered a most ironic

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 3, from personal papers of Isaac Underwood in possession of Pilson.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>23</sup> War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. III, 804-807.

<sup>24</sup> Patrick County Order Book 8, 449.

tragedy. Her husband, James, had been wounded in battle and had been allowed home to recuperate. Once home James was put on detail to catch deserters and was killed by a deserter in the county.<sup>25</sup>

Patrick County men, as much as any soldier, were susceptible to the lure of desertion. Rather than fleeing north, most deserters returned home to care for impoverished families. At home the Civil War years were lean ones for the county.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, across Virginia and across the South, deserters responded to pleas from home to return to save a family from poverty, famine, and illness. One Alabaman wrote he was on his way home, "for I cant Stand to here that you and the children are Sufren for Bread."<sup>27</sup>

Impoverished families were probably the rule in Patrick. On most farms, women, children, and old white men remained alone to work the fields. Without the help

---

<sup>25</sup> Patrick county Order Book 9, 29.

<sup>26</sup> The basic study of the Confederate homefront is Charles W. Ramsdell, Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944; reprint, Greenwood Press, 1969).

<sup>27</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Bobbs-Merrill, 1943; reprint, Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Company, 1971), 135, from manuscript in Alabama Archives: Thomas Warrick to his wife, October 26, 1863. For a poignant example of another family's pleas for help, James I. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 136.

of able white men, they faced food shortages and other similar trials.<sup>28</sup> Early on in the war, Patrick County prepared to take care of those left at home. In May 1861 the county ordered a committee formed to "wait upon the families of the volunteers."<sup>29</sup> By June of the same year, the court had begun to assist financially these needy families. It levied on the county \$600 to provide "for families of such volunteers as may leave the county or may have already left for service in the army, and mothers, brothers, sisters, and such families dependent upon sons who have gone away into the army."<sup>30</sup>

Financial assistance was necessary for a variety of reasons, and became more urgent as the war progressed. First, a drought in the summer of 1862 killed crops and reduced foodstuffs available. Interrupted transportation, and the war's inflation as well, kept food prices sky-high. Additionally, the labor shortage, due to the departure of such a great number of the white men, led to smaller crop yields. Women, who already played an integral role in crop production, were forced to increase their work in the fields. This work they

---

<sup>28</sup> On southern white women's war efforts, see Francis B. Simkins and James W. Patton, The Women of the Confederacy (Richmond, 1936).

<sup>29</sup> Patrick County Order Book 8, May 1861, 367.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., June 1861, 374.

performed in addition to their vital role in maintaining the household, dairy, and chickens, preserving, canning, and smoking food, as well as some home production, and nurturing of family. In the antebellum South, women's work in the fields and in the home and gardens was a critical factor in the independence of the small farmer.<sup>31</sup> During war years, the white women stretched further to keep homes and farms together.

In addition to the problems of maintaining productive farms with a smaller workforce, those left behind, mostly women, had to deal with the Confederate army's impressment of produce. Across Virginia, Confederate troops, hungry and ill-equipped, "impressed" food and livestock, paying whatever price they thought fair. This impressment, when combined with the Confederate Congress' 10 percent in-kind tax on agricultural produce, created severe food shortages and displeasure with the Confederate government.<sup>32</sup> Patrick, despite its removal from active military fronts, suffered great hunger from the war.

---

<sup>31</sup> Stephanie McCurry, "Women's Work and Market Exchange: Yeoman Households in the Antebellum South, 1820-1860", paper presented at the Conference on Women and the Transition to Capitalism in Rural America, 1760-1940; Northern Illinois University, March 30-April 2, 1989.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Cecil Todd, Confederate Finance (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1954) devotes chapter four to tariffs and taxes; see 141-142 for the 10 percent in-kind tax.

The army in the southwest part of the state, as elsewhere throughout the South, relied on local communities to provide food for themselves and their horses. In nearby counties the army first took only surplus produce for their food and drink, but increasingly, these troops began to impress all food available, including often a family's food. To what extent this happened in Patrick County is unclear. In 1862 Patrick, along with several surrounding counties, did petition the Virginia state legislature to end impressment of grain for government distilleries.<sup>33</sup>

By the war's end, Patrick County had so little grain to impress for its own indigent people that the county court had to appeal to the Executive of the Confederate States for help. Abram Staples had been appointed by the court to purchase or impress grain for needy families of soldiers, but reported in January 1865 that he was unable to do so. The county then pleaded to the Confederate authorities that it had sixteen hundred indigent people to feed, and that it would take 4800 bushels of grain to maintain these folk through July.<sup>34</sup> No answer is recorded; presumably the Confederate government provided no grain.

---

<sup>33</sup> Centennial issue of newspaper.

<sup>34</sup> Patrick County Order Book 9, January 23, 1865, 49.

Instead it asked the county to send more aid, this time in the form of slaves. The Executive of the Confederate States requisitioned slaves as well as food; slaves were needed to build roads, camps, bridges, and defense works. Slaves were cooks, nurses, ambulance drivers, hospital attendants; slaves worked on railroads, in iron mines, and in naval works.<sup>35</sup>

The tricky job of requisitioning slaves was assigned to each state governor early on in the war.<sup>36</sup> In Virginia the General Assembly demanded a percentage of slaves from several counties as early as October of 1862.<sup>37</sup> Patrick slaves were not called until November of 1862, when the Assembly requested 75 slaves.<sup>38</sup> Patrick furnished only 67 slaves, and in March of 1863 an additional sixteen slaves were called for from the

---

<sup>35</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes, 1861-1865 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), chapter VII, "Military Laborers", 111-145. See also James H. Brewer, The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), and Tinsley Lee Spraggins, "Mobilization of Negro Labor for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1861-1865," North Carolina Historical Review, 24 (April 1947).

<sup>36</sup> May Ringold, The Role of the State Legislatures in the Confederacy (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1966), 34.

<sup>37</sup> Brewer, The Confederate Negroes, 141 from Letcher, Executive Papers, October 10, 11, 21, 22, 1862.

<sup>38</sup> Brewer, 143, from Letcher, Executive Papers, November 21, 1862.

county.<sup>39</sup> In December of 1864, Patrick's court was again called for "a correct list of all the able bodied slaves capable of performing ordinary labor" in compliance with the Executive's request.<sup>40</sup> A committee reported that in Patrick County 214 male slaves were liable under the requisition.

Patrick, however, was not prepared to part with them. Samuel and Abram Staples, on behalf of the county, appealed for an exemption "upon the grounds of the sparseness of the slave population of this county and of the withdrawal from the county of so large a percent of the white male population now in the army of the Confederate states."<sup>41</sup> The Order Book never records an answer from the Executive.

In April of 1865, however, an item in the Order Book names Patrick residents who were sending slaves to Richmond for work. The county dispatched twenty slaves. Among those who sent one or more slaves were Samuel Wilson, Samuel Staples, Hardin Reynolds, Jackson Penn, Prior Tatum, Henry Tuggle, and James Langhorn.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Brewer, 144, from Letcher, Executive Papers, March 13, 1863.

<sup>40</sup> Patrick County Order Book 9, December 1864, 32.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>42</sup> Patrick County Order Book 9, 47.

The County's order books for the Civil War years speak of the war's impact on the county at a most basic level. A crucial commodity to both civilians and soldiers was salt, and its scarcity during the Civil War presented serious problems.<sup>43</sup> Reynolds' trip to Kanawha points to the importance of the problem in Patrick. Salt was necessary to preserve meats, fish and even butter, and a scarcity of salt meant loss of food to spoilage. The Confederate Army needed to use salt similarly to preserve rations for its soldiers.

Counties both across Virginia and across the South experienced difficulties with procuring salt. Salt resources within the Confederacy quickly became the target of Union blockades and captures. Major sources of salt such as Goose Creek Valley in Kentucky, the Kanawha Valley in (West) Virginia, and saltworks in Saltville in southwestern Virginia were repeatedly attacked, captured, regained, and lost.<sup>44</sup>

The Virginia General Assembly in its 1861-62 session directed county courts to purchase and distribute salt for each community. In September 1862 the General Assembly, pushed into action due to the scarcity of the

---

<sup>43</sup> Ella Lonn, Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy (New York, 1933), chap. III, "Pressing Scarcity of Salt", 35-53.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 188-203.

commodity, awarded the governor the right to seize property for salt production if necessary. When salt scarcity remained a problem, Virginia established a salt superintendency.<sup>45</sup>

Entries in the Order books in Patrick County Courthouse record payments to citizens for buying and delivering salt for the county. Like Reynolds' expedition, these attempts to obtain salt were expensive, dangerous and time-consuming. Beverly Davis, a Methodist preacher and one of the county's wealthiest residents, financed one of these trips. The Order book tells of Davis putting up \$13,000 for salt and for the trip.<sup>46</sup>

The land itself of Patrick County exhibited another effect of the war. Federal troops only once encroached into Patrick territory. Stoneman's raid through North Carolina and Southwest Virginia in 1865 passed through Patrick County on its way to Danville. Danville was crucial to both the Confederate and Federal armies because of the railroad junction there. Danville became even more enticing to the Federal army when Jefferson Davis moved the seat of the Confederacy to Danville after the evacuation of Richmond (April 3, 1865). General

---

<sup>45</sup> Ringold, The Role of the State Legislatures in the Confederacy, 48, from Acts of the Virginia General Assembly (1861-1862), 156-157, and (Called Session, 1862), 3-5.

<sup>46</sup> Patrick County Order Book 8, May 1862, 43.

Palmer, under the command of General Stoneman, marched through Taylorsville and spent two nights there on April 5-7, 1865. Part of Stoneman's forces engaged in a skirmish with Confederate forces under J. Wheeler outside of Danville on the Henry Courthouse road. Stoneman's path probably was the Bristol-Norfolk Road (Rte. 58 now).<sup>47</sup> It is this raid that A.D. Reynolds' father spoke of when he greeted his son home from battle after Richmond was evacuated: "my Son the Yankees have been here and torn up Evry thing and my Negro men have all gone with them."<sup>48</sup>

Stragglers from Stoneman's raid continued to terrorize the county after the troops had already passed through. A.D. Reynolds recalls breaking up this gang of marauders who "had organized a battalion of deserters and was raiding over the county taking the horse, feed, what little grain and bacon there was, killing stock, and causing great terror." After they killed a Confederate widow who had only ten days before given birth to twins, this band of renegade federal soldiers was finally routed from the county by men led by Reynolds.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> On Palmer's trip through Taylorsville, see OR, Ser. I, Vol. 49, Pt.1, 332. Stoneman's forces in this raid were estimated at 4,000 men strong, OR, Ser. 1, Vol. 47, Pt. 3, 750 and 753.

