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Slaveowners and southern soldiers : the military participation of the slaveholding community in Civil War Lunenburg County, Virginia

Glenn Seiler

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ABSTRACT

SLAVEOWNERS AND SOUTHERN SOLDIERS:
THE MILITARY PARTICIPATION OF THE SLAVEHOLDING
COMMUNITY IN CIVIL WAR LUNENBURG COUNTY, VIRGINIA

GLENN SEILER

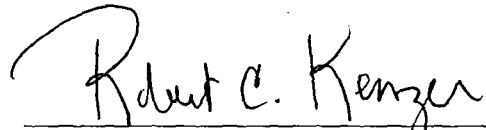
CANDIDATE FOR DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
MAY 2006

PROFESSOR ROBERT C. KENZER

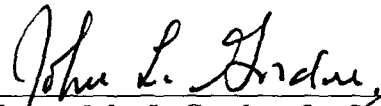
Before the final shot of the Civil War rang out, the phrase “a rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” was well embedded in the psyche of Confederate citizens. Many historians credit such perceptions with ultimately condemning the Confederacy to failure. While numerous government policies seemed to emphasize a sense of protection toward the men of affluent Southern families, Confederate leaders disputed such claims. To the common Southerner the rich did not contribute in an equitable share of the fighting and often sought personal gain while the masses endured hardships. There can be no doubt internal class dissent plagued the Confederacy from the very start. In almost every instance it was the wealthy slaveowner who was the target of such resentment. Through a thorough evaluation of the military participation of those within the “slave society” of Lunenburg County, Virginia, this thesis argues that this group did, in fact, serve in the Confederate army at a rate commensurate with Southern plain folk.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robert C. Kenzer".

Professor Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John L. Gordon, Jr.". The signature is partially obscured by a large, loopy flourish that extends to the right and loops back down.

Professor John L. Gordon, Jr., Reader

SLAVEOWNERS AND SOUTHERN SOLDIERS:
THE MILITARY PARTICIPATION OF THE SLAVEHOLDING
COMMUNITY IN CIVIL WAR LUNENBURG COUNTY, VIRGINIA

By Glenn Seiler

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Richmond
in Candidacy
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
in
History

May 2006

Richmond, Virginia

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis originated as a research seminar paper for Professor Robert C. Kenzer. Along the way it has undergone a number of reincarnations and I want to thank Professor Kenzer for his support and encouragement throughout my graduate studies at the University of Richmond. I would also like to thank Professor John Treadway for his interest in my work.

A number of research and archival institutions proved helpful in gathering information for this project. I want to thank the library staffs at the Library of Virginia, Virginia Historical Society, and the Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library at the Museum of the Confederacy for their assistance. Thanks to Steven Newman and Brittany Conner for reviewing some chapters and offering feedback.

Finally, and most importantly, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my wife, Lisa, and children, Christopher, Rachael and Austin. Without their understanding, support and love this project, like anything else in my life, would have been impossible.

Glenn Seiler
February 2006

“Everyone should do all in his power to collect and disseminate the truth in the hope that it may find a place in history, and descend to posterity.”

Robert E. Lee
Excerpt of a letter to P. G. T. Beauregard
October 3, 1865

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INTRODUCTION

“Well, I have the niggers - guess I’ll fight.”¹ Although his expression was primitive and overly simplistic, Joseph, the second oldest son of a Virginia slaveowner, expressed, in the most basic of terms, the belief many held as to the real cause of the American Civil War and the effect slavery had on the decision to take up arms in defense of the Confederacy. The decision to fight was not one so easily arrived upon for many other Southerners, both slaveowner and non-slaveowner alike. In the fall of 1864, after more than three years of hard fighting and six months before General Robert E. Lee’s surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox, Wade H. Hubbard, a North Carolina soldier and non-slaveowner, noted in a letter to his wife that “all of the gentel [sic] men has got out of it (the war) and i [I] don’t intend to put my life between them and their property.”² Hubbard’s complaint was one expressed by thousands of non-slaveowning Confederate civilians and soldiers. His opinion too was simple and to the point, but class resentment and dissent between the wealthy slaveowners and non-slaveowning “plain folk” during the Civil War could never be properly expressed in such basic terms.

¹ As quoted in William Blair, *Virginia’s Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861 - 1865* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11.

² As quoted in Bell Irwin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 337.

Despite Joseph's commitment to fight for the Confederacy, Hubbard was not alone in his sentiment. If well-versed historians are to be believed, this socially-derived dissent may have caused more damage to the "Southern cause" than any Northern army could have ever inflicted. The notion of a "rich man's war and poor man's fight" has been the topic of many historical works. Numerous scholars have explored and offered insight as to the ultimate effects the loss of morale and internal dissent had on the South's will to continue the grueling fight. Numerous pages have been set in print voicing the "plain folk's" belief that they were asked to provide the fodder, their families made to suffer due to lack of basic necessities, and their lives laid down in the rich man's war.

Among many poorer Southerners there existed, based on social standing, a perception of an unbalanced participation in the war. Were Hubbard's opinions of "the rich man's war" correct? Was it a "poor man's fight"? An abundance of documented discord can be found throughout writings on the Civil War. While scholars universally acknowledge the topic of class resentment and its destructive potential on the South, there is some difference of opinion as to the actual damage done as well as the validity of the "poor man's fight" assertion. What is debated is the ultimate effect this social dissent had on morale and the South's determination to continue the fight. Many of these works offered superlative documentation and narrative of the "plain folks'" belief the war primarily benefited the "rich;" however, there existed little statistical evidence on the topic. Often the presentation was based on subjective opinion and perception, primarily

that of the plain folk, rather than objective data and statistics.

The common man's voice has been revealed loud and clear since before the last shot rang out more than 140 years ago. Countless letters, diaries and family papers have become a great part of various archive collections and expressed numerous accounts and beliefs across a wide spectrum of social classes. Some of the early writers, such as Bell Irvin Wiley, presented many chronicles based upon the personal writings of the war's participants to create a glimpse into the lives of the common soldier's experiences. In *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, Wiley gave a soldier's life perspective through a gleaning of numerous documented accounts combined with an analysis of countless descriptive (muster) rolls covering thousands of men, dozens of regiments and all the Confederate states. Wiley offered insight into the average soldier's age, occupation, education and other demographic categories. His work portrayed a combination of statistical samples and the personal recollections of the common men who joined the fight. He believed the "lowly" people gave a better account of themselves than did the more privileged members of Southern society."³ Wiley noted the "lowly" class expressed dissatisfaction in a lesser degree and more subdued manner. His concluding paragraphs further noted that the common soldier "was in most respects an ordinary person. He came from a middle-class rural society, made up largely of non-slaveholders." Wiley advanced a more universal perspective in which social class was but

³ Wiley, 11.

one factor within his presentation of the common Johnny Reb. Wiley discovered “the average Rebel private belonged to no special category.” However, Wiley concluded Johnny Reb “was far from perfect, but his achievement against great odds in scores of desperate battles through four years of war is an irrefutable evidence of his prowess and an eternal monument to his greatness as a fighting man.”⁴

Soldiers Blue and Gray by James I. Robertson, Jr., and *Civil War Soldiers* by Reid Mitchell both provided an updated version of Wiley’s work.⁵ Robertson and Mitchell addressed the soldier’s life and offered glimpses into why these men may have joined the “cause.”

Robertson’s stated purpose was “to provide a new and fresh appraisal of Johnny Rebs and Billy Yanks” and to “supplement” Wiley’s work.⁶ Robertson wrote that “contrary to Northern belief, the average Southerner was not fighting for slavery.”⁷ Robertson further commented on the manner in which men went into the Civil War: “Friends usually enlisted together, with companies originating in locales. Hence,

⁴ Ibid., 347.

⁵ James I. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988); Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations And Their Experiences* (New York, NY: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988).

⁶ Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, viii.

⁷ Ibid., 9.

neighborhood associations and attitudes were merely transferred to an army framework.”⁸ Robertson found that among the general population the exemption clauses of the conscription bills “made their impact more severe and their acceptance even less.” Such Confederate government actions outraged the common folk, who “promptly turned against what had originally been a crusade for independence. Now it was ‘a rich man’s war but a poor man’s fight,’ the inference being that the wealthy classes had provoked the struggle but the poor people were the ones who had to fight, bleed, and die.”⁹

Mitchell’s work explored factors beyond the realm of the average soldier’s experience and sought to relate the war’s main issues to the lives of common soldiers. His focus was not only on the thoughts of Northern and Southern soldiers, but also “the meaning of the Civil War.” Like Wiley and Robertson, Mitchell’s primary sources included scores of soldiers’ personal documents. Mitchell noted “the Civil War could not have taken place without widespread popular commitment” across all classes of people, rich and poor. In the South, this may have proved more difficult as even prior to the war “the South began to show signs of economic and political crisis” as “it was getting more difficult for ‘the humblest’ to work their way to wealth.”¹⁰ Despite the need for universal commitment, Mitchell wrote, “the demands that the war placed upon the Southern people

⁸ Ibid., 12.

⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰ Mitchell, 8.

were not shared equally; those whom Bell Wiley called ‘the plain people of the Confederacy’ bore a disproportionate share.” Mitchell cited the examples of conscription, substitution and exemptions as evidence the Confederacy was “class-ridden and dominated by the interests of the well-to-do” and “it created considerable resentment among small slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike.”¹¹ Mitchell summed up the prevailing opinion of many as expressed through a 1862 letter from a Confederate: “‘It looks like the[re] will never be peace anymore for the poor people. The rich is getting out of the war on every hand,’ and the cliché ‘a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight’ proved an enduring one.”¹²

James McPherson’s *For Cause and Comrades* followed a similar format to Wiley’s monumental work. McPherson used personal writings and accounts to form a sample of 1,076 soldiers, including 429 Confederates, and analyzed their age, state of origin, marital status, and branch of service, as well as explored motivations for not only initial enlistment in the army but continued service. McPherson noted that in his sampling, slaveholding Confederate soldiers were “over represented.” Since “about one-third of all Confederate soldiers belonged to slaveholding families,” while in his

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² As cited in Ibid., 161.

sampling, the figure was slightly more than two-thirds.¹³ The explanation offered is a logical one: McPherson's work was based upon those men who left written words, letters and diaries, and who likely would have been better educated and, ultimately, wealthier than most. In the South this was, in most instances, the members of slaveowning families. McPherson also found 47 percent of men from slaveholding families expressed "generalized patriotic motives for fighting."¹⁴ McPherson listed some of these ideological issues: liberty, constitutional rights, constitutional law, self-government, resistance to tyranny, republicanism and democracy. The difference in the proportion of slaveholding versus non-slaveholding soldiers who emphasized these ideals was nearly twenty percentage points (47 percent and 28 percent respectively). Further, the difference between officers and enlisted men who expressed such sentiments was higher still, 53 percent to 30 percent. McPherson also indicated that pro-slavery sentiments were cited less frequently than the ideas of "liberty, rights and the horrors of subjugation." Only one man in three from slaveholding families and twelve percent from non-slaveholding families expressed the issue of slavery, specifically, "pro-slavery convictions" and "the right of property in slaves" as a major motivational force for Confederate military service

¹³ James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), ix.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

and “the basis of the liberty for which they fought.”¹⁵ McPherson attributed the idea of slavery as a motive for enlisting to “some Confederate volunteers,” but further asserted that the combination of “slavery and liberty as the twin goals for which Confederates fought” allowed slaveowner and non-slaveowner alike to believe they were “fighting for liberty as well as slavery.” Slavery, as well as many other ideals, was simply viewed as a by product of “the South’s glorious cause for liberty.”¹⁶

Although exemplary works have provided insight into the demographic and even psychological disposition of many of the war’s combatants, they sometimes failed to address Hubbard’s assertion or even Joseph’s proclamation of slaveowner and non-slaveowner (“rich and poor”) responsibility and determination to the war effort. Was Joseph’s commitment to fight an anomaly or the status quo among the men from slaveholding families?

There are essentially two common threads within these historical works. One, the examination and evaluation of soldiers is done primarily after their enlistment. While these studies presented beneficial accounts and perspectives of numerous men who joined the military, it also raises the question of who did not enlist. Additionally, if class resentment and dissent are to be taken as valid, an evaluation based on the class in question needs to be performed. These studies predominately utilized an across-the-

¹⁵ Ibid., 108-110.

¹⁶ Ibid., 20.

board sampling, all groups (and social classes) are evaluated to produce a profile of the “common” soldier and offered little comparison between the so-called rich and poor enlistees.

Two studies of somewhat closed populations offer a micro-analysis of Confederate soldiers and non-soldiers. Martin Crawford’s analysis of Ashe County, North Carolina identified a connection between the ideals of “property [ultimately slaves] and liberty” noted by McPherson. Crawford believed that the act of military “volunteering . . . was a significant one, a crucial demonstration of the individual citizen’s relationship with, and loyalty to, the wider society.”¹⁷ Crawford further noted that this “relationship between public and private duty” faced the most scrutiny “in those areas of the Southern states outside the dominant plantation society” such as Ashe County, where only 6.6 percent of the 1860 farm population owned slaves, although slaveowners did own a disproportionate percent of total real estate and personal estate wealth.¹⁸ In Ashe County, by the end of August 1861, “just under a quarter of its fifteen to thirty-nine-year-old male population,” some 328 residents, had volunteered for military service. By 1862, the number of Ashe men in the military had risen to “well over half of its appropriate age cohorts.” As was typical of enlistment patterns for most Southern

¹⁷ Martin Crawford, “Confederate Volunteering and Enlistment in Ashe County, North Carolina, 1861-1862,” *Civil War History* 37 (March 1991): 32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

units, companies reflected a “local neighborhood basis,” the majority of men signed up to be among neighbors, who were likely friends, business associates, or family members. Crawford indicated enlistment patterns reflected, as Robert C. Kenzer has noted, “existing local loyalties” as well as “existing militia organization within the community.”¹⁹ The make-up of these companies provided further understanding of this sense of community, particularly in the form of leadership. Of the seventeen officers, who commanded five of the six Ashe County companies, seven (41.2 percent) “owned slaves or lived in slaveowning families.”²⁰ Crawford surmised that despite the fact the slaveholders constituted less than the aforementioned seven percent of the county’s farmers, the county men insisted on “maintaining local leadership” within the company ranks.²¹ Crawford’s research also found the early enlistments of 1861 were predominately made up of “relatively older, more established households, with their greater economic and domestic resources, who were better able to respond to the Confederate call.” Crawford’s findings provided “some support” for J. William Harris’s assertion, based on research of three Georgia counties, that with the somewhat older, wealthier men having enlisted earlier in the war, “that Confederate recruits derived from

¹⁹ Ibid., 38. For Kenzer’s work, see Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849 - 1881*, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1987).

²⁰ Ibid., 39.

²¹ Ibid., 40.

progressively poorer families as the war continued into and beyond its second year.”²²

Further insight into combatants versus non-combatants was found in Larry Logue’s study of Mississippi based on a statewide sample of 1,010 of the nearly 90,000 eligible Mississippi males between ages thirteen and forty-five. Logue concluded “the amount of personal property owned, including slaves did indeed increase the likelihood that an individual would defend the Confederacy, but men in Mississippi’s river counties, regardless of their wealth or other characteristics, were less likely to join the army than were those living in the state’s interior.”²³ Logue further noted that “considerations other than economic or occupational classes may have actually influenced the decision to enlist.” Logue theorized a high enlistment rate throughout the Mississippi sample was a result of desires to maintain the status quo within the slave society and of “fears for white supremacy.” He determined it was reasonable to expect an “even greater likelihood of enlistment among those with a more tangible stake in white supremacy – those who owned slaves (or whose fathers owned them, in the case of dependent sons), or those who

²² Ibid., 45. Crawford determined that of the five largest districts the “Town” district, which held the highest average “real and personal property per household,” was the only one to have more recruits (51.2 percent) who joined in 1861, than in 1862 (48.8 percent). Further, the Town district had the largest percentage of slaveholding families (14.4 percent). Additionally, two of the three districts with the lowest average wealth and smallest percentage of slaveholding households also had the lowest number of enlistments in 1861. For Harris’ work see; J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society : White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta’s Hinterlands*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1985)

²³ Larry Logue, “Who Joined the Confederate Army? Soldiers, Civilians, and Communities in Mississippi,” *Journal of Southern History* 26 (Spring 1993): 611. Logue felt the access to the interior areas provided via the rivers gave residents a sense of heightened vulnerability and may have contributed

lived in communities where slaves were a large portion of the population.”²⁴ Of the 1,010 men in his sample, Logue found that sixty-five percent joined the Confederate army, a figure he termed “remarkable” considering the inclusion of thirteen-year-old boys and forty-five-year-old men.²⁵

Logue also analyzed the proportion of slaves within the community and found “the concentration of slaves in his [an individual’s] county may have swayed his [enlistment] decision even if he or his family owned no slaves.”²⁶ Logue concluded that “soldiers typically had just over half the real estate and personal wealth of the average non-combatant.” While this may seem to have indicated “that large planters and their sons were avoiding military service instead of rallying to the cause,” Logue noted “the apparently greater wealth of non-combatants may be a function of their age.” Of significance in evaluating enlistment patterns is the finding that “wealth, much of which consisted of slaves, was positively related to enlistment . . . Our expectation is thus far confirmed: enlistments were relatively constant across occupations, landholding, and

to proportionately more men remaining at home for defense rather than enlisting in military units.

²⁴ Ibid., 613.

²⁵ Logue indicated age was a considerable influence on enlistment: “seventy-five percent of young men aged eighteen to twenty-four joined Mississippi units.” Logue’s breakdown of the timing of enlistment found that “57 percent enlisted in 1861, when Mississippians were ‘in a fever to get to the field’; another one-third joined in 1862, the year the Confederacy adopted its military draft, leaving eleven percent to join in the war’s final years.” 614.

²⁶ Ibid., 614.

family size, but they rose as the personal stake in white supremacy increased.”²⁷

A further study of white, military age men, Randolph B. Campbell’s analysis of Harrison County, Texas, noted that sixty-one percent of “households owned at least one of the county’s 8,784 slaves, the largest population of bondsmen in any Texas county at that time.”²⁸ Campbell concluded that 50.1 percent of Harrison County men served in the military, a proportion “somewhat low in comparison with existing estimates of military service by men across the entire state.”²⁹ Campbell found, as did Logue, soldiers to be somewhat younger than non-soldiers; the median age of soldiers was twenty-three while that of non-soldiers was twenty-eight.³⁰

Campbell discovered that “men who were slaveholders or members of slaveholding families entered military service at a notably higher proportion (57 percent versus 44 percent) than did non-slaveholders. He concluded “if slaveownership is used to define ‘rich’, it is clear that members of Harrison County’s upper class did not leave the fight to the poor.”

Campbell also found, as had Crawford, that the wealthier slaveowners who served

²⁷ Ibid., 615.

²⁸ Randolph B. Campbell, “Fighting for the Confederacy: The White Male Population of Harrison County in the Civil War,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 104 (July 2000): 23.

²⁹ Ibid., 31.

³⁰ Figures for age are based on 1860 census and not age at time of enlistment.

in the military entered the war in 1861 rather than 1862.”³¹ Campbell also explored casualty rates among Harrison County’s males in the military, but based his findings on the overall Harrison County group with no differentiation between rich or poor soldiers (see Table 1). Campbell concluded with five distinct points:

First, the percentage of military-age men in Texas who actually served may have been somewhat smaller than is generally believed, closer perhaps to one-half than two-thirds. Second, those who served probably were younger and more likely to be from the Lower South than those who did not serve. Third, married men likely were a decided minority among soldiers. Fourth, wealthy slaveholders and their sons did not leave the fighting to men from poorer families. Fifth, among those who entered military service, two of every ten did not return, and nearly three in ten suffered serious illness, wounds, or imprisonment.³²

Aaron Sheehan-Dean explored how in July 1861, despite “Virginians’ reluctant approach to secession” more than 40,000 Virginians entered the newly-established Confederate army. Two questions initially posed by Sheehan-Dean are paramount in understanding the greater social context that initiated, and some would argue ultimately destroyed, the Southern war effort: “How did slaveholding affect men’s decision to join the army?” and “Was the Civil War a poor man’s fight?”³³ As basis for his analysis,

³¹ Campbell, 36. Campbell noted this group of wealthier slaveholders had the highest percentage (59.4 percent) of men who served in the military. Further, among non-slaveholders, enlistment was higher for the wealthier class (50.2 percent versus 42.2 percent).

³² *Ibid.*, 38.

³³ Aaron Sheehan-Dean, “Everyman’s War: Confederate Enlistment in Civil War, Virginia,” *Civil War History* 50 (March 2004): 5.

Sheehan-Dean noted “between 1861 and 1865 almost 70 percent of Virginia’s white male men between the ages of fifteen and fifty served in Confederate units.” He further acknowledged a clear relationship between slaveholding and military enlistment:

The residents who profited most from Virginia’s antebellum society, however, fought the hardest to maintain it. Those places that benefited least, with low slaveholding and low wealth holding, and maintained close political and physical ties to the North, sent the fewest men.³⁴

His finding on enlistment data led Sheehan-Dean to disagree, at least within Virginia, that “wealthy men used their status to secure positions within the civil or military bureaucracy in Richmond or to attain appointments to local militia companies, which would exempt them from service.” He further remarked, “Anecdotal evidence has compelled some historians to emphasize the diverse nature of class relations within the Confederate South, in particular by arguing that poor men bore a disproportionate burden of the war.” Simply stated “the more wealth a community held, the more likely it was to send high numbers of men to the army. Rich men did fight the Civil War.”³⁵ Sheehan-Dean further recognized a positive relationship between slaveholders and the non-slaveholding population – “most white non-slaveholders recognized a racial solidarity with the slaveholding elite.” A man’s decision to fight for the Confederacy was ultimately his commitment to slavery – “defending Virginia in 1860 was defending

³⁴ Ibid., 9.

³⁵ Ibid., 18.

slavery.”³⁶

William Blair’s study of the perceptions and opinions held by wartime Virginians explored the premise “southerners did not have what it took to win spiritually – that the reason for Confederate defeat lay not on the battlefield but in a failure of national heart.”³⁷ The failure of the Confederacy had come as result of internal social dissent and, in particular, a negative sentiment by the majority of the population, the non-slaveholding plain folk, against the wealthier classes, largely, slaveholders. He found bitterness towards the Confederate government due to issues such as hunger, impressment, price speculation, conscription, substitution and particularly “resentment of favoritism that allowed planters to stay home when poorer folks had to serve in the military.” In addition to bitterness over the draft, various military exemptions were put into place. The twenty-Negro law and the allowance for substitutions and exemptions for certain occupations were seen as acts which “predictably favored the wealthy” despite the fact these laws “answered concerns in communities by shielding artisans and skilled workers.”³⁸ Overall, however, there was no allowance for the plain folk who wanted no part of the war: “common men had no similar recourse to getting out of the army.”³⁹ Despite these

³⁶ Ibid., 21.

³⁷ Blair, 3.

³⁸ Ibid., 58.

³⁹ Ibid., 60.

internal struggles, in Virginia, it was essentially the overwhelming odds faced by the military rather than the privations experienced by the general population that eroded the will to continue the struggle.

In contrast, David Williams, Teresa Crisp Williams and David Carlson's study of class and dissent in Confederate Georgia noted, "Although general dissent in the Civil War South had various sources and differences in degree, class resentment played a major role in creating the dissent. It was clear to the plain folk that they suffered much more than the wealthy and well connected, many of whom seemed to profit from the war."⁴⁰ In their evaluation of the military situation, a number of issues were presented. Simple enlistment was brought into question – enlistment bound the enlistee to the term of service, except in the case of officers "who frequently came from the slaveholding ranks . . . they could simply resign their commissions, and many did."⁴¹ Further, "those who had slaves to fight for were just as reluctant to put their lives on the line. And the more slaves they had, the less willing they seemed to be."⁴² More importantly, at least in terms of dissent, the plain folks' perception of the unbalanced participation in the military grew more evident: "Men in the ranks became increasingly aware that their personal

⁴⁰ David Williams, Teresa Crisp Williams and David Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War: Class and Dissent in Confederate Georgia* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2002), 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 12.

sacrifices were likely to be much greater than those of southern elites.” Further, planter gratitude for such sacrifices made by the plain folk was found to be lacking – “nor did the planters seem to appreciate the sacrifices their poorer neighbors were making.” Since there existed a number of ways for the wealthy to avoid military service among the common residents of Georgia, “one thing was perfectly clear, money and social standing protected men who wished to avoid a bloody death on the firing line.” The magnitude of this social dissent, at least in Georgia, had obvious effects on the overall war effort: “More devastating to the Confederate cause was the legal ability of moneyed men to hire substitutes in the first place.”⁴³ Williams et al. also indicated that even those wealthy who did end up in the army, “could purchase discharges or ‘certificates of disability’ at nearly any time for the right price.”⁴⁴ They concluded that in Confederate Georgia the plain folks’ perception of the “rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” fueled harsh, at times hostile, attitudes towards the social elites, in particular the planter class and represented “a major cause of Confederate defeat.”⁴⁵

Eighty years ago, Albert Burton Moore addressed the issues of conscription, substitution and exemption in *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*. Moore aptly quoted a Confederate soldier: “They (the masses) must go into the ranks while their

⁴³ Ibid., 98.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 194.

neighbors who happened to be blessed with money could hire substitutes; they must give of their blood while men of property must give only of their possessions.”⁴⁶ Moore’s study explored not only the many aspects of Confederate conscription, but also the effects such forced military service had on the Southern population’s morale and support of the war. Despite its initial intent and numerous attempts to correct deficiencies and turn conscription into an effective policy, Moore concluded that “substitution was a mistake, and class exemptions provided altogether too easy a means for evading service.”⁴⁷

Despite the exemplary research performed addressing the idea of class resentment, opportunities for further analysis exist. In approaching the question of a “rich man’s war,” few scholars have performed community level studies comparing the demographics of the so called “rich” and “poor” and analyzing the military service of the various groups based upon known demographics, particularly slaveholding and wealth. If so many acknowledge class resentment and an unbalanced military commitment among the wealthy, why have the slaveowning elite, particularly the planter class (those considered to be in most cases “rich”) been put to the test in only a limited amount and scope of research? Did they join the fight? If so, when and in what capacity? Did they experience the same casualty rates as the “average” soldier? Or, were men like Wade

⁴⁶ Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1924), 49.

⁴⁷Ibid., 354.

Hubbard correct in their sentiments that the wealthy avoided military service or received preferential treatment or assignment away from the battlefield? The research presented here attempts to go beyond prior works based primarily upon either (but rarely both) demographic statistics or first hand written accounts. What is attempted is a broader study, based not only on slaves owned and wealth, but seeks to determine what happened to these men – did they take advantage of the opportunities money provided and avoid service? Did they enlist only to later buy their way out with a discharge or substitute, and forgo patriotism for exemption? What units did they join, in what capacity and why? Did they fight and die under different circumstances than the “common” soldier? Answers to these questions can be reached through detailed military service research and analysis. This work incorporates, through manuscript research and personal accounts, the opinions and thoughts of those who personally experienced the war to answer not only who these men were and what they did, but how and why.

CHAPTER ONE: TERMINOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

Before any analysis of a “rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” can be attempted, the question of exactly who constituted “rich” or “poor” men needs to be addressed. The definition of “rich” to many in the antebellum South was simple – the slaveowner, and in particular, the planter who owned twenty or more slaves. Within this study the term “rich” is not universally applied to all slaveowners. The definition of “rich” often encompassed more than monetary holdings and often included professional standing and social status within the community. “Rich” was, and still is today, a subjective moniker based upon individual perceptions. “Wealth,” however, is an actual measure of the dollar value of both real estate and personal estate. There is, of course, a wide range between rich and poor among slaveowners but, for purposes of this study, slaveowners have been evaluated across a number of demographic components collectively and among specific social and economic groupings.

Establishing who encompassed the poor of the ante-bellum South was a further challenge. Did “poor” define plain folk, common folk, yeoman farmers, mechanics, and unskilled laborers? No, “poor whites” would have likely been considered those who worked land owned by someone else – often simple laborers. “Plain Folk” were a collective mixture of yeomen farmers, poor whites, small merchants and skilled artisans

and mechanics and were defined as such for purposes of this study.⁴⁸

The author's prior studies of military service by male slaveowners and their sons from the Virginia counties of Augusta as well as King and Queen produced some preliminary findings in regard to evaluating the Civil War through the social perspective of a "rich man's war, poor man's fight." The military-age-eligible male slaveowners represented a fraction of all slaveowners. Approximately one-in-three of all slaveowners were males, whose age ranged from fourteen to forty in 1860. While initial indications revealed only slightly more than fifty percent of these men had served in the Confederate military, the results of their military participation was remarkable in many ways. Timing of enlistment for military service showed some slaveholding groups had a voluntary enlistment rate (within the first year of the war) of nearly seventy-five percent. Further, analysis of certain slaveholding groups found that nine-in-ten enlisted within the first year, and the majority within the first month of the war.

Additionally, casualty rates of these two counties were consistent with those of the average Confederate soldier. Further, findings revealed that nearly half of the slaveowners enlisted in either the cavalry or artillery. With the majority (seventy-five percent) of Confederate men joining the infantry, it may be possible that most southern soldiers did not encounter slaveholding soldiers because of these different enlistment

⁴⁸ Williams et al. provided an excellent working definition of "Plain Folk" – a definition used in this study – see page 196, footnote 2. They defined "poor whites" as including tenants, sharecroppers, farm laborers and unskilled urban workers.

patterns – most of the slaveholders were in the cavalry and artillery. Most of the “common” soldiers served in the infantry.⁴⁹

A study of Lunenburg County, Virginia offers a valuable complement to my previous examinations of Augusta and King and Queen Counties on a number of levels. One, like findings in King and Queen, Lunenburg’s slaveholding families were more numerous (proportionately) and their slaveholdings (per owner) much larger than those of Augusta County. Two, these larger holdings likely represented a greater wealth for the slaveholding family, and as such, these wealthier slaveholders may be further removed from the “common” or “plain folk.” King and Queen had slaveowners who were more like the stereotypical plantation owners and wealthier elites. Whereas Lunenburg County had a high percentage of slaveowning families, fewer owners possessed such extreme numbers of slaves and the greater wealth. Three, Lunenburg’s Piedmont location provided a different geographic region to evaluate than Augusta’s Shenandoah Valley and King and Queen’s Tidewater regions.

The primary sources used for the thesis are the free and slave inhabitant schedules of the 1860 Federal Census. Schedule 2, “Slave Inhabitants,” referred to as the “slave schedule,” was used to identify all slaveowners and slave employers within the county. Additionally, the slave schedule listed the number of slaves owned and/or employed by

⁴⁹ Glenn Seiler, “Rebels with a Cause?: A Study of Slaveowners and Soldiers from Augusta County, Virginia” and “Planters, Pistols and Plain Folk : A Study of Slaveowner Military Participation in Civil War King and Queen County, Virginia,” (seminar papers, University of Richmond, 2003).

the individuals. These individual owners and employers were then cross-matched to Schedule 1, "Free Inhabitants." This allowed the person's demographic information to be obtained and further identified other individuals within the family household. In Lunenburg County an astonishing 499 slaveowning families represented well over half (56.6 percent) of the 882 white households in the county.

In order to establish possible military service, the males were analyzed to determine "eligibility." An "eligible slaveholder" is defined as any male slaveowner or their immediate dependent son(s) between the ages of fourteen and forty as of the 1860 census – that is, males of military age. Those of the same surname as the slaveowner who are of an appropriate age relationship and resided within the same household will be assumed to be son(s) of the slaveowner. Only those deemed to be an actual slaveholder(s) will be used. The term "slaveholder" is universally applied to all men, both owners and sons, from within slaveowning families. Those listed solely as a "slave employer" would be discounted as far as "owners," but were evaluated as a separate group and included as "slaveholders." Of the slaveowners listed, in some instances there is repetition of family members. For example, Thomas Hawthorne was enumerated as a separate owner in the slave schedule, but in the census was listed as part of a larger slaveowning family (with Peter Hawthorne, his father, as the principal slaveowner). Where this is found to have occurred, the son, if listed as a separate owner, would be

categorized as an “owner” instead of “son” even though he appears as a dependant son.⁵⁰

Those owners who met the criteria established were then researched to determine any potential son(s) of eligible age and, finally, if the owner or son performed any military service. Attributable military service will be confirmed upon significant indication that the individual is indeed the same individual in the military service records. Sources of military records included the compiled service records, muster or roster rolls, pension, “old age home” and artificial limb applications, various manuscript sources and published regimental and local histories. All reported data related to date of enlistment, branch of service, unit affiliation or rank is based upon the soldier’s information upon their initial enlistment. Unsupported military claims, pension applications for example, alone did not constitute military service unless these can be supported by other independent source(s).

A few problems did exist as many records, both census and military, were recorded with only the individuals initials and in some instances misspelled names or inaccurate information. Where this problem was encountered, effort was made to cross reference the person’s data to both earlier and later census information, and other official

⁵⁰ A slaveowner’s “son” is defined as a dependent son, between the ages of 14 and 40 and is listed in the census as residing within the slaveowner’s home. An independent son, one who lives outside of the slaveowner’s residence would not be considered for this research unless they too were a slaveowner. There will be instances in the census information where sons who would normally reside within the slaveowning home would have been living elsewhere, likely for schooling, apprentice or other circumstances, but these would likely be offset by males from the extended family temporarily residing with the slaveowner. “Slaveholder” is used as a generic reference to either the actual owner or immediate family member, a family that owns slaves would be considered as “slaveholding.” A son of a slaveowner would also be classified as a “slaveholder” even though not the direct owner. A “employer” of slaves is considered a “slaveholder.”

records such as military records, marriage and death records, and published historical works. All data tabulations were made based upon the figures as of the 1860 census. This allowed all data to be compared to a consistent point in time and provided a basis for evaluation among different groups.

Certain evaluation of slaveholders was done by grouping owners and sons by the number of slaves they held, which was often viewed as a reflection of wealth. Slaveowners and their sons were grouped by the number of slaves owned: one to four (termed “small” slaveholders), five to nine (“medium” slaveholders), ten to nineteen (“large” slaveholders), and finally twenty or more (planters). Slave employers were analyzed as a separate category. Analysis of these groups allowed factors of age, number of slaves owned, land ownership and wealth to be evaluated as possible influences on an individual’s military enlistment decision. Additionally, by grouping the slaveowners, comparisons between other slaveholding groups as well as the average Southern soldier who enlisted could be attempted. A sampling of discharges issued was also preformed to evaluate both the circumstances of discharge and the types of soldiers who received such a release from military duty. In this manner an analysis of possible preferential treatment towards wealthier slaveowners may be attempted. The processes of conscription and substitution were also investigated. Desertion was not considered under this study for essentially two reasons. Like many of the figures and statistics associated with the Confederate armed forces, the desertion rate is not universally agreed upon.

Additionally, circumstances of a soldier's desertion often involved immeasurable rationale of a personal nature and simply can not be quantified or measured against other statistical data.

Evaluating males of military age from Lunenburg's slaveholding families provided opportunity for gaining insight into both combatants and non-combatants within similar social class and standing. Whereas numerous prior studies have offered statistical references to soldiers during the war, little attention has been paid to non-combatants. In addition, the majority of information presented often related to the soldier's wartime experiences. Limited focus was afforded to the pre-war lives of these men. With the male military age population as essentially a control group, the act of enlistment can be examined. In this manner, evaluation was performed and results measured against not only the slaveholding groups as a whole but among other groups at the county, state and Confederate national level. Further, by including those individuals who were solely slave employers, a group that is more like the so-termed "plain folk," a predominately untapped research opportunity was explored. The slave employers, would in all likelihood, represent a bridge between the "poorer" and "richer" elements within the community. In many cases this group represented the "yeoman" class of farmers who often toiled through a basic subsistence existence. Many of the employer group owned little or no land and had their economic and social standing somewhat greater than most

“poor” but well below the “rich” classification.⁵¹

Additionally, it is likely that while not direct slaveowners, this employer group may have achieved many of the benefits offered within a slave society. The association with the more affluent slaveowners likely offered opportunity for further social and economic advancement. This employer group was analyzed through the same criteria as slaveowning men. In this manner this basically “lower” social group could be compared to men of slaveowning families and further served as a measurement tool in evaluating the “rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” in Lunenburg County, Virginia.

⁵¹ The term “yeoman” is a further debated topic. Williams et. al. offer the following definition: “small” farmers and herdsman ranging from those who owned at least three acres of land and no slaves to those who held up to four slaves.” See page 196, note 2; Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860 - 1885* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 83. Wiener made no mention of slaveowning, but offered a description of yeoman as “small farmers . . . self-sufficient, producing much of what they needed, and keeping on the fringes of a single-crop economy, operating instead a more diversified subsistence farm.”; Kenneth M. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 29, noted: “If there were such a thing as a ‘typical’ ante-bellum Southerner [plain folk], he belonged to the class of landowning small farmers who tilled their own fields, usually without any help except from their wives and children.”

CHAPTER TWO: SLAVERY IN LUNENBURG COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1860

Any study of select groups of slaveholders in Lunenburg County must begin with an overview of slavery within the community. If slavery in the South was a “peculiar institution,” it was quite common in Lunenburg County, Virginia. Census enumerator, G. A. Wood, himself the owner of nineteen slaves, was one of the wealthier residents of Lunenburg. Wood’s three-month enumeration from mid-June to September 15, 1860, filled 118 pages of “Free Inhabitants” and recorded the demographics of nearly five thousand individuals. Additionally, Wood’s pen set down in permanent form a record which consisted of hundreds of slaveholding families and included more than 7,000 people as “Slave Inhabitants,” held (both owned and employed) as slaves by county residents. Of the 882 occupied households listed by Wood in the Federal Census, 516 (58.5 percent), more than twice the Virginia average, were slaveowning. Slaveowning was so prevalent that the slave schedule listed over fifty entries of slaveowners more than there were slaveowning households. These figures indicated there were an average of 1.08 owners within every slaveowning home. In fact, the household headed by John Matthews listed all five individuals who resided in the home as slaveowners. When owners were combined with those who solely employed slaves, the number of individuals who utilized slave labor increased to 617, among 566 households. Further evidence of the county being fully entrenched within the practices of a slave society could be found in

the name of one of the county's regions, including the Post Office, "Plantersville."

To the casual observer, with slaves toiling in almost two-thirds (64.2 percent) of the county's households, the notion of a slave society was clearly obvious. The fact that the majority of the county's population were slaveowners is mirrored by the number of blacks within the county, as they comprised nearly sixty-three percent of all Lunenburg residents.⁵²

When compared to my prior study of Augusta County and slavery statistics for Virginia and the South as a whole, Lunenburg's statistics are even more remarkable. Less than one year prior to the Civil War, roughly one-in-four (26 percent) of all households within the "slave states" were slaveowning. Augusta County had just under the one-in-four figure (22.6 percent) owning slaves, while King and Queen had double Augusta's number (47.3 percent). Further comparison between slavery in Augusta, King and Queen and Lunenburg counties revealed the average number of slaves owned was 6.9 slaves in Augusta, 13.7 in King and Queen and 13.4 in Lunenburg. The average Virginia slaveowner held 9.4 slaves. Further, the concentration of owners with twenty or more slaves (planters) in Augusta County included only twenty-four individuals or 3.0 percent of the county's slaveowners. In King and Queen County, planters represented 24.5

⁵² G. L. Sherwood and Jeffrey C. Weaver, *20th and 39th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1994), 3, cited population figures as 4,447 (37.1 percent) and 7,537; 7,305 slave, 232 free black (combined 62.9 percent) and total county population of 11,984. Author's figures are 4,431 (38.2 percent) white and 7,179; 6,920 slave and 259 free black (combined 61.8 percent) for a total county population of 11,610.

percent of owners. In Lunenburg, the percentage of planters was 22.8 percent. Virginia's figures indicated that while Augusta was far below the planter figure of 11.1 percent, both King and Queen and Lunenburg were more than double this average number of planters (see Table 2).

At the lower end of the slaveholding spectrum Augusta had 149 (18.4 percent) owners of a single slave, 114 (14.0 percent) owners of two slaves – a combined figure of 263 (32.4 percent). These figures are an excellent representation of the Virginia averages. Virginia figures indicate 21.2 percent of owners owned one slave and 11.5 percent two slaves (combined 33.7 percent). King and Queen figures indicated only thirty-seven owners (8.2 percent) held one slave and thirty-one (6.9 percent) owned two slaves. These figures combined indicated only sixty-eight owners (15.1 percent), less than half the Virginia and Augusta figures, owned one or two slaves. In Lunenburg, those individuals who owned a single slave totaled sixty-eight (12.2 percent) and only forty-seven people (8.4 percent) owned two slaves. Combined, Lunenburg owners of one to two slaves were 20.6 percent. This figure was a full five and one-half percentage points higher than King and Queen but still well below the state average of 33.7 percent.⁵³

Slave employers in Lunenburg totaled just sixty-two individuals, approximately ten percent of the total 617 slave households. The vast majority of this group (80.6

⁵³ Figures are based upon data from the Historical Census Browser, the Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia. See <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu>.

percent) employed only one or two slaves. Only six individuals (9.7 percent) employed more than five slaves and no one employed more than nine.⁵⁴

Arriving at the military-aged-male-population required two obvious exclusions – all the males outside the age limits and any female owners. Female owners numbered eighty-two (14.7 percent) of the total 557 owners. Census information revealed that of the total 557 owners, only 186 (33.4 percent) were men who met the military-age-criteria.⁵⁵ Age variation among the military eligible group indicated the youngest owner to be sixteen and the oldest owners to be forty. In terms of the military-age, male slaveowner population, figures for Lunenburg are comparable to the figures found in Augusta and King and Queen counties. Statistics indicated that in Augusta less than one-in-three of all owners were males of military age. This figure was slightly higher (36.5 percent) in King and Queen.

As for those of slave “employer” status, males of military age were far more representative of the group as a whole than were the slaveowners. Females accounted for only six (9.7 percent) of the sixty-two employers. Additionally, thirty-four (54.8 percent) of the sixty-two stood within the age limitations. The employer group had a smaller distribution of ages with the youngest, twenty-two and the eldest thirty-eight.

⁵⁴ Figures are for individuals, excluding businesses, who employed slaves for personal use.

⁵⁵ Samuel Hammock would have been within the age limits (age 31), but is excluded as he was listed as “insane.”

Given the higher proportion of slaveowners, particularly those who held large numbers of slaves (when compared to the Virginia averages), the Lunenburg slaveholding families may have felt their social, economic and cultural standing, in essence, life as they knew it, at greater risk. Would this impact their involvement in the war and provide greater desire to defend the cause? Would Lunenburg's higher concentration of both slaves and slaveowners increase the likelihood of the male population defending the Confederacy? Did the number of slaves owned affect enlistment? Did the slave employers serve in the army in patterns similar to the owners or follow the pattern of "common" soldiers? Were slave employers more like the "rich" or "poor" elements of society? And, more importantly, would findings indicate a disproportionate number of wealthy slaveholding men sought a means to avoid military service, leaving the real fighting to the plain folk?

CHAPTER THREE: THE SECESSION CRISIS

“My home is in the South, my grave shall be there too.”

David R. Stokes, Lunenburg planter
President of the County Resolution Committee

Lunenburg County’s destiny was decided more than three months before Virginia’s secession. At a January 14, 1861 meeting, the men of Lunenburg chose a path of action Landon Bell described as “clear-cut and emphatic upon the subject of attempting to maintain a union by force.”⁵⁶ *The Richmond Enquirer* of January 28, 1861, conveyed the details of the meeting:⁵⁷

PUBLIC MEETING IN LUNENBURG -

At a public meeting of the citizens of Lunenburg County, without distinction of party, held at the Court House, on Monday, the 14th day of January, 1861, that being court day, John R. Garland, Esq., was called to the Chair, and W. W. Webb was appointed as Secretary.

The object of the meeting was explained by Dr. Ro. H. Crawley at the request of the Chair.

On motion of Wm. A. Nash.

Resolved, That the Chair appoint a committee of five to draft resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

Whereupon the following named gentlemen were appointed to constitute said committee: Wm. A. Nash, Wm. M. Bagley, Ro. H. Crawley, Geo. Hardy, and Wm. Y. Neal, and the following gentlemen were on motion, added to the committee: Col. John A. Stokes, Col. Wm

⁵⁶ Landon Bell, *The Old Free State: A Contribution to the History of Lunenburg County and Southside Virginia*, Volume 1 (Richmond, VA: William Byrd Press, 1927), 563.

⁵⁷ *Richmond Enquirer*, January 28, 1861.

H. Hatchett, and O. Smith, who immediately retired for consultation.

While the committee were out, Thomas H. Campbell, Esq. of Nottoway, who was called on by the meeting, made an able and eloquent address, maintaining the right of secession, and the importance of Virginia's taking position immediately with her sister Southern States.

The committee through their chairman, reported the following resolutions;

1. Resolved, That the County Court, now in session, be requested to levy a tax on the county sufficient to arm three volunteer companies of militia of fifty men each; one in the upper end, one in the lower end, and one in the center of the county.

2. Resolved, That the Court appoint a committee to negotiate for the purchase of said arms.

3. Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, Virginia is bound by every principle of honor, interest and justice to make common cause with any seceding state if coercion should be attempted by the Federal Government.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

On motion.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the newspapers of the cities of Richmond and Petersburg and in the New York Herald.

The Justices having been summoned for the purpose, and a majority being present decided unanimously, to make the levy necessary to arm the companies, as prayed for in the resolutions above.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

John R. Garland,
Chairman

W. W. Webb,
Sec'y

The gathering Bell refers to as a "mass meeting" was likely not a widely-attended affair. It was however, likely attended by the county's well-to-do. Robert Henderson Allen, a well-respected Lunenburg planter, summarized the meeting's outcome in a January 17, 1861 entry in his journal when he noted the county had decided to "appoint a county

police + levy a tax to arm 3 companies to protect the county from invasion + insurrection.”⁵⁸ Dr. Thomas Merryman, a county justice, noted the amount of money to be raised for the troops: “Sat with the other justices to ratify a previous appropriation of \$10,000 to equip the Lunenburg volunteers.”⁵⁹ The meeting featured two factors that would remain constant throughout the secession crisis in Lunenburg. First, the vast majority of those speaking for the county would all have one thing in common – they were slaveowners.⁶⁰ Second, Lunenburg was ready for a fight and at the first sign of Union coercion wanted to be ready to stand with the South – an attitude of secession prevailed in the county. Decision makers and community leaders were, for the most part, strong proponents that Virginia should join with her fellow Southern states. These leaders were predominately very rich men who would decide the fate of all men, rich and poor, in the county.

The Lunenburg men who led the January 1861 meeting and served as committee members shared a number of similarities with each other, but held little connection with

⁵⁸ R. H. (Robert Henderson) Allen, *Diary*, January 1, 1858 - December 31, 1863, page 175, Allen Family Papers, 1850 – 1910, Virginia Historical Society.

⁵⁹ J. A. C. Chandler and E. G. Smith, eds., “Stokes Notes,” *William and Mary College Quarterly* 8 (1928): 124-135.

⁶⁰ One committee member was simply identified as O. Smith. There are two O. Smiths, both named Orlando, listed in the 1860 census. The individual in question is believed to be O. M. Smith.

many of the county's residents. The men were in the latter part of middle age, only two, W. W. Webb (30 years) and Wm. A. Nash (30 years) were under age thirty-eight. This was an important distinction as it clearly illustrated a full eighty percent of the men crafting the military policies (in this instance the raising of three companies of militia) would themselves, based upon age, have no real expectation of engaging in military endeavors. In fact, at war's commencement there were numerous Confederate soldiers who enlisted to fight but were considered unfit due to their age and discharged for "being over age."

More interestingly, nine of the ten men who oversaw the meeting or comprised the committee were slaveowners and exactly half were planters. Wm. A. Nash, who owned no slaves, was of very modest wealth with \$400 in combined real estate and personal wealth, but as an attorney likely was within the social hierarchy. W. W. Webb, a Clerk of the Court, owned the fewest number of slaves within the group (four), would have been considered well-to-do with combined wealth near \$12,000. The remainder of those who oversaw the meeting and committee varied in both their wealth and in the number of slaves owned. Including the aforementioned W. W. Webb, only three individuals owned fewer than ten slaves, while of the remaining six men, the fewest slaves owned was nineteen and the largest number was forty-six. Wealth among the nine slaveowners was as varied as the numbers of slaves owned. Webb's ownership of the four slaves misrepresented the actual wealth he possessed. In addition to owning four

slaves, Webb employed nine other slaves. As such, his wealth resembled that of an individual who might own ten to twelve slaves. John R. Garland owned the greatest number of slaves, forty-six, and also held the largest amount of combined property, slightly over \$66,000. Seven of the nine slaveowners held near or greater the \$17,000 threshold found to classify, what Campbell termed, the “very rich.”⁶¹ Further, six of the nine held total property greater than \$25,000. These figures indicated the vast majority of Lunenburg men who made one of the very first military decisions for the county were indeed wealthy slaveowners who, based upon their age, would likely not directly serve in the military.

In early February, Lunenburg men began to provide the initial response to the impending conflict. More than two months before Virginia’s secession, a group of men gathered to prepare for war. The inappropriately named area of “Non Intervention” in the southeastern section of the county, became the gathering place for those who were ready to act. On Wednesday, February 6, 1861, more than two months prior to Virginia’s secession, a group of Lunenburg residents gathered “for the purpose of organizing a corps of cavalry.”⁶² Again, minutes of the meeting were proudly forwarded to the Petersburg and Richmond newspapers. *The Richmond Enquirer* of February 16, 1861 printed a

⁶¹ Randolph Campbell found the mean wealth among slaveowners in Harrison County, Texas to be \$16,000. He classified those above this monetary threshold as being among the “very rich.” In Lunenburg the average wealth figure was \$16,800 and \$17,000 is used for simplicity.

⁶² Bell, 571.

roster of the newly formed unit:

Captain - David R. Stokes; Lieutenants - 1st, Colin Neblett; 2nd C. Tacitus Allen; 3rd, J. R. Featherston; Sergeants - 1st J. W. Wilkinson; 2nd, John H. Ragsdale; 3rd, W. T. Blackwell; 4th, E. D. Boswell; Corporals - 1st, John T. Rudd, 2nd J. J. Johnson, 3rd, Lewis J. Hite; 4th, R. E. Ragsdale, Color Sergeant - R. A. Blackwell. Bugle-blower, Samuel Waddy Snead. Surgeon, Wm. T. Elder, M. D.; Surgeon's Mate, W. J. Allen, M. D.

Lunenburg's region of Loch Leven in the southeastern section of the county, near the Brunswick County border, provided the accepted name – the “Loch Leven Rangers.” The newspaper account noted how “after the business was done, many gentlemen were called on to address the audience.” It was further revealed the men “responded in strong Southern speeches, all advocating straight-out unconditional and eternal separation from the infamous North.” Virginia may not have yet committed to fight, but Lunenburg County had done so: “the people of Lunenburg are thoroughly aroused . . . never again will they listen to the syren [sic] voice of compromise, though its melody may exceed that of the nightingale.”⁶³ This assembly was the first documented call to arms in the county and likely a good indicator of the type of county men who would have been willing to answer the call.

Fourteen of the sixteen men listed by the *Enquirer* as comprising the initial members (or at least initial leadership) of the Loch Leven Rangers were either

⁶³ *Richmond Enquirer*, February 16, 1861. No further record beyond that of the men listed above appeared in the *Enquirer*. It is unknown if only the officers and non-commissioned officers were listed or if the listing was complete at the time. The latter is likely the case and this meeting was probably the initial organizational meeting for the unit.

slaveowners or from slaveowning families.⁶⁴ Among these fourteen, exactly half were slaveowners' sons. The much larger presence of sons who joined this military group defined a distinction between the elder statesmen and younger soldiers. The men who formed the nucleus of the initial groups to develop a course of action for Lunenburg County to follow would, for the most part, not be the same men who would put the plans into military action.

Age, both its limitations and benefits, played a significant role in deciding involvement and commitment to action. While the senior men would assume the role of county statesmen, their sons and the younger men would shoulder arms for the Confederacy. This aspect of age was evident among the Loch Leven group. The eldest man was Samuel Waddy Snead, the forty-four-year-old bugler. Snead owned only one slave and held a very modest \$1,500 in total estate. Only two other members of the cavalry group were over age thirty – D. R. Stokes, Captain of the corps, and J. R. Featherston, the unit's first sergeant, were both thirty-six. Although this initial cavalry unit was a very limited sample group, it did appear to suggest that age would have influenced the decision of military service. It also likely indicated that the benefits of wealth would have had a statistical significance in regard to the position a man would assume within the military unit. The total estates of the top three commanding officers,

⁶⁴ J. R. Featherston owned no slaves himself, but was the independent son of a slaveowner. R. A. Blackwell owned no slaves, but was the apparent brother of and resided with W. T. Blackwell, a slaveowner.

D. R. Stokes (Captain), Colin Neblett (1st Lieutenant), and C. T. Allen (2nd Lieutenant) represented the three highest values of all the men in the group.⁶⁵

Sometime in early 1861, around the time the Loch Leven Rangers were being organized, Lunenburg County received its nickname, a moniker that would last decades beyond the Civil War – the “Free State” or “Old Free State” of Lunenburg. The aforementioned Cornelius Tacitus (C. T.) Allen, while speaking before a public meeting, proclaimed that if “Virginia didn’t secede and join the Southern States that had seceded, he favored the secession of Lunenburg County from the state. Just at this juncture someone from the audience yelled out in a stentorian voice: ‘Yes, and set up a Free State of our own.’”⁶⁶ Despite the fact “the papers in Richmond and Petersburg, in a somewhat sarcastic vein, dubbed the county as ‘The Free State of Lunenburg,’” the name stuck and was proudly embraced by Lunenburgers.⁶⁷

Just like the well-to-do who had led the first secession meeting and committee, the men who joined the Loch Leven Rangers were from families more involved, in a number of ways, with community affairs than the average resident would have been. The social, political, and economic networks in the county would have surely kept these men

⁶⁵ C. T. Allen, the eighteen-year-old son of R. H. Allen, did not have any estate value listed. The value cited was that of his family and is used as C. T. was a dependent son.

⁶⁶ Bell, 579.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 578.

apprised of the on-going secession crisis. Ultimately the debate over a “rich man’s war and poor man’s fight” can not solely be evaluated from groups such as the Loch Leven Rangers, but can only be addressed by analyzing the military commitment of the rich families when it truly mattered – after secession and during the actual war. There can be little doubt that the men who initially came forward to join the Rangers were patriotic and desirous to fight for the cause. The question would be their willingness to do so when more than just pride was at stake.

The Friday morning, February 8, 1861 edition of *The Richmond Enquirer* continued to announce, as it had done the day prior, news of the various local elections of delegates for Virginia’s State Convention including news of Lunenburg’s delegate election. In choosing their representative to the State Convention the *Enquirer* proclaimed that Lunenburgers had elected Wm. J. Neblett, an “Irrepressible Secessionist,” the result of a unanimous vote. The *Enquirer* further commented on the county’s vote as to who should ultimately decide the secession question, citizens or legislators – “Against referring to the people, 360; for referring, only 24.” The *Enquirer’s* editor further commended the actions of Lunenburgers: “Old Lunenburg is a “South Carolina” of a county, only 24 men that are willing to submit to the rule of Lincoln; but I fear there are not enough Lunenburgs in the State.”⁶⁸ The will of the nearly

⁶⁸ *Richmond Enquirer*, February 8, 1861.

4,500 county residents was placed in the hands of their one elected delegate to the State Convention. However as a whole, Virginia by a vote of 100,536 to 45,161 decided “the people commanded that the findings of the Convention should be submitted to them for ratification or rejection.”⁶⁹ Landon Bell wrote, “If sentiment of Lunenburg had been predominant in the state, Virginia would have seceded before Lincoln was inaugurated.”⁷⁰

Lunenburg’s elected representative, planter William J. Neblett, was relatively young – still in his thirties, and the father of seven children, all under age thirteen. Neblett personified the “rich man” who eventually bore the blame for the volumes of social dissent within the Confederacy. Neblett’s overall total estate value was substantial. He held twice as much real estate outside of Virginia than the \$15,000 in real estate he possessed in Lunenburg and his ownership of personal property, including his forty-six slaves, exceeded \$46,000 in Lunenburg County alone. Just who exactly cast the votes for Neblett in February 1861 is not known, nor is the number of eligible voters actually in attendance. The tallies of cast votes indicated there were at the minimum close to 400 white males, eligible to vote, in attendance. If there were but 400 eligible voters present, less than ten-percent of the county’s residents had voted on the course of action the entire county would take. On March 14, 1861, ten days after Lincoln’s inauguration, a

⁶⁹ Bell, 567.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 569.

committee to draft the county's resolutions, to be forwarded to Neblett at the State Convention, again convened at the Court House. Although the social and economic composition of the 384 men who voted in the election of Lunenburg's delegate is not known, the men who conducted the meeting and who were appointed to the committee "to draw up and present to the meeting for adoption, resolutions expressive of the sense of the county" are known. The resolution committee was noted as being "appointed" and not elected. What constituted this "appointment" is never specified. Eight individuals either composed the committee or oversaw the meeting. This resolution committee was in many respects made up of the same type of individuals as the group meeting in January to request a tax to fund the militia companies. In fact, two men, John R. Garland and Ro. H. Crawley, helped guide both meetings. While the average age of both committees was similar, the resolution committee included C. T. Allen, age eighteen and a 1860 graduate of Richmond College, as the youngest member, but also had Wm. C. Snead, forty-nine and seven years the senior of Wm. H. Hatchett, the eldest member of the militia committee.

The men who formed the resolution committee and those who conducted the meeting were again predominately slaveowners. In fact, all were from slaveholding families, with C. T. Allen, planter R. H. Allen's second oldest son, the only non-owner. Of the eight, five were planters or planters' sons. The number of slaves owned by these planter families ranged from twenty-seven in the case of R. H. (and C. T.) Allen to forty-

six owned by J. R. Garland. Additionally, of the five planter families represented, three owned more than forty slaves each.

As would be expected, the combined property values for these individuals was substantial. The “plain folk” would characterize this group as “well-to-do” and certainly would speak of the majority as having been among the county’s social elite. Dr. William Passmore owned not only the fewest slaves (three), but also possessed the lowest combination of real estate and personal estate values (just over \$3,500). At age twenty-four, he was by far (eight years) the youngest of all the owners. Wm. C. Snead owned just one more slave than Passmore, but held in excess of \$10,000 in total estate.

Applying Campbell’s method to define the “very rich,” in Lunenburg County the average wealth figure for the county’s slaveowners was just under \$17,000. Among the eight men who either conducted the meeting or made up the committee, six held personal or family estate values near or in excess of this figure. R. H. Crawley held just under the \$17,000 limit, all the others, except the aforementioned Passmore, had combined wealth over \$30,000, ranging from the Allen family (includes R. H. and C. T. Allen) at \$34,000 to J. R. Garland with \$66,000. These men, without question, represented some of the wealthiest families in the county and combined owned in excess of 165 slaves.

Like those who made up the prior militia committee, their age is an important consideration. Five of the eight men were over age thirty-five and only two, C. T. Allen and Dr. Passmore, were under thirty. It appeared that the vast majority of the men who

made the critical decisions that might lead to armed conflict were, based upon age, not likely to endure a soldier's life.

The resolution committee went right to work and decided on a course of action for Lunenburg. The committee drafted the resolutions that were to be adopted for the county and ultimately forwarded on to Niblett as the county's representative in Richmond.

Again *The Richmond Enquirer* carried the news of a "PUBLIC MEETING IN LUNENBURG":

Mr. Niblett [sic] - I desire to present the following resolutions, which were adopted by my constituents at a meeting on the 11th ult. I will merely remark that these resolutions were adopted unanimously, and that the gentlemen who presided at the meeting, has, until very recently, been a submissionist. These resolutions point in one direction, for my constituents are aware of the fact that there are between two and three hundred thousand of our kinfolk at the South, with whom they are anxious to unite their destinies without delay:

On Monday, the 11th inst., the people of Lunenburg assembled at their Court House, it being court day, for the purpose of taking into consideration the great crisis under the galling pressure of which we are now suffering.

On motion of R. H. Crawley, David R. Stokes was called to the chair, and on the motion of John T. Merryman, C. Tacitus Allen was appointed Secretary.

Dr. Crawley briefly stated the object of the meeting.

Dr. Merryman moved that a committee of five be appointed to draw up and present to the meeting for adoption, resolutions expressive of the sense of the county. Wm. C. Snead, Dr. E. T. Merryman, Col. R. H. Allen, J. R. Garland, and Dr. Passmore constituted the committee, who reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, we believe that our proud Commonwealth will be ruined unless the stern voices of her independent sovereigns interpose to arrest the dire calamity; and whereas a certain man called Abraham Lincoln, on the 4th of March, 1861, did disgrace the Presidential Chair of this country; and, whereas, a certain method of adjustment of political troubles is before

the sovereigns of this country for adoption or rejection, which was elaborated and recommended by what was wrongfully called a Peace Congress, we, the sovereigns of the County of Lunenburg, do unanimously adopt the following resolutions, which embrace our well guarded opinions on the present crisis:

1st. Resolved, that secession, *direct, straight out, eternal* (italics in newspaper original) is the salvation of Virginia.

2d. Resolved, That as far as we were concerned, Abraham Lincoln should never have waved his scepter over the state which boasts of a Washington's Grave.

3d. Resolved, That we are irreconcilably opposed to any border State Convention, and do hereby request our delegate in the State Convention now in session, to oppose every effort tending to that end, and to press with all his might and ability the immediate and everlasting separation of Virginia from all the non-slaveholding states, and to a union with the cotton states.

4th. Resolved, That we regard as coercion the retaking of forts, the collection of revenue, or the assumption or even maintenance of any power in the seceded states by the government at Washington, and will resist the same to the point of the bayonet.

5th. Resolved, That in the Peace Congress report, we recognize a willful and deliberate encroachment upon the rights of the South, consequently we repudiate it, we scorn and regard it as "the scum that raises when a nation boils" (quotations in newspaper original).

6th. Resolved, That we have ever been and are now opposed to compromise of any character with Lincoln's party or sympathizers.

7th. Resolved, That we are for the South, the whole South, and nothing but the South, so help us God.

The preamble and resolutions were received by an intensely enthusiastic meeting, with such plaudits of approval as never before greeted the ears of mortal man, and adopted without a single dissenting voice. No speeches were made. All passed off in all the eloquence of silence, which indicated a determined spirit. The day for speeches has long since passed, and the time for action is present. Upon the brow of every man was written, in mistakable and indelible characters, "my home is in the South, my grave shall be there too" (quotations in newspaper original). If ever determination characterized the action of any people, it is stamped upon the actions of the people of Lunenburg. In days now gone forever, they cherished a devoted love for the American Union, and for the flag which has floated in splendor over every sea, which has been

hailed with rapture in every clime where civilization has made a foot-print. They have witnessed the downfall of the nation's citadel of honor, and now desire to leave its dishonored ruins to the care of those who wantonly undermined its once grand lofty pillars. They are eager to detach the "old mother of states and statesmen" (quotations in newspaper original) from the accursed North, ere its fierce and desolating tide of furious fanaticism shall sweep her hallowed soil. Their ardent affections are closely entwined around the destiny of the Old Dominion. May oblivion never shroud her splendor is their only prayer. But if their mother state should ever conclude to cling to the North, in all its hideousness and heinousness, we dare to say every citizen of Lunenburg will leave her to the owls and bats of abolition and seek some spot of earth where the scepter of Lincoln can never desecrate their graves.

David R. Stokes,
President

C. Tacitus Allen,
Secretary

With Lunenburg's fate looming, there were likely a number of public gatherings in the county during the early part of 1861. These meetings probably ranged from neighbors openly discussing the current crisis to whole communities assembling to hear the orations of state's rights and Southern independence. Surviving newspapers with published accounts of the formal meetings provided a record of the events and, more importantly, the men who presided and participated in such affairs. The meeting of Lunenburgers in January set the tone, without any real saber rattling, the county would make a stand for its rights. The outcome of this first meeting established a new tax, which would have its proceeds fund the three militia units. There was no mention of who would constitute the 150 men that would be called to serve, who would lead them, and

under what specifics they were to perform their duties. The meeting in March was an auspicious affair, at least for the secessionists who clearly wanted to define the county's position openly. The tone of the public meetings had gone from self-preservation and protection to defiance and antagonism. At the March meeting the saber had not only been rattled, but unsheathed, sharpened, polished and would not be put away until stained crimson.

The mood of the two meetings might be defined by the men who constituted the various committees and conducted the gatherings. A county with more than 4,500 white residents now stated openly in various newspapers its course of action would be determined by essentially seventeen men. Five of these men would draft the resolutions to be represented by the county to the State Convention. In effect, six men, five from the county's resolution committee and Wm. J. Neblett, the county's delegate to the convention in Richmond, decided if Lunenburg, and ultimately Virginia, would leave the Union.

Among the "Southside" counties, Lunenburg's secession decision was not so unique. At the State Convention, some of the delegates, who represented the eight Southside counties, initially had differences of opinion on secession.⁷¹ Slavery within the counties certainly affected their stance, both initially and ultimately. Despite the

⁷¹ Anthony J. Gage, Jr., *Southside Virginia in the Civil War: Amelia, Brunswick, Charlotte, Halifax, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nottoway, & Prince Edward Counties* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1999). For purposes of this study Anthony Gage's definition of "Southside Virginia" is used.

residents of all eight counties voting (at the county level) by large margins for secession, not all the delegates to the state convention initially cast a vote in the affirmative.

Anthony Gage noted, “In Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Charlotte County the delegates, to the state convention, were for immediate secession.”⁷² Among the eight counties, Halifax held the lowest percentage of slaves in proportion to its total population. Not inclusive of Halifax, the other seven Southside counties were all within the top fourteen counties in Virginia with the highest percentage of slaves within the county’s total population. Nottoway and Amelia were ranked one and two respectively in this category.⁷³ It was not until the April 17 vote, after Lincoln’s call for 75,000 volunteer troops, that all eight Southside county delegates ultimately voted in favor of Virginia’s secession.

Overall the secession decision for Virginia was a difficult one. The secession ordinance before the State Convention passed by a vote of eighty-eight to fifty-five. Virginians voted 128,884 for secession to 32,134 against. However, among her sister Southern states, Virginia’s secession crisis and ultimate decision clearly followed a similar pattern, in terms of order of secession, in relation to both number of slaveowning families and percentage of slaves within the population of the various states. Virginia

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷³ Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. HISTORICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL DATA: THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1970 [Computer file]. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor].

was statistically an excellent cross section of Southern slaveowning. Twenty-six percent of all Virginia families owned slaves – the exact percentage of all slaveholding families within the slave states. Additionally, slaves comprised thirty-one percent of Virginia’s population, a figure again near the exact percentage for all slave states.⁷⁴

If slave owning defined the secession decision at the state level, the same was likely true for the local communities. Among Virginia’s counties, Lunenburg had one of the highest concentration of wealthy slaveowners, average number of slaves owned and percent of slaves within the county’s total population. These factors helped shape Lunenburg’s destiny and placed the county along a path which would end in war.

⁷⁴ Figures are for all slave states and include the “Border” slave states. Figures for the states which seceded and comprised the Confederacy had approximately 31 percent of families who owned slaves.

CHAPTER FOUR: LUNENBURG SLAVEOWNERS

“We will fight until we are killed first”
Josephus Gregory, Lunenburg planter
April 21, 1861

One of the first units established in Lunenburg County as a direct result of the pending secession crisis was the aforementioned Loch Leven Rangers. This unit very well may have been formed as a result of the January 1861 meeting where the decision to “arm three volunteer companies of militia” was reached. This unit was discussed in an earlier section of this work, but is worth revisiting to analyze which, if any, of the initial “volunteers” continued in their commitment to the Southern cause and were accepted into military service beyond that of local defense. Anthony Gage termed the Loch Leven Rangers a militia unit and noted it was “reorganized for war” into an infantry unit, the “Flat Rock Riflemen” and accepted into Confederate service as Company C, 20th Virginia Infantry.⁷⁵ This reorganization was a direct result of the unit members’ desire for active service in the war. Cornelius T. Allen, 2nd Lieutenant of the Company, later noted that “the idea prevailed that cavalry wouldn’t be needed, and would be of but little service,

⁷⁵ Gage, 9.

that if we desired to be in the war at all, we must go as infantry.”⁷⁶ Allen’s want for war soon came with catastrophic consequences for his unit. The only known enlistment roster of the original Loch Leven unit was the prior listing of officers (inclusive of the medical staff) and non-commissioned officers. Of the sixteen men listed who comprised the initial members (or at least initial leadership) of the Loch Leven Rangers, fourteen were either slaveowners or from slaveowning families.⁷⁷ Of these fourteen men, only one, forty-four-year-old Samuel Waddy Snead, was above the age limitations of this research. The youngest was R.(Richard) E. Ragsdale, the sixteen-year-old son of slaveowner Joel M. Ragsdale. Of the remaining thirteen men from slaveholding families, nine (69.2 percent) ultimately saw military duty in service to the Confederacy. Further, all the men except one, Ed Boswell, served together in the same unit, the 20th Virginia Infantry.⁷⁸ Further, many of the men retained their initial command capacity after reorganization and assignment to the 20th Infantry: David R. Stokes as Captain, Colin Neblett as 1st

⁷⁶ Quoted in Bell, 586.