<sup>48</sup> Recollections of A.D. Reynolds, 12.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 18, 21.

Patrick soldiers encountered a changed county when they returned home after Appomattox in 1865. The land from Fancy Gap, North Carolina along the Bristol-Norfolk Route to Danville in Henry County was scarred by Stoneman's raid. Livestock had been confiscated, fields destroyed, slaves freed, families abandoned, men killed, and women widowed. Patrick had companions, however, to her griefs. Wartime devastation, extreme destitution, and wrenching hardships were visited upon virtually all of the South.

Chapter Three:  
Slavery and Emancipation

Few will now argue that slavery was one of the crucial issues at the root of the Civil War. Often, however, slavery in the South is misrepresented in one of two ways. First, the stereotyped picture of the South as a rich, slave society based on plantation life, where huge gangs of bondsmen toiled, still thrives despite efforts of historians for most of this century to tell otherwise. On the other hand is the penchant of some historians to propose instead a relatively small scale of slavery in the South and to downplay the involvement of most Southerners in this great evil.<sup>1</sup> Either extreme distorts the picture of the South, and of Patrick County on the verge of war. In Patrick County in 1860, the plantation was not the way of life, nor, however, was slavery in the county small-scale and participated in by "only" a small minority of white folk. The number of white residents involved in slavery represented a significant portion of the population.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the slave population of Patrick County was comparable to much of the South. In 1860, 22.1 percent of the population of

---

<sup>1</sup> Otton Olsen, "Historians and the Extent of Slave Ownership in the Southern United States", Civil War History (18) 1972, 101-117.

the county was slave; Virginia as a whole had a slave percentage of 30.8 percent. Across the South the slave population measured 32.3 percent, but this figure is misleading.<sup>2</sup> In parts of the South, including the entire states of South Carolina and Mississippi, the slave population exceeded 50 percent. Elsewhere, such as Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, slaves represented 40 percent of the population, although in no other state did slaves constitute one-third. The percentage of slaves in individual counties varied even more. Slavery in the South might better be measured at one quarter the whole population. Patrick's percentage of slaves, therefore, did not markedly differ with the South as a whole.

A comparison on a different level, this time of white slaveowning families, shows another similarity among Patrick, the state of Virginia, and the South, and also better manifests the importance of slavery on Southern culture and white families. The proportion of white slaveowning families to non-slaveowning families in Patrick was fairly typical of both Virginia and the South. In Patrick County in 1860, 318 slaveholders owned 2,070 slaves; slaveowners constituted only 4.4 percent of

---

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 598.

the free white population.<sup>3</sup> Supposing, however, that each slaveowner resided in a separate family, white slaveowning families constituted approximately 23.8 percent of white Patrick County families.<sup>4</sup> That percentage was comparable to the South as a whole, where one of every four white families owned slaves.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, slave hiring by other white families extended the percentage of the white population with a not inconsequential stake in slavery. A very substantial one quarter of the white population, both in Patrick and in the South, had some involvement with slavery.

In Patrick County there were 318 slaveowners. Almost 64 percent of these slaveholders owned five or fewer slaves, South-wide, approximately 50 percent owned no more than 5 slaves. Actual statistics show that 93 of Patrick's owners (29.4 percent) held just one slave; across Virginia 21.0 percent of slaveholders owned only one slave. South-wide, approximately twenty percent of the slaveowners held just one slave.<sup>6</sup> 12.6 percent of

---

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture of the United States in 1860 (Washington:Government Printing Office, 1864), Virginia, Slaveholders and Slaves, 244.

<sup>4</sup> In 1860 there were 1337 families in Patrick County, 1860 "Population".

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, Statistics, 350.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 247-248.

Slaveholders and Slaves, Patrick, 1860

| <u>Slaves</u> | <u>Number of Slaveholders</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1             | 93                            |
| 2-5           | 111                           |
| 6-9           | 59                            |
| 10-14         | 31                            |
| 15-19         | 6                             |
| 20-29         | 10                            |
| 30-39         | 2                             |
| 40-49         | 2                             |
| 50-69         | 3                             |
| <u>70-99</u>  | <u>1</u>                      |
| Total         | 318                           |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Virginia, Slaveholders and Slaves, 244.

Patrick's slaveowners owned two slaves, another 10.0 percent owned just three slaves.

Only 7.5 percent of Patrick's slaveholders owned 15 or more slaves, which is far less than the figure of 17.6 percent of the slaveowners across the South. Planters, those owning twenty or more slaves, constituted 12 percent of slaveholders in the South, and 6 percent in Patrick. L.C. Gray indicates that in 1860 slaveholdings of nine or less comprised 72 percent of all holdings. Yet in Patrick, slaveholdings of nine or less comprised almost 83 percent.<sup>7</sup>

According to the 1860 census table on slaveownership, the greatest number of slaves held by one slaveholder in Patrick County fell in the category of 70 to 99 slaves. That man, Samuel Wilson, owned, in fact, the maximum number of slaves for that category, 99 slaves. Large slaveowners were clearly not the norm in Patrick County nor were they throughout the South. Only a few limited areas of the South saw large plantation life flourish.

This comparison of Patrick with Virginia and the South reveals then that Patrick's slave population was typical, that there were fewer planters, but that the

---

<sup>7</sup> L.C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1932; reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 481-482.

percentage of slaveowning families was comparable to the South. Slavery, whether that meant one slave or hundreds, was an integral part of at least one of every four white families. Patrick's experiences of slavery, therefore, were not so different from the rest of the South.

Patrick, as a county, was not economically bound to slavery, though certain individuals and families clearly were. Most planters engaged in diversified farming rather than focusing on tobacco or one cash crop requiring large amounts of slave labor. Taxes on slaves did not constitute the largest part of the county's annual revenue; land taxes supplied most of the county's revenue. In 1860, social statistics from the federal census show that Patrick's revenue was derived from four taxes: real estate, personal property, capitation, and county and parish levies (mostly poll tax). Taxation on slaves constituted 8 percent of the county's revenue; real estate contributed 36 percent, personal property 16 percent, and county and parish levies another 40 percent.<sup>24</sup> A decade earlier, in 1850, before the reduction in slave taxes, taxation on slaves comprised 27

---

<sup>24</sup> "Social Statistics" (1860), Patrick.

percent of the county's revenue.<sup>9</sup> The 1851 constitution changed much of the taxation system of the state. Before these changes and after them as well, one can see that taxation on slaves made up only one part of the county's revenue.<sup>10</sup>

Slaves were often the most valuable item a Patrick farmer owned; in fact, slaves constituted one of the South's greatest assets. Slaves were a marketable asset, easily sold if necessary, and useful as collateral. Both the 1860 census and wills and inventories recorded in Patrick's courthouse testify to the value of slaves. For instance, the 1854 inventory of John Parker's household goods, farm implements, and animals totalled \$639; his slaves, however, were worth an additional \$5,900. His slaves ranged in value from \$200 for a woman named Jane to \$900 for a unnamed man. Other female slaves in this inventory were valued at \$800; these women were presumably young, strong, and of childbearing age. Similarly, an appraisal of William Burge's estate in 1855 records slaves worth \$4,650 and other goods at \$300.

---

<sup>9</sup> Documents Containing Statistics of Virginia ordered to be printed by the State Convention sitting in the city of Richmond, 1850-1851 (Richmond, 1851), 73.

<sup>10</sup> Compare this to South Carolina which in 1850 derived 63.1 percent of state property tax revenue from taxes on slaves, Peter Wallenstein, From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth Century Georgia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 226.

Jacob Clark's appraisal from 1858 lists 55 slaves ranging in value from \$200 to \$2,000.<sup>11</sup> Even a few slaves would be a valuable asset in a farmer's estate. Slaves could even be worth as much as a small farmer's land. Ehanah Houchins, for example, owned a plot of land worth \$785; his slaves were valued at \$783.

The 1860 census hints too at the great wealth a slave presented to an owner. The census records both real and personal estate values for each free male head of household. In 1860 personal property generally included slaves, livestock, carriages, watches, clocks, plate and jewelry, household goods, bonds, and state stock. James Langhorn, one of the county's wealthiest men, owned real estate valued at \$15,000; his personal estate measured another \$11,000. Mr. Langhorn's personal property consisted mostly of expensive adult male slaves, nine according to the slave census, in addition to livestock. Thomas J. Penn, a merchant with real estate worth \$18,000, held \$100,000 of personal property. Penn owned 61 slaves. In Patrick County, which boasted no urban sophistication or extravagant lifestyle, personal estates of wealthy men often included slaves.

---

<sup>11</sup> Patrick County Will Book 5: John Parker's will, p. 1; William Burge, p. 21; Jacob Clark, p. 279.

Slaves in Patrick served primarily as field workers. It is not surprising that men who grew tobacco owned more slaves than did other farmers; as a labor-intensive crop, tobacco required many hands. Samuel Wilson's farm, which produced the most tobacco in the county in 1860, also employed the greatest number of slaves. In addition to field work for tobacco, Patrick slaves supplied the labor for the county's tobacco factories. Tobacco factories across the South employed slave labor almost exclusively.<sup>12</sup> Hardin Reynolds manufactured tobacco in his own factory on his property; his 80-plus slaves were employed in the factory as well as in the fields.

Patrick slaves performed various other jobs besides those related to tobacco. Samuel Wilson did not restrict his farm acreage to tobacco alone. In fact, none of the farmers in Patrick could afford to do so. Wilson's livestock, valued second highest in the county, included 125 swine as well as horses, cattle, and sheep. In addition, he grew wheat, corn, and oats. Wilson surely used slaves to work these fields and care for the livestock too.

Samuel Hairston, owner and operator of Patrick's only furnace, owned 63 slaves in 1860. Hairston listed his occupation as ironmaker, yet he also held livestock

---

<sup>12</sup> Robert S. Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 16.

and produced some crops. His livestock was valued higher than any other farmer's in the county. Some of his slaves are likely to have cared for his 40 swine, 20 sheep, 18 asses, 5 milch cows, and 4 working oxen. Hairston's farm produced in 1860 just 1,000 bushels of corn and 200 of oats. Sixty slaves would have been too many to cultivate such small fields and few livestock; probably the majority of Hairston's slaves worked in his furnace. That would not have been uncommon in Virginia's iron industry before the Civil War. The Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, for example, used slave labor almost exclusively.<sup>13</sup>

Slaves were often hired out.<sup>14</sup> The 1860 census abounds with examples of a slave or slaves owned by one but working for another. Hiring of slaves illustrates the importance of slavery beyond the one quarter of the white families who owned slaves. Very often the owner of the slave lived in a nearby county; sometimes the slaveowner resided in Patrick, and hired out the slave to another farm. Women appear often as owners of slaves being hired out. Hiring out a slave for a year was an

---

<sup>13</sup> Kathleen Bruce, Virginia's Iron Industry during the Slave Era (New York: The Century Company, 1931), 231; Starobin, Industrial Slavery, 14-15. Also, Charles Dew, Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

<sup>14</sup> L.C. Gray, History of Agriculture, 565-567.

easy way of earning some money for a family. These slaves were often newly inherited property which was not needed on their new owner's farm. Prohibited sometimes by will stipulations from selling these slaves, owners discovered hiring out as an efficient way to make money.

Slaves did desert their masters during the war, and more left, finally free, at the war's end. A history of Patrick County by Lewis and Virginia Pedigo recalls during the Civil War "many instances of faithful service of the slaves...but the unrest caused by the talk of freedom had its effect."<sup>15</sup> Although slaveowners did not free their slaves until the war ended, this comment suggests that Patrick's slaves understood the meaning of freedom and left.

Very little evidence survives to describe the experiences of Patrick's slaves before and, finally with, freedom.<sup>16</sup> Throughout Virginia, freedmen left their familiar homes and counties and migrated to the cities and towns. Alexandria, Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Hampton (among others) grew enormously in the years

---

<sup>15</sup> Virginia and Lewis Pedigo, History of Patrick and Henry Counties, Virginia, 39.

<sup>16</sup> The pioneering study on this topic is B.I. Wiley, Southern Negroes, 1861-1865 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938). A more recent treatment, built on memoirs and personal papers, is Leon F. Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981).

following Emancipation. Thirty-five Virginia cities and towns listed in the census had grown by an aggregate of only 705 white residents from 1860 to 1870, while the black population in the same cities had increased by 25,834.<sup>17</sup>

It is difficult to determine how many (if any) of these freedmen were former Patrick County slaves. Patrick's black population grew only slightly, 5.6 percent, from 1860 to 1870, less than the usual 8 percent increase for natural increase and in- and out-migration. The 1870 census, however, notoriously underestimated the number of blacks: the decade 1870-1880 shows a whopping 17.6 percent increase in the black population. Thus, relatively few freedmen appear to have left Patrick immediately after the war. Those who remained worked primarily as farm laborers, and hands in the tobacco factories. Migration by blacks out of Patrick did not happen in great numbers until the decade of the 1880's. Then Patrick's black population plummeted from 21.3 percent to 14.6 percent.<sup>18</sup> The coincidence of the

---

<sup>17</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census. Vol. I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 278-283, cited in John Preston McConnell, Negroes and Their Treatment in Virginia, 1865-1867 (Pulaski, Va.: B.D. Smith, 1910), 3.

<sup>18</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), Part I, 434.

train's arrival in Patrick in the 1880's suggests that ease of transportation may have prompted the exodus to more potentially profitable areas.

The majority of white farmers in Patrick had worked for themselves or paid wages to white day laborers before the War: for most, slave labor was not crucial. In 1860, Patrick County possessed few very large farms, only four farms over 500 improved acres, which would have entailed a correspondingly large unfree work force. These farms, however, saw significant losses in capital and labor.

One owner of a large farm, Hardin Reynolds, who held 88 slaves in 1863, was already experienced with contracts for labor and for tenancy.<sup>19</sup> As early as 1855 Reynolds had rented a piece of land to a white tenant for fifteen dollars in tobacco and other produce.<sup>20</sup> This experience, however, could not have fully prepared him for handling contracts with former slaves. In fact, a complaint about Reynolds by a freedwoman resulted in a reprimand from a freedmen's agent: "Sir a colored woman by the name of Ceby comes to this office and complains of You threatening to Drive her from your plantation I suppose

---

<sup>19</sup> Nannie Tilley, The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, 9 and Appendix B, from Personal Property Tax List, Patrick County, 1863.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 9, from Papers of Hardin William Reynolds.

you are well aware wherein Freedmen have help raised a crop they are entitled to a Support You are hereby ordered to give this woman a home on your plantation or a support to do her till Christmas".<sup>21</sup> Most Virginia planters, in a similar position, were required at the end of the war to support their slaves until at least harvest, in cash or with shares of produce. Yet money was scarce for all, and money to pay wages to former slaves was almost impossible to find. Wages were probably only grudgingly paid by many planters. Many former slaveowners tried to take advantage of their former slaves before "settling up time."

Not all Patrick freedmen, however, experienced such difficult times with former masters. A letter from a white Patrick County woman points out another side to emancipation in the county. Her letter remarked that "The freedmen are doing very well here. I suppose the Yankees are trying to give them equal rights with the white man from what we heard from Congress."<sup>22</sup> While this is not a ringing endorsement of freedmen's fortunes

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 9, from Papers of Hardin William Reynolds, letter from agent Captain Asa Teal to Reynolds, November 16, 1865.

<sup>22</sup> Mary S. Penn, Penn's Store, Patrick County, to "Papa", May 2, 1866, B.M. Bagby Papers, Duke University Library; quoted in J.D. Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction, 1865-1870: A Political, Economic, and Social Study" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1960), 400.

in Patrick, and though it displays this white woman's skepticism, it does indicate that some freedmen were getting by.

Among the many changes Reconstruction brought to Virginia and to each county was the establishment of schools for black children as well as whites. Schooling for freedmen was first provided by several benevolent associations with northern connections and by the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia and the South. In 1870 the Virginia General Assembly established public schools for both blacks and whites. Patrick was one of nine counties in 1870 in the state where no black children attended school.<sup>23</sup> By 1871, however, Patrick public schools enrolled black as well as white children. In the public free schools of the county, the year 1871 saw 40 black students (3.6 percent of all enrolled students) attend school in addition to 1,056 white children. By 1872 black enrollment had escalated; approximately 12 percent of the students in Patrick's public schools were black.

---

<sup>23</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census: Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), Vol. I, Statistics and Population, Table X: School Attendance and Illiteracy, 432.

In the following decade black enrollment would hover around 12 percent.<sup>24</sup>

Between 1870 and 1900, black student enrollment peaked at 16 percent in 1882, and decreased to 10 percent in 1901. This decline coincides with the flight of black people from Patrick. The number of schools opened for black students, however, continued to rise, from one school in 1871 to thirteen in 1901. White teachers taught at white Patrick schools and blacks at black schools with the exception of a few years between the end of the 1870's and the beginnings of the 1880's.<sup>25</sup>

Public sentiment about public schools was positive from the start in Patrick. The superintendent of county schools reported in 1871: "Our cause has become popular, and public sentiment is now decidedly wth us." In 1877, despite the financial pressures of the time, the superintendent again reported favorable attitudes of Patrick residents, and remarked on the "growing attachment" to the public schools.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Raymond P.G. Bowman, "Secondary Education in Virginia, 1870-1886" (Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1938), 492. His source is the Virginia School Reports, 1871-1886.

<sup>25</sup> Superintendent of Public Instruction, Virginia School Reports, 1870-71, 1877, 1882, 1886, 1890-91, 1901-1903. These reports supply, among many other items, numbers of students of each race, numbers of schools by race, and numbers of teachers by race.

<sup>26</sup> Virginia School Reports, 1870-71, 150, and 1877, 27.

One of the successes of public schools in Patrick was the increase of literacy. Literacy in Patrick for people of color, 1860-1880, was minimal. Before emancipation, the law forbade teaching both freemen and slaves (true of the whole South), yet in 1860, as many as 32 percent of those free blacks over 20 years old in Patrick could read or write.<sup>27</sup> Assuming that no slave could read, literacy for all blacks in 1860 measured only 1.9 percent.<sup>28</sup> In 1870, a random sampling of black families indicated that not one adult over 21 could read or write.<sup>29</sup> No black children attended school in Patrick County in that year. The census lists only white school teachers, both men. Literacy among white men over 21 in Patrick in 1870 contrasts sharply with literacy rates for blacks. Almost 72 percent of white men over 21 could write and read.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> "Population" (1860), Patrick County. This figure is suspect; two blind paupers, both 70 years old, did not receive an affirmative mark in the "over 20 cannot read/write" column.

<sup>28</sup> I made this assumption for the purpose of obtaining one rate of literacy for all blacks in Patrick for comparison with later years.

<sup>29</sup> I examined literacy of the first black family in every 100 families in Patrick in the manuscript population schedules for both 1870 and 1880.

<sup>30</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census. Vol. I. Statistics of the Population of the United States, 432.

By 1880, the census records one black school teacher along with seven white men and women, all from Virginia. Yet the black folk of Patrick remained largely illiterate. Again, a crude sampling of one black family from every one hundred families in the county showed 86 percent of those family members over 10 years old could neither read nor write. Those who could included the black teacher, 29 year old Edmund Miles, his wife, and their eleven-year-old daughter who could read but not write yet. Most of those literate were women, 64 percent; most literate were young. Four were under twenty, five from twenty to thirty, one 33 year old, and one 57 year old farmer. Three under twenty resided in the same family; their illiterate mother, father, and older sister all attended school during the year. The older men worked as teacher, farmer, and carpenter; women kept house, one worked in a tobacco factory, and another was a laborer.

By 1900, literacy among blacks in Patrick County had improved greatly to an over 40 percent literacy rate. Based on a random sampling of the first black family in every 100 families in the 1900 population census, 45.3 percent of those over 10 could read, and 40.6 percent could write.<sup>31</sup> Within a generation after emancipation, and with a generation of schooling, the black population

---

<sup>31</sup> "Population" (1900).

increased its numbers who could read and write. Additionally, schools for black children were directed by black teachers, not white. Education in the county and across the South had progressed to the point where blacks had become the teachers. Education was not an overnight change for the blacks in Patrick.