⁷⁷ R. A. Blackwell, a non-slaveowner resided with his brother, Wm. T., a slaveowner and member of the company. J. R. Featherston, a non-slaveowner, was the independent son of a slaveowner. Though the two were from slaveowning families, neither man was a direct slaveowner or dependent son and would not be considered as slaveholders in this study or presented in the data and are included only for illustrative purposes.

⁷⁸ Due to his youth, R. E. Ragsdale enlisted later in the war and after the 20th Virginia Infantry disbanded. However, he joined the unit made up from many of those who were former members of the 20th – The Lunenburg Rebel Artillery.

Lieutenant, J. R. Featherston and Cornelius T. Allen as 2nd Lieutenants, and Lew J. Hite as 3rd Sergeant.

Little further analysis of militia enlistment patterns could be performed among Lunenburg County soldiers. The 73rd Virginia Militia would have encompassed most of those men in militia units from the county, but the 73rd was not officially active in Confederate service. The slaveholding men who would have been in the 73rd chose to forgo state militia service and directly enlisted in units being recruited throughout the county as well as neighboring areas. However, assuming the Loch Leven Rangers were initially a militia unit (as reported by Gage), the enlistment pattern of the men into an official unit would confirm Robert C. Kenzer's assertion that North Carolina's Confederate unit members "were often residents of the same neighborhood . . . commanded by a man from the neighborhood who had been an officer in the antebellum militia."⁷⁹ The Rangers was likely one of the three militia units mentioned as an outcome of the public meeting in January, 1861. Based on Loch Leven's location, the unit would have comprised men from the "lower end" of the county as many of the unit members' family homes were in the southeastern section of the county. The Allen residence at Oral Oaks was some ten miles from Loch Leven and approximately five miles to Non Intervention, the original meeting point for the men. The enlistment point for the Flat

⁷⁹ Kenzer, 74.

Rock Riflemen was Saint John's Church, only a short distance, a mile or so, from Non Intervention.⁸⁰

Many of the slaveholding men who initially joined the Rangers had been vocal in their support of secession. Did the remainder of Lunenburg's wealthy slaveholding residents respond in such a manner?

The 186 Lunenburg County slaveowners of military age represented a much more "common" group when removed from the elder slaveowners.⁸¹ The eligible owners ranged in age from sixteen to forty and, as would be expected, the group on average was much younger when compared to all county slaveowners (30.2 years and 44.8 years respectively). Even at 30.2 years of age on average, the military-eligible owners group was four years older than the average Confederate soldier.⁸² Additionally, the age of the group is reflected in the fact that 118 (63.4 percent) of the 186 were age thirty and older. Even more substantial was the fact seventy-seven (41.4 percent) of the eligible owners

⁸⁰ The 1860 census for Lunenburg County provides no useable information on residence location as "Pleasant Grove P.O." is listed as the Post Office on all 118 pages. This is obviously incorrect. The residency locations provided are taken from Arvin's book and the 1871 Map of Lunenburg County, prepared by Jed. Hotchkiss, which includes the locations of some residences.

⁸¹ Samuel Hammock was listed as "insane" and would likely not be considered for military service. Samuel is counted as an owner in the overall statistics, but not within the military evaluations. It is unclear as to the ownership of nine slaves between twelve-year-old Sylvanus Stokes and his mother. The slaves are counted as his mother's property. Neither Samuel nor Sylvanus are incorporated into the research data.

⁸² McPherson; viii; Eric Ethier, "Who was the Common Soldier of the Civil War?" *Civil War Times* 42 (December 2003): 52. McPherson's sampling found the Confederate average age to be 26.5, Ethier cited average age (both Northern and Southern soldiers combined) to be "just under 26."

were thirty-five years of age or older and at the start of hostilities could have been rejected for military service based solely upon age.

King and Queen and Lunenburg counties not only had nearly identical proportions in the numbers of slaves owned, but data also indicated age of slaveowners to be statistically similar as well. Of the 459 slaveowners in King and Queen, 161 (35.1 percent) were males of military age.⁸³ This same figure for Lunenburg indicated a similar proportion – 186 eligible owners (33.4 percent) of 557 total owners.

Aside from age, the slaveowners varied significantly in the number of slaves owned, ultimately a reflection of wealth. In Lunenburg, the eligible owners possessed an average of nine slaves, while all owners in the county owned an average of twelve. While casual observation may have revealed little pronounced difference between having owned nine or twelve slaves, the average wealth associated with these figures was significant. The mean total wealth (combination of real estate and personal estate values) across all Lunenburg slaveowners was nearly \$17,000.⁸⁴ Randolph Campbell used both slaveownership and mean total wealth as a basis in defining economic class in East Texas.⁸⁵ All those slaveowners who held total wealth above the mean were classified as

⁸³ The number of owners in King and Queen County, 459, is from the author's prior research and differs slightly from the 449 figure presented through the Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia.

⁸⁴ While the actual average wealth was \$16,800, for simplicity, \$17,000 was used.

⁸⁵ Campbell, page 36, used "a combination of slaveholding and wealthholding" in his analysis and determined, "The wealthiest class was composed of men from families that owned slaves and also had total

the “wealthiest class.” Among the 186 eligible Lunenburg owners, this figure for average total wealth dropped by one-quarter, to just under \$12,650. The proportions of those eligible slaveowners both above and below this wealth figure are again statistically similar to the proportions of all owners above and below the overall \$17,000 figure.⁸⁶ Of the twenty eligible men who would have been among the wealthiest in the county, seventeen held more than twenty slaves and would have been of the planter class. Additionally, only three were less than thirty years of age and sixteen were thirty-five years of age or older.

It seems only appropriate to begin an analysis of a “rich man’s war” with discussion of the rich men. Of the 186 eligible slaveowners, only twenty-four (12.9 percent) were of the planter class and owned twenty or more slaves. The average age of these men, 35.2, was five years older than the average for all eligible owners and would have been nearly ten years greater than the average Confederate soldier’s age. In terms of wealth, the average total for eligible planters was more than \$40,000 and nine of the twenty-four held in excess of this figure. These men surely would have been considered

wealth (a combination of real and personal property) of \$16,000 or more, a number that placed those families above the mean wealthholding for slaveholders in East Texas.”

⁸⁶ Among the eligible owners, 122 (65.6 percent) were below the \$12,650 average, with sixty-four individuals (34.4 percent) having combined wealth above this average figure. The top 100 wealthiest slaveowners (17.9 percent of the total 557 owners) in the county held almost exactly fifty percent of all slaveowner wealth. The lowest total wealth among the 100 wealthiest owners was just under \$31,000. Among the 186 eligible owners, forty-eight (25.8 percent) possessed total wealth above the \$17,000 average for all slaveowners and only twenty (10.7 percent of those in the eligible group) possessed

to be among the county elite and, as the war dragged on, were of the social status that would have been the target of the plain folks' resentment and scorn.

Evaluation of military service revealed that of these twenty-four planters, ten (41.7 percent) served in the Confederate military. Evaluating those who served in the military, five of the nine, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, who held in excess of \$40,000 in total wealth, joined the military. Analysis of the ten who enlisted revealed that four of the group initially joined as officers. While this proportion was much higher than the Southern norm, it should be pointed out that none entered service above the rank of Captain and two of the four, Captain David Stokes and 1st Lieutenant Colin Neblett, simply retained their rank from the Loch Leven Rangers when that unit was reorganized and accepted into the 20th Virginia Infantry. Another planter who entered service as an officer, Oscar Knight, was not likely given his rank of 2nd Lieutenant based solely on social standing, but due to merit. He was both a physician and VMI graduate. Further, Sterling Neblett, a physician, was appointed Surgeon of the 24th Virginia Infantry.⁸⁷ Despite the four individuals who enlisted as officers, the remaining six men initially joined their units at the lowly-rank of private (see Table 3).

Date of enlistment demonstrated an early commitment to military service: seven joined units less than two months after Virginia's secession; two more joined within the

combined wealth at or above \$31,000 and were among the county's wealthiest 100 owners.

⁸⁷ For purposes of this research, those listed with the position of Assistant Surgeon and Surgeon are considered to have held a rank equivalent to that of an officer and are classified as such.

first year-and-a-half of the war; and only one joined in the war's later years. Seven of the ten initially joined infantry units, while the remaining three chose a cavalry or mounted unit.⁸⁸ Given the small number of planters analyzed, these figures closely approached the Confederate average figures for branch of service (see Table 4).⁸⁹ All ten of the men served at one time or another in active military units. B. A. Hatchell, Sr. initially joined a mounted guard unit, but even his forty slaves and more than \$30,000 in total wealth could not keep him out of the reach of conscription. He was taken from his "non-active" unit and conscripted into active military service at the rank of private in the 13th Virginia Cavalry. Given the extremely small sample size of just ten individuals, it is difficult to draw significant conclusions for the planter class. Only one of the ten, James L. Hite, perished during the war. Like the majority of soldiers, Hite succumbed to disease, in his case typhoid fever, in August, 1864. Aside from the late war capture of Richard Cralle in Amelia, Virginia, no further casualty data was found for the men within the planter group.

⁸⁸ Branch Archer Hatchell, Sr. was listed as having served in the Mounted Guard, 5th Congressional District. Wallace has no such unit referenced, but does list a Mounted Guard, 4th Congressional District as a cavalry unit in the role of "a supporting force." The 4th district encompassed many Southside areas including Lunenburg County. Given the "supporting" role of the Mounted Guard units, for purpose of this study, the unit is considered a "non-active" unit. "Non-active" is a reference to units normally classified as reserve, local defense or militia and would not have been engaged in the full-time pursuit of soldiering and campaigning.

⁸⁹ Both Robertson and Ethier concur the accepted breakdown in branch of service within Southern military service to be 75 percent infantry, 20 percent cavalry and 5 percent artillery.

This lack of significant casualty data may be due in part to the fact that four of the men, David Stokes, Colin Neblett, James Hite and John McKenny, were part of the 20th Virginia Infantry. The 20th Virginia Infantry has been referred to by regimental historians as both “hapless” and “ill-fated.”⁹⁰ The Battle of Rich Mountain in mid-July 1861 essentially marked both the beginning and the end of the 20th. This battle proved to be a true baptism by fire for many of the Lunenburg soldiers (not just planters) in the 20th. A Lunenburg slaveowner’s son wrote how Rich Mountain provided his initial glimpse into the horror of war: “I saw for the first time wounded, bleeding, dying and dead men – my first sight of human blood – I shall carry with me to my grave the awful feeling that possessed me as I looked at those men!”⁹¹ Not long after Rich Mountain the Confederate government officially disbanded the shattered 20th Virginia Infantry and its men were officially discharged in the fall of 1861. Robert Henderson Allen’s journal noted the return home to Lunenburg of his son, Cornelius, and many other men of the 20th:

Lieut. C. Tacitus Allen returned home from the confederate army, his whole regiment having been disbanded in consequence of hardship undergone in the campaign in the northwest especially at the Rich Mountain fight, many of them having died & nearly all the balance now sick & many of them permanently disabled for life.⁹²

⁹⁰ Weaver, 99; Gage, 14.

⁹¹ Weaver, 19.

⁹² R. H. Allen, 317.

Of the four planters who initially joined the 20th, only the aforementioned James Hite would seek to join another unit and continue his military service. His decision to do so likely cost him his life. Seeking to resolve the question of special treatment for the wealthy, research of the Lunenburg planters revealed that of the ten who served in the army four were either discharged or resigned from the service. Colin Neblett appears to have simply resigned his commission and “quit” the army for unknown reasons. In the days following Rich Mountain, David Stokes too resigned his commission but later requested of General Lee to “withdraw his tender of resignation.”⁹³ Orlando Smith was “discharged for disability” at the age of forty-two and Oscar Knight’s resignation stated he chose to leave military service due to “ill health” and “owning twenty Negroes.”

Given the limited number of Lunenburg planters of military age, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion as to the military commitment of the county’s richest men to the Southern cause. The twenty-four planters of military age constituted less than five percent of all Lunenburg slaveowners and only four were under age thirty-five as of 1860. Age, more than social status, or sense of commitment and duty, likely played a key role in their military enlistment decision.

⁹³ Colin Neblett resigned his commission just prior to the Rich Mountain battle. No reason for the resignation could be found. Despite the request by David Stokes to “withdraw his resignation,” no further military record could be found.

Those Lunenburg owners who held ten to nineteen slaves represented thirty-nine (21.0 percent) of the 186 total owners. This group who owned a “large” number of slaves was on average three years younger (32.0) than the planters. As would be expected, the average wealth for the group is substantially below that of the planters (just over \$18,500 and \$40,000 respectively). Further, as was also found among the planters, all of the “large” slaveowners were land owners who, on average, possessed a real estate value of \$4,418 with the largest value \$11,100 and the smallest \$1,400.⁹⁴

Twenty-two (56.4 percent) of “large” slaveowners served in the Confederate military. There was little difference in either wealth or age between the overall “large” owners group and those from the group who joined the military. Those who joined the military held a total wealth average of \$18,767, compared to the overall group average of \$18,538. This nearly exact figure of wealth is mirrored by the number of slaves owned. Of the overall “large” owners group, the average number of slaves owned was just under fourteen (13.9), while the same figure for those who enlisted in a military unit was exactly fourteen slaves owned (see Tables 5 and 10).

The average age (32.0 years) of those who enlisted is nearly the same as the average age (31.9 years) for the group as a whole (see Table 6). There is deviation from the planter group when evaluating both initial rank and the type of military unit joined.

⁹⁴ Aurelius Rowlett was an owner but also a 21-year-old, dependent son and had no property value listed under his name. Instead, the family value was listed as his mother’s property. As such, he is considered a land owner, but no value is assigned to his real estate.

Only one individual entered service as an officer – Christopher Haskins was appointed 1st Lieutenant in Company B, 3rd Virginia Artillery.⁹⁵ In fact, the majority of the group – eighteen (81.8 percent) of the twenty-two initially enlisted as privates (see Table 3).

Like the planter group, there was consistency among the men in terms of unit preference. Within the “large” owners group, more than two-in-three preferred the cavalry – fifteen men (68.2 percent) joined the 9th Virginia Cavalry. The “Lunenburg Light Dragoons” which had been “organized several years prior to the war” was accepted as Company H, of the 9th Virginia Cavalry. The company’s Captain was initially William Haynie Hatchett, a Lunenburg planter, who, nearing forty-five and being listed as sick during November and December 1861, was dropped from the rolls “at April 29, 1862 reorganization.”⁹⁶ Five of the remaining seven men initially enlisted in the infantry and two in the artillery (see Table 4). Twenty-one of the twenty-two joined active military units.⁹⁷ The majority of these men enlisted in either May or June, 1861, and of the total who enlisted, ten (50 percent) volunteered by the end of the war’s first year.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ The 3rd Virginia Artillery was considered a Local Defense unit and, like many such units, has limited service records. The earliest enlistment date for Haskins was for appointment to the unit as Lieutenant. This data is considered as the initial enlistment date and rank

⁹⁶ Bell, 597. Also, according to Bell, Hatchett resigned his commission in 1861. In his regimental history of the 9th Cavalry, Robert Krick noted (page 78) that Hatchett was “absent sick Nov. - Dec. 1861. Dropped at April 29, 1862 reorganization.”

⁹⁷ The one man not considered to have joined an active unit was Christopher Haskins in the 3rd Virginia Artillery, which was classified as a local defense unit.

⁹⁸ Two individuals do not have a date of enlistment within their service records and were, for purposes of

Further, a total of fifteen (75 percent) enlisted by the end of 1862. Despite their elevated social status and substantial wealth, the conscription process left its mark on this group. Of the twenty-two, four (18.2 percent) experienced the process of conscription. Two of the four conscripts had served in the military prior to being returned to duty as conscripts. Lew Hite, a former member of the 20th Infantry and POW at Rich Mountain, was conscripted to the 9th Virginia Cavalry in 1864. Servetus Staples initially joined the 9th Cavalry in 1861, but for some unexplained reason left or did not follow through with his enlistment in the unit and was conscripted back into the 9th in 1864 (see Tables 7 and 8).⁹⁹

Analyzing the “large” owners group beyond initial enlistment indicated six (27.3 percent) of the men received some form of discharge from service.¹⁰⁰ All of the discharges were for disabilities made by a surgeon, and presumably for legitimate medical conditions. Of the six receiving discharges, four were age thirty or older when discharged. Additionally, casualty rates revealed that of the twenty-two soldiers, eight (36.4 percent) suffered some degree of traumatic experience during the war.¹⁰¹ Two of

“timing of enlistment” analysis, excluded from the total number of soldiers.

⁹⁹ In the 9th Cavalry regimental history Robert Krick states “this enlistment misfired somehow.” No further records were found until the 1864 conscription.

¹⁰⁰ This figure does not include the discharge of Lew Hite, a member of the 20th Virginia Infantry. Most of the men from that unit had some form of discharge due to the unit officially disbanding and ceasing to exist.

¹⁰¹ For purposes of this research, “traumatic experience” was equated to that of and may also be referred

the group were wounded, six captured, including Aurelius Rowlett who perished some three weeks after his capture at Thompson's Cross Roads. Rowlett was the only individual from the "large" owner group to perish during the war. His mother, Lucinda, a widow, filed a claim for the payments due her twenty-three-year-old son, the only family member living with her in Lunenburg. Her meager compensation amounted to \$154.51 for "clothing commutation, pay due and use and risk of horse." An amount that surely did not alleviate her loss.¹⁰²

Analysis of those Lunenburg men who owned between five and nine slaves demonstrated again that the number of slaves owned represented a positive correlation to both wealth and age. With a decrease in the number of slaves owned there was a decline in both wealth and age. The average age of the thirty-seven "medium" slaveowners dropped when compared to the planter (35.2 years) and "large" (32.0 years) owner groups, to 31.1 (see Table 6). The amount of total wealth possessed by this group of "medium" owners was dramatically less than either of the two previously-discussed owner groups. Overall the "medium" owners group held average total wealth of approximately \$9,000, substantially lower than the planters' figure of \$40,000 and the "large" owners average of \$18,500 (see Table 5).

to as "casualty of war" and included those who were captured, wounded or perished while serving in the military.

¹⁰² Compiled Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 9th Virginia Cavalry.

Of the thirty-seven “medium” owners, twenty-two (59.5 percent) served in the Confederate military. Again, like those in the “large” owner group, there is little financial difference among the average wealth of the overall group and the average wealth of those who served in the military – \$8,882 and \$8,817 respectively. There was some, though slight, difference in the average age between the overall group (31.1 years) and those who enlisted (29.7 years). Among those who enlisted, there is no majority preference in branch of service – ten joined the cavalry, eight the infantry and four the artillery.¹⁰³ This enlistment pattern was a deviation from the wealthier groups which appeared to express unit preferences since they joined a very limited number of units. Those “medium” owners who joined the cavalry all joined Company G, 9th Virginia Cavalry. Those who joined the 9th Cavalry, a unit popular with the wealthier soldiers, were slightly more affluent on average than the average wealth among the “medium” owners who enlisted in other units – \$10,651 and \$8,817 respectively. This data may represent the idea some soldiers elected to serve with others of similar social standing and antebellum affiliations and may well indicate, at least among the somewhat wealthier slaveowners, the enlistment decision stretched beyond immediate communal boundaries.

Rank at time of initial enlistment followed a pattern similar to that of the average Southern soldier. Of the twenty-two men, only one, George C. Lester, initially entered military service above the rank of private. Lester, who owned nine slaves, joined

¹⁰³ A. V. Rash joined the Camp Lee, Conscript Guards (Camp Guard) and is counted as infantry.

Company B, 20th Virginia Infantry as 2nd Lieutenant on May 21, 1861. Although he was not among one of those initially listed with the Loch Leven Rangers, Lester was one of the early recruits in the unit. Immediately following the Confederate debacle at Rich Mountain, Lester resigned from service. Less than a week later he thought better of leaving the army and submitted to Robert E. Lee to “withdraw his tender of resignation.” Lester later continued his military service, and re-enlisted, at the rank of private, with many of his former comrades from the 20th Infantry, in the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery (ultimately Company F, 2nd Virginia Artillery). Lester would be elected into the officer ranks and served as recruiting officer for the unit. The war finally ended for Lester on April 6, 1865 at Sailor’s Creek where he was captured along the path of Lee’s final march towards Appomattox.

Including Lester, six of the group were casualties of the war, four were captured, one was wounded and two perished. These somewhat lower casualty rates may have been due to the relatively high number of discharges received by those of the “medium” owners group. Of those in the discharge sample group, more than one-in-three (40.9 percent) of the twenty-two, received some form of discharge. The circumstances of discharge for eight of the nine men could be located in the service records. Three men were released from service after providing a substitute, three for disability, one apparently for age, and Lester resigned his commission (see Tables 1 and 8).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ No reason for the discharge of R. L. Baxter is given in the service records. His age, 38 years is noted and may suggest the reason for discharge.

Despite having a somewhat higher percentage of those within the slaveowning group who joined the military, the timing of enlistment differed significantly. Ten (45.5 percent) signed up for service in 1861, five in 1862, two in 1863 and five in 1864. It is worth noting that all five of those who joined in 1864 did so as conscripts. Further, all but one of the five conscripts would have been over forty at the time of their conscription. Only Robert Bruce, owner of seven slaves, was under forty years of age (Bruce was thirty-three at the time of conscription). Additionally, those conscripted held nearly \$2,000 in greater total wealth (\$10,707) than the \$8,817 average owned by those soldiers from this “medium” owner group.

Not all those who served the Confederate Army were found among the official military records. Edward C. Gee, a twenty-three-year-old physician and owner of five slaves was indicated as having “entered the Medical Service of the Confederate Army in a civilian capacity.”¹⁰⁵ Despite his service to the Confederacy, in this capacity, Gee, and others who would have offered themselves under similar circumstances, were classified as non-combatants.

¹⁰⁵ Evelyn Ferguson Arvin, *Ante-Bellum Homes of Lunenburg* (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, 1969), 74.

Of all the Lunenburg slaveowners, those who owned a “small” number of slaves, between one and four in 1860, represented the largest group of military-age-eligible slaveowning men. The eighty-six eligible “small” owners constituted 46.2 percent of the 186 military age owners and represented more than double the number of any other owner group, and numerically three times greater than the eligible planter group. When compared to the prior groups, there is a dramatic decrease in the average wealth owned while only a slight drop in average age. Average wealth for the overall group was \$3,728 with an average age of 29.7 years. There is little difference in the overall group average age when compared to 30.1 years average age of the fifty-eight individuals (67.4 percent) from the “small” owners group who enlisted in the military. The difference in wealth between those eligible and those who joined the military, appears small – \$3,728 and \$3,182 respectively, but the percentage difference, however, is the greatest of all the owner groups. Noteworthy is the fact that while this group had the largest percentage of non-landowners, land ownership did not have an effect on the enlistment decision. Within the “small” owners group as a whole, 41.8 percent owned land compared to the 42.1 percent who were land owners and also served in the military and the 41.4 percent who owned land but did not enlist. There is little disparity in the value of the land possessed by the overall group relative to those who enlisted – \$1,001 and \$885 respectively, but again as a percentage the difference is more significant.

Analysis of specific enlistment patterns for the “small” slaveowner group revealed this group did not closely approximate the “common” Confederate soldier. Branch of service statistics indicated that thirty-one of the fifty-seven (53.4 percent) initially joined the infantry. As the infantry figure is understated relative to the Confederate figures, cavalry and artillery enlistment was overemphasized – fourteen individuals (24.1 percent) and thirteen individuals (22.4 percent) respectively. However, initial rank at enlistment demonstrated a “common” element among soldiers who owned a “small” number of slaves. Service records revealed enlistment rank for fifty-three of the fifty-eight men. Forty-nine (92.5 percent) enlisted as privates, while the remaining four were non-commissioned officers – two corporals and two sergeants (see Tables 3 and 4).

The timing of enlistment followed a pattern similar to that of the other owner groups (see Table 7). Nearly two-in-three (62.1 percent) enlisted within the first two years of the war, nineteen in 1861. Conscription figures among this group are consistent in terms of the number of men (five soldiers) who initially entered as conscripts, but as a percentage of the total group this figure is much lower than the other owner groups. Despite the lower proportion of men from this group who entered the military as conscripts, this category of owner experienced a fairly high number of discharges from service. After disability, substitution and age were the most frequently cited rationale for discharge. Additionally, Joseph Barnes, a farmer nearing forty years of age and owner of three slaves, was discharged by Governor William Smith. Barnes had barely served

seven months, but was listed as being “sick on rolls since enlistment.”¹⁰⁶ Also, despite initial enlistment as Sergeant, Orlando Smith rose to the rank of Captain of Company G, 9th Virginia Cavalry. His command was short-lived as he elected to resign, citing “physical disability,” from service after only two months as company Captain.¹⁰⁷

Even though the group experienced a fairly high number of discharges, the casualty rate for the “small” slaveowner group was significant. Nineteen soldiers, nearly one-in-three, experienced some form of substantial trauma during the war, some on more than one occasion. The records of Farmville General Hospital provided a vivid description of the wounds received by Charles B. Hardy, who had owned four slaves. Hardy’s wounds were described as a “ball entering between 3 & 4th ribs. Exit below edge Scapula injuring upper lobe of left lung.”¹⁰⁸ Despite nearly two-in-three Confederate deaths the result of disease, Lunenburg slaveowners who held a “small” number of slaves experienced only 28.6 percent of deaths due to disease, while 71.4 percent perished as a result of combat.¹⁰⁹ Like many of the country boys turned soldiers, the initial

¹⁰⁶ Robert Krick, *9th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1982), 56.

¹⁰⁷ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 9th Virginia Cavalry.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁹ Eight men perished during the war, but the circumstances of the passing of Edward Elder are not known. Records indicated only he “died in service”.

introduction to the disease infested camps was more than their untested immune system could withstand. William B. Forrest, was one such soldier who experienced the misery of death by disease. Forrest, who had owned two slaves, was almost immediately taken ill after his enlistment in June, 1861. His Company Muster Roll card of July and August, 1861 listed him as “Sick in hospital.” He lingered until his death on September 25, 1861.¹¹⁰

The Battle of Gettysburg proved a costly one for Lunenburg infantrymen. Jesse Laffoon, an overseer, and John Campbell, a carpenter and farmer, who owned a single slave each, served as privates in the 18th Virginia Infantry – the unit within Garnett’s brigade with the highest losses at Gettysburg.¹¹¹ Laffoon and Campbell, along with fellow Lunenburg overseer and single slaveowner Henry Bowen, were among the hundreds of soldiers who fell at Gettysburg. Laffoon and Bowen, both wounded, would be left in the hands of the enemy, but survived the war. Campbell was struck down and died under the hot July sun, along the path of General George Pickett’s infamous charge across the Gettysburg battlefield.

¹¹⁰ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 9th Virginia Cavalry.

¹¹¹ James I. Robertson, *18th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA: H E. Howard, 1984), 23.

Despite numerous tragic tales, one of the more colorful exploits during the war was accomplished by William Passmore. Born in England and educated as a physician, Passmore, an owner of three slaves, served with the Lunenburg Light Dragoons during the war. Passmore's tale may be more legend than reality, but it represented a fascinating account. Evelyn Arvin briefly recounted the tale and wrote how Passmore:

did extra and very hazardous duty for General Robert E. Lee behind the Federal lines. He dressed in rags, pretended to be a half-wit, and wandered through the camps of General Burnside with an old horse and cart, selling produce from the cart. His disguise was so effective that General Burnside gave him a pass to enter the Federal line daily and permission to sell his fresh produce for mess every day. General Burnside talked freely in front of him at headquarters, and he obtained sufficient information to enable General Lee to make plans which led to victory at Fredericksburg.¹¹²

As previously described, the 186 eligible slaveowners represented but a third of all Lunenburg slaveowners. When these slaveowners were compared to the overall county population this percentage was dramatically reduced. Of the 2,231 white males within the county, "fighting age" slaveowners constituted less than ten (8.3) percent of the total male population. Further, when compared to the Lunenburg population as a whole, military age slaveowners made up a minuscule 4.2 percent of the entire county population. If Lunenburg County was to contribute to the defense of the Confederacy it

¹¹² Arvin, 138.

was clear the sons from the “slave society” would be needed to, as Arvin described, “fight-fight-fight to the last ditch.”¹¹³

¹¹³ Ibid., 132.

CHAPTER FIVE: LUNENBURG SLAVEOWNERS' SONS

“fight-fight-fight to the last ditch”
Cornelius T. Allen, planter’s son
2nd Lt., Loch Leven Rangers

In many respects, with the exception of age, the sons of Lunenburg slaveowners represented a demographically diverse group across a wide range of social classes. Slaveowners’ sons experienced life from the most meager of existence to that of the social elite. At one end of the spectrum stood John and Robert Dupriest whose father, an overseer, owned no land and possessed only \$240 in personal estate, largely the value of the one slave he owned. At the other end was V. P. Williams, whose mother owned more than one hundred slaves and held more than \$135,000 in total wealth, the modern equivalent of a multi-millionaire. As was seen among the slaveowners, as wealth and numbers of slaves increased, so did age. The factor of age placed many of the social and financial elite of Lunenburg beyond a realistic opportunity for active military duty. However, as these owners progressed into their forties, fifties and sixties, their sons, as heir apparent to the slave society, too would have advanced to their teens and twenties and been presented the burden of defending the Confederacy.

The sons from Lunenburg’s slaveowning families constituted the largest group of military age individuals among any of the slaveholding or slave employing groups. Their

ages encompassed the entire range of those who would have been of military age in 1860, fourteen to forty. Despite their greater numbers, the 274 dependent sons from slaveholding families comprised only 12.3 percent of Lunenburg County's 2,231 white male population. Due primarily to age, this sons' group would have also been a close parallel to what has been labeled as the "common" Confederate soldier. Of the group, 119 (43.6 percent) were under eighteen. Only seven were over thirty. This factor of age greatly impacted the group's overall average age which was under twenty years (19.1). Despite having been seven years younger than the average Confederate soldiers' age as enumerated in McPherson's sample group, the slaveowners' sons age was among the more "common" ages cited by James Robertson.¹¹⁴

Age alone was not the only "common" trait among the slaveowners' sons of Lunenburg. Recorded occupations existed for seventy-five of the 273 sons.¹¹⁵ Forty (53.3 percent) of the group were listed simply as "Laborer." The next most cited occupations were "Manager/Overseer/Superintendent" (9), "Teacher" (7), "Farmer" (7), "MD/Physician" (4), "Student" (4), "Carpenter", "Mechanic", "Lawyer", and "Horse

¹¹⁴ James I. Robertson, *The Civil War's Common Soldier* (Conshocken, PA: Eastern National, 1994), 6. Robertson noted among both North and South soldiers that "The largest single age group was eighteen, followed by soldiers twenty-one and nineteen."

¹¹⁵ There were 274 "sons" located in the records but because John Lipscomb was listed in the census as "dumb," he was excluded from the military service evaluation.

Trader” (1 each). As expected, land ownership among the dependent slaveowners’ sons was almost non-existent. Only three were listed with a “real estate” value in 1860.¹¹⁶

As previously noted, among the owners as the number of slaves owned increased the age of the individuals within the group increased and thus reduced the number “eligible” based upon advanced age. Among the slaveowners’ sons there was an inverse relationship between the owners’ and sons’ ages. Among the sons, the eligible population increased as their fathers’ ages increased.

As a result, sons of the eldest owners, planters, represented the largest eligible group among all the slaveowners’ sons. Ninety-two, more than one-third, of the 273 total sons were from families which held twenty or more slaves. Not only were the sons of planters the most numerous of all the slaveholding groups in general, but their enlistment rate was found to be the highest as well. Seventy-eight (84.8 percent) of the ninety-two planters’ sons were found to have served in the Confederate military (see Table 9). There was little demographic deviation between those who were soldiers and those who did not join the fight. Average age for the overall group was 19.0, while those who served as soldiers were slightly younger than non-combatants, 18.8 and 19.9 respectively. The average number of slaves owned by the groups’ parents was disproportionate when soldiers were compared to non-soldiers. Individuals from families who served in the

¹¹⁶ One of the three, a fourteen-year-old, held property in trust and is counted as a landowner as this property would likely have been passed along to him at a later date.

military held an average of just over twenty-seven slaves, while those families of non-soldiers held nearly thirty-four slaves (see Tables 6 and 10).¹¹⁷

Initial rank at enlistment revealed fifty-seven men (77.6 percent), joined as privates, while eleven (14.5 percent) were non-commissioned officers, and only six (7.9 percent) were officers.¹¹⁸ The highest rank among the officers was that of George Orgain, the twenty-three-year-old Captain of Company B, 20th Virginia Infantry. Orgain's two younger brothers, James, fifteen, a 2nd Sergeant, and Thomas, nineteen, a 2nd Lieutenant, enlisted with George in the 20th on May 21, 1861. After the 20th disbanded, George elected not to pursue further military service while his younger brothers both joined the 18th Virginia Infantry in February, 1862. After the 20th's traumatic baptism by fire at the Battle of Rich Mountain, the thought of leaving Rebecca, George's wife of less than two years, may have influenced his decision to remain at home in Lunenburg. Perhaps it was Thomas's death at the battle of Gaines Mill in June of 1862 that resulted in James's transfer out of the 18th Virginia. Despite his brother's passing, James joined fellow Lunenburg soldiers in Company G of the 9th Virginia Cavalry. James too perished almost exactly one year after his brother, falling at the battle of Brandy Station.

¹¹⁷ Removing the 102 slaves (more than twice the number owned by the next largest owner) owned by V.P. Williams' mother, Mary, resulted in similar average numbers of slaves held by soldier's families and non-soldier families, 27.3 and 28.6.

¹¹⁸ Totals were based upon seventy-four individuals as two members of the group had no initial rank listed.

Like the Orgain brothers, the majority of planters' sons who enlisted did so early in the conflict. Forty-five (59.2 percent) of those who enlisted joined by the end of 1861 and sixty-two (81.6 percent) by the end of 1862 (see Table 7).¹¹⁹ This early enlistment rate may have been even higher. G. L. Sherwood and Jeffrey Weaver noted that R. E. Ragsdale initially joined the 20th Virginia Infantry in May 1861. But upon reaching Richmond, Ragsdale and another youth "were not 18 years of age and were sent home."¹²⁰ Ragsdale waited until 1862 when he was eighteen and enlisted in what represented the former Flat Rock Riflemen of the 20th Virginia Infantry, The Lunenburg Rebel Artillery. The enlistment of Thomas A. Rash into the 9th Virginia Infantry took place under somewhat unique circumstances. Although he was eighteen at the time, it appears his father, Robert A., who owned twenty-four slaves, could not bear to see his son go off to war unsupervised. So, at almost age sixty, Robert also enlisted, as a private, with his son. Father and son served throughout the war together and were even detailed to various duties together.

As was noted among the planters, prior relationships and a desire to serve amid men of similar social standing likely influenced enlistment decisions. Twenty individuals

¹¹⁹ Totals were based upon seventy-four individuals as two of the group members had no initial date of enlistment provided.