Slavery was an integral part of Patrick's way of life. When the war ended, nearly one of every four Patrick residents became a former slave. At least one of every four white families in Patrick and across the South lost its workforce and its assets. In this respect, then, Patrick is representative of the South's experiences at the end of the war.

Patrick's freedmen appear to have stayed in the county. There they sought out the benefits of their new freedom, including education. Patrick freedmen, despite their new status, remained at the bottom of the social structure, as did freedmen across the South.

## Chapter Four:

### Wealth/Social Structure, 1860-1880

Among the prominent names of early white residents of Patrick County were Staples, Hairston, Penn, Hughes, Adams, and Tatum. These men served as the first officials of the new county; they also ranked among its wealthiest men. Seventy years later, in 1860, these family names still appeared prominent in Patrick County. Men of wealth from these families continued to hold positions of power much as wealthy men had in Patrick's early days. This phenomenon was not confined to Patrick County; in other counties across Virginia and the South the richest men held the most powerful and prestigious offices.<sup>1</sup> The Staples family, for example, held the office of county or circuit court clerk in Patrick continuously from 1791 to 1865. Their reign came to an end only with Reconstruction when Abram Staples was removed from the office and John Anglin appointed "by military authority" to replace him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Wooster, Politicians, Planters, and Plan Folk: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Upper South, 1850-1860 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), Chapters 4 & 5, esp. 116-119. Cf. also Crandall Shifflett, Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South, Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> Conner and Bing, An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County, 22.

In 1860, 76.5 percent of the population of Patrick County was white, 22.1 percent slave, and 1.4 percent free black. Most of the residents were born in the county; Patrick's days as a frontier county were long over. Patrick residents lived in rural areas; there were no urban centers. The only major town, Taylorsville, had a population of less than 300 people. There was no railroad into the county; most produce which left the county went out on wagon to markets in Danville. The majority of free men in the county were farmers. There were 318 slaveholders; of these only eighteen were planters. One of every four white families owned slaves; those who owned slaves almost invariably owned land as well. The majority of white farmers, however, owned land, often less than 100 improved acres, whether they owned slaves or not.

In 1860, the white male-female ratio in the county stood almost equal, 50.3 percent male to 49.7 female. In Patrick, 3,555 free white females resided; an additional 72 free and 1,101 unfree black females called Patrick home. Among free blacks the male-female ratio was 55 percent female, and among slaves the male-female ratio stood at 53.2 percent female. Primary sources, however, from Patrick, as elsewhere, have treated women unkindly; subsumed under a husband's name and rights, Patrick's women are difficult to uncover. Women, even free, could

not participate in the political arena, which the primary sources cover extensively. Denied the right to vote, even free women could only extend influence on the county's political ongoings through their husbands.<sup>23</sup>

Some Patrick women held land; these women, however, appear primarily to be widows. Jane Clark, one of the county's wealthiest landowners, was a widow. Land belonging to widows was often willed to them "for life" and reverted to sons and daughters upon the mother's death. Sometimes a will would stipulate that land and the home remain in the widow's possession only as long as she remained unmarried, when it would revert to the children. Married women had very few property rights, and their possessions usually became the husband's; thus a remarried widow's property would become her second husband's, unless a will stated contrary.

The manuscript schedules for free inhabitants in 1860 meant to include occupations, trades, and professions for free men and women alike over 15 years of age. Patrick's schedules, however, do not include women's occupations consistently. If a woman was also a wife, most often this column for occupation appears blank; male census takers appear to have assumed "wife"

---

<sup>23</sup> Suzanne Lebsock, Virginia Women, 1600-1945: A Share of Honour (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1987) examines the roles of women in Virginia.

was the woman's only and primary occupation. The few occupations recorded show women in traditional roles: midwife, domestic servant, seamstress, weaver, and school teacher.

In 1860, only 131 free people of color resided in Patrick; 31 were men over 15 years (74 percent of them mulatto), and 39 were women over fifteen. These people, neither slave nor really free, lived on the fringes of society in Patrick. Most being women and children to whom few rights would have been accorded even had they been white, Patrick's free people of color enjoyed few privileges. Men were primarily farm laborers; only 7 among the 31 called themselves farmers. One each was a blacksmith, a wagoner, a wheelwright, a laborer in a tobacco factory, or a cabinet maker. Only four black men held any real estate. Lidney Henderson, 56-year-old farmer, held real estate valued at \$100, Arthur Going, 63-year-old farmer, owned real estate worth \$200, Enoch Wilson's land was worth \$700, and, Stephen Going, an 82 year old farmer, owned real estate valued at \$1,000. Personal estate in 1860 was essentially non-existent as well for free blacks, both male and female. The value of personal estate ranged from \$1 (Martha Travis) to \$200 (Arthur Going).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> "Free Inhabitants" (1860), Patrick.

Patrick's free black women were chiefly wives and mothers. A few performed other occupations such as midwife, cook and washer woman, seamstress, and domestic. In this respect they were little different from Patrick's white women. Some enjoyed ownership of personal estate; two held real estate. A 70 year old midwife, Polly Beasley, possessed real estate worth \$200 and personal estate worth \$100.

Patrick's wealth rested in the land. Farming was the predominant occupation, and farmers were the wealthiest men. In 1850 the twenty wealthiest landowners (based on the value of real estate owned) included only two men who did not count themselves farmers. One was an attorney, the other a merchant.<sup>3</sup> In 1860 that group included seven non-farmers. These men earned a living as ironmaker, preacher, clerk of county court, an attorney, and three merchants.<sup>4</sup> Land, wealth easily passed on, may have contributed to the enrichment of the families in power.

In Patrick County, large landholdings did not necessarily imply large improved farms nor large slaveholdings; in fact, few men owned large farms of

---

<sup>3</sup> "Free Inhabitants" (1850), Patrick.

<sup>4</sup> "Free Inhabitants" (1860), Patrick.

improved acreage with many slaves in 1860. Patrick's wealthy men owned farms of about 200-400 improved acres and few slaves. This, however, did not preclude some men from becoming relatively rich (although in other counties they would have been merely moderately wealthy). Charles Dehart, for example, cultivated a farm of only 150 improved acres; it was worth, however, a good deal of money because of the large number of unimproved acres (870) and the value of his livestock.

While many wealthy men were farmers, others made their money differently. Hardin Reynolds, although he called himself a farmer, was more than that. An entrepreneur of sorts, he manufactured tobacco (buying up tobacco from locals since he did not produce enough), he ran a general store, and he acted as a banker. Samuel Hairston's wealth came from his iron furnace, the Union Iron Works, although he had been a farmer prior to his taking over the furnace after his father's death.

These landowners of Patrick County were not a uniformly wealthy class. Among the twenty wealthiest landowners in 1860 there were sharp divisions in wealth. Four men owned real estate worth well over \$30,000; the remaining sixteen held land worth less than \$20,000. Of that sixteen, six men owned real estate worth \$10,000 or less. In contrast to these categories of the wealthy, most residents of Patrick owned very little real estate

Value of Real Estate and Owners' Occupations, Patrick,  
1860

|                  |          |                    |
|------------------|----------|--------------------|
| Samuel Hairston  | \$60,000 | ironmaker          |
| Beverly Davis    | 40,000   | preacher           |
| Hardin Reynolds  | 40,000   | farmer             |
| Samuel Staples   | 31,000   | farmer             |
| Thomas J. Penn   | 18,000   | merchant           |
| John R. Cobbs    | 18,000   | farmers            |
| Joseph Kennerly  | 15,000   | farmer             |
| James Langhorn   | 15,000   | farmer             |
| Henry Tuggle     | 13,000   | clerk county court |
| Madison Carter   | 12,480   | attorney           |
| Pryor Tatum      | 12,135   | farmer             |
| Thomas Clark     | 12,000   | farmer             |
| Jackson Penn     | 12,000   | farmer             |
| John Zentmeyer   | 10,500   | merchant           |
| George Hylton    | 10,000   | farmer             |
| Philip Anglin    | 10,000   | farmer             |
| William Powell   | 10,000   | merchant           |
| Abram Adams      | 9,000    | farmer             |
| Nathaniel Scales | 8,000    | farmer             |
| Jane Clark       | 8,000    | -----              |

Source: "Free Inhabitants" (1860)

of substantial value. The 1860 census records hundreds of men whose real estate was valued only in the hundreds of dollars and less. Wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few.

In 1860 wealthy men held the powerful offices in Patrick, or, if not actually in office, exerted their influence in the county in other roles. For example, Abram Staples, a cousin of Samuel Staples, was Circuit Court Clerk of the county from 1852 to 1869. He succeeded Samuel, who had been Circuit Clerk from 1844 to 1852. Henry Tuggle, also one of the wealthiest real estate owners in 1860, held the position of County Clerk from 1852 to 1869. John Staples, another member of the Staples family, represented Patrick in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1859 to 1865. Samuel himself had been Patrick's delegate from 1852 to 1855, and he represented the county at Virginia's Constitutional Convention in 1861.<sup>7</sup>

Many of Patrick's rich residents served the county in roles other than these elected or appointed offices. Patrick County did not have any institutional banks until the twentieth century. Instead, men with money served as the county's informal banks, providing cash and requiring

---

<sup>7</sup> Conner and Bing, An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County, 21-23.

repayment at a later date. An appraisal of Thomas Penn's estate, for example, included five pages of notes due him.<sup>63</sup> An appraisal of Jacob Clark's estate similarly contained three pages of bonds owed to him.<sup>64</sup> Hardin Reynolds issued bonds to outfit volunteers from Patrick during the Civil War, and Beverly Davis financed trips to the saltworks to obtain needed salt for the community during wartime. The few wealthy families held the land, the government, and perhaps most importantly, the purse-strings of the county.

The general view that the Civil War was the blow that killed the plantation and ended the reign of the planter class has been challenged in the last fifty years. The much touted redistribution of land after the War and the rise of small landowners is not so clear anymore. C. Vann Woodward's thesis that a new, industrial class of men replaced the planter elite of the South has recently been proven lacking in different

---

<sup>63</sup> Patrick County Order Book 5, Thomas Penn, 274.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 279.

states and different counties.<sup>10</sup> A closer look at Patrick County can test the thesis again.

The Civil War changed the highest echelon of Patrick's social structure little. The sheer amount of deaths caused by the war, however, shook the overall social structure by skewing the male-female ratio, and the emancipation of slaves introduced a new class into the structure. In 1870 the male-female ratio had changed to 48 percent male and 52 percent female. The census does not supply complete breakdowns of the population according to sex and age, but provides these figures: There were 3,599 females under age 5 or over 18 in the county, yet only 1953 white men over age 21. These figures suggest a major shakeup in social structure, in households, and in the pattern of life within the county, as more women became heads of households and

<sup>10</sup> Since Roger Shugg's article, "Survival of the Plantation System in Louisiana" (Journal of Southern History 3 [1937], 311-25), historians have generally accepted the view that the plantation did survive the war. C.Vann Woodward's Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, 1951) argues that the planter class, however, was destroyed. Jonathan Wiener, Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1900 (Baton Rouge, 1978) refutes Woodward's assertion and shows overwhelming planter persistence in parts of Alabama. For other counties see Crandall Shifflett, Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South, Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900 (Knoxville, 1982), Dwight Billings, Planter and the Making of the New South: Class, Politics, and Development in North Carolina, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill, 1979). On the persistence of planter elite ideology, Laurence Shore, Southern Capitalists: The Ideological Leadership of an Elite, 1832-1885 (Chapel Hill, 1986).

breadwinners. The war changed the lives of women, as they often made a life without husbands, and the lives of free blacks, especially those newly freed. My focus here, however, is to examine only the highest echelon, the planters, for continuity or demise.

A glance at the wealthiest landowners in 1870 reveals many of the same names from the 1860 list.<sup>11</sup> Although the value of their real estate had decreased after the Civil War, as had all land values across Virginia, these men remained fairly rich, and most seemed to have weathered the war well. Samuel Staples, in 1860, owned real estate worth \$31,000; it included a farm of 450 improved acres, and 2,650 unimproved acres. The 1870 agricultural census notes that the cash value of Staples' farm had decreased to just \$7,000; however, Staples had improved an additional 550 acres for a total of 1,000 improved acres. Destruction of land and livestock and depreciation of farms, in addition to the deflation of currency, universal across the South, precipitated the decline in farm values. Total acreage of Staples' farms came to 3,000 acres in 1870 versus 3,100 in 1860. The cash value of Staples' farm and his entire real estate, though much decreased by the war, still placed him among the seven wealthiest men in the county. Although

---

<sup>11</sup> "Free Inhabitants" (1870), Patrick.

aggregate wealth dropped, Patrick's wealthy men before the war were still the wealthiest at the end of the war.

Other Patrick planters fared as well. Jackson Penn owned a farm of 1,200 acres of land in 1860, both improved and not, and 1,100 in 1870. The value of Penn's real estate holdings placed him thirteenth wealthiest in 1860 and twelfth wealthiest in 1870. Similarly, Thomas M. Clark ranked twelfth wealthiest with 1,450 acres in 1860, though he slipped to 17th with 1,217 acres in 1870.<sup>12</sup>

The number of large farms in the county, which in most situations one would expect to have been hit hardest by the loss of slaves, actually increased between 1860 and 1870. The five owners of farms over 500 acres were not new men rising to the top. They were men, such as Hardin Reynolds, Wellington Thomas, Charles Dehart, and Charles Nowlin, who prior to the war had been wealthy or moderately well-off. In 1870 our friend Samuel Staples owned the largest farm, 1,000 improved acres. Although abolition of slavery eliminated their greatest asset, source of capital and collateral, these wealthy men maintained their wealth through other capital such as the most valuable land, livestock, and cash crops.

---

<sup>12</sup> "Free Inhabitants" (1860 and 1870) and "Agriculture" (1860 and 1870).

Much as the distribution of wealth did not change, so the primary means of livelihood remained constant through the war and the years afterward. Chief occupation in 1870 among the top twenty landowners still remained farmer. Only five non-farmers ranked in the twenty richest landowners: two merchants, a tobacconist, a probate judge, and a lawyer. As in 1860, the 1870 census records farmer and laborer as the predominant occupations among all Patrick males.

The consistencies in wealth and occupation continued well after the end of the war. The next decade, 1870-1880, scarcely changed this picture. Holdings in Patrick County remained fairly small, most under 300 improved and unimproved acres, and those who owned large farms or large landholdings were men who were already rich in the previous decade. County officials in the decades from 1860-1880 continued to come from the more wealthy and privileged segment of Patrick's population: Henry Tuggle, Jefferson Lawson (Senator, 1865-67), John Penn (Senator, 1869-76), W.F.B. Taylor (Va. House of Delegates, 1865-71), James Critz (Va. House of Delegates, 1872-77), and Thomas Clark (Circuit Clerk, 1870-71).

Historians have long been critical of the 1870 census because census takers often treated the cultivator of each plot of land as the owner, thereby making any study of landownership tenuous. This faulty census

suggested the breakup of the plantation and the rise of the small landed farmer after the Civil War. In Patrick County, as the more trusted 1880 census indicates, there was no large redistribution of land in the county following the Civil War, nor any dissolution of Patrick's planter class, the uppermost part of the social structure. No new group of industrialists or merchants sprang up in Patrick County to replace them. As in Jonathan Wiener's Alabama counties, Crandall Shifflett's Louisa County, and other areas across the South, the planter elite continued to play a powerful role in Patrick County after the war.

Chapter Five:  
Agriculture and Industry, 1860-1880

The Civil War struck hard at farming, which was the predominant means of living for most Southerners. Wartime devastation of fields and livestock proved difficult to recover from, and continued indebtedness, coupled with unfavorable weather, caused much of the South to struggle for at least a generation to regain antebellum crop yields and profits.

No part of Southern life was immune to the touch of war, and this included agriculture, even in places where war barely entered. Patrick's agriculture did not escape the impact of the Civil War. Although the landscape suffered only minimal damage in comparison with other parts of the state and the South, Patrick's agricultural output was diminished. Stoneman's raid destroyed farms and livestock in the southern part of the county, and restrictions on crops during the war and labor shortages during and after the war resulted in a decline in crop production, which did not completely recover until the 1870's.

Early residents of Patrick County engaged chiefly in subsistence farming, including growing flax for clothes. "The people live independently, mostly within themselves

and generally sell their surplus grain, pork, beef, brandy..."<sup>1</sup> The distance to their markets such as Danville and Lynchburg may have originally prevented inhabitants from focusing on cash crops. Travel was not easy: as late as 1930, 80 percent of the residents of the county lived and worked on farms along dirt roads.<sup>2</sup> Despite the lack of good transportation such as the train, residents increasingly turned to farming tobacco as a cash crop during the period before the Civil War. Its success in other parts of the state was well known, and the southern side of the mountains in the county provided excellent soil for growing this crop.

Two of Patrick County's most famous families owe their fame and wealth to tobacco factories begun here. In 1814 Abraham Reynolds bought fifty acres of land which became known as Rock Spring Plantation. His two sons Hardin (1810-1882) and David (1811-1836) both raised and manufactured tobacco with him. Due to David's early death, Hardin became sole heir to over one thousand acres when his father died. Hardin's fortunes increased: in 1863 he owned 88 slaves, a huge number of slaves for any

---

<sup>1</sup> Martin, A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, 257.

<sup>2</sup> Connor and Bing, An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County, 8.

Virginian, as well as a Patrick County resident. At his death in 1882, he owned over eight thousand acres of land in Patrick County, making him one of the county's largest landowners.<sup>3</sup> In a factory just behind the house (today the Reynolds Homestead) on the Bristol-Norfolk Road (now Rte. 58), he manufactured tobacco. But tobacco was not his only source of income; he also sold other produce and dry goods at his store near his house. In 1843, for example, he sold to one patron nine bushels of wheat, one and a half bushels of salt, one bushel of apples, two gallons of honey, ten barrels of corn, and one "sack bag".<sup>4</sup> In the 1870's, however, because of the lack of easy transportation, Hardin's sons would take their profits and leave the county; one went to Bristol, Tennessee and the other, R.J., to Winston-Salem, North Carolina in order to form the R.J. Reynolds Company, which is today one of the largest companies in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, another Patrick County family was also making its fortune by growing and manufacturing tobacco.

---

<sup>3</sup> For land, Patrick County Land Tax Lists, 1882, and Nannie M. Tilley, The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 9. For slaves, Tilley, p. 540, from Personal Property Tax Lists, 1863, Patrick County Courthouse.

<sup>4</sup> Tilley, 11, from the Papers of Hardin W. Reynolds.

<sup>5</sup> Tilley, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, chapter 1.

The Penn family owned Penn's Company on the eastern border of the county in a village named after their general store, Penn's Store. They would eventually move their factory to Reidsville, North Carolina, where it would become part of the American Tobacco Company.

Despite the prosperity of these two families, no tobacco warehouses were built in the county.<sup>6</sup> Other tobacco manufacturers were not as successful as these two families. Indeed both these families achieved their greatest success and wealth by moving out of the county and closer to better transportation and markets. Nevertheless, during the years preceding the Civil War, more farmers reserved a portion of their acreage for tobacco. Patrick's tobacco production, while not as great as other counties, was sufficient to make tobacco an important crop in 1860.

The average farm in Patrick in 1860 was small; 72 percent of the county's farms measured under 100 improved acres.<sup>7</sup> The agricultural picture of the county in 1860 showed few signs of change from the earlier part of the

---

<sup>6</sup> George M. Herndon, "A History of Tobacco in Virginia, 1613-1860", Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1956. His maps showing location of warehouses in the state reveal none in Patrick.

<sup>7</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 218.

century, except in the production of tobacco. Patrick's chief crops in 1860 remained rye and oats, Indian corn, Irish and sweet potatoes, and flax. The county's farmers also produced wheat, peas and beans, barley, buckwheat, and hay, as well as butter and cheese.<sup>6</sup> Tobacco increased from a per capita production of 44.7 pounds in 1850 to 70.0 pounds in 1860.<sup>7</sup> While the amount of peas and beans, potatoes, Indian corn, and rye and oats dropped slightly from the previous decade, the county produced more wheat, flaxseed, and beeswax. Several new ventures appeared in the 1860 census such as molasses and hemp.