¹²⁰ Sherwood and Weaver, 9.

joined the Lunenburg Light Dragoons, Company G, 9th Virginia Cavalry and another eighteen joined the 20th Virginia Infantry. Both these units were initially formed in May and June of 1861. Among the Lunenburg planters' sons, enlistment in each of these units was more than twice the number of any other unit. Robert Henderson Allen noted the departure of his eldest sons in the 20th Virginia Infantry on May 27, 1861:

And this is a day long remembered by us - our two oldest sons Wm. Jones & Cornelius T. Allen left in that company for the service of their country. Our Cornelius as second Lieutenant & the other WM. J. as a private, it was sad indeed to bid them goodbye [sic] but their country calls & they flew to her defense, may the God of Heaven & the God of Battles preserve, protect, take care of and defend them is my humble prayer.¹²¹

As other families prepared for the departure of loved ones, "Nannie" Neblett, daughter of Lunenburg planter Sterling, Sr. and sister of planter and 2nd Lieutenant, Colin, made "a most beautiful silken battle flag." The flag was described as "inside a circle of white stars are lettered in gilt embroidery, on a field of blue, the name of the Company [Flat Rock Riflemen] and the words 'Our Rights'." As the 20th Virginia attempted to retreat from the losses experienced at Rich Mountain the flag "was hidden under a log . . . when the Company could not carry it from the field. It was among the collection of captured battle flags returned to Virginia by the U.S. Government."¹²²

¹²¹ R. H. Allen, 298.

¹²² Arvin, 44.

While most sons (61.5 percent) from planter families served in the infantry, the enlistment rate for both the cavalry and artillery were over represented compared to average Confederate enlistment patterns. Cavalry enlistment was slightly greater than normal while artillery enlistment stood more than double the overall average figure (see Table 4).

Some young Lunenburg soldiers, who were in reality too young to join the fight, sought out a manner in which to serve in the Confederate armies. Edmund Irby traveled to neighboring Nottoway County to enlist with Company G, 18th Virginia Infantry commanded by his uncle: “Edmund . . . was not of age to serve in the army but volunteered his services under his uncle, Captain Richard Irby of the Nottoway Grays.”¹²³

Nearly half of the group experienced some form of trauma while in Confederate service. Some, like Samuel Arvin, had the misfortune of experiencing the true misery of war. Arvin was wounded and captured at Rich Mountain while serving in the 20th Virginia Infantry. He never recovered from his wounds and died a prisoner of war a month after the battle. Most of those listed as casualties among the planters’ sons were from individuals who had been captured, with a quarter of the men having been captured or taken prisoner. Twelve (15.4 percent) members of the group suffered wounds, a figure slightly higher than the Confederate average. None likely experienced the Union prisoner of war system as that of Joshua N. Gee, planter’s son and private in the 22nd

¹²³ Ibid., 51.

Battalion Virginia Infantry. Over a two-year period Gee was captured on three separate occasions. Confederate records indicated Gee was “absent” from roll due to being “lost in the battle of Chancellorsville.” Gee, who had been captured May 3, 1863, was paroled the next day and exchanged on May 10th. Two months later Gee was captured in Maryland, sent to Old Capital prison and in August forwarded to Point Lookout prison. His prison stay was approximately seven months after which he was again paroled and released. After his return home Gee did not forgo military service but opted for the less vigorous reserves. Gee’s reserve service lasted less than one year and not even his father’s social status could keep him from conscription into the army.¹²⁴ The war finally ended for Gee on April 6, 1865 when he was captured at Farmville, Virginia. He was sent back to Point Lookout prison where he took the Oath of Allegiance on June 13, 1865. Additionally, fourteen (17.9 percent) members of the group perished during the war. Nine died as a result of combat, while the remaining five died of disease. This proportion of deaths was a near opposite of the normal death rate pattern for most Confederate troops, where nearly two-in-three Confederates died of disease. A claim filed by planter John Arvin resulted in the awarding of pay due his son, Samuel, who was among those killed at Rich Mountain. The “amount found due” his dead son was \$8.40.

¹²⁴ The service records indicated Gee was “sent to Camp Lee” February 14, 1865. It was assumed this was for the purpose of assignment as a conscript.

Arvin had perished from wounds to his arm and side.¹²⁵ Lunenburg planter, Josephus Gregory, had four family members who served in various Confederate units. In May 1862 he conveyed news of the death of his son, 2nd Lt. William Henderson Gregory, 23rd Virginia Infantry to his elder son: “he fell . . . at the head of his men pierced through and through by a minnie ball.” The surgeon who had attended to William wrote Josephus and offered testimony of William’s heroic death noting that he was killed “in front of his company urging them on to the enemy.”¹²⁶

Those who experienced both the processes of discharge and conscription were proportionate when compared to the men from other Lunenburg slaveholding groups. Among the seventy-eight planters’ sons, ten received some form of discharge from Confederate service. As was found among most of the other slaveholding soldiers, the most common cause for discharge was medical reasons. Only one individual was found to have been discharged after providing a substitute. Shortly after his enlistment in the fall of 1862, George Gee, whose father owned twenty-nine slaves, furnished a substitute and was discharged from the artillery. Despite having furnished a substitute, Gee was conscripted back into military service in the summer of 1864. Gee served through the remainder of the war and was paroled on April 17, 1865. Planter’s son Bracy Hester

¹²⁵ Compiled Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 20th Virginia Infantry.

¹²⁶ Josephine Gregory Spears, *Gregory Family Correspondence, 1829 - 1888; and Josephus Gregory Travel Diary, 1848 - 1849, Lunenburg County, VA* (Raleigh, NC: published privately, 1989), Josephus to “Jack” Gregory, May 20, 1862, page 132. Also see J. M. Dennis to Josephus Gregory, page 136.

Ragsdale also experienced the substitution process, but in an entirely different manner. Ragsdale entered the service in Company K, 3rd Virginia Cavalry as a substitute for Alexander Brand Cralle. Cralle, of Farmville, Prince Edward County, Virginia, was twenty-two when he enlisted on June 24, 1861. The details of Cralle's service are limited, but as his twelve-month service commitment drew to a close service records indicated Cralle was serving at the rank of third Corporal when it was noted he "declines to re-enlist." Cralle's records further indicated on June 24, 1862, his "service expired." It is likely Cralle was informed his service would be extended as a result of the first conscription act in April, 1862. Ragsdale, then age sixteen, was presented and accepted as Cralle's substitute on July 15, 1862.¹²⁷ The specific circumstances of Ragsdale's substitution were not located, but it was not likely a need of money that influenced Ragsdale's decision. Ragsdale's father, Joel, owned more than two dozen slaves and nearly \$27,000 in total wealth. Ragsdale was wounded in May of 1864 and continued to serve in the 3rd Cavalry until his desertion during the war's final days in April 1865.

Conscription among the planter's sons revealed that six individuals were forced to join active military units.¹²⁸ Five of the six had prior or existing service in the military at the time of conscription. Joshua Gee had been wounded once and captured twice before

¹²⁷ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 3rd Virginia Cavalry.

¹²⁸ Four were listed as "conscripts" and two others had late war entries which indicated they were "transferred to Camp Lee," presumably under the conscription acts. Both individuals were serving in a reserve unit at the time of transfer and were likely transferred for placement into an "active" unit.

his departure from the 22nd Battalion, Virginia Infantry. Despite his wartime experiences, Gee chose to continue his service. In the summer of 1864 he joined the 1st Regiment, Virginia Reserves. Conscription forced him back into the active army and he was again captured at Farmville three days prior to Lee's surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The sons from families which held a "large" number (ten to nineteen) of slaves followed many of the same military service patterns as those of planters' sons. Data demonstrated no substantial deviation in the demographics between those who were soldiers and those who had been found to be non-combatants. The enlistment rate for sons from "large" slaveholding families was almost identical to that of the planters' sons. Of the sixty-three sons from Lunenburg's "large" slaveowning families, fifty-three (84.1 percent) served in a military capacity. Of the group, none was listed as owning any real estate value and only one, John Watson, a twenty-four-year-old mechanic, held any personal estate (\$125).

Artillery enlistment among this group was dramatically overstated in comparison to the Southern norm. This enlistment pattern, particularly in the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery (Company F, 2nd Virginia Artillery), resulted in a ten percentage point increase in artillery enlistment and a similar drop in infantry unit enlistment when the sons of "large" slaveowners were compared to the sons of planters (see Table 4). The Lunenburg

Light Dragoons continued in its appeal among the county's soldiers as all sixteen individuals who joined the cavalry elected to join the Dragoons in the 9th Virginia Cavalry.

The sons of "large" slaveowners who initially joined the military as officers was only one-third the number when compared to planters' sons. However, due to the smaller number of sons among the "large" slaveholder group, the actual percentage difference was approximately one half. Of the group only two (3.8 percent), both lieutenants, initially joined as officers, compared to the six planters' sons (7.9 percent). Forty-seven (88.7 percent) individuals initially served at the rank of private while another four did so as either corporals or sergeants.

Analysis of enlistment patterns revealed, as was found among the planters' sons, the decision to defend the Confederacy was made quite early and in many cases, almost immediately after Virginia's secession from the Union. Twenty-eight (53.8 percent) of the sons of "large" slaveowners enlisted in 1861. By the end of 1862, the total enlisted had reached thirty-nine (75.0 percent).

The sons from families which held a "large" number of slaves and labeled as casualties of war was significant. Twenty-two of the sixty-three sons suffered a traumatic experience, wounded, captured or died, while in military service. The number of wounded within the group represented nearly one-quarter of all soldiers. The twelve (22.6 percent) sons who were wounded represented a significantly greater proportion than

the average of fifteen percent, cited by Ethier, of Confederate soldiers who received wounds. This group must have been a fortunate lot. Despite having been wounded at a rate seven percentage points greater than the planters' sons, the death rate for the group was almost three points lower. Of course, not all were so lucky. John B. Stokes, whose mother owned sixteen slaves, was wounded at the Battle of Brandy Station in June 1863. Stokes was transferred to a Richmond hospital where his case was declared "hopeless" as he "was shot through the spine . . . causing entire paralysis of the limbs and abdominal and pectoral muscles." Stokes died of his wounds less than a month after the battle.¹²⁹ Of the eight who perished, only three died as a direct result of combat, while the remaining five perished from some form of disease. John W. Marshall, whose mother Louisa owned twelve slaves, was among those taken ill at Rich Mountain. Roll records indicated Marshall was "absent with leave from Staunton – Sick". Marshall never fully recovered from his illness and died on October 31, 1862.¹³⁰

The sample data indicated conscription affected as many members of this group as did the process of discharge. Of the six who received a discharge, four were released from service as a result of disability and surgeon's evaluation and one after having furnished a substitute.¹³¹ A legitimate discharge was not always viewed as a viable

¹²⁹ Compiled Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 9th Virginia Cavalry.

¹³⁰ Compiled Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 46th Virginia Infantry.

¹³¹ One of those who received a discharge did not have a reason specified in the records.

dismissal of one's duty. William R. Thomas, who was discharged in May 1862 due to a fractured wrist, voluntarily re-enlisted with his former comrades in Company G 9th Virginia Cavalry in January 1863.¹³²

Not all the sons from "large" slaveowning families were as anxious as Thomas to voluntarily ride off in search of glory. Sampling indicated more than ten percent of those who served in the army did so as a result of the conscription acts. Of the six conscripts, two had served in units prior to conscription. Edward Marshall and James Saunders had both joined the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery in the early months of 1862. Both left the unit, with Saunders transferring to Young's Harbor Guard in December 1862. Saunders's tenure with Young's company covered the period of one day. His substitute was accepted for service on December 20th, while his transfer orders were dated December 19th. Saunders likely had secured advanced assurance his egress from military service would be made easier via Young's unit.¹³³

As previously noted, age influenced the military eligible population. Further, as the number of slaves owned, usually an indication of wealth, decreased, so did the parents' age. Ultimately as the slaveowners' age decreased, so did the likelihood of having a son who would have been old enough for military service. This is further

¹³² Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 9th Virginia Cavalry.

¹³³ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 2nd Virginia Artillery and

evident by those sons from families who held a “medium” (at least five and no more than nine) number of slaves. The fifty eligible sons from “medium” slaveholding families represented nearly half the number of eligible planters’ sons.

Like the sons from planter and “large” slaveowning families, the enlistment rate was extremely high, forty (80.0 percent) of the sons saw duty as a Confederate soldier. These enlistment figures were significantly higher than the enlistment rates among younger men noted by both Campbell and Logue and were also higher than the nearly seventy percent enlistment across the state of Virginia cited by Sheehan-Dean.¹³⁴

Additionally, as was also noted among the sons of planter and “large” owning families, there was little pronounced difference among the demographic characteristics within the group when soldiers and non-combatants were compared. For example, average age for the sons from “medium” slaveholding families was 18.8. The same figure was found to be 18.7 for soldiers and 19.3 for those who did not join the military. Similarly, the average number of slaves varied little between those who fought for the Southern forces and those who did not. The average number of slaves owned by the families of sons from the “medium” slaveholding group was 6.6. Here too, as was noted among the prior groups, there was little deviation in slaveholding between the individuals

Young’s Harbor Guard.

¹³⁴ See Table 11. Sheehan-Dean, “Everyman’s War,” page 9, noted that “almost 70 percent of Virginia’s white men between the ages of fifteen and fifty served in Confederate units.” Table 1 indicates the rate to be 62 percent.

who served in the military and those who did not, the comparable figure among both soldiers and non-soldiers was 6.6 and 6.7 respectively (see Tables 6 and 10).

Analysis of those who did enlist in military units again revealed that the majority of men made the decision to enlist early in the conflict. More than one-half of the group enlisted during 1861. Further, by the end of 1862, twenty-eight individuals (70.0 percent) had joined various military units in service to the Confederacy. The units joined were slightly more diverse than was noted in the analysis of the prior groups. The forty sons joined a dozen different groups with the 20th Virginia Infantry having received the most recruits (9) and the 22nd Battalion Virginia Infantry the next greatest number (6). Enlistment in these two units reflected the overall pattern of the group which had a 72.5 percent initial enlistment rate within infantry units. Also, enlistment among artillery units (17.5 percent) was again overstated and cavalry (10.0 percent) under represented when compared to average Confederate enlistment. Initial rank too varied significantly from the aforementioned groups. The group included no individuals who enlisted as an officer nor did anyone hold a rank above 2nd Corporal at time of enlistment. Further, thirty-eight (95.0 percent) of the group initially enlisted at the rank of private (see Tables 3 and 4).

The sons from families with a “medium” number of slaves suffered through many of the same circumstances and with a similar degree of casualties as did the other groups.

Twenty-four (60.0 percent) of the forty experienced the trauma of war.¹³⁵ The group experienced a greater than average number of men who received wounds. While the Confederate average for those who received wounds was fifteen percent, nine (22.5 percent) of the sons from the “medium” slaveholding group were wounded. Additionally, eight (20.0 percent) were captured and nine (22.5 percent) did not return from the war. The statistics for the number who perished indicated those counted among the deceased followed, statistically, the typical pattern for Confederate deaths. Two-thirds of the group perished from disease while the remaining three individuals were killed in action (see Table 1).¹³⁶ Robert A. Williamson filed a claim for pay due his older brother, James, killed at Rich Mountain while serving in the 20th Virginia Infantry. Robert received the \$4.03 in pay due his brother for the period of July 1 through July 11, 1861.¹³⁷

The sample data indicated neither the process of discharge nor conscription had a substantial impact upon the members of the group. Only one was found to have been

¹³⁵ Figures include Beverly McCormick who suffered partial paralysis from a fall from his horse during the battle of Brandy Station. His injury was severe enough to facilitate his retirement to the Invalid Corps.

¹³⁶ William Townsend was included. He was wounded in the head and skull according to his pension application. Exact cause of death for two individuals was not listed. It was assumed they died of disease as they were listed as “died” rather than “killed.”

¹³⁷ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 20th Virginia Infantry.

discharged, Anderson Estes, with tuberculosis in October 1861, just five months after his enlistment in the 9th Virginia Infantry. Later war conscriptions brought nineteen-year-old James Smithson into the 9th Virginia Cavalry. Eighteen-year-old William Estes was transferred to Camp Lee, from the 1st Virginia Reserves, likely for assignment into a active unit.

As was noted among those owners who possessed a “small” number of slaves, the number of eligible males within the group experienced a significant increase at the “small” level of slave ownership (those who held at least one and no more than four slaves). The same pattern, although to a lesser degree, was found among the sons from families who held a “small” number of slaves. The sixty-eight individuals who comprised the sons of the “small” slaveowning families group accounted for nearly twenty-five percent of all the eligible sons, whereas the eighty-six owners of a “small” number of slaves constituted 46.2 percent of all eligible owners. Combined, the eligible males from families who possessed from one to four slaves, represented slightly more than one-third of all the military age men from slaveholding families.

Aside from wealth, the sons of these families were demographically similar to their wealthier neighbors. At just over nineteen, average age of the group was consistent among soldiers and non-soldiers alike. Additionally, there was almost no difference in

the average number of slaves held. The group as a whole, on average, held 2.5 slaves, with soldiers families at 2.5 and non-soldiers, 2.6 slaves (see Table 10).

Patterns of enlistment varied little in comparison to the sons from the larger slaveowning families. Overall enlistment figures indicated fifty-one (75.0 percent) of the sixty-eight men served in the Southern army. However, there was continued deviation from the average Confederate figures in the type of military unit joined. Twenty-nine (56.9 percent and nearly twenty percentage points below the Southern average) of the sixty-eight eligible initially joined the infantry. Cavalry enlistment (17.6 percent) stood slightly below the Confederate average while artillery enlistment (25.5 percent) was more than five times greater than the average Southern figure (see Table 4).

Rank at time of initial enlistment revealed forty-eight (96.0 percent) of the group joined the military at the rank of private. Only two initially joined above the rank of private – Benjamin Rainey joined the 22nd Battalion Virginia Infantry at the rank of 4th Sergeant and Douglas Woodson enlisted in the 20th Virginia Infantry as a corporal.¹³⁸ Despite twenty-five of the fifty-one men having enlisted in one of three units, the total number of units enlisted in was quite diverse. The “Lunenburg” regiments, the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery, Lunenburg Light Dragoons and the Flat Rock Riflemen

¹³⁸ Since one individual did not have initial rank listed in the records, the totals used represent 50 men.

attracted the majority of recruits, but sons from the group made their way into a dozen additional units.

As the Lunenburg regiments formed early in the conflict were the more popular choice among the sons' group, date of initial enlistment tended to be fairly early as well. Twenty men volunteered during 1861 and a total of thirty-four (75.5 percent) had joined military units by the end of 1862.¹³⁹ Only two of the group enlisted in 1864 or later. George Snead and Richard Robertson, whose families owned four slaves, were conscripted into service in 1864 (see Table 7).

Snead and Smith were not the only men to have experienced the conscription process. Sampling found seven soldiers had undergone conscription into military service. Of the conscripts only one individual had served in the army prior to conscription. John Dupriest had initially joined the 20th Virginia Infantry but, as the unit was disbanded, he likely had not wished to continue his service. He was, however, forced back into service in March 1864 and served with the 56th Virginia Infantry until his parole in April, 1865.

Sampling further indicated those sons from "small" slaveholding families received a similar number of discharges as did the men within the other slaveholding groups. Of the five individuals who received a discharge from service, four were based upon a medical or debilitating condition.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The total was based upon forty-six individuals as six had no date of initial enlistment indicated.

¹⁴⁰ Two who were among those discharged from the 20th Virginia Infantry were not counted as most of the

Research also indicated nearly half of the group under went a traumatic experience while serving in the Confederate military. Twenty-four (47.1 percent) of the fifty-one soldiers were casualties of war. Five (9.8 percent) suffered wounds, eleven were captured, eight died of disease and three perished as a result of combat (see Table 1).¹⁴¹

If the burden of defending the Confederacy had, in many instances, been passed along to the slaveowners' sons, those sons from Lunenburg accepted the responsibility in dramatic fashion. Of the county's military eligible 273 sons from slaveholding families, an astonishing 222 (81.3 percent) served in the Southern military. Collectively, their enlistment and military experience closely matched that of the overall Confederate averages. If the sons' group was viewed as an independent category, rather than dependent sons, they would have certainly been categorized as plain folk and among the poorest class, with only three of the individuals listed as a land owner. Further, since so few were listed with no wealth, the average total wealth for the group was well under \$100.¹⁴² The majority of those whose occupation was located were simply listed as "Laborers," an occupation Williams et al. noted was often found among "poor whites."

unit's members received discharges when the unit was officially disbanded.

¹⁴¹ Those noted as "died" with no other explanation were classified as died of disease.

¹⁴² Even at under \$100 the average wealth figure is greatly exaggerated as only a handful of sons were listed with any wealth.

Research indicated the vast majority of slaveowners' sons from Lunenburg County, Virginia accepted their duty to their Southern way of life and embraced defending the Confederacy through sacrifices made on the battlefield.

CHAPTER SIX: LUNENBURG SLAVE EMPLOYERS

Slave employment in the antebellum South occurred under numerous situations and diverse circumstances for both the owner and employer. Some slaveowners held their slaves solely as speculative investment and sought to rent their human chattel strictly as a business venture. Other owners hired out slaves, for both short-and long-term employment, to generate income from a temporary surplus of labor. Crop cycles may have differed, depending on what was grown, planting or harvest may have been completed or at a lull, and the opportunity to hire out excessive labor existed. The hiring process ranged from written contracts which Kenneth Stampf noted stipulated “the period of the hire, the kind of work in which the slaves were to be engaged, and the hirer’s obligation to keep them well clothed.”¹⁴³ “Hiring days” commenced the last days of December and into January of each year and, despite some slaves being hired for short periods, it was “customary to hire them from January until the following Christmas.” There were less formal arrangements as well, often between family, neighbors and friends, and included short-term hiring and trading, lending or “borrowing of labor.” These less formal arrangements were more frequent among non-slaveowners and those owners with smaller numbers of slaves. Employment of slaves was found more often in

¹⁴³ Stampf, 68.

the Upper South and “during the 1850s perhaps as many as fifteen thousand slaves were hired out annually in Virginia alone.” Edward Ayers noted that in Augusta County, Virginia “a diverse group of people hired out their slaves . . . and a diverse group of people employed those slaves: people who needed a cook or a domestic, a farmer clearing new land, or a family dealing with sickness.” Researching the overall proportion of slaves hired out in Augusta county, Ayers found that “About one slave out of ten worked for a white person other than his or her owner.” Peter Kolchin reported “6 percent of rural slaves and 31 percent of urban slaves were on hire in 1860.”¹⁴⁴ While the number of slave employers in Lunenburg was relatively low, employing slaves brought dozens of non-slaveowning residents into the “slave society,” even if only on a limited or temporary basis. This bridge between slaveowners and non-slaveowners served to solidify personal interactions which likely would not have existed otherwise. Further, slave employers likely would have had, to a lesser extent, a vested interest in maintaining the institution of slavery.

The number of slaves in Lunenburg hired by businesses was extremely limited. Only one business, the Danville and Richmond Railroad, which employed just five slaves, was listed in the county’s 1860 slave schedule. The overall number of slaves hired by non-slaveowners was also extremely low, less than two percent – 113 of a total

¹⁴⁴ Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America, 1859 - 1863* (New York, NY: Norton & Company, 2003), 19; Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619 - 1877* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2003), 110.

7,126 slaves. The total number of slaves hired by both non-slaveowners and other owners in need of extra labor was 323 (4.5 percent) of all the slaves within the county.¹⁴⁵

While this figure is low, it did approach the six-percent figure mentioned by Kolchin.

Lunenburg data for 1860 indicated sixty-two non-slaveowning individuals hired from between one to nine slaves for varied purposes.¹⁴⁶ Despite their link to the “slave society,” the majority of Lunenburg’s slave employers would likely have been classified as “plain folk” by most social historians, classified as non-slaveowners and in many instances were yeoman farmers, mechanics or skilled craftsmen.

The Lunenburg individuals who hired the slaves varied dramatically, at least in terms of demographics, from their slaveowning neighbors. There were proportionately fewer female employers than female owners – 9.7 percent and 14.7 percent. Most of the slave employers were younger men. The age of the male employers ranged from twenty-two to seventy-seven, with the majority under forty. Thirty-four (54.8 percent) of the group would have been males between the fourteen and forty military eligible age range. The overall average age for the employer group was 41.4 with the average age of those

¹⁴⁵ There is a difference of slaves between the author’s figure and the number of total slaves within the county. The discrepancy may be from slaves owned by Lunenburgers but employed outside of the county.

¹⁴⁶ Of the sixty-five slave employer entries only sixty-two were traced to individuals who employed slaves for themselves. Apparently Bacon Littlepage was responsible (as manager) for the estate of the Wm. E. Hill farm and it is believed the four slaves he employed were for the estate and not directly himself. R. W. Tucker’s census information is illegible due to an ink spill. Further, the Danville and Richmond Railroad is excluded as the slaves were held by a business, not a person. As a result, all three of these entries were excluded from the study.

within the military age limitations at 30.5. Like the owners, a good portion of employers would have been beyond the realistic age for military service – nearly half (twenty-eight of sixty-three) were age forty or older in 1860.

Among the slave employers, less than half, twenty-eight of the sixty-two, owned no land. Further, only seventeen held land in excess of \$1,000 – four held more than \$2,000 and no one held real estate greater than \$4,500. The average total wealth for all employers was only \$981. Despite the disparity of land ownership, there is little difference in average total wealth between all employers and those employers who would have been eligible to serve in the military – \$981 and \$933 respectively (see Table 5).

Even with an apparent lack of property to defend, twenty-two (64.7 percent) of the military age, slave-employing men, enlisted to fight in the Confederate military. Those who enlisted held more average wealth, \$990, compared to the \$828 average for all eligible employers who were non-combatants. Further, there was a slight increase in land ownership among those who enlisted. Among those who served in the military, twelve of the twenty-two (54.5 percent) owned land. Those twelve land owners represented a majority (75 percent) of the sixteen total land owners among the thirty-four eligible employers.

As was seen among the slaveowners holding smaller numbers of slaves, the military analysis of the slave employers approached the more “common” soldier. Enlistment patterns revealed twenty men initially joined as privates, one as a sergeant and

one as an officer, at a rank of 1st Lieutenant (see Table 3). Although there is an overemphasis in the number who joined the artillery and under representation in the cavalry, the branch of service joined somewhat approached the proportion for Confederate service figures – sixteen (72.7 percent) joined the infantry, two (9.1 percent) the cavalry and four (18.2 percent) the artillery. The employers did not appear to have joined units with the same sense of local comradeship as was noted among the slaveowners. The twenty-two employers served within eight different units. The most popular unit, the 9th Virginia Infantry, included seven employers. The 20th Virginia Infantry and 22nd Virginia Infantry Battalion had four employers who served in each unit. Whereas the wealthier owners seemed to express a desire to serve with other local men, particularly of similar social standing, the employers appeared not to have had such a prerequisite. Further, four of the units joined, although still within the basic “Southside” area, were raised outside of Lunenburg County.¹⁴⁷

Casualty rates suffered by the employer group also closely paralleled the Confederate norms. Eleven of the twenty-two would have been classified among the “casualties” during the war. Two of the group suffered wounds, six were captured and

¹⁴⁷ Units joined included the 9th Virginia Infantry/28th Virginia Infantry Battalion/59th Virginia Infantry (7), 20th Virginia Infantry/2nd Virginia Artillery (4), 22nd Virginia Infantry Battalion (4), 9th Virginia Cavalry (2), 18th Virginia Infantry (2), Johnston Artillery (1), 41st Virginia Infantry (1), 55th Virginia Infantry (1). The 9th, 28th Battalion, and 59th as well as the 20th and 2nd Artillery are classified as the same unit since the latter units originated from the former unit designation or unit members. The number of men who joined each unit is given in parenthesis.

five died, with four of the deaths a result of disease (see Table 1).¹⁴⁸ Emily Davis submitted a claim for money due her deceased husband, John C. W. Davis, who was an employer of a single slave. Despite being listed as “died of heart disease,” Emily received compensation of \$100.66, an amount greater than the wealth the family held in 1860. Despite fulfilling his initial 12-month service, Davis was “held in service” by the conscription act and perished less than one month after this forced renewal of his military service obligation.¹⁴⁹

The employer group experienced a similar sample rate of conscription when compared to the slaveowner groups. Four of the twenty-two individuals joined as conscripts. Among those who enlisted, seven were employed in positions considered vital to the community and likely would have been exempted from service. The seven individuals included one blacksmith, two wheelwrights and four carpenters. None of these seven were conscripted and all appear to have joined voluntarily.

The employer group did experience a limited number of discharges. Of the four individuals granted a discharge, one was for medical reasons – “eye disease,” one for being over age forty and two had no explanation of circumstances. All four discharges were granted to men of very modest social standing and wealth. Benjamin Harding

¹⁴⁸ Two individuals were simply listed as “died” with no cause given or any record of being wounded prior to their deaths. It was assumed they succumbed to disease.

¹⁴⁹ Complied Service Records Microfilm, Soldiers from Virginia Units, 28th Battalion Virginia Infantry.

employed one slave, owned no land and held under \$100 in personal estate. John Matthews employed four slaves, also owned no land and possessed \$100 in wealth. George Buckner, also a non-land owner, employed one slave and held only \$80 in wealth. Buckner was an overseer and both Matthews and Harding were carpenters.¹⁵⁰

Despite the potential, based on their lower status within the slave society, for a more limited motivation in defending the Confederacy, Lunenburg slave employers appeared determined to join the fight. Nearly two-in-three served in the military and took to the battlefield just as men from wealthy, slaveholding neighborhood families had done.

¹⁵⁰ Norice H. Stewart has no record in the 2nd Virginia Artillery after June, 1862. He was conscripted into the 59th Virginia Infantry in October of 1864 and it is assumed he was officially discharged from the 2nd Artillery.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

“I’m wearied, worn out and grieved with War! War! War!”
Mary Gregory,
Lunenburg planter’s daughter

Rich or poor, the determination to forego the comforts of home for peril on the battlefield was a difficult decision for not only the soldier but his family. Certainly many plain folk felt not enough of the well-to-do really did leave the comfort of their homes in defense of an institution that ultimately benefited the rich. Scholars will continue to debate various aspects of the Civil War and, with good reason, questions can still be asked of the conflict. The “rich man’s war and poor man’s fight” is but one facet within the myriad of issues scholars will likely continue to examine. The topic itself should be analyzed through two separate avenues. One, was it a “rich man’s war” and then, and perhaps more importantly, was it truly a “poor man’s fight?”

Defining the Civil War as that of a rich man’s war can be approached in two different ways. First, the question could be interpreted simply based on outcome and, as a war that, if won, its benefactors, the rich, would have continued in a way of life which primarily benefited the social and financial elites. The slave society would have remained intact, at least temporarily, and the privileged would have retained their power base. Those whose fortunes were held in human chattel would have kept their standing within Southern society. A second avenue of analysis regarding the rich man’s war is that

the war was brought about by the actions of the wealthier classes. While some would argue the social elites acted out of self preservation, this study suggests the circumstances to be much more complicated.

As was discussed, Lunenburg County followed such a path to war. The county's decision makers for the most part were representative of the wealthier classes. Viewing the rich man's war from this perspective, then certainly the rich men held the power over decisions and acted accordingly when presented with the secession decision. However, it was likely not solely out of a desire for just self-preservation but a more complete preservation of Southern society as a whole that chartered the actions of both ante-bellum and wartime Southern leadership.

The privileged slaveowners had been the champions of Southern society for generations. Their sphere of influence permeated through all facets of society and more importantly affected the plain folk at the local level. The rich had been the politicians, judges, clerks, lawyers, physicians, sheriffs, even post masters, in effect the very caretakers of the local community and Southern society as a whole.

The same was found in Lunenburg County. Dr. Sterling Neblett, Sr., a planter, was postmaster operating the "Brickland" post office within his residence. James Neal had the "Pleasant Grove" post office at his property and the "Oral Oaks" post office was first operated at the home of planter R. H. Allen. Aside from Allen's responsibility to the post office, Evelyn Arvin documented many of his ante-bellum responsibilities: "Colonel

of the Lunenburg Militia, Commissioner of Accounts, a Supervisor, Commissioner of the Circuit Court of Lunenburg on Chancery and Presiding Justice of the County.”¹⁵¹ Robert Henderson Allen noted the local elections in a May 24, 1860 journal entry: “I went to the Election at Red Level.”¹⁵² This entry was reflective of the political dominance of the wealthy as it contained the names of men from some of the most prominent slaveowning families in the county. Certainly the wealthier individuals benefited from such an arrangement, but it was likely so did the local community and its inhabitants. A sense of nurture pervaded beyond their slave property and into communal duties and relationships. Despite many of the wealthy having been born into privilege, most who held a position of responsibility did not simply view it as a birth right, but likely more of a responsibility and sense of duty to the community.

While the “rich man’s war” perception is prone to debate, the war’s origin did stem from those with both the leadership positions and incentive to hold the slave society in tact, the wealthy slaveowners. However, the notion of solely a “poor man’s fight” remains questionable. There can be no argument the plain folk’s perceptions and scrutiny of the actions of the social elite were a tremendous burden to the Confederate government. Speaking of beliefs held by many in the poorer classes, Sheehan-Dean wrote, “The perception of bias can be a powerful motivator even if that bias is not rooted

¹⁵¹ Arvin, 42, 124, 130-131.

¹⁵² R. H. Allen, 195-196.

in fact.”¹⁵³ But, it was not as much objection to the establishment of Confederate policies as problems with the perceived equality and enforcement of such policies.

Analysis indicated that among the earliest of enlistees, the war was predominately a rich man’s fight (see Table 7). As the war moved into its second year the necessity of conscription legislation sought to make the Southern cause “everyman’s war.” But, the policies of exemptions, conscription and impressment were seen as having afforded unfair opportunity for the wealthy while having ignored the plain folk, those who held no recourse in overcoming the new policies. Given the inherent problems with the policies of impressment and conscription, had the Confederate government displayed a universal and equitable enforcement, its policies might have met with better success. Even with the greatest attempts by the Richmond government to rationalize certain policies, the outcome was inevitable – those with a lesser stake in the war often felt they had been asked to sacrifice the most. While conscription was designed to distribute the misery of war evenly among all eligible men, substitution forever tainted the policy and only widened the gap between the have and have-nots in Southern society. The same was true of the twenty-slave law which exempted men, or their overseers, of larger slaveholding families from military service. Despite the criticism and reception this exemption received, its intention was not designed to allow the well-to-do or well connected a manner through which they could avoid military service.

¹⁵³ Aaron Sheehan-Dean, “Justice Has Something To Do With It: Class Relations and the Confederate

The real intent of the Richmond lawmakers was to allow, according to William Blair, “one male on plantations with twenty or more slaves to be excused from service to maintain police powers in the countryside and lessen the fears of a slave uprising.”¹⁵⁴ With many men, including numerous overseers already serving in the army, fears for protection of the home front, escalated. Although a massive slave uprising did not occur, “frightened slaveholders were pressing for additional protections at home.” Real or simply imagined, slaveowners heard stories of attempted killings, children of slave masters poisoned and overseers attacked and beaten to death. Such fears, along with the factor of age, may somewhat explain the lower enlistment rate among actual slaveowners. The choice between serving one’s country or one’s family was likely most difficult. With so many of their sons having volunteered, and more importantly done so early in the war, there very well may have been a necessity for a man to guard not only against slave revolt, but oversee farm production and manage the family business. A letter to Lunenburg planter Josephus Gregory echoed these sentiments: “If Cass [his sixteen-year-old son] has not found a company, I advise him not to do so yet . . . you need someone to stay and help attend to the farm and the P.O. [Post Office].”¹⁵⁵ Blair noted how,

Army” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 113 (2005): 342.

¹⁵⁴ Blair, 58.

¹⁵⁵ William to Josephus Gregory, July 4, 1861, as quoted in Spears, 111.

“Prosperous Virginians also believed that the ‘best men’ with a direct interest in the war should remain at home where their leadership could be used.”¹⁵⁶

Albert Burton Moore claimed the exemptions for conscription were an effort to differentiate the “fighters from the producers.”¹⁵⁷ The first positions exempted had to do with communications, transportation, education and manufacturing. It was not until a later date when slaveowners “launched a propaganda early in the spring to secure equality with the industrial groups before the law.”¹⁵⁸

Impressment and speculation wore heavy on the plain folk’s psyche. Tales of hoarding goods and foodstuffs simply for profit while families went hungry and soldiers marched shoeless were heard everywhere. Williams et al. presented some of the problems within the stratified Southern society: “It was clear to the plain folk that they suffered much more than the wealthy and well connected, many of whom seemed to profit from the war.”¹⁵⁹ However, plain folk were not the only targets of impressment. Further, many slaveowners took an active role and provided assistance to soldiers and their families. In a letter to his wife, Thomas Claybrook Elder, Lunenburg owner of five slaves, while serving as commissary officer, put Lunenburg slaveowners on notice:

¹⁵⁶ Blair, 59.

¹⁵⁷ Moore, 53.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 64.

¹⁵⁹ Williams et al., 86.

I have received orders to collect a tax in kind on bacon in the counties of Appomattox, Prince Edward, Charlotte, Lunenburg, Nottoway, and Amelia for Anderson's Division. I wish you would tell your father to inform the people of Lunenburg that I expect to visit the county to get this tax-in-kind on bacon and will certainly do so unless I am called in before reaching that county.¹⁶⁰

Impressment often took away a good portion of foodstuffs, while speculation and price gouging made the situation even more intolerable. Lunenburg slaveowner, Dr. B. M. Atkinson was one person looking to gauge the future price of sugar: "if the enemy gets possession of Nashville as he may do, sugar will rise to 40 or 50 cents per pound." Atkinson received money from his wife's grandmother and contributed funds himself in effort to collect "money enough to buy about one hundred pounds of sugar and I have added an amount sufficient to buy one hundred pounds more." However, Atkinson was not looking to profit from his speculative venture, but was simply hoping his wife's grandmother and family had enough supplies for the coming year: "Two hundred pounds ought to last her till Christmas."¹⁶¹

Lunenburg planter Josephus Gregory offered whatever may be needed: "If I can render any aid [illegible] or in the way of corn to feed soldiers, do let me know."¹⁶² Many other Lunenburg families who held slaves provided assistance to the war effort. In

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Claybrook Elder to Anna Fitzhugh (May) Elder, February 19, 1862. Thomas Claybrook Elder Papers, 1861–1868, Virginia Historical Society.

¹⁶¹ B. M. Atkinson to Anna Fitzhugh (May) Elder, March 13, 1864, Thomas Claybrook Elder, Papers 1861-1868.

¹⁶² Josephus to Edward Gregory, April 2, 1861, as quoted in Spears, 104.

March, 1862, Richard Henderson Allen wrote, “Mrs. Allen went to a Tableau at the court house given for the benefit of the soldiers.”¹⁶³ John Merryman, Lunenburg physician and planter contributed to another community event and noted in his diary on June 1, 1861: “Went to Nutbush to barbacue [sic] given by neighbors to the troop - I sent a very nice shoat & 4 gallons of Julip [sic].” Merryman also made a number of entries in regard to taking his wife and servants to the Court House to sew tents and wagon covers.¹⁶⁴

Even soldiers in the field were involved in providing assistance. Cornelius T. Allen, son of a Lunenburg planter and Captain of the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery, mounted a drive to collect funds in an effort designed “for the purpose of relieving as much as possible the wants and sufferings of the Fredericksburg refugees.”¹⁶⁵ Allen’s list of those within his unit who contributed tallied sixty-six individuals and raised \$100.

Throughout the South a number of wealthy men sought to procure weapons, supplies or uniforms for local units and many personally financed the units they were forming for service to the Confederacy. In a letter to his son, Lunenburg planter Josephus Gregory, further offered his assistance in purchasing what had become very scarce weapons: “could I procure any good and useful arms if I came to Richmond?”

¹⁶³ R. H. Allen, 343.

¹⁶⁴ Dr. John T. Merriman, June 1, 1861, Diary Collection, Museum of the Confederacy; Chandler and Smith, eds., “Stokes Notes,” 135.

¹⁶⁵ C.T. Allen, list of company soldiers who contributed to a Fredericksburg refugee relief fund. Allen Family Papers, 1850 – 1910, Museum of the Confederacy.

Unfortunately, since the weapons of war had almost become worth their weight in gold, his son replied, “You will not be able to get arms in Richmond at any price.”¹⁶⁶ A small number of younger Lunenburg soldiers traveled to neighboring Charlotte County to enlist with the Staunton Hill Artillery, a unit named for the palatial estate of its Captain, Charles Bruce. The unit likely would not have existed had it not been for the wealthy Bruce who “recruited this battery and paid for its equipment.”¹⁶⁷ As news of Bruce’s generosity spread to Lunenburg, Josephus Gregory reported that Bruce “proposes to equip them fully and take care of them from his own means throughout the war if his means last.”¹⁶⁸

Certainly the vast majority of planters would not have been as wealthy as Bruce, considered “one of the wealthiest men in America at the time, worth nearly one million dollars.”¹⁶⁹ But, despite not having a personal fortune to invest in their military endeavors, they did have something to offer the Confederacy. Giving of one’s money was much different than giving one’s body and soul to the cause.

¹⁶⁶ Josephus to Edward Gregory, April 21, 1861 and Edward to Josephus Gregory, April 29, 1861, as quoted in Spears, 104.

¹⁶⁷ As quoted in Jeffrey C. Weaver, *Branch, Harrington and Staunton Hill Artillery* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1996), 82.

¹⁶⁸ Josephus to “Jack” Gregory, July 2, 1861, as quoted in Spears, 109.

¹⁶⁹ Weaver, *Branch, Harrington and Staunton Hill Artillery*, 82.

If the slaveowners of Lunenburg were any indication of the wealthy man's commitment to the war, then the rich did indeed serve Confederate army. Of the five major Lunenburg regiments, four were initially organized and commanded by either planters or their sons. The Lunenburg Rebel Artillery (Company F, 2nd Virginia Artillery) was originally commanded by Samuel Hawthorne, a physician and non-slaveowner, who resided with a slaveowning family. Hawthorne resigned his commission within six months of the unit being organized and was replaced by the unit's 2nd Lieutenant, planter's son, C. T. Allen.¹⁷⁰ The Lunenburg Light Dragoons (Company G, 9th Virginia Cavalry) was initially captained by planter W. H. Hatchett. Robert Neblett, a planter's son, organized the Lunenburg Heavy Artillery (Company H(2), 9th Virginia Infantry). David Stokes, a Lunenburg planter, commanded The Flat Rock Riflemen (Company C, 20th Virginia Infantry) and planter's son, George Orgain served as the initial Captain of the Pryor Rifle Company (Company B, 20th Virginia Infantry).¹⁷¹ This followed a pattern similar to the author's findings in King and Queen County,

¹⁷⁰ Bell gives Hawthorne's date of resignation as June 1862. While Weaver listed the date as September 4, 1862.

¹⁷¹ Bell stated William E. Stockdell was the first Captain of the Lunenburg Light Dragoons, Stockdell was not listed within the roster of the regimental history and it is likely he was Captain prior to the war.

Virginia. Of the six units primarily associated with King and Queen County, all of the units were raised and commanded by men of slaveowning families.¹⁷²

For some reason history has chosen to judge many Civil War soldiers based upon popular perceptions rather than individual actions. The shortcomings of many Southern legislators have been projected upon entire social classes without regard to any sense of validity. An accurate measure then of the “rich man’s war, poor man’s fight” can only be performed through an individual study of actions and not a presentation of collective perceptions. To measure performance there needs to be a tool, a benchmark, to measure against. In effort to utilize such a standard, some of the best known and widely accepted studies were utilized. Even among scholars the accepted Confederate enlistment rate is hotly debated. Some claim as few as half of Southern military age men served in the army while others believe nine-in-ten did. A realistic median may approach two-in-three men, or approximately sixty-five percent. Sheehan-Dean found the number to be sixty-

¹⁷² “County” units were defined by Jeffrey Weaver on “The Virginia Civil War Home Page” – refer to “Virginia Confederate Units by County of Origin”(http://members.aol.com/jweaver300/grayson/vaco.htm). The units mentioned here comprised his list of all the “active” units, but does not include Local Defense, Reserve, and Home Guard units even though men from slaveholding families were very active with those units as well. Weaver included Company B, 22nd Battalion Virginia Infantry among the Lunenburg companies and though it did have a number of Lunenburg men in the unit, it is not included among the Lunenburg County units as it was recruited outside of Lunenburg at Keysville, Virginia. John Bagby, owner of seven slaves, formed the King and Queen Artillery (Company K, 34th Virginia Infantry). Marius P. Todd, planter and owner of seventy-eight slaves, formed the King and Queen Cavalry (Company E, 5th Virginia Cavalry) The Clifton Guards (Company G, 26th Virginia Infantry) was Captained by Robert H. Spencer, a planter and owner of thirty-two slaves. The King and Queen Guards (Company H, 26th Virginia Infantry) was led by Robert Sutton, who owned eleven slaves. The Jackson Grays (Company I, 26th Virginia Infantry) was commanded by William Smith, an owner of thirteen slaves, and the King and Queen Minute Men (Company C, 26th Virginia Infantry) was led by N. B Street, who owned three slaves, the fewest number of slaves among the King and Queen company commanders.

two percent in Virginia. Maris Vinovskis believed enlistment was sixty-one percent across the Confederacy and Larry Logue's research in Mississippi confirmed the sixty-five percent figure (see Table 11).

Despite the differing opinions in the overall enlistment rate, one factor remained almost consistent among research findings. As the age of potential enlistees increased, the likelihood of enlistment decreased. Both Logue and Randolph Campbell cited these findings in their research. Campbell observed young men sixteen through eighteen had an enlistment rate twenty-three percentage points higher when compared to the larger population which included thirteen to forty-six-year-olds. Logue found a similar pattern and reported analysis of the younger men, eighteen to twenty-four, indicted an enlistment rate of seventy-three percent but the broader range of thirteen to forty-five year olds resulted in a sixty-five percent rate of service (see Table 11).

Among the men of slaveholding families in Lunenburg the same pattern of enlistment is not only repeated, but the demographics of age and wealth clearly influenced the enlistment decision. The relationship between age and enlistment Campbell found in Texas was repeated in Southside Virginia. While Campbell used age as the determining factor among his classifications, there can be little argument that, at least among Lunenburg slaveowners and likely across all slaveowners, slaveholding reflected wealth and on average as wealth increased so did age.

William Kauffman Scarborough provided a further examination of those who owned 250 or more slaves. Among these elite planters, as was seen among Lunenburg's wealthier owners, increased wealth usually meant advanced age. This relationship between wealth and age is further demonstrated among all slaveowners not just those of military age. The mean age of all Lunenburg planters was over fifty, while the same figure for those who owned a "small" number of slaves was under forty-one (see Table 6). If slaveownership indicated the degree of wealth and the wealthier owners were on average much older than the "common" man who enlisted, then age, not wealth may have been the greater influence on the enlistment decision. While David Williams et al. appropriately noted that "money and social standing protected men who wished to avoid a bloody death on the firing line," they offered little relevant information and statistics as to exactly who or how many individuals choose to do so.¹⁷³ Additionally, Scarborough found among elite owners who served in the military, 13.9 percent were "killed in action," an extremely high share.¹⁷⁴

While Lunenburg planters had the lowest enlistment rate among all slaveholding men, on average they also represented the oldest men in the overall male-eligible population. Further, the ten planters who did enlist possessed, on average, more wealth

¹⁷³ Williams et al., 94.

¹⁷⁴ This percentage is based upon Scarborough's presentation of four elite owners who were "killed in action" among the thirty-one elite owners noted to have joined the Confederate army. See Scarborough, 32, Table 7.

and owned more slaves than those planters who did not serve in the army (see Table 9). This lower enlistment rate among the planters may actually explain Larry Logue's finding that "soldiers typically had just over half the real estate and personal wealth of the average noncombatant, which seems to indicate that large planters and their sons were avoiding military service instead of rallying to the cause." It is likely that since the rich were older, married men, they did not enlist with the zeal of the younger residents. Removing just a few very wealthy men from the mix would dramatically impact average wealth when those with lesser wealth ("medium" and "small" slaveowners) are included to form an average wealth. As was noted among Lunenburg planters and "large" slaveowners, despite an overall lower enlistment rate, those who enlisted held more average wealth than those who remained civilians. However, when the "poorer" groups, which had more enlistees are included, the average wealth figures for soldiers versus non-soldiers is dramatically impacted (see Table 5). Additionally, had these rich men truly wanted to avoid the hardships of army life, why did seventy percent, the highest percentage among any group and more than double the percent of slaveowners who possessed a "small" number of slaves, enlist within the first year of the war?

Age pushed many of the male planters beyond the realistic opportunity for military service and as such only twenty-four of 122 planters and a total of 557

Lunenburg County slaveowners were under forty at the start of the war.¹⁷⁵ Age may ultimately have represented a far greater deterrent to enlistment than initially believed. Scarborough found the factor of age relevant among elite (250+ slaves) owners: “Although most of the elite slaveholders were too old to perform active military service themselves, many had sons or other close male relatives in the field.”¹⁷⁶ Despite the wealthy slaveowners having the most to fight for, as a vast majority of the Lunenburg slaveowners were married, their families likely had the most to lose and so the enlistment decision may have been more difficult.

It should also be stressed that none of the planters or the owners of a “large” number of slaves were excused from military service by providing a substitute. Ironically it was the owners of “medium” and “small” number of slaves who employed substitutes. Only among the sons of planters and sons of families which held a “large” number of slaves was the process of substitution utilized by the wealthier classes, and then only twice among more than 130 soldiers. Six of the total eight substitutions (75.0 percent) were from men who owned either a “medium” or “small” number of slaves. Owners of from one to four slaves, a group many historians would classify as “plain folk,” accounted for half of all substitutions among owners and 37.5 percent of substitutions

¹⁷⁵ Logue expressed this correlation between age and wealth: “the apparently greater wealth of noncombatants may be a function of their age.” He further remarked “age itself remains an important predictor of enlistment.” See pages 616-617.

¹⁷⁶ Scarborough, 317.

within the sample of all men from slaveowning families. Despite the fact “relatively few soldiers hired substitutes,” that such an opportunity was financially prohibitive to all but wealthy men made the policy all the more intolerable to the plain folk.¹⁷⁷

The planters, however, experienced the highest number of discharges from service. Included within these discharges was that of Oscar Knight, who nearing forty, resigned his officer’s commission in the 9th Virginia Cavalry. Knight’s reasons for his action were listed as “ill health and owning 20 Negroes.” Knight was the only Lunenburg planter found to have cited or capitalized upon the twenty-slave exemption. As an officer the exemption was not needed as Knight could simply present his resignation and quit the army. While discharge from the army was a much more frequent occurrence among slaveowners than their sons, when both owners and sons are combined the discharge rate dropped to under fifteen percent, a figure below that of the less affluent slave employers (18.2 percent) (see Table 8) . Age may, in turn, have brought about numerous medical conditions and disabilities that hampered soldiering. The combined discharge rate was approximately one-in-four (25.9 percent) among all owners groups except the owners of a “small” number of slaves, which was under twenty percent. Sampling found the slaveowners’ sons to have an overall discharge rate under one-in-ten (9.5 percent) with only two groups slightly above eleven percent (see Table 8). Again there appeared to be a relationship to age and the ability to perform the duties of a soldier. Owners had an

¹⁷⁷ Sheehan-Dean, “Justice Has Something To Do With It,” 362.

average combined age of approximately 30.8 years and a higher sample discharge rate, while slave employers were on average 29.7-years-old and sons 19.1 years but had a lower sample discharge rate – 18.2 percent and 9.5 percent respectively.

While discharge saw the exit of some from the army, conscription forced others into the ranks. Ironically, sampling determined that among employers and sons of slaveowners the number of discharged men was the exact same as the number of conscripts from these groups. This, of course, was solely a coincidence. Slaveowners experienced a dozen fewer conscriptions than they did discharges. However, as a percentage, owners of a “medium” number of slaves had the greatest number of men conscripted into service, nearly one-in-four (22.7 percent) were forced into service while owners of a “large” number of slaves and slave employers were the next most conscripted group (with 18.2 percent each) (see Table 8).

Even with an average age above thirty years, the enlistment rate across all slaveowners was slightly greater than sixty percent (see Table 9), a figure more than ten points higher than Campbell found among all thirteen to forty-six-year-olds in Harrison County, Texas. This enlistment rate also approached the same figures cited by Maris Vinovskis and Aaron Sheehan-Dean, sixty-one and sixty-two percent respectively.

If slaveowners, and in particular the wealthier owners, are to bear the brunt of criticism for inciting the “rich man’s” war, the statistics appear to indicate that in actuality the Civil War was in fact “everyman’s” fight, or at least, in many respects, a

“young man’s” fight. Sheehan-Dean summed up the rich man’s personal commitment to the Southern cause when he simply explained, “Rich men did fight the Civil War.”¹⁷⁸ When the sons from slaveholding families are introduced into the mix, the war was, at least among Lunenburg soldiers, a “rich, young man’s” fight.

If the Lunenburg slaveowners approached the accepted Confederate enlistment rates, their sons, far surpassed such figures. Nearly eighty-five percent of sons of Lunenburg planters served in the Southern army. There are two noteworthy distinctions among the patterns of enlistment for the sons. First, average age was consistent among all the slaveowning sons’ groups, and was, on average, between nineteen and twenty. This is a significant departure from what was determined among the owner groups whereas average age declined so did slaveholding and wealth with the exception of the “small” slaveowners who had a more diversely-aged population. This likely indicated that among those groups where age was consistent and slaveholding (wealth) increased, there was a positive correlation between wealth, enlistment decision and timing of enlistment. There is a very obvious relationship then between wealth and certain enlistment patterns. As wealth declined, so did the enlistment rate, from a high of nearly eight-five percent (planters’ sons) to a low of seventy-five percent (sons from families holding a “small” number of slaves).

¹⁷⁸ Sheehan-Dean, “Everyman’s War,” 18.

Additionally, the same relationship is repeated among initial recruits in the first year of the war, more of the wealthier men joined the struggle earlier in the conflict. If Lunenburg is any indication of the Southern war effort, wealthier families sent a much higher percentage of men off to war in the early stages of the conflict (see Table 7). There was a linear relationship among both the owners and sons enlistment in 1861. As the number of slaves declined so did the percentage of men who enlisted within the first year of the war. Martin Crawford found in Ashe County, North Carolina, an area “outside the dominant plantation society” and where slaveowners “comprised a mere 6.6 percent of the farm population,” that “just under a quarter” of males age fifteen to thirty-nine had enlisted by August 1861. The figure had risen to “well over half” by 1862, but was still well below the early patterns of enlistment noted among Lunenburg County’s slaveholding men (see Table 7).¹⁷⁹ Crawford also determined the wealthiest district was the only residential district which had more recruits who joined in 1861 than in 1862. Further, in Lunenburg, seventy and seventy-five percent of planters and men owning a “large” number of slaves joined by the end of 1862, compared to sixty-eight and sixty-four percent for those who owned a “medium” and “small” number of slaves. The same was found among the sons who enlisted. Nearly sixty percent of planters’ sons enlisted

¹⁷⁹ Crawford, 32-38. Although Crawford segregated his research by residence location rather than social status, this data affirmed the finding of “some positive correlation between district wealth and the timing of enlistment in the Confederate army.”

in 1861 compared to less than forty-five percent of sons from families which possessed a “small” number of slaves.¹⁸⁰

Taken as a whole, men from Lunenburg slaveholding families enlisted to fight for the Confederacy at a rate (72.8 percent) greater than that of the “common” Southern soldier (65.0 percent). Their number of casualties during the war, particularly among the older men, was somewhat lower than the average Confederate figures, perhaps due to their type of military unit. While seventy-five percent of common soldiers served in the infantry, only about half (55.6 percent) of Lunenburg’s slaveholding men initially did so. Among the slaveholding men of Lunenburg, cavalry enlistment was nearly ten points higher than was the norm (27.0 percent compared to twenty percent) and artillery unit service was more than three times the Southern average (17.4 percent compared to five percent). The cavalry and artillery units were not often placed in harm’s way with the same regularity as infantry men would have been.

This fact is exemplified via the Lunenburg Rebel Artillery, Company F, 2nd Virginia Artillery. This unit spent the vast majority of its time at Chaffin’s Bluff guarding the approach along the James River to Richmond by federal gunboats. The unit saw little action, a fact highlighted by the lack of entries within the service records. All

¹⁸⁰ Crawford, 45. This finding supports Crawford’s research: “Confederate recruits derived from progressively poorer families as the war continued into and beyond its second year.” Harris, 153. Harris noted that “Each year’s new soldiers came from poorer families than did those who had joined the year before. Harris felt this was a result of the poor being forced into service while the wealthier avoided military duty.

but a few of the unit's "Captions and Record of Events" cards are blank. The unit went for two years before experiencing any combat and it was not until June 1864 that it was officially recognized as engaging in battle.¹⁸¹ As the units at Chaffin's Bluff saw relatively little combat, soldiers set up a number of small gardens and built a permanent chapel for the camp. The garrison at Chaffins' Bluff, as Jeffrey Weaver has observed, "was as comfortable a place as a soldier in active Confederate service could hope for."¹⁸²

Cavalry units also may have experienced a similar phenomena in regard to casualty rates. Robert K. Krick's regimental history of the 9th Virginia Cavalry, which included the vast majority of Lunenburg's troopers (Company G), measured the entire regiment's death rate at only 11.3 percent and the overall casualty rate of "at least 37.2 percent."¹⁸³

What is somewhat inexplicable is that with an overall death rate somewhat lower than the accepted Confederate average, more wealthier Lunenburg soldiers died in combat than was the Confederate norm. If the rich soldiers had avoided the real fighting, why did a higher share of Lunenburg soldiers die as a result of fighting than from disease? Of the fifty-four soldiers from slaveholding families who perished during the

¹⁸¹ Stewart Sifakis, *Compendium of the Confederate Armies: Virginia* (Bowie, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2003), 48.

¹⁸² Jeffrey C. Weaver, *Brunswick Rebel, Johnston, Southside, United, James City, Lunenburg Rebel, Pamunkey Heavy Artillery and Young's Harbarguard* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1996), 105.

¹⁸³ Krick, 44.

war, twenty-nine (54.7 percent) were listed as having died from disease while twenty-four (45.3 percent) were killed in action or died from wounds received in combat.¹⁸⁴ These proportions did not approach the average Confederate figures of two-thirds of deaths resulting from disease and one-third from combat. More remarkable is the near opposite of disease to combat deaths found among the planters' sons. Of the fourteen who perished during the war only five (35.7 percent) were from disease while nine (64.3 percent) died as a result of combat, with eight being listed as "killed in action." This data does not attest to the perception that among the wealthy, soldiers received preferential treatment and were often assigned as clerks or in the Quartermaster's department in positions with little real danger of combat. In fact, circumstances of most deaths indicated the Lunenburg slaveholding men were more likely to perish as a result of combat than the average Confederate soldier. The rich men of Lunenburg County's slaveholding families did commit body and soul to the Confederacy.

To some extent slaveholding men may have followed a custom that existed in Europe for generations. The men who joined the military from elite families were expected to serve in the cavalry, the moderately wealthy, the artillery, while the rabble composed the common foot soldiers in the infantry.¹⁸⁵ This tradition may have had a

¹⁸⁴ Percentages are based on 53 soldiers since one does not have a cause of death listed. Those listed simply as "died" in the records are assumed to have died of disease.

¹⁸⁵ Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 336, noted: "Cavalry and artillery units seem to have held special attraction for scions of first families."

particular impact during the Civil War and to some extent explains the poor man's perception the rich men did not fight in the war. With seventy-five percent of the "common" soldiers having served in the infantry and only about one-half of the slaveowners in the infantry, it was quit likely the majority of "common" soldiers would not have knowledge of close to half of the slaveowners who had joined cavalry and artillery units. In Lunenburg the types of units initially joined may have closely approximated the figures for King and Queen County had it not been for two occurrences (see Table 4). First, the Loch Leven Rangers, initially a cavalry company, was "reorganized for the war" as the unit's members felt a "cavalry company would not be needed." Additionally, in 1861, Robert Nathaniel Neblett organized the first and at that time only artillery unit from Lunenburg, the "Lunenburg Heavy Artillery." This unit was well received and the feeling in the county was well-noted: "Among all the companies now in the field, Capt. Nebletts [sic] is by far the most popular with the men about here."¹⁸⁶ However, the unit was not permanently attached to any Confederate artillery group and was assigned to the 9th Virginia Infantry during the summer of 1861. The assignment to the infantry unit was likely brought about by the need for foot soldiers and Neblett's assertion the unit could procure "no arms or ammunition" while stationed along the Virginia Peninsula.¹⁸⁷ Had both these units fulfilled their original intent, infantry

¹⁸⁶ Joseph Ellis to his father, Joseph F. Ellis, April 4, 1862, Joseph F. Ellis Papers, Library of Virginia.

¹⁸⁷ Robert Nathaniel Neblett, Muster Roll, June 11, 1861, Library of Virginia.

enlistment would have been reduced while both artillery and cavalry enlistments would have been increased.

Unit concentrations among the wealthier groups may have further precluded the knowledge of men from wealthy families having joined the fight. Wealthier men tended to join a more limited number of units, usually joined together, and often insisted on serving with men of similar social status. Bell Wiley believed that this may be explained through social comradery taking precedence over personal interests as “it was better to be a private [within a prominent unit] . . . than a lieutenant in most other groups.”¹⁸⁸

Wealth and education may further explain the types of units joined. Those among the poor who may have been lucky enough to own a horse surely could not take it away from the duties of the farm to serve as their mount. Additionally, the cost of horses rose dramatically as the war progressed and acquisition of a horse to serve as a mount was likely cost prohibitive to most. Also, particularly in regard to the artillery, to function as a unit required strict discipline and the necessity for some knowledge of mathematics in regard to trajectory, angles of elevation, and the like. Wealthy men would have been sent to school in their youth and been more suited, at least for leadership of artillery, in these

¹⁸⁸ Wiley, 336.

skills. In fact, in both 1858 and 1860 all the students attending planter R. H. Allen's school, Oral Oaks High School, were from slaveowning families.¹⁸⁹

As previously observed, age was a key consideration in a man's enlistment decision and may have also impacted the plain folk's perception of the wealthy men avoiding military service. Despite Lunenburg County having had a majority of slaveowning families in the population, only 186 (33.4 percent) of the 557 owners were men who would have been of a realistic age for military service.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps even more substantial are the facts that almost two-in-three, 118 of the 186, were age thirty or older in 1860 and seventy-seven (41.4 percent) were over thirty-five. As a result, 63.4 percent of these slaveowning men would have been thirty-five or older by war's end, and 41.4 percent would have been forty or older. Analysis of Lunenburg's slaveowners revealed that 122 (21.9 percent) held twenty or more slaves but only twenty-four planters (19.7 percent) of the total 122 planters were males under age forty in 1860. These twenty-four men represented just 12.9 percent of all the military-age-men in the county. Lunenburg's plain folk would likely have been aware of the fact the local population was dominated by their slaveowning neighbors but it is doubtful they realized, as war approached, that

¹⁸⁹ R. H. Allen's list for 1858 included 27 students, five of whom could not be found in the 1860 census. The list for 1860 included 26 entries of which one individual could not be located in the 1860 census. Both lists included three students from each session who did not have the same surname as the household head (slaveowner) but resided with the family and were likely a relative.

¹⁹⁰ This figure is comparable to King and Queen County which was found to have had 35.1 percent of slaveowners to be males between fourteen and forty in 1860.

less than ten (8.3) percent of the male slaveowners in the county would have been of a realistic age to join the military. Further, the “rich” slaveowners (planters) comprised only 2.8 percent of the entire county population .¹⁹¹

Further, Scarborough noted among elite slaveowners nearly two-in-three (64.3 percent) were fifty years of age or older and the average age for these elite owners was over fifty-three, compared to an average age of fifty among Lunenburg planters.¹⁹² Interestingly, among slave employers, a group likely more representative of the plain folk, more than half (54.8 percent) were males within the fourteen to forty age range, compared to the 33.4 percent of slaveowners. By popular definition then, the “rich” planters of Lunenburg represented less than one-quarter of all county slaveowners, less than six percent of the county’s male population and less than three percent of the entire county population. Further, the male planters of military age constituted less than five percent of all slaveowners and one-half-of-one percent of the overall county population.

¹⁹¹ Armstead L. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2005) 5, noted this very limited number of planters throughout the South: “fewer than 10 percent of slaveholding families qualified [as planters]. The plantation elite of the antebellum South made up less than 3 percent of the free population in the region and less than 2 percent of the total free and slave populations combined.

¹⁹² Refer to Scarborough, Appendix B, page 431. Discounting for estates, businesses, females and incomplete data produced a list of forty-two men. Seven (16.7 percent) are under forty years of age, a total of fifteen (35.7 percent) were under fifty. Average age for all elite owners was 53.7 (53.1 for the males) compared to 50.2 among all Lunenburg planters. Although there were no elite (owners who held 250+ slaves) in Lunenburg County, Scarborough’s analysis of Southern elite owners confirmed a similar trend in the age of extremely wealthy slaveowners. Scarborough’s research noted the top fifty owners of 500 or more slaves and this data provided the finding that less than seventeen percent of this group were under forty as of 1860.

It should be emphasized these figures are from a Virginia county with more than double the average number of slaveowning planters. Across the Confederacy there simply were not the same proportions of “rich” and “poor” men who could have, based on age, made an effective soldier.

If, as Martin Crawford found, volunteering for military service “was a significant one [act], a crucial demonstration of the individual citizen’s relationship with and loyalty to, the wider society,” then the slaveholding men of Lunenburg County, Virginia faithfully contributed to the Confederacy.¹⁹³ Further, if it truly was a poor man’s fight, the wealthy would not have permitted so many of their young sons to march off into battle. Sons of Lunenburg planters had the highest enlistment rate among any of the slaveholding groups – a rate which was more than twenty points higher than slave employers, many of whom would have been termed “plain folk.” Additionally, sons from families who held a “large” number of slaves served in the Southern military at a rate less than one percentage point below planters’ sons while the sons of “poorer” slaveholding families had the lowest enlistment rates (see Table 9).¹⁹⁴

Further, sampling found it was not solely the poor who were conscripted into military service. Slave employers, the “poorest” of all slaveholding groups had a

¹⁹³ Crawford, 32.

¹⁹⁴ Sheehan-Dean, “Everyman’s War,” 18, noted in Virginia that “Places with higher-than-average household wealth tended to organize more companies than did the counties with mostly middle-and-lower income families.”

conscription rate equal to that of “large” slaveowners, while “medium” owners had the highest rate of all (see Table 8). Also, as previously explained, the men from wealthier families were the first to answer the call to duty as a majority volunteered within the first year of the war (see Table 7). It was also not likely the majority of those rich men who enlisted received preferential treatment. They would have experienced the duties of soldiering as would any “common” soldier. For example, Joseph Ellis, whose father owned eighteen slaves, wrote, “I see no chance to get a Furlough.”¹⁹⁵ John Petty, who owned eight slaves, informed his wife, “I do not see much chance of getting a furlough to go home now unless I had some other excuse than just because I wanted to see you.”¹⁹⁶ Charles “Cass” Gregory, a planter’s son, conveyed the same sentiment on two separate occasions. He informed his father how “it will be about next Christmas before my turn [for furlough] comes.” He told his sister; “I would like so much to come [home] but I’ve made one application for a furlough and it was not noticed at all.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Joseph Ellis to his father, Joseph F. Ellis, January 15, 1862, Joseph F. Ellis Papers.

¹⁹⁶ John Daniel Petty, to his wife, June 23, 1861. Soldier Letters Collection, Museum of the Confederacy.

¹⁹⁷ Charles to Josephus Gregory, February 17, 1863 and Charles to Mary Gregory, September 9, 1863, as quoted in Spears, 147 and 160.

Sheehan-Dean's research and these findings on Lunenburg County, support, at least in Virginia, the fact it was not solely a poor man's fight and question the validity of the rich man's war, poor man's fight perception. Further, it is doubtful Virginia was an anomaly among the Confederate states. Enlistment patterns among socially and financially-defined groups would likely return similar results across the Confederacy.

Sheehan-Dean observed:

The security of slavery, the continuity of the robust and stable economic order Virginians had built in the 1850s, and the privilege of being white in the antebellum South all depended on defending the society as it was in 1861. Families that held more interest in this society had stronger motivations to fight, a conclusion consistent with the finding that enlistment rates were highest among those parts of Virginia that held the most wealth and the most slaves.¹⁹⁸

A Lunenburg planter's son informed his father, "I hope before another year that the war may be ended and all of us at home, but if it lasts longer, even twenty years and I live, in the army will be my place."¹⁹⁹ Such commitment to the war effort likely reached

¹⁹⁸ Sheehan-Dean, "Everyman's War," 25

¹⁹⁹ Charles "Cass" to his father Josephus Gregory, February 17, 1863, as cited in Spears, page 147.

beyond Virginia's boundaries and into the Confederacy as a whole.²⁰⁰ Although he focused on the wealthiest slaveowners, Scarborough may have provided a fitting conclusion: "many of the large slaveholders supported the Confederate cause with unremitting devotion and endured hardships equal to that of their less fortunate neighbors. Nevertheless, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that many of them could have contributed more to the war effort."²⁰¹ Clearly, however, if Lunenburg County, Virginia was any indication, service in the military was not an area in which their contribution fell short.

²⁰⁰ Sheehan-Dean, "Everyman's War," 25, concluded, "The Old Dominion was not alone in this pattern . . . soldiers from Georgia, Louisiana, or Tennessee would have come to the Confederacy with similar beliefs and interests."