Almost immediately as the Civil War began, the new government of the Confederate states discouraged planting of inedibles such as tobacco, and demanded that farmers instead devote their acreage to foodstuffs for themselves and the army. Planters such as Samuel Wilson and Hardin Reynolds were hard hit by this decree. Shortages of manpower in the fields contributed to lower yields for all crops, although women doubled their efforts in the fields and in the home to keep up the farms, often for

---

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture of the United States in 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 158-161.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 159.

naught. The destitution implied by Abram Staples' plea for grain to feed the county's indigent vividly portrays the difficult conditions of farms on the homefront.

Statistics of the 1870 agricultural census bear witness to the economic hardships endured by Patrick. The end result of these trials was decreased production, by approximately 50 percent, of such staple crops as tobacco, wheat, and corn. By the 1870 census, per capita production of tobacco had fallen from 70.0 lbs. to 31.9 lbs.<sup>10</sup> The numbers of livestock in Patrick, especially horses, asses, and mules, also plummeted. Farm values fell. Patrick did not show full recovery until the 1880 census, unlike parts of the South, such as the Georgia Upcountry, which showed an increase in cash crops (cotton) immediately following the war.<sup>11</sup>

The extreme reductions in crop production and numbers of livestock in Patrick paralleled similar hardships both in Virginia and across the South. Virginia's output of tobacco dropped from 77.7 pounds per capita in 1860 to 30.3 pounds in 1870. Virginia suffered

---

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census. Vol. III. The Statistics of the Wealth and the Industry of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 271-272.

<sup>11</sup> Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 141-152.

Table I: Important Crops, Patrick, 1860-1880

| Yr.  | Tobacco |         | Wheat   | Corn    |
|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|      | p.c.    | pounds  | bushels | bushels |
| 1860 | 70.0    | 655,454 | 19,571  | 185,202 |
| 1870 | 31.9    | 323,886 | 9,657   | 147,329 |
| 1880 | 55.6    | 714,073 | 23,797  | 262,183 |

Table II: Livestock, Patrick, 1860-1880

|      | Cattle | Horse, Asses, Mules |
|------|--------|---------------------|
| 1860 | 5,491  | 1,689               |
| 1870 | 5,475  | 1,499               |
| 1880 | 7,139  | 1,872               |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 159 for both tables; Ninth Census. Vol. III. The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States, 270-273 for both tables; Tenth Census (1880): Report on the Productions of Agriculture, for table I, 209 and 320, for table II, 174.

similar losses in livestock numbers; the number of horses decreased 47 percent, mules and asses 34 percent, and working oxen 53 percent.<sup>12</sup> Patrick, in fact, got off easy. In parts of the South hit hardest by raids by Sheridan, Sherman, and Stoneman, crops and livestock were completely destroyed.

Farm size in Patrick after the war is difficult to ascertain. The suspect 1870 census indicates that in Patrick County the number of small farms under 100 acres (especially those from twenty to fifty acres) increased to 85.2 percent of all farms.<sup>13</sup> Indeed by the 1880 census, farm sizes in Patrick were no longer so small; that census records only 63 percent of the farms as being less than 100 acres.<sup>14</sup> The largest hike came in the category of farms 100 to 499 acres, which increased almost 400 percent. Historians present two possible explanations for this increase. First, census enumerators

---

<sup>12</sup> Figures for tobacco and livestock are derived from Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 162-163; for 1870 see Ninth Census. Vol. III. Statistics of the Wealth and Industry, 267-268.

<sup>13</sup> On difficulties with working with the 1870 census see Jonathan Wiener, Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1978), Appendix: the Manuscript Census, 229-239, esp. 230.

<sup>14</sup> For farm sizes for 1870, Ninth Census. Vol. III. The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry, 365; for 1880, Tenth Census (1880): Report on the Productions of Agriculture (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 96.

began to record ownership of land rather than cultivator in 1880, and secondly, in 1870 fear may have caused many citizens to underestimate their holdings.

Tenancy became widespread throughout the South after the Civil War as more sought their own land but were unable to afford it. Figures for tenancy on farms for 1870 are unfortunately not available, but the 1880 census shows that while 57.3 percent of Patrick farms were cultivated by owners, slightly half, 42.7 percent, were farmed by renters. Of the rented farms, 39.0 percent were rented for shares of products, and 3.7 percent rented for fixed money rentals.<sup>15</sup>

A jump ahead to 1890 reveals that the percentage of Patrick farms cultivated by owners grew to 67.3 percent.<sup>16</sup> Renters for fixed price constituted 6.0 percent of farms, and farms rented for share of products shrank to 26.6 percent.

These figures on farm tenancy for Patrick can be compared to Virginia's. In 1880 in Virginia 70.5 percent of farms were cultivated by owners; in 1890 that figure

---

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census (1880): Report on the Productions of Agriculture, 96-97.

<sup>16</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census: 1890. Statistics of Agriculture of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 190-191.

grew to 73.1 percent.<sup>17</sup> In poor Patrick fewer farms were cultivated by owners, and more were rented than in the state as a whole.

### Industry

Little industry flourished in Patrick County, and the lack of efficient transportation prevented much growth. As early as 1847 residents of Patrick were working to improve means of transportation out of the county. That year George Hairston, then a resident of Henry County but owner of the iron forge and foundry (the Union Ironworks) on Smith River in Patrick, sought financing for an experimental bateau trip up the Smith River.<sup>18</sup> Hairston's boat trip up the Smith River was successful, but his venture to make Smith River fully navigable was never achieved.

Patrick's railroad venture was more successful, but slow to arrive in the county. The Danville and New River Railroad Company planned a line from Danville to Stuart as early as 1873, yet construction did not begin until

---

<sup>17</sup> For 1880 tenancy, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census (1880): Report on the Productions of Agriculture, 94-95; for 1890 tenancy, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census (1890): Statistics of Agriculture of the United States, 190-191.

<sup>18</sup> Frederick F. Siegel, The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness: Tobacco and Society in Danville, Virginia, 1780-1865 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 107-109.

the early 1880's. Part of the delay was due to disagreement over the location of the line; residents of Patrick such as Col. John E. Penn, A.M. Lybrook, E.P. Zentmeyer, Mr. Hylton, and Mr. Moir petitioned the board for their favorite location. Minutes of the Board of Directors indicate that finally the line was located "nearer the southern border of Patrick County than was desired by a portion of the people of that county."<sup>19</sup> It was, the minutes note, cheaper that way chiefly because the southern section was not as mountainous. The Board of Directors mentioned to its stockholders that "at an early day" it would become necessary to construct a line through the neglected northern part of the county. That line was never constructed.

Patrick financed the railroad line through bonds of \$150,000. In May of 1882 the Board of Directors of the railroad company approached the county court to request that voters of Patrick County approve the county's subscription to the railroad line.<sup>20</sup> At an election in July of 1882, 84 percent of the voters approved Patrick's subscription.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> "Danville and New River Railroad Company Minutes of the Stockholders and Directors, 1880-1886", Book D-3b, letter to the "Stockholders of the Danville and New River Railroad Company", Nov. 22, 1882; Newman Library, Virginia Tech, Special Collections, Ms84-044.

<sup>20</sup> Patrick County Order Book 13, 39.

The line from Danville to Stuart was opened August 1, 1884 after a delay over the location of the depot in Patrick Court House. The train ran from Danville to Stuart once a day through Stella, Critz, and Patrick Springs. An article in a Danville newspaper on the railroad's run to Patrick Court House remarked:

It opens to commerce, to the markets, a section of country heretofore isolated and brings the people into contact with the progressive spirit that characterizes the times....It will give new life to things, and industries that have languished and died will spring up and be followed with profit.<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately, the train did not arrive in time to keep Hardin Reynolds' sons in the county. In 1876 Abram and R.J. bought out their father's share of the business, and, as mentioned earlier, moved respectively to Bristol, Tennessee, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The other tobacco moguls of the county, the Penn family, also left the county. A local story tells that the Penn family were annoyed that the train ran through Patrick Springs instead of Penn's Store, which was closer to their factory and lands.

In 1860, only ten manufacturing establishments existed in Patrick County.<sup>23</sup> The majority of these,

---

<sup>21</sup> Patrick County Order Book 13, 60-61.

<sup>22</sup> Clipping from a Danville Newspaper preserved in Patrick County resident's scrapbook; source unknown.

seven, were tobacco factories; the remaining three were a pig-iron establishment, a saddlery and harness business, and a tin, copper and sheet-iron ware factory. The capital invested in these ventures totalled less than capital invested in manufacturing in the county in 1850. These establishments employed 124 men and women; the majority of these worked in the tobacco factories which employed 66 men and 29 women. Following the tobacco factories in both capital invested and hands employed, was the pig iron factory which invested \$30,000 and employed 26 men. The only women who worked in manufacturing at this time worked for the tobacco factories; farm women's experience with tobacco in the fields and at harvest might explain their employment in the factories.<sup>24</sup>

By 1870 Patrick County had lost two manufacturing establishments. Eight establishments employed 179 hands, and produced \$78,627 worth of products. The labor force was roughly 50 percent male over 15, 25 percent female over 15, and the remainder "youth". The census records that six of these eight establishments were "tobacco,

---

<sup>23</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manufactures of the United States in 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 625.

<sup>24</sup> On women's role in the growing, harvesting, and production of tobacco, see Pete Daniel, Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880 (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 198 and chap. 2.

other than cigars", and these factories employed 170 of the county's 179 manufacturing employees.<sup>25</sup>

Five years after it ended, the Civil War did not appear to have seriously hurt Patrick's manufacturing: there was little before the war, and a bit less after. The workforce in the tobacco factories changed from slaves to hired black hands, and more women were employed as well as more youth. The value of products placed Patrick near the bottom of Virginia counties in manufactures. Even in 1880, more than a decade after the war, there existed very little industry in Patrick, still only tobacco factories. The Civil War may have adversely affected the growth of industry in the county, but that is difficult to determine. The county had little before the war, and there remained the problem of transportation. The story of industry in Patrick County, at least the tobacco industry, remains a "what if" story.

Like much of the South, Patrick's agriculture and industry was directly influenced by the Civil War. The county's production of crops fell tremendously during the war years and did not recover until the 1870's. Destruction of farms, slaughter of livestock, depreciation of tools and equipment, deflation of currency, and even poor weather stripped Patrick farmers

---

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census. Vol. III. Statistics of Industry and Wealth, 577.

of the means to recover pre-war yields. In both agriculture and industry, Patrick, like the South, struggled to replace the slave workforce. Deflation of currency and loss of capital (mostly slave) limited industrial growth in the county, and, in fact, decreased it. Thus, the trials of war hampered the development of Patrick's and the South's agriculture and industry. It took the "New South" to recover both.