²⁰¹ Scarborough, 317.

TABLE 1
CASUALTY RATES OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>Wounded</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Captured</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Killed/ Died</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Casualties</u>	<u>Number of Men</u>	<u>%</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>									
	20+ "Planters"	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	2	10	20.0%
	10 - 19	2	9.1%	6	27.3%	1	4.5%	8	22	36.4%
	5 - 9	1	4.5%	4	18.2%	2	9.1%	6	22	27.3%
	1 - 4	8	13.8%	9	15.5%	8	13.8%	19	58	32.8%
Total		11	9.8%	20	17.9%	12	10.7%	35	112	31.3%
Slaveowners'										
Sons	20+ "Planters"	12	15.4%	20	25.6%	14	17.9%	38	78	48.7%
	10 - 19	12	22.6%	12	22.6%	8	15.1%	22	53	41.5%
	5 - 9	9	22.5%	8	20.0%	9	22.5%	24	40	60.0%
	1 - 4	5	9.8%	11	21.6%	11	21.6%	24	51	47.1%
Total		38	17.1%	51	23.0%	42	18.9%	108	222	48.6%
Slave Employers		2	9.1%	6	27.3%	5	22.7%	11	22	50.0%
Grand Totals		51	14.3%	77	21.6%	59	16.6%	154	356	43.3%

TABLE 2

VIRGINIA STATE AND LOCAL SLAVE OWNERSHIP

	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>SLAVEOWNERS</u>	<u>1-4</u> <u>SLAVES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>5-9</u> <u>SLAVES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>10-19</u> <u>SLAVES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>20+</u> <u>SLAVES</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>VIRGINIA</u>	52,128	25,355	48.6%	12,222	23.4%	8,774	16.8%	5,777	11.1%
<u>Selected Virginia</u>									
<u>Counties*</u>									
AUGUSTA	811	413	50.9%	237	29.2%	137	16.9%	24	3.0%
KING AND QUEEN	449	131	29.2%	111	24.7%	97	21.6%	110	24.5%
LUNENBURG	545	182	33.4%	113	20.7%	126	23.1%	124	22.8%
<u>(Author's Figures)</u>									
LUNENBURG	557	198	35.5%	109	19.6%	128	23.0%	122	21.9%
Lunenburg Owners (age 14-40 in 1860)	187	87	46.5%	37	19.8%	39	20.9%	24	12.8%
Lunenburg Owners' Sons (age 14-40 in 1860)	274	68	24.8%	51	18.6%	63	23.0%	92	33.6%

*Source: Historical Census Browser, the Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia Library.

TABLE 3

RANK AT INITIAL ENLISTMENT OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>Officer</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NCO</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rank</u> <u>Unknown</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>							
	20+ "Planters"	4 *	40.0%	0	0.0%	6	60.0%	0
	10 - 19	1	4.5%	3	13.6%	18	81.8%	0
	5 - 9	1	4.5%	0	0.0%	21	95.5%	0
	1 - 4	0	0.0%	4	7.5%	49	92.5%	5
Total		6	5.6%	7	6.5%	94	87.9%	5
<hr/>								
Slaveowners' Sons	<u>Slaves Owned</u>							
	20+ "Planters"	6 **	7.9%	11	14.5%	59	77.6%	2
	10 - 19	2 ***	3.8%	4	7.5%	47	88.7%	0
	5 - 9	0	0.0%	2	5.0%	38	95.0%	0
	1 - 4	0	0.0%	2	4.0%	48	96.0%	1
Total		8	3.7%	19	8.7%	192	87.7%	3
<hr/>								
Slave Employers		1	4.5%	1	4.5%	20	90.9%	0
<hr/>								
Grand Totals		15	4.3%	27	7.8%	306	87.9%	8
<hr/>								

* Includes the rank of Surgeon. None held an initial rank above Captain.

** Includes one Captain and five 2nd Lieutenants.

*** Both were 2nd Lieutenants.

TABLE 4

INITIAL BRANCH OF SERVICE OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>Infantry</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Cavalry</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Artillery</u>	<u>%</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>						
	20+ "Planters"	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%
	10 - 19	4	18.2%	16	72.7%	2	9.1%
	5 - 9	8	36.4%	10	45.5%	4	18.2%
	1 - 4	31	53.4%	14	24.1%	13	22.4%
Total		50	44.6%	43	38.4%	19	17.0%
Slaveowners' Sons	<u>Slaves Owned</u>						
	20+ "Planters"	48	61.5%	22	28.2%	8	10.3%
	10 - 19	26	49.1%	16	30.2%	11	20.8%
	5 - 9	29	72.5%	4	10.0%	7	17.5%
	1 - 4	29	56.9%	9	17.6%	13	25.5%
Total		132	59.5%	51	23.0%	39	17.6%
Slave Employers		16	72.7%	2	9.1%	4	18.2%
Grand Totals		198	55.6%	96	27.0%	62	17.4%
King & Queen County			51.8%		23.8%		24.4%

TABLE 5

AVERAGE WEALTH OF LUNENBURG SLAVEOWNERS

	<u>Whole</u>	<u>Military-</u>		
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Eligible Group</u>	<u>Soldiers</u>	<u>Non-Soldiers</u>
<u>Slaves Owned</u>				
20+ "Planters"	\$42,073	\$40,501	\$41,819	\$39,559
10 - 19	\$19,361	\$18,538	\$18,767	\$18,240
5 - 9	\$9,189	\$8,882	\$8,817	\$8,976
1 - 4	\$3,763	\$3,728	\$3,182	\$4,790
All Owners	\$16,800	\$12,029	\$9,877	\$15,285
Slave Employers	\$981	\$933	\$990	\$828

TABLE 6

AVERAGE AGE OF LUNENBURG SLAVEHOLDERS (IN YEARS)

		<u>Overall</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Eligible</u> <u>Group</u>	<u>Soldiers</u>	<u>Non-</u> <u>Soldiers</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>				
	All Owners	44.8	30.2	-	-
	20+ "Planters"	50.4	35.2	34.8	35.5
	10 - 19	46.7	32.0	31.9	32.2
	5 - 9	43.8	31.1	29.7	33.2
	1 - 4	40.8	29.7	30.1	28.9
Slaveowners' Sons	20+ "Planters"	-	19.0	18.8	19.9
	10 - 19	-	19.7	20.0	18.5
	5 - 9	-	18.8	18.7	19.3
	1 - 4	-	19.1	19.1	19.1
Slave Employers		41.4	30.5	29.7	31.9

TABLE 7

TIMING OF ENLISTMENT OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>1861</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1862</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1863</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1864+</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Date Unknown</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>									
	20+ "Planters"	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	2	20.0%	1	10.0%	-
	10 - 19	10	50.0%	5	25.0%	1	5.0%	4	20.0%	2
	5 - 9	10	45.5%	5	22.7%	2	9.1%	5	22.7%	-
	1 - 4	19	33.9%	17	30.4%	9	16.1%	11	19.6%	2
Total		46	42.6%	27	25.0%	14	13.0%	21	19.4%	4
	<u>Slaves Owned</u>									
Slaveowners'										
Sons	20+ "Planters"	45	59.2%	17	22.4%	6	7.9%	8	10.5%	2
	10 - 19	28	53.8%	11	21.2%	7	13.5%	6	11.5%	1
	5 - 9	21	52.5%	7	17.5%	5	12.5%	7	17.5%	-
	1 - 4	20	44.4%	14	31.1%	9	20.0%	2	4.4%	6
Total		114	53.5%	49	23.0%	27	12.7%	23	10.8%	9
Slave Employers		12	54.5%	8	36.4%	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	-
Grand Totals		172	50.1%	84	24.5%	42	12.2%	45	13.1%	-

TABLE 8

CONSCRIPTION, SUBSTITUTION AND DISCHARGES OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>Conscripts in</u>		<u>Substitutions in</u>		<u>Discharges in</u>		<u>Number of</u>
		<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Soldiers</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>							
	20+ "Planters"	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	10
	10 - 19	4	18.2%	0	0.0%	6	27.3%	22
	5 - 9	5	22.7%	3	13.6%	9	40.9%	22
	1 - 4	5	8.6%	3	5.2%	10	17.2%	58
Total		14	11.5%	6	4.9%	29	25.9%	112
	<u>Slaves Owned</u>							
Slaveowners' Sons	20+ "Planters"	6	7.7%	1	1.3%	9	11.5%	78
	10 - 19	6	11.3%	1	1.9%	6	11.3%	53
	5 - 9	2	5.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.5%	40
	1 - 4	7	13.7%	0	0.0%	5	9.8%	51
Total		21	9.5%	2	0.9%	21	9.5%	222
Slave Employers		4	18.2%	0	0.0%	4	18.2%	22
Grand Totals		39	11.0%	8	2.2%	54	15.2%	356

TABLE 9

ENLISTMENT RATE OF LUNENBURG SOLDIERS

		<u>Number of Eligible Men</u>	<u>Number of Men in the Military</u>	<u>% in the Military</u>
Slaveowners	<u>Slaves Owned</u>			
	20+ "Planters"	24	10	41.7%
	10 - 19	39	22	56.4%
	5 - 9	37	22	59.5%
1 - 4	86	58	67.4%	
Owners Total		186	112	60.2%
Slaveowners' Sons	20+ "Planters"	92	78	84.8%
	10 - 19	63	53	84.1%
	5 - 9	50	40	80.0%
	1 - 4	68	51	75.0%
Sons Total		273	222	81.3%
Slave Employers		34	22	64.7%
Grand Totals with Employers		493	356	72.2%
Owners and Sons		459	334	72.8%

TABLE 10

AVERAGE NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED / EMPLOYED

		<u>Whole</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Eligible</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Soldiers</u>	<u>Non-Soldiers</u>
<u>Slaveowners</u>	<u>Slaves Owned</u>				
	All Owners	12.2	9.1	-	-
	20+ "Planters"	30.8	30.8	33.8	28.6
	10 - 19	14.2	13.9	14.0	13.7
	5 - 9	6.8	6.8	7.0	6.5
	1 - 4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1
<u>Slaveowners' Sons</u>	<u>Slaves Owned</u>				
	20+ "Planters"	-	28.3	27.3	33.9*
	10 - 19	-	14.3	14.1	15.1
	5 - 9	-	6.6	6.7	6.6
	1 - 4	-	2.5	2.5	2.6
<u>Slave Employers</u>		1.9	1.9	2.1	1.6

* V.P. Williams was the son of an owner who possessed 102 slaves, more than double the son of any other owner.
If the 102 slaves are removed from the calculation, the average falls to 28.6.

TABLE 11

COMPARATIVE ENLISTMENT AND CASUALTY RATES

<u>Author</u>	<u>Area of Study</u>	<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Percent of Men in the Military</u>	<u>Percent Wounded</u>	<u>Captured/ POW</u>	<u>Percent Killed/Died</u>
<u>Randolph Campbell</u>	Harrison County, Texas	13 - 46*	50.1	12**	12.0	20.6
"	"	14 - 43*	51.7	N/A	N/A	N/A
"	"	15 - 23*	67.3	N/A	N/A	N/A
"	"	16 - 18*	73.1	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Maris Vinovskis</u>	Eleven Confederate States	13 - 43	61.0	N/A	N/A	25.0
<u>Larry Logue</u>	Mississippi	13 - 45	65.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
"	"	18 - 24	73.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Aaron Sheehan-Dean</u>	Virginia	15 - 50	62.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Robert Calvert & Arnoldo De Leon</u>	Texas	17 - 50	low of 58.0, high of 76.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Eric Either</u>	Confederate States	N/A	N/A	15.0	28.5	32.5
<u>Thomas Livermore</u>	Confederate States	N/A	N/A	15.0***	N/A	N/A
<u>William Kauffman Scarborough</u>	Elite (250+ slaves owned) Slaveowners	N/A	low of 37.8, high of 56.4****	N/A	N/A	12.9*****
<u>Glenn Seiler</u>	Slaveowners of Lunenburg County, Virginia	14 - 40*	60.2	9.8	17.9	10.7
	Slaveowners' Sons of Lunenburg County, Virginia	14 - 40*	81.3	17.1	23.0	18.9
	Slave Employers of Lunenburg County, Virginia	14 - 40*	64.7	9.1	27.3	22.7

* Ages as of the 1860 census.

** Included those who "suffered serious illness or wounds."

*** Livermore's figures are based on "number hit," which included those wounded, mortally wounded and killed in action. (Calculation based upon Table B, page 142, and included total "number hit" among total "force").

**** Projections based upon 20% (high) and 30% (low) of elite owners being of eligible age.

***** Only included those "Killed in Action."

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF LUNENBURG SLAVEOWNERS

<u>All Slaveowners</u>	<u>Number in</u>	<u>% of County</u>	<u>% of Male County</u>	<u>% of Slaveowner</u>
	<u>Group</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
Slaves Owned				
20+ "Planters"	122	2.8%	5.5%	21.9%
10 - 19	128	2.9%	5.7%	23.0%
5 - 9	109	2.5%	4.9%	19.6%
1 - 4	198	4.5%	8.9%	35.5%
<u>Totals</u>	<u>557</u>	<u>12.6%</u>	<u>25.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	<u>557</u>	<u>4431</u>	<u>2231</u>	

<u>Male Slaveowners Age</u>	<u>Number in</u>	<u>% of County</u>	<u>% of Male County</u>	<u>% of Slaveowner</u>	<u>% of Male</u>
<u>14 - 40</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Slaveowners</u>
					<u>14 - 40</u>
Slaves Owned					
20+ "Planters"	24	0.5%	1.1%	4.3%	12.9%
10 - 19	39	0.9%	1.7%	7.0%	21.0%
5 - 9	37	0.8%	1.7%	6.6%	19.9%
1 - 4	86	1.9%	3.9%	15.4%	46.2%
<u>Totals</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>4.2%</u>	<u>8.3%</u>	<u>33.4%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

* Figures are for the County's white population and are taken directly from the 1860 census.

APPENDIX A

LUNENBURG COUNTY SLAVEOWNERS AND SLAVE EMPLOYERS

Data is presented as it was originally entered in Schedule 2, "Slave Inhabitants" ("Slave Schedule") and Schedule 1 "Free Inhabitants" ("Population Census") of the 1860 Federal Census.

The abbreviations and spellings are entered as they originally appeared.

Data indicated within < > represents differences between information entered in the "Slave Schedule" when compared to the "Population Census".

Data indicated within { } is additional/different information from other Federal Census sources.

Name	Slaves	House #	Age	Occupation	Real Estate Value	Personal Estate Value	Son and Age	Son and Age	Son and Age	Son and Age	Son and Age	Son and Age	Son and Age
A?ms {Arms/Armes}, Sarah, F.	2	510	Female	Farmer	\$900	\$1,295	Robt., J., 15						
Abernathy, Jesse, D.	21	324	70	Farmer	\$5,000	\$15,805							
Alfred, Bishop	1	295	44	Farmer	\$0	\$300							
Allen, Robt., H.	27	314	43	Farmer	\$8,000	\$26,187	Wm., J., 21	Cornelius, F. {Cornelius T.}, 18	Edwd., M., 17	Robt. {Robert A.}, 14			
Almond, J. J.	5	156	35	MD	\$2,000	\$3,485							
Anderson, Christopher	2	170	72	Farmer	\$3,500	\$9,385							
Andrews, James, O.	1 Emp	856	22	Overseer	\$0	\$75							
Andrews, Langston, C.	2	219	40	Farmer	\$1,200	\$2,708							
Andrews, Wm., S.	5	233	33	Farmer	\$7,250	\$4,190							
Arvin, John	29	764	50	Farmer	\$8,400	\$28,500	Saml., S., 19	Langston, 17					
Arvin, Wm., Sr.	20 + 1 listed at end of schedule	875	80	Farmer	\$6,900	\$49,877							
Arvine <Arvin>, Wm., Jr.	22 (listed as 21 + 1 as last entry in schedule under Arvin, W.)	592	50	Farmer	\$8,000	\$25,574	Marcellus, 22	Mortimer, 18	Thomas, J., 15				
Arvine, Thomas	25	782	46	Farmer	\$13,500	\$30,230	George, S., 19	Jno., K., 15					
Ashworth, Jonathan	1	334	27	Farmer	\$0	\$1,211							
Atkinson, B. M. {Benjamin, C. M.}	7 + 1 Emp	774	30	MD	\$3,000	\$8,627							
Atkinson, Rober {Roger}, B.	34	306	57	Farmer	\$9,000	\$31,315	Wm., M., 27						
Atwell, A. R.	2	502	32	Millwright	\$770	\$3,130							
Atwell, H. O. A. {Horace}	4	521	42	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,051	Wm., T., 18	Josiah, F., 14					
Averett, Chappell, E.	2	338	39	NL	\$1,600	\$2,450							
Bacon, Littlepage	4 for Estate	589	23	Manager	\$2,500 - likely the property of the estate and is treated as such	\$2,800 - likely the property of the estate and is treated as such	Appears to hold the Wm. E. Hill Farm and employ the slaves for the estate	May actually hold (own) and employ slaves for the estate					
Bacon, Mary, E.	1 Emp	589	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$0							
Bagby, Henry, W.	6 Emp	519	56	Miller	\$2,000	\$654	Charles, 20	Frazier, S., 14					
Bagley, Edwd.	79	358	48	Farmer (2 farms)	\$12,000	\$83,972							
Bagley, George, L.	21	484	42	Farmer	\$7,000	\$28,570							
Bagley, Mary, L.	10	328	Female	Farmer	\$27,000	\$15,011							
Bagley, Phiola	24	208	Female	Farmer	\$6,000	\$20,350							
Bagley, R. {Robert} S.	35	621	46	MC {MD}	\$10,400	\$42,400							
Bagley, Wm. M. {Wm., McCraw}	8	207	40	Farmer	\$5,000	\$3,100							
Bailey, A. J. L.	1 Emp	165	28	Overseer	\$0	\$30							

Bailey, German	12	501	50	Farmer	\$1,630	\$12,150												
Bailey, Richd, H. L.	2	235	58	Farmer	\$1,500	\$2,600												
Barnes, Jno. B.	13	56	29	Farmer	\$4,000	\$11,000												
Barns {Barnes, Asa?}, A. G.	13 + 2 Emp	701	38	Farmer	\$4,375	\$12,653												
Barns, E. H.	3 + 3 Emp (does not include 8 believed to be property of the Wm. H. Mcfarland farm)	685	56	Att at Law	\$3,260 (listed as Wm. H. Mcfarland farm)	\$13,518												
Barns, Joseph, D.	3 + 5 Emp	508	35	Farmer	\$4,370	\$3,550												
Barns, Martin	17	509	42	Farmer	\$9,000	\$17,141	Wm., H., 14											
Barwell, Allen, A.	13	60	53	Farmer	\$3,960	\$12,093												
Bates, Susan	2 Emp	554	Female	NL	\$1,440	\$270												
Bates, William	1 Emp	874	48	Farmer	\$0	\$263												
Bayne {Bayn}, George, L.	44	836	70	Farmer	\$10,000	\$50,149												
Bayne, Griffin	1 Emp	193	65	Overseer	\$0	\$200												
Bayne, Jno., R.	3	726	45	Carpenter	\$0	\$2,430	Edward, P., 14											
Bayne, Jno., S.	21	778	39	MD	\$1,500	\$31,800												
Bell, Adam	13	862	20	Farmer	\$7,000	\$20,000												
Bell, John D.	9	132	48	Farmer	\$3,500	\$8,538	F. N., 19	David T., 14										
Bishop, Edmund	1	300	49	Farmer	\$1,000	\$2,055												
Bishop, James	4	291	34	Farmer	\$350	\$444												
Bishop, John (John, Sr.)	18	286	84	Farmer	\$3,160	\$1,500	Robert, 40	?attie {Chatman}, 34										
Blackwell, Jane, L.	35	491	Female	Farmer	\$4,800	\$41,137												
Blackwell, Minerva, E.	41	613	Female	Farmer	\$7,000	\$38,000	Thomas, 17											
Blackwell, Mrs. Mary	27	372	Female	Farmer	\$7,000	\$25,791												
Blackwell, W. Thweat	23	399	35	Farmer	\$7,000	\$24,190												
Blackwell, Wm. T.	13 + 5 in Trust and 4 Emp	373	34	Farmer (2 farms)	\$9,635	\$12,280												
Blackwell, Wm., F.	38	723	35	Farmer	\$16,200	\$46,270												
Bohanan, H. H. {Bohannon Philip, H.}	6	23	49	Farmer	\$700	\$250	Wm {William C.}, 19	James {James H.}, 17	P. D. {Philip D.}, 15									
Bolling, Robt	14	731	49	Farmer	\$5,775	\$12,975												
Boswell, Ellen, J.	17 + 9 in trust	114	Female	Farmer	\$4,000	\$7,588 (+\$8,400 in Trust)	Edmund, 17	Thomas, 16	Wm., 14									
Bowen, Henry	1	327	33	Overseer	\$0	\$100												
Bowen, Liddy	2 Emp	393	59	Farmer	\$800	\$355												
Bradshaw, Anderson	2 + 2 Emp	686	60	Farmer	\$1,656	\$2,080	Jno., S., 18	James M., 15										

Clark, James	1 Emp	830	29	Farmer	\$1,300	\$530														
Cole, James	16	168	50	Farmer	\$2,000	\$18,156														
Cole, Theoderick	15	570	58	Farmer	\$3,900	\$15,756														
Coleman, Eliza {Elizabeth}	7 + 1 Emp	790	Female	NL	\$900	\$6,103														
Coleman, John, L.	27	110	43	Farmer	\$4,100	\$16,964	Achilles, B., 19	Samuel, J., 18												
Coleman, Joshua	1 Emp	789	59	Farmer	\$150	\$190	Thomas, J., 22													
Cooksey, H. P.	2	499	41	Overseer	\$0	\$1,030														
Cooksey, Syra	9 + 2 Emp	177	Female	Farmer	\$2,500	\$6,357														
Couch, Wm. T.	27	39	45	Farmer	\$10,000	\$24,882														
Cox, Geo., W.	8	320	20	MD	\$4,250	\$9,405														
Cox, James, J.	24	349	21	Farmer	\$2,200	\$25,500														
Cox, Mrs. Mary	34	529	60	Farmer	\$2,500	\$41,722														
Cox, Wm., H.	5	721	45	Overseer	\$0	\$5,570														
Crafton, Ebenezer	8	609	55	Farmer	Illegible	\$4,115														
Crafton, Morning	1 Emp	568	Female	Farmer	\$4,500	\$613														
Crafton, Richard	12	558	55	Farmer	\$3,600	\$12,870														
Crafton, Stephen, B.	4 + 2 Emp	851	42	Farmer	\$2,500	\$6,760														
Crafton, Washington	1 Emp	569	33	Farmer	\$1,100	\$358														
Cralle, Lelia Farm	17	728	NA	NA	\$4,500	\$22,698														
Cralle, Mildred	24	728	Female	NL	\$4,260	\$16,850														
Cralle, R. R.	32	728	26	Farmer	\$4,000	\$38,755														
Crallie, Edwin	31	355	54	NL	\$8,000	\$37,807														
Crawley, Ro., H.	9	781	42	MD and Farmer	\$5,000	\$10,748														
Crawley, Saml.	10 + 1 Emp	865	66	Farmer	\$3,000	\$9,739														
Crawley, Thomas, G.	12	166	39	Farmer	\$2,500	\$8,600	R. R. {Robert, R.}, 14													
Crow, Sterling, L.	11	243	39	Farmer	\$1,400	\$7,280														
Crowder, Green, W.	3	145	55	Farmer	\$2,500	\$2,740	Marcellus, A., 18	Lafivar, R., 15												
Crowder, James, T.	9	140	57	Farmer	\$5,700	\$22,700	Geo., W., 27	Jas., W., 23	Green, A., 18											
Crowder, Richard	6	148	66	Farmer	\$500	\$7,443														
Crymes, George	13	786	36	Farmer	\$4,500	\$17,955														
Crymes, John, Sr.	15	577	49	Farmer	\$12,000	\$17,230	Jno., T., 19	George, A., 16												
Crymes, Leonard	17	788	39	Farmer	\$3,000	\$24,173														
Crymes, Leonard <Jr.>	3	822	27	Farmer	\$2,000	\$5,019														
Crymes, Mrs. M. {Martha}, N.	13	791	41	Farmer	\$4,000	\$11,837	Robt., M., 21													
D. Jones Farm	12	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA														
Dance, Martha	28	66	Female	Farmer	\$3,000	\$20,796														
Dance, Wm. S.	9	68	27	Farmer	\$4,200	\$9,332														
Davis, Jno., C. W.	1 Emp	711	31	Overseer	\$0	\$85														
Davis, John, D.	1 + 1 Emp	543	26	Wagoner	\$0	\$2,353														
Davis, Joseph {Joseph, E.}	21	84	51	Farmer	\$3,200	\$10,708	Patrick, H., 16													
Davis, Lewis	11	103	34	Farmer	\$2,500	\$10,630														
Davis, Mary, D.	6	85	80	Farmer	\$1,200	\$8,400														

Davis, N. E.	31	329	68	Farmer	\$7,000	\$31,657	N. {Nicholas}, E., Jr., 19							
Davis, Robt., H.	3	242	39	Farmer	\$1,200	\$2,936								
Davis, Saml.	6	396	41	Farmer	\$4,000	\$4,831								
Davis, Wm. T.	4	163	26	Farmer	\$3,000	\$3,636								
Dejarnett, R., H.	18	587	64	MD - Farmer	\$20,000	\$17,585								
Dillon, Edward	2 Emp	540	74	NL	\$0	\$0								
Dixon, Pattie	1	456	Female	Farmer	\$1,000	\$1,700								
Dixon, Wm.	8	387	42	Farmer	\$2,000	\$6,185								
Dodson, Wm, E.	28	64	43	MD	\$14,000	\$37,670								
Doswell or Boswell, Wm. listed at end?	9	NA	NA	this is likely a reference to slaves held in trust by Ellen Boswell, for her sons - of which William is the youngest	the 9 listed were added to the 17 separately listed for Ellen Boswell	NA								
Dowdy, John, S.	9 + 12 Emp	824	58	Farmer	\$2,000	\$10,334	Jno., S., Jr., 21	Richd., H., 14						
Dupriest, Charles, A.	3 Emp	710	46	Farmer	\$1,000	\$491	James, A., 20	Chls., A., Jr., 17	Jno., F., 15					
Dupriest, Malachi	1 + 1 Emp	677	39	Overseer	\$0	\$240	Jno., H., 18	Robt., E., 16						
Dupriest, Nancy	1	710	Female	NL	\$0	\$0								
Dyson, Francis, A.	15	581	24	Farmer (2 farms)	\$4,000	\$17,783								
Edmundson, Waller	16 + 1 Emp	689	54	Farmer	\$2,000	\$14,135								
Elder, Brooken	30	377	58	Farmer	\$9,000	\$33,100	Jno., H., 23	WM., F., 22 {not listed in 1850}	Ro., B., 19	Joel, L., 16				
Elder, Edward, M.	1	130 (son of Elder, Harrison, J.)	29	Overseer	\$0	\$1,395								
Elder, Harrison, J.	9	131	62	Farmer	\$3,000	\$7,042	Albert, H., 21							
Elder, Wm.	1 Emp	700	61	Carpenter	\$800	\$450								
Elder? Ink Spill on Census. Likely Thomas C. {Thomas Claybrook} Elder	5 + 1 Emp	378	Ink Spill	Ink Spill	Ink Spill	Ink Spill								
Ellis, Edwin, F.	10	26	28	Farmer	\$3,000	\$7,000								
Ellis, George, C.	12	37	43	Farmer	\$2,000	\$8,695								
Ellis, Joseph, F.	18	62	54	Farmer	\$2,480	\$13,435	Joseph, Jr., 23							
Ellis, Miss Eliza	3	569	Female	NL	\$0	\$1,850								
Ellis, Susan	3	184	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$1,700								
Ellis, Thomas, J.	7	588	39	Farmer	\$1,600	\$5,060								

Ellis, Whitfield	3	190	49	NL	\$1,200	\$400	Saml., S., 19	James, C., 17						
Ellis, Wm., F.	4	503	39	Farmer	\$1,100	\$3,512								
Epps {Epes}, Eliza A.	49	344	Female	Farmer	\$14,500	\$55,184	R. J. (Junius), 20							
Estice {Estes}, Wm., E.	5 + 3 Emp	730	47	Saddler	\$2,500	\$7,382	Anderson, S., 21	Joh. {Jno}, J., 19	Wm., E., Jr., 14					
Eubank, John, S. {John, T.}	15	838	46	Farmer	\$5,220	\$16,285	Wm. {William, L. 10 in 1850}, 10?							
Eubank, Wm., H.	22 + 1 Emp	843	41	Farmer	\$20,319	\$23,577	James, F., 15							
Eubanks, Capt., J.	36	574	70	Farmer	\$10,000	\$37,530								
Farley, Jno., H.	1 Emp	709	24	Wheelwright	\$0	\$142								
Farley, Paul, A.	6	578	39	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,580	George, H., 14							
Farmer, Mary, <A.>	1	877	Female	NL	\$0	\$9,450								
Featherston, Joshua, J. (son of Featherston, Mrs., A.)	3	409	29	Overseer	\$0	\$0								
Featherston, Martha, L.	5	409	Female	NL	\$0	\$0								
Featherston, Mary, L.	1	409	Female	NL	\$0	\$0								
Featherston, Mrs., A.	3	409	Female	Farmer	\$3,200	\$15,000								
Featherston, Wm., B.	2 + 4 Emp	413	32	Farmer	\$1,000	\$3,611								
Fitzgerald, David, C.	14 + 2 Emp	719	31	Farmer	\$3,900	\$11,330								
Flinn, Miss Martha	8	675	Female	Farmer	\$1,800	\$14,230								
Flippin, Wm., T.	1 + 2 Emp	275	37	Merchant	\$1,500	\$8,525								
Flowers, Wm., H.	1 Emp	561	48	Shoemaker	\$500	\$500	Listed as employed by Flowers, W. - could also be Wm., T., the son)							
Floyd, Wm., D.	3 + 3 in Trust	316	68	Farmer	\$0	\$6,050								
Forest, Richd.	2 + 15 in Trust	763	58	Farmer	\$0	\$0	James, S., 35	Peter, J., 14						
Forest, Wm., B. (son of Forest, Richd.)	2	763	22	NL	\$0	\$2,100								
Foster, Josiah	1	277	43	Farmer	\$900	\$1,475	Wm., J., 16							
Foster, Wm., H.	13	720	23	Farmer	\$5,000	\$13,807								
Foulkes, Calvin, B.	2 Emp	748	33	Farmer	\$1,150	\$517								
Foulkes, Egbert, E.	6	565	25	Farmer	\$3,201	\$8,157								
Foulks, Carolina	3	588	Female	Tchr Commn Schl	\$0	\$3,700								
Foulks, Clarky	14	343	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$18,225	Thomas, C., 14							
Foulks, John	30	824	58	Farmer	\$11,400	\$33,150	Armstead, E., 28	Jno., S., 25						

Foulks, Wm., J.	40	340	58	Farmer (2 farms)	\$6,000/ \$10,000	\$8,328/ \$59,200							
Freeman, Henry	13	141	50	Farmer	\$800	\$13,437							
Freeman, Lucrecia	21	142	Female	Farmer	\$3,000	\$20,431							
Fuqua, Isaih	1 Emp	828	36	Carpenter	\$134	\$0							
Gallian, Hail, S. {Gallion, Hale, T. }	2 + 1 Emp	487	57	Farmer (2 farms)	\$4,000	\$2,415	Thomas {Thomas, A.}, 20						
Garland, David, S.	44	301	74	Farmer	\$10,000	\$43,631							
Garland, Jno. R.	46 + 17 in Trust for John Blount	152	39	Farmer	\$20,000 (+ 7000 in Blount Trust)	\$46,460 (+ \$17,455 in Blount Trust)							
Garland, Robt., C.	1 Emp	439	33	Farmer	\$1,600	\$426							
Gary, James	4	186	22	Farmer	\$0	\$3,917							
Gary, Wm., S.	2 + 2 Emp	741	24	Merchant	\$3,100	\$6,220							
Gaulding {Gaulden}, Jno., R.	8	878	27	Farmer	\$2,000	\$8,426							
Gaulding {Gauldin}, John, B.	12	816	65	Farmer	\$4,000	\$14,914	James, M., 22						
Gaulding, Drewry, E. {Gaulden, Drury, E. }	12	817	38	Farmer	\$2,000	\$3,464	E. {Edward} A., 14						
Gee, A. G. {Anderson Green}	29	283	54	Farmer	\$5,000	\$29,046	George, E., 27						
Gee, Dennis	3	226	50	Farmer	\$1,500	\$432							
Gee, E. B.	27	654	59	Farmer	\$4,000	\$22,803							
Gee, Edward, C.	5	676	23	MD	\$0	\$7,050							
Gee, F. N.	16	284	43	Farmer	\$1,500	\$16,685							
Gee, George, W.	10	276	48	Farmer	\$3,000	\$7,015	Henry, M., 16						
Gee, Jesse, H.	13	196	47	Farmer	\$4,000	\$12,430							
Gee, Lewis, M.	16	195	37	Farmer	\$4,000	\$17,380							
Gee, Miss Frances	15	279	Female	Farmer	\$1,800	\$14,885	Thomas, 22 {NL}						
Gee, Nathan	6	278	53	Farmer	\$800	\$3,255							
Gee, Nathan	20	785	48	NL	\$3,000 listed under son?	\$22,862?	Joshua, N., 20						
Gee, Thomas <Sr.>	17	826	80	Farmer	\$3,600	\$16,897							
Gee, Thomas, H.	22	518	45	Farmer	\$8,142	\$22,611	Edward, N., 16	Thomas, C., 14					
Gill, Charlotte	1	246	Female	Farmer	\$500	\$1,360							
Gill, Nancy	6	220	Female	Farmer	\$2,000	\$5,060							
Gills, Wm.	6	690	52	Farmer	\$2,050	\$1,801	Daniel, 19	James, 15					
Gregory, Eliza	4	238	Female	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,094	Roger {Rodger}, 22	West {Werter or Winter}, 16	Darten, 14				
Gregory, Josephus	21	41	50	Farmer	\$10,000	\$32,311	Wm. H. {William, T. H.}, 19	Charles, C. {Charles, H. C.}, 16	David, J., 15				
Gregory, Richd., C.	19 + 2 Emp	682	49	Farmer	\$7,500	\$19,395	Thomas, 18						
Gunn, Daniel, E.	10	5	49	Farmer	\$2,450	\$6,700							