## Conclusion

As one would expect, Patrick County's years 1860-1880 were shaped by the Civil War and the changes it effected, both immediate (within four years), and longer-term. While the war encroached into Patrick only once, sparing the county physical decimation, the county endured hardships comparable to those on the war front. The human significance of these hardships--little salt, less food, hunger, impressed livestock--is apparent. Lack of salt meant loss of food to spoilage, and food was scarce already. Despite the increased efforts of women in the fields, crops withered and died without the help of able-bodied free men of the county, probably 75 percent of whom enlisted in the Confederate Army. Poor weather at times also decreased crop productions. Moreover, disruption of markets and sky-high prices curtailed the purchase of food from outside the county. And, finally, livestock, food, and grain were impressed by marauding Confederate troops. These changes struck fast and hard at the means of existence, and thus daily life, in Patrick.

Another immediate change, not so easily rectified at war's end, had the most palpable impact. Livestock was replaced, crops replanted, and salt could be acquired easily again; men, however, could not be. Almost

universal participation by white men of military age drained the county of fathers, sons, husbands, and brothers as well as farmers, laborers, merchants, and craftsmen. Over 1,200 men enlisted in the Confederate Army during 1861-1865, and many of these perished in service to the Confederate Army. In four years of war, this was the most terrible impact on the white population of Patrick County.

Another immediate yet also far-reaching change was more positive. Slavery ended almost overnight and slaves became free; the close of the war brought freedom to a deprived segment of Patrick's population. For the slaves, the transition from slave status to free was the greatest change produced by the war. For whites, because slavery in the county involved a substantial percentage of Patrick's population, the end of slavery shook a pattern of life which had existed since before the birth of the county.

My focus on the years immediately following the war precluded any detailed look at long-term changes brought about by the war. One of these changes, however, is too crucial to overlook. Unlike the rapid changes of the four years of war, the increase in literacy among blacks in Patrick proceeded slowly for decades. On the one hand, the slaves had become freedmen overnight and had soon been enfranchised; by the end of the century,

however, they would be disenfranchised. Education, the drive towards literacy, on the other hand, exhibited slow yet steady progress. Within a generation after the war's end, and with a generation of schooling, literacy in the county grew from virtually nothing to over 40 percent of those over 10 years old.

Finally, there was a change that did not happen. Although shaken by the loss of slaves (thus personal property, private earnings and public revenue), the highest tier of Patrick's social structure, however, did not break up. Cataclysmic changes hung in the air in the decades following the Civil War, yet the county's social structure, at least its uppermost bracket, remained firm. The twenty wealthiest landowners were culled from the same privileged families in 1880 as in 1860. The planter/farmer class maintained its hold on the wealth of the county in the years after the war. While this does not determine the whole social structure, it indicates that the Civil War did not dissolve the preexisting structure.

Patrick's experiences of these years were not singular. Like Virginia and like much of the South, Patrick suffered bitterly during the war in a variety of ways, and at the war's end continued to be influenced by changes produced by the war.

## Bibliographical Essay

Most of my research for this thesis was extracted from primary sources for Patrick County. The most useful of these was the federal census for the years 1810-1880, the 1800 census having been destroyed by lack of knowledge of its historical importance. I used the manuscript schedules for free and slave population first to provide aggregates and percentages for the county's population and later to track specific individuals across years. I also derived tables on wealthiest landowners from these schedules. The manuscript agricultural census (1850 to 1880) was helpful in elaborating a picture of the county; in the agricultural census I could trace individuals and their farms across decades for produce and livestock. The printed federal census provided information through tables for population, agriculture, industry, and manufactures in the county, statewide, and across the South. My chapters on slavery, wealth, and agriculture and industry derive most of their information from the federal censuses.

Patrick County Court House preserves many varied primary sources about the county's history. There I used Order Books of the county court to manifest some of the day to day influences of the Civil War on the county. Personal Property and Land Tax Books provided names and

figures for the richest and poorest people of the county; much of chapter three is based on these sources.

Marriage, Birth and Death records, wills, appraisals, and deed books are also there.

The Patrick County Historical Society and Museum has preserved many old personal documents, excerpts from newspapers, widows' pension forms, and miscellaneous artifacts.

There is little published secondary material about Patrick County. The oldest of these is a history of Patrick and neighboring Henry County, A History of Patrick and Henry Counties, Virginia, by Virginia and Lewis Pedigo, published in 1937. Representative of local history done at this time, it focuses chiefly on famous families of the two counties. It does preserve, as an appendix, a list of the first grants of land in Patrick County. Judith Hill's History of Henry County is useful for its appendices which incorporate Patrick County until Patrick became a separate county. A History of Pittsylvania county by Maud Carter Clement is helpful also for the very early history of Patrick when it was part of Pittsylvania. Both these books were written early in the twentieth century.

An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County, written by two residents of Patrick in 1937 as part of The University of Virginia's series on counties,

contains in one volume the most succinct and useful history of the county. Besides a brief history of the county, this book includes statistics on wealth, schools and illiteracy, agriculture, industry, town growth, and population until the time of the book's publication.

Other publications about Patrick County include "The Founding of Patrick County" by James Martin in the Journal of the Roanoke Historical Society 2 (Summer 1965), "Courthouses of Patrick and Henry Counties" by Kent Druyvesteyn in Virginia Calvacade (Summer 1972), and Tombstone Inscriptions of Patrick County, Virginia by O.E. Pilson.

Patrick County Library maintains a file on local history which includes many unpublished articles about Patrick's history. The most helpful among these were "Patrick County's School System" by Vergie Thompson and "Patrick County Courthouse: A True Tale of a County Seat and a Forgotten Donor" by A.F. Allison. The library also has on microfilm early issues of the county's newspaper, The Enterprise, first published in 1876. Unfortunately very few issues from before 1900 were preserved.

A local historian, Mr. O.E. Pilson, recently put together an almost complete list of Patrick residents who served in the Civil War. The list includes any information known about units, numbers killed, wounded, or dead of disease, and where buried. Mr. Pilson's work,

"Patrick County Soldiers in the Civil War," was extraordinarily useful for the chapter on the Civil War.

Chapter One on the background and politics of the county before 1860 is derived from many sources. The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619-January 11, 1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members, compiled by Cynthia Miller Leonard, provided the names of Patrick's delegates and senators during the slavery debate and each constitutional convention. W. Dean Burnham's Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892 provided Patrick's votes in each presidential election from 1836 through 1892. Alison Goodyear Freehling, in Drift Toward Dissolution: the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832, explored Virginia's slavery debate by examining sections of the state and pointing out that antislavery sentiment was not confined to western counties. Appendices on percentages of slaves in different sections of the states show Patrick as the smallest slaveowning county in the Piedmont, which explained Patrick's often split votes. Patrick's representative, Isaac Adams, was not present at the vote on the slavery debate in 1832; the vote is recorded in Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Theodore Whitfield's Slavery Agitation in Virginia, 1829-1832 provides the vote of each county on the 1830 constitution as well as the vote

of each county's representative to the 1829-1830 constitutional convention.

Craig Simpson's article in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, "Political Compromise and the Protection of Slavery: Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851," provides a background to the political maneuvering of the constitution of 1850 and shows how not all counties were satisfied with the new constitution. A Good Southerner by Simpson is a further treatment of the same subject. An unpublished dissertation from University of Virginia by Francis P. Gaines, "The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-51: A Study in Sectionalism", preserves the vote of each county on the 1850 constitution and the votes of each county on the referendum whether to hold the convention as well.

The several volumes of the Journals and Papers of the Virginia State Convention of 1861 preserve the daily ongoings of the 1861 convention on secession, and record the votes of each delegate on the various motions for and against secession before and after Fort Sumter. Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861 includes the official returns of the counties on the vote to refer to the people the action fo the convention (an indication of the voters' feelings toward secession). Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession (by

Beverly Munford, 1909), though dated, explains well the importance of Virginia's stance on secession for the rest of the country. Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis by Daniel Crofts suggests the strength and numbers of men opposed to secession, and indicates that slaveownership was not a good factor in determining those for and against secession.

There are many now outdated works on secession and sectionalism; there is, however, no new and thorough treatment of these subjects for Virginia alone, nor any treatment of these issues on the local county level. Therefore, books by Ambler, Dumond, Shanks, McGregor, Sydnor, and Georgia Lee Tatum all served as background material.

Many different books on a variety of topics served as models for my thesis, and to these books I owe a great deal. My favorite was A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1670-1750 by Darrett and Anita Rutman. Their belief in the historian's role as interpreter and recreator of the past encouraged me to search out stories which might bring life to Patrick's history. Jonathan Wiener's The Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1850-1900, Crandall Shifflett's Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, 1860-1900, and Durwood Dunn's Cades Cove: The Life and Death of an Appalachian

Community, 1818-1913 focused on specific counties and showed me among other things: 1) the plantation class did not perish after the war, and 2) county history can be stimulating, lively, and applicable on a wider scale. Peter Wallenstein, in From Slave South to New South, provided answers or direction on a vast number of questions.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

"Danville and New River Railroad Company Minutes of the Stockholders and Directors, 1880-1886". Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech.

Patrick County Land Tax Books, 1860, 1870, 1880, Patrick County Courthouse, Stuart, Virginia.

Patrick County Muster Roll, 1861-1865, Patrick County Courthouse, Stuart, Virginia.

Patrick County Order Books 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 18, Patrick County Courthouse, Stuart, Virginia.

United States Census. Manuscript Schedules, Virginia, Patrick County. Population and Agriculture Schedules, 1850-1880; Social Statistics, 1850-1870; Manufacturing Schedules, 1850.

### Published Primary Sources

Documents Containing Statistics of Virginia ordered to be printed by the State Convention sitting in the city of Richmond, 1850-1851. Richmond, 1851.

Journals and Papers of the Virginia State Convention of 1861. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966.

Journal of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1806-1807; 1827-1828; 1830-1831; 1831-1832.

Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829-1830. Richmond, 1830.

Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861. Vol. I. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1965.

Richmond Whig, November 6, 1860.

Richmond Enquirer, June 4, 1850; November 16, 1860.

U.S. Army. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Army of the War of the Rebellion. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.

----- Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875-1888.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Agriculture of the United States in 1860. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

----- . Compendium of the Seventh Census. Washington, D.C.: A. O. Nicholson, 1854.

----- . Compendium of the Tenth Census. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885.

----- . Eleventh Census: 1890. Statistics of Agriculture of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895.

----- . Manufactures of the United States in 1860. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

----- . Ninth Census. Vol. I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872.

----- . Ninth Census. Vol. III. The Statistics of the Wealth and the Industry of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872.

----- . Population of the United States in 1860. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

----- . Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895.

----- . Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853.

----- . Tenth Census (1880): Report on the Productions of Agriculture. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.

#### Secondary Sources

Addington, L.F. Short History of Extreme Southwest Virginia. Big Stone Gap, Va: By the author, 1965.

Alderson, William T. "The Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia." Masters Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1949.

- Allison, E. Early Southwest Virginia Families. Auburn, Al: By the author, 1960.
- Ambler, Charles. Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776-1861. Chicago, 1910.
- Andreano, Ralph, ed. The Economic Impact of the American Civil War. Cambridge, Ma.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1967.
- Bentley, George R. A History of the Freedmen's Bureau. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.
- Blassingame, John W. The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972; revised 1979.
- Boles, John B. Black Southerners, 1619-1869. Lexington, Ky: University of Kentucky Press, 1983.
- Bowman, Raymond P.G. "Secondary Education in Virginia, 1870-1886." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1938.
- Brewer, James H. The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865. Durham: Duke University Press, 1969.
- Bruce, Kathleen. Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era. New York: The Century Company, 1931.
- Buck, J.L. Blair. The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952. Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia State Board of Education, 1952.
- Burnham, W. Dean. Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892. New York: Arno Press, 1955.
- Clement, Maud Carter. The History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia. Lynchburg, 1929; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1981.
- Conner, M.C. and Bing, W.K. An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1937.
- Coulter, E. Merton. The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950.

- Crofts, Daniel W. Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Daniel, Pete. Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Davis, Burke. JEB Stuart, The Last Cavalier. New York: Rinehart and Co, Inc., 1957.
- Dew, Charles B. Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Druyvesteyn, Kent. "Courthouses of Patrick and Henry Counties," Virginia Calvacade (Summer 1972).
- Dumond, Dwight. The Secession Movement, 1860-1861. New York, 1931.
- Dunn, Durwood. Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818-1937. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988.
- Eaton, Clement. The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.
- Edwards, Richard. Statistical Gazetteer of Virginia. Richmond, 1855.
- Fox, William F. Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865. Albany, 1880.
- Freehling, Alison Goodyear. Drift Toward Dissolution: the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.
- Gaines, Francis P. "The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851: A Study in Sectionalism." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950.
- Gates, Paul W. Agriculture and the Civil War. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- Gray, L.C. History of Agriculture in the Southern United States To 1860. 2 Vols. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1933.

- Hahn, Steven. The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Heatwole, Cornelius J. A History of Education in Virginia. New York: MacMillan Company, 1916.
- Hill, J. A History of Henry County, Virginia, With Biographical Sketches of its Most Famous Citizens and Oldest Families. Martinsville, Va, 1925; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1976.
- Isaac, Rhys. The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
- Key, V.O., Jr. Southern Politics in State and Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949; Reprint, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984.
- Lathrop, Barnes. "History from the Census Returns." Southwestern Historical Quarterly 51 (April 1948).
- Lebsock, Suzanne. Virginia Women, 1600-1945: "A Share of Honour". Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1987.
- Leonard, Cynthia Miller. The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619-January 11, 1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978.
- Litwack, Leon F. Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.
- Livermore, Thomas L. Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865. Boston, 1901.
- Lonn, Ella. Desertion During the Civil War. 1928; reprint, Gloucester, Ma: Peter Smith, 1966.
- Lonn, Ella. Salt as a Factor in the Civil War. New York: Walter Neale Publisher, 1933.
- Martin, James. "The Founding of Patrick County", Journal of the Roanoke Historical Society, 2 (Summer 1965).
- Martin, Joseph. A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia. Charlottesville, 1835.
- McClellan, H.B. I Rode with Jeb Stuart: The Life and Campaigns of Major General J.E.B. Stuart. Indiana University Press, 1958.

McConell, James Preston. Negroes and their Treatment in Virginia From 1865-1867. Pulaski, Va.: B.D. Smith, 1910.

McCurry, Stephanie. "Women's Work and Market Exchange: Yeoman Households in the Antebellum South, 1820-1860." Paper presented at the Conference on Women and the Transition to Capitalism in Rural America, 1760-1940; Northern Illinois University, March 30-April 2, 1989.

McGregor, James C. The Disruption of Virginia. New York, 1922.

McPherson, James M. Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Morton, Richard L. "The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1918.

Munford, Beverly B. Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession. Richmond: L.H. Jenkins, 1915.

Olsen, Otto H. "Historians and the Extent of Slave Ownership in the Southern United States." Civil War History (18) 1972.

Olsen, Otto H., ed. Reconstruction and Redemption in the South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

Pedigo, V.G. and L.G. History of Patrick and Henry Counties Virginia. Roanoke, 1933; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1977.

Pendleton, W.C. Political History of Appalachian Virginia, Dayton, Va: Shenandoah Press, 1927.

Pilson, O.E. "Patrick County Soldiers in the Civil War". Unpublished article, 1990.

Pilson, O.E. Tomb Stone Inscriptions of Patrick County, Virginia. Ridgeway, Va: Gateway Press, 1984.

Pulliam, David L. Constitutional Conventions of Virginia from the Foundation of the Commonwealth to the Present Time. Richmond: John T. West Publishers, 1901.

Ramsdell, Charles. Behind the Confederate Lines. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944; reprint, Greenwood Press, 1969.

Reynolds, A.D. Recollections of A.D. Reynolds, 1847-1925. Winston-Salem, N.C.: Reynolda House, 1978.

Reynolds, Patrick and Tom Shachtman. The Gilded Leaf: Triumph, Tragedy and Tobacco, Three Generations of the R.J. Reynolds Family and Fortune. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989.

Ringold, May S. The Role of the State Legislatures in the Confederacy. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1966.

Robert, J.C. The Road From Monticello: A Study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832. Durham: Duke University Press, 1941; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Robert, J.C. The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860. Durham: Duke University Press, 1938.

Robertson, James I, Jr. Solders Blue and Gray. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.

Shanks, Henry T. The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861. Richmond, 1934; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971.

Shifflett, Crandall. Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982.

Siegel, Frederick F. The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness: Tobacco and Society in Danville, Virginia, 1780-1865. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Simkins, Francis B. and Patton, James W. The Women of the Confederacy. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936.

Simpson, Craig. A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Simpson, Craig. "Political Compromise and the Protection of Slavery: Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (October 1975).

Smith, J.D. "Virginia During Reconstruction, 1865-1870: A Political, Economic, and Social Study." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1960.

Spraggins, T.L. "Mobilization of Negro Labor for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1861-1865." North Carolina Historical Review 24 (April 1947).

Starobin, Robert S. Industrial Slavery in the Old South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Steiner, Paul. Disease in the Civil War: Natural Biological Warfare in 1861-1865. Springfield, Ill.: Charles S. Thomas Publishers, 1968.

Sutton, Robert P. Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989.

Sydnor, Charles S. The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1849. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948.

Tatum, Georgia Lee. Disloyalty in the Confederacy. Chapel Hill, 1934; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Taylor, A.A. The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia. Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1926.

Thomason, John W. JEB Stuart. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

Tilley, N.M. Reynolds Homestead, 1814-1970, Richmond: Robert Kline and Company, 1970.

Tilley, N.M. The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Todd, Richard Cecil. Confederate Finance. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1954.

Walker, Gary G.. The War in Southwest Virginia, 1861-1865. Roanoke: Gurtner Graphics and Printing Company, 1985.

Wallenstein, Peter. From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth Century Georgia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Whitfield, Theodore M. Slavery Agitation in Virginia, 1829-1832. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.

Wiener, Jonathan. Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

Wiley, B.I. Southern Negroes, 1861-1865. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

Wiley, B.I. The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy. Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943; reprint, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1971.

Wooster, Ralph A. Politicians, Planters, and Plain Folk: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Upper South, 1850-1860. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

Wooster, Ralph A. The Secession Conventions of the South. Princeton University Press, 1962; reprint, Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1976.

Gertrude Harrington Becker  
2508 Plymouth Street  
Blacksburg, VA 24060

Personal

Born June 27, 1961. Married with two children, identical twin boys, born August 1989.

Education

College of the Holy Cross, BA, Classics and History, cum laude, 1983.

Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies, Rome, Italy, Spring 1982.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, MA, Classical Archaeology, 1985.

Master's Thesis at University of North Carolina

"Sepulchral Finds along the Via Lata". Used extensive primary evidence from Italian excavation reports to examine the burial practices of an area of Rome.

Memberships in Professional Societies

American Philological Association

Southern Historical Association

Teaching Experience

Graduate Assistant, Hist. Dept, Virginia Tech, occasional lecturer for Dr. Glenn Bugh, Fall 1988 and Spring 1989.

Teaching Assistant, Beginning Latin, Sole instructor, UNC-CH, Spring 1985.

Visiting Lecturer, Summer 1989 and Fall 1990 for Dr. Glenn Bugh.

Educational Experience

Graduate Assistant, Hist. Dept., Virginia Tech, Spring 1989, lecturer for Dr. Bugh, grader for Dr. Ekirch, researcher for Dr. Shumsky.

Graduate Assistant, Hist. Dept., Virginia Tech, Fall 1988, researcher and lecturer for Dr. Bugh.

Graduate Assistant, L'Annee Philologique, wrote synopses of articles for inclusion in scholarly classics journal, UNC-CH, Fall 1984.

Graduate Assistant, researcher and editor for professor's manuscript, UNC-CH, Spring 1984.

Academic Awards

Phi Beta Kappa, Holy Cross, 1983.

Received funding for all five semesters at UNC-CH.

Awarded funding for four semesters at Virginia Tech.

Professional Experience

Assistant Grants Manager, Grants Management Office, School of Medicine, University of North Carolina at Chapel

Hill. Reviewed and approved grant proposals (for submission to external agencies); prepared budgets and proposals for the Dean's grants. Researched sources of funding for medical school faculty. March 1986 - July 1988.

*Gertrude Harrington Beaker*