Hamilton, David	5 Emp	733	59	Farmer	\$700 listed under wife's name	\$500						
Hamlin, Wm., C.	9 + 1 Emp	668	39	Farmer	\$0	\$8,257	Jno., R., 14					
Hammock, George	4	641	45	Farmer	\$2,000	\$4,122						
Hammock, Lewis	8	645	78	Farmer	\$3,080	\$8,323						
Hammock, Lucy	18	647	50	Farmer	\$1,764	\$16,395	William, 24					
Hammock, Samuel	1	641	31	Laborer	\$0	\$0						
Harding, Benja.	1 Emp	555	23	Carpenter	\$0	\$90						
Harding, Elisha, J.	7	2	43	Farmer	\$2,000	\$6,000	Josiah, A., 19	L. T. {L. Berry T.}, 14				
Harding, John, Sr.	17	512	70	Farmer	\$5,200	\$15,372						
Harding, Littlebury	9	593	68	Farmer	\$1,000	\$10,660	Henry, 34	Edward, 29				
Harding, Robert S.	3 Emp	541	26	Merchant	\$0	\$5,207						
Harding, Robt., Sr.	14	513	75	Farmer	\$2,000	\$13,000						
Harding, Wm. A. (son of Harding, Wm. J.)	3	78	23	Laborer	\$0	\$0						
Harding, Wm. J.	3	78	56	Farmer	\$1,000	\$535	Thomas, C., 27	Wm. A., 23				
Hardy, Charles, B. (son of Hardy, Permelia)	4	727	30	Suptndt on farm	\$2,600	\$4,100						
Hardy, Dabney	26	370	47	Farmer	\$5,000	\$26,445	Edwin S. {Listed as Ellen S.}, 21	A. A. {Adrian}, 19				
Hardy, Geo., W.	20 + 1 Emp	586	38	Farmer	\$10,000	\$16,000						
Hardy, Griffin, O.	9	849	48	Farmer	\$600	\$8,450						
Hardy, Henry, G. {Henry Green}	23 + 1 Emp	846	54	Farmer	\$7,000	\$24,410	Charles {M.}, 24	Joseph {H.}, 20	John {T.}, 15			
Hardy, Jordon, R.	13	514	50	Farmer	\$2,500	\$11,115	Luther, C., 17					
Hardy, Joseph, Y.	16	576	36	Farmer	\$7,000	\$19,530						
Hardy, Permelia	25	727	Female	Farmer	\$8,000	\$30,318						
Harrison, C. G.	1 Emp	520	38	Carpenter	\$500	\$140						
Harriss {Harris, John, A.} Anderson	29	230	49	Farmer	\$6,800	\$28,950	Joseph May, 20	Olivia, 14				
Harriss {Harris}, Wm., A.	26	227	49	Farmer	\$4,500/ \$9,500?	\$14,900/ \$13,975?	Junius, H., 18					
Harriss, Benja.	2	239	52	Overseer	\$0	\$5,400	Saml., A., 19					
Haskins, C. C.	18 + 5 Emp	408	40	Farmer - Trader	\$7,000	\$19,273						
Hatchell, Wm., H. {Hatchett, William Haynie}	22	792	43	Farmer	\$6,000	\$23,078						
Hatchell {Hatchett}, H.	1 (a separate listing under Hatchell, H.)	182	18	NL	\$0	\$0	This entry is unclear. Haynie Hatchell is counted as a son.					
Hatchell {Hatchett}, Jno., R.	25	714	38	Farmer	\$12,500	\$27,770						

Hatchell {Hatchett}, Peter, M.	16	717	28	Farmer	\$6,000	\$20,653								
Hatchell {Hatchett}, Richd, J. H.	24	182	46	MD	\$10,000	\$20,484	H. {Haynie}, 18	Archibald {Archerbeld}, 15						
Hatchell, B. A., Sr. {Branch Archer}	38 - 16 (upper farm) + 21 (lower farm)	705	40	Farmer (2 farms)	\$4,000/ \$7,300	\$18,726								
Hatchell, Lew (believed to be Hatchell, L. E.) {Hatchett, Lewelling}	12	705	30	MD	\$5,200	\$11,225								
Hawkins, S. S.	6 Emp	496	67	Farm Manager - Tho. Hawkin's farm	\$1,500	\$534								
Hawthorn, Sarah W.	1	486	Female	NL	\$1,000	\$1,550								
Hawthorne {Hawthorn}, H. C. (Henry, C.)	13	214	43	Farmer	\$3,600	\$12,573								
Hawthorne, James, W.	3 + 3 Emp	205	47	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,016								
Hawthorne, Peter <P. W.>	25	435	58	Farmer	\$7,000	\$21,775	Peter, 25	Fred, A., 17						
Hawthorne, Thomas (son of Hawthorne, Peter)	1	435	26	Overseer	\$0	\$4,640								
Hays, John, M.	1	98 (same house as Winn, Edmund)	34	NL	\$0	\$1,675								
Hazelwood, James, E.	22	217	52	MD	\$3,000	\$16,028	Jno., J., 20	Jas., W., 15						
Hepburn, E. M.	42	65	66	Farmer	\$16,800	\$39,777								
Higgins, F. R.	1 Emp	536	27	Laborer	\$0	\$1,205								
Hill, S. H.	1 + 1 Emp	732	43	Farmer	\$1,200	\$645	George, W., 19							
Hines, A. B.	19	390	48	Farmer	\$3,600	\$19,116	AB Hines is likely the older brother of Turner, S., 31 and Millington, 37 given ages and AB does not appear in 1850							
Hines, James, R.	4	395	28	Farmer	\$400	\$374								
Hines, Thomas, S.	1 + 5 Emp	381	51	Farmer	\$1,200	\$710								
Hines, Wm., A.	1	380	53	Farmer	?	\$254?	Monetary entries are illegible.							
Hines, Wm., L.	2	384	28	Farmer	\$500	\$268								
Hite, Jus. <James>, L.	40 + 6 Emp	369	38	Farmer (2 farms)	\$9,000	\$37,319								

Hite, Lew	19	403	21	Farmer	\$7,500	\$20,000								
Hite, Wm. L.	25	400	35	Farmer	\$10,000	\$29,595								
Hix, E. J. {Hicks, Elizabeth, J.}	16	129	Female	Farmer	\$4,000	\$12,580								
Holmes, Isaac, E.	7	67	47	Farmer	\$850	\$5,500								
Hurt, M., A.	4 + 24 in Estate	583	26	Manager - Jas. Neal Farm	0/ \$9,486	\$3,585/ \$15,574	Appears to be responsible for the Estate holdings of the Jas. Neal farm							
Hurt, Monford, S. {Mountfort, S.}	55	168	65	Farmer	\$2,900	\$51,100								
Hurt, Patrick, H.	39	172	53	Farmer	\$10,400	\$37,962	Lew, {Lewling} M., 23	Jno., P., 20	Tazwell, P., 15					
Hyden, M. B.	1	267	26	Engineer	\$0	\$2,450								
Inge, George	9 + 1 Emp	631	43	Farmer	\$4,000	\$7,587								
Inge, James	9	692	50	Farmer	\$2,200	\$6,129	Thomas, N., 19	Edward, G., 18						
Inge, Martha	3	658	47	Farmer	\$1,900	\$4,100	Joseph, H., 23							
Inge, Vincent	5 Emp	462	36	Farmer (2 farms)	\$1,568	\$547								
Inge, Wesley	1	637	31	Farmer	\$0	\$580								
Inge, Wm.	5	160	38	Farmer	\$3,500	\$560	Joseph, S., 16							
Ingraham {Ingram}, Alice	17	248	Female	Farmer	\$5,600	\$27,520								
Ingraham {Ingram}, Edwd (son of Ingraham, Alice)	3	248	27	Overseer	\$2,000	\$5,500								
Ingraham {Ingram}, Saml., H.	7	250	35	Farmer	\$0	\$4,400								
Irby, William	44	679	52	Farmer	\$24,000	\$42,300	Edmund {Edward}, 15							
Jackson, {Elisha, B.} E. B.	19	769	60	Mercht	\$5,000	\$31,666								
Jackson, Andrew	1 Emp	618	45	Shoemaker	\$0	\$250								
Jackson, Dorothy, A.	1 Emp	649	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$0								
Jackson, Edmund	2 Emp	432	65	Farmer	\$400	\$195								
Jackson, George, C.	16	765	27	Farmer	\$4,000	\$19,680								
Jefferson, Mary	33	115	55	Farmer	\$7,000	\$31,886								
Jefferson, Thomas	34 + 9 Emp	876	53	Farmer etc	\$9,000	\$40,635	James, 15							
Jeffress {Jeffries}, Richd., J.	35	591	47	Farmer	\$6,000	\$28,500	Richd., J., Jr., 15							
Jennings, Joseph	44 (includes two separate listings: one for 4 and one for 40)	798	38	Farmer	\$10,200	\$47,994								
Jeter, James, E.	1	326	36	Farmer	\$600	\$415								
Jeter, P.T.	2 Emp	88	56	Millwright	\$1,000	\$1,000								
Johns, Alfred, N.	12	820	38	Farmer	\$3,200	\$16,695								
Johns, Jno., A.	3	337	32	MD	\$2,000	\$34,711								
Johns, Joel	39	814	59	Farmer	\$10,000	\$44,000	Branch, S., 20	Wm., C., 14						

Johns, John, A. <Sr.>	29	819	78	Farmer	\$7,400	\$32,360								
Johnson, Alfred	10	428	45	Farmer	\$1,700	\$14,475								
Johnson, James	20	410	57	Farmer	\$5,500	\$22,400	Wm., 26							
Johnson, Thomas	4 Emp	427	51	Farmer	\$800	\$1,403								
Jones, Claiborne	29	489	53	Farmer	\$9,000	\$44,015								
Jones, D. Farm?	12	NA	NA	NA	Likely an estate, no listing in the census.	NA								
Jones, J. R. {John, R.}	4 + 2 Emp	667	37	Farmer	\$1,840	\$5,782								
Jones, Lew?	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	No corresponding individual can be located in the census.	This is likely a reference to Lewellyn Jones Hite.	Since an exact determination can not be made, the slaves were not counted as owned by Hite.					
Jones, Mrs. S. <Sally>	26	860	Female	Tavern Keeper	\$6,500	\$28,088								
Jones, Peter, B.	10	310	44	Farmer	\$6,000	\$10,293								
Jones, Richard	3	232	45	Farmer	\$2,000	\$1,900								
Jordan, Jno., J.	19	756	49	Farmer	\$4,000	\$22,693								
Jordan, M. M.	2	330	37	Carpenter	\$1,000	\$132								
Jordan, Wm. P.	23 + 12 Emp	97	49	Farmer	\$2,400	\$24,728								
Justice, Stephen	1 Emp	529	77	Overseer	\$0	\$200								
Justice, Thomas	13	678	61	Farmer	\$12,000	\$9,445								
Justice, Wm., C.	4 + 4 Emp	661	38	Farmer	\$2,751	\$5,545	Elijah, 18	George, W., 14						
Keaton, Charles, W.	6	266	47	Farmer	\$1,800	\$4,345								
Keaton, James	3	188	52	Farmer	\$1,500	\$3,530								
Kecton, Elizabeth	7	21	Female	School Teacher	NL	\$3,345								
Kirk, George, M.	2 + 5 Emp	643	28	Farmer	\$0	\$2,600								
Kirk, George, W.	2 + 1 Emp	642	35	Farmer	\$1,500	\$3,014								
Kirk, Joseph, P.	4 Emp	665	24	Farmer	\$0	\$0								
Kirk, W. W.	1	645	38	Manager of Farm	\$0	\$1,783								
Knight, David, H. (Overseer for Ann Lipscomb)	2	57	38	Overseer	\$0	\$2,555								
Knight, Dr. O. M.	35	845	35	MD	\$9,600	\$38,150								
Knight, George, S.	6	603	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$5,440								
Knight, Linneus <L. H.>	20	877	44	Farmer	\$14,500	\$33,378								
Knight, M. A.	9	877	Female	NL	\$0	\$11,180								
Knight, Robert, E.	7	46	46	Farmer	\$2,000	\$5,875								
Knight, Sherwood, W.	3	45	50	Farmer	\$1,200	\$1,500	Mathew, W., 14							
Laffoon, Jesse, G.	1	406	30	Overseer	\$0	\$55								

Laffoon, Nortimer {Mortimore}	2 Emp	441	34	Farmer	\$800	\$456							
Laffoon, Parker <Parks> {Parkes}	1	460	42	Farmer	\$2,200	\$463	Duguffy {Jugartha and Ingartha - listed as Female}, 18						
Lambert, Constance	9	672	Female	Farmer	\$7,000	\$22,472							
Lambert, James	5	100	52	Farmer	\$1,000	\$2,865	Benj., 16						
Lambert, Mrs., Nancy	5	430	Female	Farmer	\$1,000	\$22,432							
Land, Robert	11	108	41	Farmer	\$1,000	\$5,000							
Lear, S. K.	4 Emp (could be 3 and 1 guardian)	768	41	Tailor	\$550	\$295							
Lee, Jno., H. Sr.	46	612	68	Pres A S Minstr	\$10,000	\$34,705	Jno., W., 26						
Lee, Samuel, E.	4 + 3 Emp	9	50	Farmer	\$3,000	\$5,000	James, H., 24	William, E., 20					
Lester, Fred	22 (13 + 9 in separate listings)	72	65	Farmer	\$6,080	\$20,054							
Lester, George, C.	9	95 (same house as Watts, Gill)	22	Farmer	\$3,000	\$16,395							
Lester, Wm., B	2	18	27	Merchant	\$1,500	\$2,575							
Lipscomb, Alpheus	1	89	39	Overseer	\$0	\$135							
Lipscomb, Ann	5	57	Female	Farmer	\$3,800	\$5,129	John, C., 18 (listed as Dumb)						
Love, Henry, H.	34	263	72	Farmer	\$14,700	\$38,247	Allin {Allen}, H., 27	David, R., 18					
Love, James, C.	3 + 5 (3 Emp and 2 in Trust)	842	42	Farmer	\$3,000	\$4,046							
Love, Jennings {Jennings, M.}	6	179	23	Farmer	\$1,750	\$511							
Love, Thomas, G.	10	198	40	Farmer	\$3,000	\$9,915							
Love, Wm. A.	6	183	35	Farmer	\$0	\$3,910							
Maddux, Washington	27	493	72	Farmer	\$7,600	\$43,395							
Manson, Susan, H.	18	486	Female	Farmer	\$7,000	\$21,900	Thomas, F., 21	Fletcher, S., 18	Richd., W., 16				
Marable, Hartwell	12	36	77	Farmer	\$2,080	\$13,325							
Marable, James, H.	5	252	38	Farmer	\$3,000	\$6,000							
Marable, Joseph, E. (son of Marable, Hartwell)	1	36	30	MD	\$0	\$0							
Marshall, Abraham {Abraham, W.}	16	365	28	Farmer	\$6,000	\$25,000							
Marshall, Ann R.	21	367	Female	Farmer	\$8,000	\$26,290							
Marshall, Col., Jno.	33	364	74	Farmer	\$9,000	\$34,920							
Marshall, Frank	1 + 2 Emp	722	22	Farmer	\$3,000	\$1,774							

Marshall, Mrs. Louisa	12	664	Female	Farmer	\$1,650	\$19,714	Jno., W., 19	Wm., A {Wm., M.}, 18	Robt., S. {Robert, T.}, 16	Edw., O., 14				
Marshall, Wm. J.	11	93	52	Farmer	\$2,000	\$10,993	Benajer, 32							
Marshall, Wm. S.	2	90	31	Farmer	\$0	\$1,830								
Matthews, Drewry	2 Emp	680	30	Carpenter	\$0	\$50								
Matthews, Eliza {Elizabeth}	6	434	Female	NL	\$0	\$0								
Matthews, Jno., A.	4 Emp	655	38	Carpenter	\$0	\$100								
Matthews, John	3	434	42	Farmer	\$7,000	\$21,775								
Matthews, Jones	3	434	40	Overseer	\$0	\$4,640								
Matthews, N.	25	715	51	Farmer	\$12,800	\$43,102								
Matthews, Peter, R.	2 Emp	457	30	Farmer	\$1,000	\$214								
Matthews, Rebecca	4	434	Female	NL	\$0	\$0								
May, Charles	6	187	47	MD	\$25,000	\$3,581	Charles {Jr.}, 22	John, 19						
Mayse, Drewry	3	302	54	Overseer	\$0	\$150								
McCalister <McAlister>, James	13	12	55	Farmer	\$3,000	\$11,278								
McCormick, Daniel, S.	5	176	58	Farmer	\$12,000	\$3,728	Beverly, D., 24	Danl. B., 18						
McKenny, J. Q. A. <Jno. Q. A. > {McKenney/McKinney, John, Q. A.}	21	76	36	Farmer	\$2,000	\$17,270								
Merryman, J. Tho. {Meriman, Jno., T.} <Merriman>	32	821	40	MD	\$7,500	\$33,973								
Mize, {Mise} Mark	1	127	66	Farmer	\$600	\$361	Wm., 25	Benj., 22	Silas, 17	Paul, 15				
Moore, Anderson	6	659	62	Farmer	\$1,000	\$4,346	Samuel, C., 17							
Moore, Joana, B.	8	162	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$8,480								
Moore, John, J. A.	4	162	24	Farmer	\$1,000	\$4,544								
Moore, Theadman? <T. E. > {believed to be Thomas, E.}	1	461	23	Overseer	\$0	\$120								
Moore, Wm., F.	4	253	39	Merchant	\$2,500	\$8,764	Thomas, A., 14							
Mooring, Wm.	2	809	55	Farmer	\$500	\$1,511								
Morgan, Jesse	1 Emp	482	57	Farmer	\$2,400	\$690	Joseph, 27	Cornelius, 22						
Morgan, Mary E.	5	651	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$11,220								
Morgan, R. J. {Richard, J.}	2 + 3 Emp	646	32	Farmer	\$100	\$3,092								
Neal, A. R. {Alexander, R.}	5 + 2 Emp?	338	33	Merchant	\$0	\$7,328								
Neal, James	22 + 3 in trust	831	71	Farmer	\$8,000	\$19,750	Henry, S., 17	Young, A. {Allen, Y.}, 14						
Neal, Wm., Y	19	582	39	Farmer	\$11,100	\$22,853								
Neblett, Collin	42	307	27	Farmer	\$18,756	\$44,824								
Neblett, Sterling, Jr.	31	854	35	MD	\$9,500 (also has property listed outside of VA which is not included in these figures)	\$30,270								

Neblett, Sterling, Sr.	36	853	67	MD	\$12,000 (also has property listed outside of VA which is not included in these figures)	\$37,925	Henry, M., 22	N. M. {Norman, W.}, 20						
Neblett, Wm., J.	36	244	37	Farmer	\$15,000	\$46,112								
Norvell, Dabney <W. D.>?	8 + 2 Emp	527	38	Farmer	\$5,000	\$6,717								
Orgain, Jno., Jr.	27	616	50	Farmer	\$12,000	\$22,579	Geo., C., 23	Edwd., B., 21	Thomas, 19	James, 15				
Osborne, Thomas, G.	7	746	55	Farmer	\$2,700	\$7,221	Jno., R., 15							
Oslin, Saml., W.	11	375	48	Farmer	\$2,000	\$8,883								
Overby, Jno., W.	3	297	31	Farmer	\$0	\$700								
Overby, Miss Mary	2	298	Female	Farmer	\$200	\$1,780								
Overton, John, E.	7 + 3 Emp	564	57	Farmer	\$2,500	\$8,157								
Pamplin, Jno. R.	3	94	29	Farmer {Carpenter}	\$0	\$277								
Parish, James <J. J.>?	1 + 6 Emp	348	30	Carpenter	\$500	\$1,120								
Parish, Joel, M.	4	255	55	Farmer	\$1,800	\$670								
Parish, Joseph, S.	3	653	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$2,811	Wm., 15							
Parish, Thomas	3 + 2 Emp	448	64	Farmer	\$2,500	\$6,450	J. W. {James, W.}, 33	Alfred, H., 39	Tho., L., 27	Daniel, W., 22				
Parish, Wm., B. (son of Parish, Joel, M.)	2	255	32	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,115								
Passmore, Wm.	3	596	24	MD	\$1,500	\$2,101								
Peace, Jno., L.	8	657	45	Farmer	\$1,200	\$8,670								
Peace, Minerva {Manerva} + others	2	639	Female	Farmer	\$1,600	\$2,816								
Peace, Saml., A.	9	447	48	Farmer	\$3,000	\$14,437								
Pearcy, Thomas, A.	1	138	33	Farmer	\$640	\$200								
Pearcy, Thomas, L.	6	209	29	Farmer	\$0	\$0								
Pearcy, Wm.	1	151	55	Farmer	\$600	\$550								
Pearson, Wm.	1	35	57	Farmer	\$1,000	\$1,350	Joseph, F., 20	John, E., 15						
Pennell, J.	4 Emp	535	48	Engineer	\$1,400	\$600								
Pennington, Cephas	1 Emp	4	31	Farmer	\$236	\$200								
Pennington, Nad?	1	7	60	Farmer	\$375	\$0	Charles D., 20							
Perry, Jos., Wm., H.	24	800	58	MD	\$10,000	\$25,380								
Pettus, Sophia	11	260	Female	Farm Ragland	\$3,000	\$6,141								
Pettus, Wyatt, H.	8	599	54	Farmer	\$5,000	\$9,298	Jno., O., 17							
Petty, John, D.	8	116	21	Farmer	\$1,900	\$6,000								
Philips, Jno., B.	16	212	38	Farmer	\$6,000	\$16,322								
Philips, Richard	5	850	71	Miller	\$4,000	\$5,800								
Philips, Robert	4	228	33	Farmer	\$1,500	\$3,726								
Philips, Wm.	4	27	29	Farmer	\$1,200	\$6,200								
Philips, Wm., L. (son of Philips, Richard)	2	850	41	Mechanic	\$0	\$1,675								
Pollard, Edward, S.	4	48	39	Farmer	\$1,640	\$3,897								
Pool, Edward A.	1 + 1 Emp	811	47	Farmer	\$3,330	\$1,268								

Potts, Geo., W.	1 Emp	452	41	Farmer	\$400	\$282								
Powers, Henry	2	309	50	Farmer	\$2,000	\$7,075	Geo., W., 22	Benja., M., 16						
Pugh, Joseph, A.	6 + 5 Emp	725	24	Millwright	\$3,000	\$6,445								
Pulley, David	13 + 1 Emp	537	55	Farmer	\$4,025	\$10,600								
R&DRR (Richmond & Danville RR?)	5 Emp	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA								
Ragsdale, Ann, E.	2	245	Female	Farmer	\$0	\$0								
Ragsdale, Joel, M.	25	191	53	Farmer	\$6,000	\$20,895	George, A., 24	Joel, B., 22	James, G., 19	Richard, E., 16	Bracy, H., 14			
Ragsdale, John, H. (son of Ragsdale, Joel, M.)	3	191	26	NL	\$0	\$4,945								
Ragsdale, Wm., H.	1	467	26	Farmer	\$671	\$670								
Raney, P. H.	4 Emp	702	46	Farmer	\$1,200	\$392								
Rany, Francis	4	194	50	Farmer	\$500	\$2,700	James, S., 14							
Rany, Peter	2	223	53	Tchr Commn Schl	\$400	\$955	Henry, D., 18							
Rany, Wm.	10	197	63	Farmer	\$4,000	\$12,590								
Rash, A. V. {believed to be Rash, Albert}	6	424	29	Farmer	\$0	\$275								
Rash, Jno.	15	724	61	Farmer	\$2,500	\$15,080	Melvinb {Melvil, C.}, 22	Joel {Joel, W.}, 21						
Rash, Robt.	24	681	58	Farmer	\$12,000	\$30,604	Thomas, A., 18	Cornelius N., 15						
Reece, Wm., A.	6	625	49	Farmer	\$1,760	\$5,712								
Reed, Jno., ? <Jno., C.>	18	713	47	{Farmer}	\$10,500	\$18,350	Wesley, C., 17							
Reese or Rux, Wm., L.	1	693	31	Farmer	\$300	\$219								
Roach, John, A.	?	332	NA	NA	Listed as Overseer on Col. Hatchell's Farm. Associated values are believed to be that of the farm as they are entered separately.	NA								
Roberts, Josiah	6 Emp	438	57	Farmer/ Taylor {Tailor}	\$1,500	\$500	Jas., H., 15							
Robertson, Ashley S.	4	10	27	Farmer	\$1,300	\$600								
Robertson, Jno., J.	1 + 1 Emp	880	58	Mechanic	\$1,200	\$1,026	Chls., H., 21	R., Emmet, 14						
Robertson, Jno., S.	1 Emp	562	26	Wheelwright	\$300	\$155								
Robertson, Peter, F.	4	267	60	Carpenter	\$1,000	\$3,445	Richd, F., 26							
Robertson, Sally, G. {Sarah, G.}	2	155	Female	Tchr Common Sch	\$1,500	\$279	Fets ? {Fitzoman /Fitz}, 15							
Robinson, James, S.	1	294	29	Farmer	\$500	\$162								

Shelburne, Silas	20	164	NL	Prchr Refrm Bapt	\$3,500	\$19,000									
Shelton, Jno., F.	4	506	41	Farmer	\$900	\$2,900	Jno., W. Jr., 14								
Singleton, Robt.	2 Emp	663	38	Farmer	\$700	\$206									
Skinner, A. B.	4 Emp	669	48	Farmer	\$432	\$0	Delantine?, 23								
Smith, Ann, M.	27 + 3 in Trust	109	Female	Farmer	\$4,000	\$21,870	Samuel, C., 27								
Smith, Benja.	28	315	63	Farmer	\$7,000	\$45,590	Geo., E., 15								
Smith, Caroline	1	150	Female	Farmer	\$500	\$940									
Smith, Celia	1	81	50	Farmer	\$600	\$6,922									
Smith, Drewry, A.	21	579	51	Farmer	\$9,600	\$43,355									
Smith, George, S.	7	515	47	Brickmason	\$2,000	\$4,570	Wm., P., 15								
Smith, James	2	229	46	Farmer	\$1,800	\$1,601									
Smith, Jno., H.	17	158	36	Farmer	\$2,000	\$10,805									
Smith, Joshua	12	184	53	Farmer	\$3,500	\$12,985	Joshua, B., 27	Algernon, 25	Henry, C., 23	C. C. {Charles}, 21	W. W. {William}, 20	Geo. L., 16	Saml. G., 14		
Smith, Mary, P.	3	434	Female	NL	\$0	\$0									
Smith, O. {Orlando}	2	774	25	Lawyer	\$0	\$5,233									
Smith, O. M.	32 (holds slaves in trust for John Bell but the number can not be determined - all listed are counted under O. M. Smith)	192	40	NL {Farmer}	\$7,500	\$28,141									
Smith, Sidney {Sydney}	15	249	25	Farmer	\$3,500	\$9,264									
Smithson, E. B. {Ephraim, B.} (son of Smithson, Mary, B.)	4	14	30	Farmer	\$500	\$4,500									
Smithson, Edwin, R.	8	40	44	Farmer	\$3,000	\$7,000									
Smithson, F. N. S.	1 + 2 Emp	15	32	Farmer	\$1,500	\$1,661									
Smithson, Jas., A. {James, A.}	15	494	68	Farmer	\$9,500	\$23,544	Thomas, R., 30								
Smithson, Jno., C.	2 Emp	368	24	Overseer	\$0	\$80									
Smithson, John, C.	8	87	37	Farmer	\$3,500	\$6,437	James, D., 15								
Smithson, Mary, B.	19	13/14	Female	Farmer	\$4,200	\$14,600									
Smithson, Wm. {William, B.}	3	134	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$276									
Smithson, Wm., J. (son of Smithson, Mary, B.)	12	17	38	Farmer	\$3,500	\$17,235									
Snead, Susan, W.	1	696	Female	Farmer	\$700	\$215									
Sneed, Saml., W.	1	299	44	Farmer	\$0	\$1,500									
Sneed, Wm., O. {Wm. C.}	4	290	49	Farmer	\$7,000	\$3,217	George, H., 15								

Thompson, John	12	261	49	Farmer	\$5,000	\$13,156							
Thompson, Mary	14	47	Female	Farmer	\$1,400	\$10,120							
Thompson, Miss Amy	8	422	Female	NL	\$0	\$1,200							
Thompson, Peter	11	421	49	Farmer	\$3,300	\$22,000							
Thompson, Wm.	2	49	25	Farmer	\$500	\$1,910							
Tisdale, Daniel, W.	9	265	40	Farmer	\$1,500	\$7,614							
Tisdale, Henry, W.	8 + 1 Emp	767	45	Hotel Keeper	\$6,000	\$8,415	Wm., H., 16						
Tisdale, Jincey	4 Emp	766	Female	Farmer	\$625	\$318	Wm., C., 18	H. M., 16					
Tisdale, Jno. R. B.	28	71	55	Farmer	\$4,240	\$27,695							
Tisdale, John, D.	15	133	51	Farmer	\$5,000	\$17,572	Antonius, T., 14						
Tisdale, Thos., R.	18	121	63	Farmer	\$2,500	\$17,585							
Townsend, Archer {Archibald}	6	80	60	Farmer	\$3,300	\$7,535							
Townsend, Joseph, P.	4	38	36	Farmer	\$1,000	\$6,987							
Townsend, Mary, A.	2	25	Female	Farmer	\$540	\$7,303							
Townsend, Wm. Sr.	5	86	55	Farmer	\$4,000	\$7,783	Saml., 19	Silas, C., 17	Wm. O., 15				
Townsend, Wm., J.	1	173	46	Farmer	\$1,500	\$300							
Tucker, Mary	5	738	Female	Farmer	\$720	\$4,417							
Tucker, Mary, A.	3	225	51	Farmer	\$400	\$1,928	Wm., 20	Jno., 18	Peter, L. {Allen?}, 16				
Tucker, Parks	2	216	43	Farmer	\$1,500	\$1,300	Robt. P., 21	Geo., N., 19	Richd., A., 14				
Tucker, R. W.	3 Emp	378	Ink Spill	Ink Spill	Ink Spill	Ink Spill							
Tunstall, Littleberry	1 Emp + 2 Trust?	804	54	Mechanic	\$400	\$529							
Turner, E. L.	1	382	Female	Farmer	\$800	\$632							
Turner, James	6	426	51	Farmer	\$1,200	\$4,765	Hiram, 20	Wm., B., 14					
Turner, Richard <Rich., W.>	6	420	49	Farmer	\$2,000	\$5,584							
Tysdale, Wm., P.	7 + 7 in Trust	325	51	Farmer	\$3,050	10255 + 6460 Trust							
Vaughan, Henry, A.	21	848	43	MD	\$2,880	\$14,817	G. W. {Waverly}, 16	H. N. {Norwood}, 14					
Waddle, James, L.	9 Emp	528	30	Carpenter	\$600	\$479							
Wagstaff, George, B.	5	113	28	Farmer	\$3,000	\$392							
Walker, James Farm	47	361 - listed with overseer - James Beverly	NA	NA	\$3,000 (value is listed under James Beverly but slaves are listed under the farm and are treated as owned by the Walker Estate)	\$39,182 (value is listed under James Beverly but slaves are listed under the farm and are treated as owned by the Walker Estate)							
Walker, Mrs. M A S	1	264	Female	NL	\$0	\$125							

Wall, Henry	7 + 3 Emp	357	42	Prchr Epsclian	\$1,900 (belonging to Parish)	\$5,642							
Wall, Joel, G.	11	119	35	Merchant	\$3,500	\$13,469							
Wall, W. H.	12	533	44	Farmer	\$3,600	\$32,530							
Wallace, Cassandra, M.	1 + 1 Emp	695	Female	Farmer	\$400	\$1,537							
Wallace, Hugh	3	333	67	Farmer	\$700	\$3,473	Benja., F., 20						
Wallace, Philip, J.	1 Emp	839	37	Overseer	\$1,750	\$2,000							
Wallace, Wm., H.	1 Emp	500	33	NL	\$100	\$250							
Ward, Benja., E.	2 + 1 Emp	834	29	Farmer	\$1,600	\$1,038							
Watkins, Joseph, L.	2	572	46	Farmer	\$2,000	\$810							
Watson, A. J. {Alexr. J.}	18	34	42	Farmer	\$3,000	\$17,468							
Watson, Frank	10	835	21	Farmer	\$6,000	\$13,290							
Watson, Jesse, A.	11	44	65	Farmer	\$2,000	\$15,850	Thos, B., 34	Robert, J., 29	John, E., 24				
Watson, Robert, J. son of Watson, Jesse, A.)	2	44	34	Overseer	\$0	\$2,100							
Watson, Thos, B. son of Watson, Jesse, A.)	1	44	29	Carpenter	\$0	\$2,200							
Watts, Gill	19	95 (same house as Lester, George, C.)	67	Farmer	\$0	\$0							
Weatherford, Amanda, W.	3 + 1 Emp	779	Female	NL	\$0	\$2,712							
Webb, Edmund, L. (son of Webb, Garner)	2	676	27	NL	\$0	\$2,170							
Webb, Garner	14	676	56	Farmer	\$6,000	\$18,926	Edmund, L., 27	Jordan, 25	Jno., A., 17				
Webb, W., W.	2 Emp	557	30	Farmer	\$0	\$192							
Webb, Wm., W.	4 + 9 Emp	346	30	Clrk of Court	\$7,000	\$4,744							
White, Mary L.	1	747	Female	NL	\$0	\$0							
White, Mary, L. (wife of White, Wm., W.)	1	747	Female	NL	\$0	\$0							
White, Wm., W.	22	747	47	Farmer	\$6,000 - actually listed under son - Edwin, slaves are listed under Wm. and counted as his property	\$25,617 - actually listed under son - Edwin, slaves are listed under Wm. and counted as his property	Edwin, 21	Francis, 15					
Wilkinson, B. J.	7 + 2 Emp	470	33	Farmer	\$2,600	\$8,358							
Wilkinson, Wm.	16	308	68	Farmer	\$6,000	\$17,525	Jno., W., 22						
Williams, David, Sr.	3	83	64	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,215							
Williams, John	4	32	58	Farmer	\$800	\$3,324							
Williams, Lucy?	1 Emp	14	Female	NL	\$0	\$0							

Williams, MEP {Mary, E. P. } <mother and son are listed as owners together as EP + VP or VR in slave schedule>	102	847	60	Farmer	\$39,000	\$96,279	V. P. {believed to be Virgnius}, 27							
Williams, R. L. B.	6	602	36	Farmer	\$1,400	\$4,238								
Williams, Ro., M.	12	331	42	Ther Prep Schl	\$4,000	\$14,677	Thomas, J., 18	Wm., F., 16						
Williams, Robert, H.	15	43	53	Farmer	\$3,000	\$14,000								
Williams, Thomas	5	531	75	NL	\$700	\$383	Malcolm, 25	Ashley, 23	Erasmus, 18	Zebulon, 15				
Williams, Wm.	1	175	32	Farmer	\$234	\$734								
Williamson, Wm.	7	807	68	Farmer	\$2,000	\$7,981	James, 23	Robt., A., 21						
Wills, James	2	402	47	Overseer	\$0	\$385								
Willson, Josiah B. Sr.	1	181	65	Retired Farmer	\$3,500	\$4,115								
Willson, Josiah, B., Jr.	9	180	29	Farmer	\$3,500	\$4,115								
Willson, Mary, A.	3	182	Female	None	\$0	\$4,750								
Wilson, Edward {Edward, A. }	16	106	31	MD	\$6,000	\$16,448								
Wilson, Paul	20	1	43	Farmer	\$7,000	\$19,600	James, A., 14							
Wilson, R. B. {likely Robert B. }	7 + 6 Emp	610	30	Farmer	\$8,000	\$10,918								
Wilson, Wm {William A. } (son of Wilson, Paul)	1	1	16	NL	\$0	\$0								
Wilson, WM, E.	21	112	49	Farmer	\$10,000	\$21,111								
Wilson, Wm. S.	20	22	55	Farmer	\$3,050	\$17,520								
Winfree, Isaac	10	70	55	Farmer	\$1,500	\$8,890								
Winn, Chasteen	1 Emp	796	52	Farmer	\$0	\$494								
Winn, Edmund, C.	35 (+ 5 in Trust for Molly Hardy)	98 (same house as Hays, John M.	57	Farmer	\$10,000	\$34,757								
Winn, Elizabeth, A. (E. A. J.)	12	73	Female	Farmer	\$1,200	\$12,560	Wm. C., 20	Lewis, E., 17	Corbin, A. {Corban}, 15					
Winn, Frances, E.	5	751	58	Farmer	\$3,000	\$6,612	Lewellen, C., 19							
Winn, James	1	760	83	Farmer	\$325	\$660								
Winn, Tho. W.	11	363	54	Farmer	\$8,500	\$10,130								
Winn, Thomas	6	802	77	NL	\$0	\$3,650								
Wise, Lew	2 Emp	812	35	Painter	\$0	\$0								
Wood, Caroline, E.	4	80	Female	School Teacher	\$1,500	\$3,736								
Wood, G. A.	19	780	45	Farmer	\$6,000	\$16,624								
Wood, John, S.	5	505	21	Farmer	\$5,400	\$3,700								
Wood, Malone {Mildred}	12	838	74	Farmer	\$5,000	\$11,600								
Woodson, T. S. ? {Tscharner}	48	497	51	Att. at Law	\$12,000	\$52,360	Beverly, 16							
Woodson, Wm. {William M. }	2 + 2 Emp	813	51	MD	\$1,100	\$2,308	Abner {T.}, 26	Miller, 20	Douglas{s}, 17					
Wootton, Wm., H.	6 + 1 Emp	754	30	Farmer	\$3,000	\$6,775								
Wrenn, Susan	6	77	Female	Farmer	\$400	\$9,950								

APPENDIX B

MALE MILITARY-AGE-ELIGIBLE LUNENBURG COUNTY SLAVEOWNERS AND SLAVE EMPLOYERS

Data is presented as it was originally entered in Schedule 2, "Slave Inhabitants" ("Slave Schedule") and Schedule 1 "Free Inhabitants" ("Population Census") of the 1860 Federal Census.

Data indicated within < > represents differences between information entered in the "Slave Schedule" when compared to the "Population Census".

Data indicated within { } is additional/different information from other Federal Census sources.

Data indicated within [] is additional information from military records - Compiled Service Records (CSR).

Name	Slaves	House #	Age	Occupation	Real Estate Value	Personal Estate Value	Military Service	Unit	Rank	Date of Enlistment	Wounded	Captured	Killed/Died	Notes	Notes
Almond, J. J. {Almand?}	5	156	35	MD	\$2,000	\$3,485									
Andrews, James, O.	1 Emp	856	22	Overseer	\$0	\$75									
Andrews, Langston, C.	2	219	40	Farmer	\$1,200	\$2,708								Both 1850 Census transcripts list Langston as 35 years old	
Andrews, Wm., S. [William Sterling]	5	233	33	Farmer	\$7,250	\$4,190	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862				Pres. in arrest in guard house in 12/64 - no details given	Detailed as Wood Cutter - 10/31/62
Ashworth, Jonathan [Jonathan S.]	1	334	27	Farmer	\$0	\$1,211	YES	Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/24/1862 - Conscript					
Atkinson, B. M. {Benjamin, C. M.?	7 + 1 Emp	774	30	MD	\$3,000	\$8,627									
Atwell, A. R.	2	502	32	Millwright	\$770	\$3,130									
Averett [Averette], Chappell [Chaphill], E.	2	338	39	NL	\$1,600	\$2,450	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav. & Company K, 1st Reg. VA Resvs.	Pvt. & Capt.	6/7/1861 & 4/20/64 (date elected Capt.)				Discharged - sick 5/18/63 age 43	
Bagley, Wm. M. {Wm., McCraw}	8	207	40	Farmer	\$5,000	\$3,100									
Bailey, A. J. L. [Albert J. L.]	1 Emp	165	28	Overseer	\$0	\$30	YES	Company C, 28th Btn VA Inf. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/24/1862 - Conscript					Letter of Jan 8, 1864 requests leave to return home as his father had recently died. Request was from Co. Capt. and noted Bailey was "good and worthy soldier". Request was approved.
Barnes, Jno, B.	13	56	29	Farmer	\$4,000	\$11,000									

Barns [Barnes], Joseph, D.	3 + 5 Emp	508	35	Farmer	\$4,370	\$3,550	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	11/1/1863				Discharged by Order of Gov. Smith - 6/16/64
Barns, A. G. {Barnes, Asa} {Barner}	13 + 2 Emp	701	38	Farmer	\$4,375	\$12,653								
Bayne, Jno., S. {Bayn}	21	778	39	MD	\$1,500	\$31,800								
Bell, Adam	13	862	20	Farmer	\$7,000	\$20,000	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Absent sick from outset, discharged (lung disease) 2/4/62	
Bishop, James [J. H.]	4	291	34	Farmer	\$350	\$444	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/12/1864 - Conscript				
Blackwell, W. Thweat {William T.?	23	399	35	Farmer	\$7,000	\$24,190								
Blackwell, Wm. T.	13 + 9 in Trust or Emp	373	34	Farmer (2 farms)	\$9,635	\$12,280								
Blackwell, Wm., F. {William Flethcer?}	38	723	35	Farmer	\$16,200	\$46,270								
Bowen, Henry {H. L.? [Henry L.]	1	327	33	Overseer	\$0	\$100	YES	Company A, 8th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/27/1862	Wded. - Gettysburg, July 1863 - right foot & wded., 8/64	Captured - Gettysburg, July 1863		
Bragg, Wm., J.	22	706	26	Farmer	\$8,000	\$22,585								
Brideforth, Geo., P. <B.> {Bridgeforth, George Baskerville.}	27	359	36	Farmer	\$6,300	\$12,596								
Browder, George, E.	12 + 2 Emp	666	37	Farmer	\$3,500	\$4,452	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company E, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/1/1862 & 9/16/1864 - Conscript				
Brown, Aaron	20	673	40	Farmer	\$3,256	\$18,110								
Bruce, Robert [R. L.]	7	532	29	Farmer	\$5,000	\$8,024	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/9/1864 - Conscript				
Bryant, Jno., W.	1 + 2 Emp	688	39	Manager of farm	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Discharged 9/9/62 - over age	

Brydie, Robt., B. [Brydy]	9 + 2 Emp	650	35	Farmer	\$3,600	\$12,714	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/12/1864 - Conscript					
Buckner, George, W.	3 Emp	753	33	Overseer	\$0	\$80	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf. & Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	12/31/1861 & 2/19/1863				Discharged from the 22nd Btn. - 5/27/62	
Callis, Robt., N. [Robert M.]	1	383	30	Farmer	\$1,500	\$400	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H(2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861				Discharged 9/9/62 - over age 35?	
Campbell, John	1	135	35	Farmer [Carpenter]	\$1,600	\$2,227	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861	Wded. in arm at Gaines' Mill - 6/27/62		Killed - Gettysburg 7/3/63		
Carwiles, James, T.	1 Emp	542	27 [38?]	Blacksmith	\$0	\$260	YES	Company H, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/7/1861 - \$50 Bounty due			Muster Roll of 4/30/62 lists as being sick since 7/12/61 and repaying the \$50 bounty		
Clark, Hatcher, Jr. [Hatcher F.]	1 Emp	841	24	Farmer	\$0	\$1,680	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861		POW - Farmville G. H. 4/6/65			
Clark, James {James H.}	1 Emp	830	29	Farmer	\$1,300	\$530	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861		POW - Falmouth, VA - 4/17/62 & Front Royal - 5/30/62	Detailed "on special duty at hospital as nurse" - 7 or 8/1861 & Detailed as ambulance driver - 7 or 8/64	POW -released July 5, 1862 AWOL 9 or 10, 62 - "excused by Co. Comdg"?	
Cox, Geo., W.	8	320	20	MD	\$4,250	\$9,405	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861				Discharged for Disability 2/1/62	
Cox, James, J.	24	349	21	Farmer	\$2,200	\$25,500									
Crafton, Washington	1 Emp	569	33	Farmer	\$1,100	\$358									
Cralle, R. R. [Richard, J] [R. J.]	32	728	26	Farmer	\$4,000	\$38,755	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	10/13/1863		Captured - 4/3/65 - Amelia			
Crawley, Thomas, G. {Cralle}	12	166	39	Farmer	\$2,500	\$8,600									

Crow, Sterling, L.	11	243	39	Farmer	\$1,400	\$7,280											
Crymes, George [George A.]	13	786	36	Farmer	\$4,500	\$17,955	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861	WIA Chancellorsville - 5/2/63 - Wded in right hip by exploding shell						
Crymes, Leonard	17	788	39	Farmer	\$3,000	\$24,173	YES - PWR - Con.	Company K, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	NL	wded. per Pension App. - left hand						Detailed to guard the rear, due to old age - per pension app.
Crymes, Leonard	3	822	27	Farmer	\$2,000	\$5,019	YES	5th Congressional District Mounted Guard & Company K, 13th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/1/1863 (date of pay due) & 11/1/1864 - Conscript							
Dance, Wm. S. [Wesley, S.]	9	68	27	Farmer	\$4,200	\$9,332	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861							Sick - furnished Michael McIntyre as substitute 11/11/62
Davis, Jno., C. W.	1 Emp	711	31	Overseer [Farmer]	\$0	\$85	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & 28th VA Inf. Btn.	Pvt.	6/11/1861							Died - Heart Disease - July 10, 1862
Davis, John, D.	1 + 1 Emp	543	26	Wagoner	\$0	\$2,353											
Davis, Lewis	11	103	34	Farmer	\$2,500	\$10,630											
Davis, Robt., H.	3	242	39	Farmer	\$1,200	\$2,936	YES	Company K, 1st. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864							Detailed "for Public Necessity" 11 or 12/64
Davis, Wm. T.	4	163	26	Farmer	\$3,000	\$3,636	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861							
Dupriest, Malachi	1 + 1 Emp	677	39	Overseer	\$0	\$240	YES	Company K, 1st. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864							Detailed "for Public Necessity" 8/64

Dyson, Francis, A.	15	581	24	Farmer (2 farms) [Planter]	\$4,000	\$17,783	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav. & Company F, 2nd VA Art. (PWR 2nd Art.)	Pvt. & NL	5/10/1861 & NL			Discharged for disability (stomach) 6/61
Elder, Edward, M. (son of Elder, Harrison, J.)	1	130	29	Overseer	\$0	\$1,395	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company E., 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 - \$50 Bounty due & 9/10/1864		Died in service per PWR	Discharged by Surgeon 11/23/62
Ellis, Edwin, F.	10	26	28	Farmer	\$3,000	\$7,000	YES	Company C, 28th Btn. VA Inf. & Company H(2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/28/1862 - Conscript			
Ellis, Thomas, J.	7	588	39	Farmer	\$1,600	\$5,060							
Ellis, Wm., F.	4	503	39	Farmer	\$1,100	\$3,512							
Farley, Jno., H.	1 Emp	709	24	Wheelwright	\$0	\$142	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/28/1862 - \$50 Bounty received	Wded. - in the leg at Gaines Mill - 6/27/62	Died at home 7/9/62	
Farley, Paul, A.	6	578	39	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,580							
Featherston, Joshua, J. (son of Featherston, Mrs., A.)	3	409	29	Overseer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Ist. Corp.	5/20/1861			
Featherston, Wm., B.	2 + 4 Emp	413	32	Farmer	\$1,000	\$3,611	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	2/2/1863 - \$50 Bounty due			Detailed as Nurse - 12/31/63
Fitzgerald, David, C. [David Crawley]	14 + 2 Emp	719	31	Farmer	\$3,900	\$11,330		Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/30/1862		POW Amelia Court House 4/3/65	
Flippin, Wm., T. [Flippen, William Thomas]	1 + 2 Emp	275	37	Merchant	\$1,500	\$8,525	YES	Company C, 3rd VA Lt. Art. (Local Defense) & Company C, 18th VA Inf.	NL & Pvt.	5/6/1862 (date of petition) & 3/7/1864 - Conscript		Captured 4/3/65	Signed petition requesting regular military service and transfer to 5th Cavalry - does not appear to have served in Cav.
Forest [Forrest], Wm., B. (son of Forest, Richd.)	2	763	22	NL	\$0	\$2,100	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Died of fever 9/25/1861
Foster, Wm., H.	13	720	23	Farmer	\$5,000	\$13,807	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862		Captured 7/4/63 - Gettysburg	

Foulkes [Foulks/Fowlkes], Egbert, E.	6	565	25	Farmer	\$3,201	\$8,157	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862				Provided Matthew L. Foster as Sub 7/1/62 and discharged	
Foulkes [Fowlkes], Calvin, B.	2 Emp	748	33	Farmer	\$1,150	\$517		Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	7/6/1864 - Conscript			POW Aberdeen Run 4/3/65		
Fuqua, Isaih {Isaiah}	1 Emp	828	36	Carpenter	\$134	\$0									
Garland, Jno. R.	46	152	39	Farmer	\$20,000	\$46,460									
Garland, Robt., C. [Robert Cheely]	1 Emp	439	33	Farmer	\$1,600	\$426	YES	Company H, 55th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/24/1861			Captured 7/1/63 - Gettysburg	Listed as deserting 7/1/63, actually captured 7/3 or 7/4 per POW roll. Sent to Ft. Delaware. POW Roll dated 8/30/63 indicates he is listed as "roll of prisoners of war at Fort Delaware, Del. desirous of entering the service of the U. S."	POW card lists "joined U.S. 3rd MD Cav. by S. O. S of War" However, Pension App of wife, Lucy J Garland lists unit as 2nd VA Art.
Gary, James	4	186	22	Farmer	\$0	\$3,917									
Gary, Wm., S.	2 + 2 Emp	741	24	Merchant	\$3,100	\$6,220									
Gaulding {Gaulden}, Jno., R. [Gauldin, J. R.]	8	878	27	Farmer	\$2,000	\$8,426	YES	Company E, 8th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/24/1862					
Gaulding, Drewry, E. {Gaulden, Drury, E.} [D. E.]	12	817	38	Farmer	\$2,000	\$3,464	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/3/1863 - Conscript				Discharged for disability (heart disease) 4/23/64, age 42	
Gee, Edward, C.	5	676	23	MD	\$0	\$7,050									
Gee, Lewis, M. [L. M.]	16	195	37	Farmer	\$4,000	\$17,380	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	7/28/1864 - Conscript					

Hamlin, Wm., C.	9 + 1 Emp	668	39	Farmer	\$0	\$8,257	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	4/21/1864 or 9/8/1864 (both dates are used) - Conscript						
Hammock, Samuel	1	641	31	Laborer	\$0	\$0	XXXXXX XXXXXX	Listed in census as "Insane"	XXXXXX XXXXXX XX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX X	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX	
Harding, Benja.	1 Emp	555	23	Carpenter	\$0	\$90	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/19/1861					Discharged Dec., 28 1861 - eye disease	
Harding, Robert. S. [Robert T.]	3 Emp	541	26	Merchant	\$0	\$5,207	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	1st. Lt.	1/21/1862				Died 7/10/62 or 6/25/62 (both dates used) - no details given		
Harding, Wm. A. (son of Harding, Wm. J.)	3	78	23	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company A, 22nd Btn VA Inf. & Company H(2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862 - trans to 59th 1/8/63			POW - Burkeville - 4/6/65			
Hardy, Charles, B. [Charles Betts] (son of Hardy, Permelia)	4	727	30	Suptndt on farm	\$2,600	\$4,100		Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/5/1862	Wded. 6/9/63 - Brandy Station & 6/64					
Hardy, Geo., W.	20 + 1 Emp	586	38	Farmer	\$10,000	\$16,000										
Hardy, Joseph, Y.	16	576	36	Farmer	\$7,000	\$19,530										
Harrison, C. G. {George C.}	1 Emp	520	38	Carpenter	\$500	\$140										
Haskins, C. C. [Christopher, C.]	18 + 5 Emp	408	40	Farmer & Trader	\$7,000	\$19,273	YES	Company B, 3rd VA Art. (Local Defense)	1st Lt.	Earliest record is appointment to Lt. dated 2/5/1862						
Hatchell {Hatchett}, Jno., R.	25	714	38	Farmer	\$12,500	\$27,770										
Hatchell {Hatchett}, Peter, M. [Peter Monfort]	16	717	28	Farmer	\$6,000	\$20,653	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	4th. Sgt.	6/7/1861				Sick most of 1861 - Discharged for disability 2/9/62		

Hatchell, B. A. Sr. {Branch Archer}	38 (between two farms)	705	40	Farmer (2 farms)	\$4,000 / \$7,300	\$18,726	YES	5th Congressional District Mounted Guard & Company K, 13th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/1/1863 (date of pay due) & 11/1/64 - Conscript						
Hatchell, Lew (believed to be Hatchell, L. E. {Hatchett, Lewelling})	12	705	30	MD	\$5,200	\$11,225										
Hawthorne, Thomas {Hawthorn} (son of Hawthorne, Peter)	1	435	26	Overseer	\$0	\$4,640										
Hays, John, M. (same house as Winn, Edmund)	1	98	34	NL	\$0	\$1,675										
Higgins, F. R. [Francis, R.]	1 Emp	536	27	Laborer	\$0	\$1,205	YES	Company G (2nd), 41st VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/10/1862 - Bounty due						
Hines, James, R.	4	395	28	Farmer	\$400	\$374	YES	Company G (3), 59th VA Inf.	NL	10/21/1864 - Conscript						
Hines, Wm., L.	2	384	28	Farmer	\$500	\$268										
Hite, Jus. (James), L.	40	369	38	Farmer (2 farms)	\$9,000	\$37,319	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 9/1/1863				Died - Typhoid fever - 8/15/64		
Hite, Lew [Lewellyn Jones]	19	403	21	Farmer	\$7,500	\$20,000	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	3rd. Corp. & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 1/20/1864 - Conscript (volunteered)			POW - Rich Mt. 7/11/61		Appears to be discharged 8/25/61 after being released as POW	
Hite, Wm. L.	25	400	35	Farmer	\$10,000	\$29,595	YES	Company E, 14th VA Inf. & Company A, 3rd VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/10/1864 - transfer date to 3rd Cav. not listed						

Hurt, M., A. [Mumford A. & Mumford B.]	4 + 24 in Estate - Appears to be responsible for the Estate holdings of the Jas. Neal farm	583	26	Manager - Jas. Neal Farm	\$0 / \$9,486	\$3,585 / \$15,574	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav. & Company E., 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/7/1861 & 3/15/1862			Detailed to Hospital as Nurse - 7-8/61	Discharged 12/16/61
Hyden, M. B.	1	267	26	Engineer	\$0	\$2,450								
Inge, Vincent	5 Emp	462	36	Farmer (2 farms)	\$1,568	\$547								
Inge, Wesley	1	637	31	Farmer	\$0	\$580								
Inge, Wm. [William B.]	5	160	38	Farmer	\$3,500	\$560	YES	Company I, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/5/1862				
Ingraham {Ingram}, Edwd (son of Ingraham, Alice)	3	248	27 {13}	Overseer	\$2,000	\$5,500								
Ingraham {Ingram}, Saml., H.	7	250	35	Farmer	\$0	\$4,400	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861			Discharged 7/24/61 - no reason given	
Jackson, George, C.	16	765	27	Farmer	\$4,000	\$19,680								
Jennings, Joseph	44 (includes two separate listings; one for 4 and one for 40)	798	38	Farmer	\$10,200	\$47,994								
Jeter, James, E.	1	326	36	Farmer	\$600	\$415	YES	5th Congressional District Mounted Guard & Company K, 13th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/1/1863 (date of pay due) & 11/4/1864 - Conscript				

Johns, Alfred, N. [Alfred Napoleon]	12	820	38	Farmer	\$3,200	\$16,695	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	NL- only record is for hospitalization in Farmville 1/31/65					
Johns, Jno., A.	3	337	32	MD	\$2,000	\$34,711									
Jones, J. R. {John, R.} [John Robert]	4 + 2 Emp	667	37	Farmer	\$1,840	\$5,782	YES	Company E, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/10/1864 - Conscript		POW - Five Forks - 4/1/65			
Jordan, M. M. {Matthew M.}	2	330	37	Carpenter	\$1,000	\$132									
Justice, Wm., C. [W. T.]	4 + 4 Emp	661	38	Farmer	\$2,751	\$5,545	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	9/9/1863					
Kirk, George, M.	2 + 5 Emp	643	28	Farmer	\$0	\$2,600	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	1st Sgt.	3/1/1862		Captured - Farmville 4/6/65			
Kirk, George, W.	2 + 1 Emp	642	35	Farmer	\$1,500	\$3,014	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	9/2/1863 - \$50 Bounty due				Detailed as laborer in post garden 10/63	
Kirk, Joseph, P.	4 Emp	665	24	Farmer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B(3), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/3/1861		Captured - Nottoway Bridge - 5/8/64	Died 9/15/64 - Chronic Diarrhea - Elmira, NY	Detailed to build Col.'s Quarters 11/62	
Kirk, W. W. {William W.}	1	645	38	Manager of Farm	\$0	\$1,783									
Knight, David, H. (overseer for Ann Lipscomb)	2	57	38	Overseer	\$0	\$2,555	YES - PWR - Con.	Company G, 56th VA Inf.	NL	NL			KIA - Hatcher's Run		
Knight, Dr. O. M. [Oscar Mansfield]	35	845	35	MD	\$9,600	\$38,150	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	2nd Lt. - Grad. VMI	6/7/1861				Resigned 11/9/62 - ill health and owning 20 negroes	
Knight, George, S. [George T.]	6	603	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$5,440	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/3/1864 - Conscript					
Laffoon, Jesse, G.	1	406	30	Overseer	\$0	\$55	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company D, 18th VA Infantry	Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 2/14/1863 - Conscript	Wded - Gettysburg - July 3, 1863	POW - Gettysburg			
Laffoon, Nortimer {Mortimore} [Mortimer, M.]	2 Emp	441	34	Farmer	\$800	\$456	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G(3), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt. & 3rd Lt. & NL	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862 & 10/21/1864 - Conscript		POW - Farmville 4/6/1865			

Lester, George, C. [George Craghead] (same house as Watts, Gill)	9	95	22	Farmer	\$3,000	\$16,395	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	2nd. Lt. & Pvt.	5/21/1861 & 1/25/1862			Captured - Sailor's Creek 4/6/65		Resigned 7/17/61 - submits to Gen. Lee "to withdraw his tender of resignation" - 7/22/61	Elected 2nd Lt. then 1st Lt. of Lunenburg Rebel Art. and detailed (2/28/63) as Recruiting Officer
Lester, Wm., B {William Bryant?}	2	18	27	Merchant	\$1,500	\$2,575										
Lipscomb, Alpheus {Alpheus B.}	1	89	39	Overseer [Farmer]	\$0	\$135	YES	Company C, 21st VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/20/1861			Killed 7-8/62			
Love, Jennings {Jennings, M.}	6	179	23	Farmer	\$1,750	\$511	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	2/9/1863 - \$50 bounty due & 8/11/1864 - likely as a Conscript					Discharged from 2nd Art. on 7/1/63 after providing a substitute	
Love, Thomas, G. {Thomas, J.} [Love, T. J.]	10	198	40	Farmer	\$3,000	\$9,915	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav	Pvt.	8/18/1864 - Conscript						
Love, Wm. A. {William H.}	6	183	35	Farmer	\$0	\$3,910										
Marable [Murable], Joseph, E. (son of Marable, Hartwell)	1	36	30	MD	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 28th Btn VA Inf. & Company H(2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/28/1862					Discharged 10/23/62 - Disability Certificate	
Marable, James, H. [J. H.]	5	252	38	Farmer	\$3,000	\$6,000	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/2/1864 - Conscript						
Marshall, Abraham {Abraham, W.}	16	365	28	Farmer	\$6,000	\$25,000										
Marshall, Frank [Francis Quinton]	1 + 2 Emp	722	22	Farmer	\$3,000	\$1,774	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/28/1862		Hospitalized in Farmville, VA for Gunshot. Wded - July 1863				

Marshall, Wm. S. [Wm. L.]	2	90	31	Farmer	\$0	\$1,830	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/19/1862				Military records list a Wm. S and Wm. L. both from Lunenburg County who enlisted n the same day and at the same place. Only Wm. S. was found in the census and this may be the same individual.
Matthews, Drewry [Drewery, J.]	2 Emp	680	30	Carpenter	\$0	\$50	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.		1/25/1862			Died on 3/31/62, no cause given	
Matthews, Jno., A.	4 Emp	655	38	Carpenter	\$0	\$100	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Discharged for being over 40 - 9/9/62 Age - 41	
Matthews, Jones	3	434	40	NL	\$0	\$0								
Matthews, Peter, R.	2 Emp	457	30	Farmer	\$1,000	\$214	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/20/1861 - \$50 Bounty due				
McKenny, J. Q. A. (Jno. Q. A.) {McKenney/McKinney, John, Q. A.} [McKinney, John Quincy Adams]	21	76	36	Farmer	\$2,000	\$17,270	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861				
Merryman, J. Tho. {Merriman, Jno., T.} <Merriman>	32	821	40	MD	\$7,500	\$33,973								
Moore, John, J. A.	4	162	24	Farmer	\$1,000	\$4,544	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/2/1864 - Conscript				

Moore, Theadman? <T. E.> [T. E.] {believed to be Thomas, E.}	1	461	23	Overseer	\$0	\$120	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	8/24/1862				Detailed in Commissary Dept. 10/31/64		
Moore, Wm., F. [W. F.]	4	253	39	Merchant	\$2,500	\$8,764	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. (PWR - Confirmed) & Company K, 1st. Regt. VA Resvs.	NL & Pvt.	NL & 7/14/1864				Discharged - sick in Farmville Hosp. since 12/29/64, discharged by Medical Board - 1/19/65	Pension Application lists Reserve unit only	
Morgan, R. J. {Richard, J.}	2 + 3 Emp	646	32	Farmer	\$100	\$3,092	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G (3), 59th VA Inf. &	Pvt. & NL	3/17/1862 & 10/21/1864 - Conscript			POW - Amelia Co. - 4/7/65			
Neal, A. R. {Alexander, R.}	5 + 2 Emp	338	33	Merchant	\$0	\$7,328										
Neal, Wm., Y	19	582	39	Farmer	\$11,100	\$22,853										
Neblett, Collin	42 (may include holdings in NC as well as VA)	307	27	Farmer	\$18,756 (figures appear to include values in both VA and NC)	\$44,824 (figures appear to include values in both VA and NC)	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	1st. Lt.	5/20/1861				Resigned 6/26/61 - no reason given		
Neblett, Sterling, Jr.	31	854	35	MD	\$9,500 (also has property listed outside of VA which is not included in these figures)	\$30,270 (also has property listed outside of VA which is not included in these figures)	YES	Company H, 24th VA Inf.	Appted Surgeon 6/3/1861					Co. of the 24th was from Martinsville VA, and was also a DR.		
Neblett, Wm., J.	36	244	37	Farmer	\$15,000	\$46,112										
Norvell, Dabney <W. D.>?	8 + 2 Emp	527	38	Farmer	\$5,000	\$6,717										
Overby, Jno., W.	3	297	31	Farmer	\$0	\$700										

Pamplin, Jno. R.	3	94	29	Farmer {Carpenter}	\$0	\$277	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Btn. Inf. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	7/26/1861 - \$50 Bounty due	Wded May 1, 1862			
Parish, James <J. J.??> {John J. or I.??}	1	348	30	Carpenter	\$500	\$1,120	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	8/24/1862				
Parish, Joseph, S.	3	653	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$2,811								
Parish, Wm., B. (son of Parish, Joel, M.)	2	255	32	Farmer	\$1,200	\$3,115	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Btn. Inf. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Discharged 9/9/62	
Passmore, Wm. [William Tennyson]	3	596	24	MD	\$1,500	\$2,101	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt. - assigned Surgeon Aug. 1861	6/7/1861				
Pearcy [Piercy], Thomas, L.	6	209	29	Farmer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 - \$50 Bounty due				
Pearcy, Thomas, A. {Percy and Piercy}	1	138	33	Farmer	\$640	\$200								
Pennington, Cephas	1 Emp	4	31	Farmer	\$236	\$200								
Petty, John, D. [John Daniel]	8	116	21	Farmer	\$1,900	\$6,000	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861 - rejoined Company 2/19/1863			Discharged 1/18/62 - "Physical Disability"	On duty as Nurse; 7-8/61, Clerk ; 5/-6/63, Teamster 7/64, and in Quarter Master's Dept.; 8-11/64
Phil{I}ips, Jno., B.	16	212	38	Farmer	\$6,000	\$16,322	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Discharged 12/28/1861 - Disability (age 39)	
Phil{I}ips, Robert	4	228	33	Farmer	\$1,500	\$3,726								

Phil{I}ips, Wm. [William W.]	4	27	29	Farmer	\$1,200	\$6,200	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Btn. Inf. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861 - rejoined Company 7/25/64			KIA - The Crater - 7/30/64	Discharged 11/4/62 - furnished Substitute
Pollard, Edward, S.	2	48	39	Farmer	\$1,640	\$3,897								
Pugh, Joseph, A.	6 + 5 Emp	725	24	Millwright	\$3,000	\$6,445								
Ragsdale, John, H. (son of Ragsdale, Joel, M.)	3	191	26	NL	\$0	\$4,945	YES - PWR - Con.	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	NL	NL - Substitution papers dated 10/18/1862				
Ragsdale, Wm., H.	1	467	26	Farmer	\$671	\$670	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/20/1861 - \$50 Bounty due				
Rash, A. V. {believed to be Rash, Albert}	6	424	29	Farmer	\$0	\$275	YES	Company A, Camp Guard, VA Conscripts (Camp Lee)	Pvt.	2/8/1863				Discharged by Medical Board - 3/31/63
Reese or Rux, Wm., L. [Reese, W. L.]	1	693	31	Farmer	\$300	\$219	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861				
Robertson, Ashley S.	4	10	27	Farmer	\$1,300	\$600	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/20/1864				Pension App lists 22nd Btn - no record in 22nd Btn. could be found
Robertson, Jno., S.	1 Emp	562	26	Wheelwright	\$300	\$155	YES	Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	6/8/1863				
Robinson, James, S. {Likely Robertson} [Robertson, James Sydnor]	1	294	29	Farmer	\$500	\$162	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	9/5/1862				Detailed as wood cutter and to get shingles - 12/31/63 and to Quarter Master's Dept.

Rowlett, Aurelius {Aurelius, C.} [Aurelius, E.]	12	551	21	None	\$0	\$15,200	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861		POW- Thompson's Cross Roads - 5/4/63	Died 5/28/63 - No cause given	On "Special Duty" as Nurse 7/61. Also, detailed in Quarter Master's Dept. 1-2/62???	Mother filed claim and received \$154.51 for Clothing commutation pay due and "use and risk" of horse
Royal, Tilman {Royall, Tilman B.}	1 Emp	566	28	Brick mason	\$500	\$201									
Rudd, Wm. S.	19	210	33	Farmer	\$3,000	\$9,560									
Ryland, Joseph [Joseph, T.]	1	99	32	Overseer [Farmer]	\$0	\$490	YES	Company K, 1st. Regt. VA Res.	Pvt.	5/23/1864				Detailed with Engineers at Danville, VA 11/64	
Satterfield, James [James W.]	1 + 1 Emp	787	38	Farmer	\$1,500	\$486	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861					
Shelburne {Shelburn}, Thomas	1	164	32	Overseer	\$0	\$4,430									
Singleton, Robt. [R. G. ?]	2 Emp	663	38	Farmer	\$700	\$206	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company K, 1st. Regt., VA Res.	Pvt. & Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 7/14/1864				Detailed with Engineers at Danville, VA 11/64	
Smith, Jno., H.	17	158	36	Farmer	\$2,000	\$10,805	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	4/2/1864 - Conscript		Aberdeen Church 4/3/65			
Smith, O. {Orlando}	2	774	25	Lawyer	\$0	\$5,233	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	3rd Sgt.	6/7/1861				Resigned 1/17/63 Physical disability	
Smith, O. M. [Orlando, M.]	32	192	40	NL {Farmer}	\$7,500	\$28,141	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861				Discharged for disability 1/22/62, age 42	
Smith, Sidney {Sydney}	15	249	25	Farmer	\$3,500	\$9,264									
Smithson, E. B. {Ephraim, B.} (son of Smithson, Mary, B.)	4	14	30	Farmer	\$500	\$4,500	YES	Company B, 22nd VA Btn Inf.	Pvt.	NL - Earliest record is a receipt for clothing - 12/64		Captured - Farmville - 4/6/65	Died 6/10/65 - Dysentery		
Smithson, F. N. S. {Frederick S. N. and Frederick S. M.}	1 + 2 Emp	15	32	Farmer	\$1,500	\$1,661									

Smithson, Jno., C.	2 Emp	368	24	Overseer	\$0	\$80									
Smithson, John, C.	8	87	37	Farmer	\$3,500	\$6,437									
Smithson, Wm. {William, B.} [W. B.]	3	134	36	Farmer	\$1,500	\$276	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	2/4/1863					Discharged 5/27/63 - Provided John Hart as a Substitute
Smithson, Wm., J. [W. J.] (son of Smithson, Mary, B.)	12	17	38	Farmer	\$3,500	\$17,235	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/11/1864 - Conscript					
Staples, Egbert, A. (son of Staples, Mrs. Jane, C.)	4 + 7 Emp	556	21	Farmer	\$3,000	\$10,211	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	3rd Corp.	6/7/1861					
Staples, Silvetus, A. {Servitus, A.} [Servetus, A.]	12	169	28	Farmer	\$3,500	\$9,385	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	1st. Corp.	6/7/1861, no further record until listed as conscript 8/2/64					Appears to leave unit and later be conscripted back
Stewart, Norice, H. {Norris}	2 Emp	648	34	Farmer	\$500	\$282	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G(3), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 10/21/1864 - Conscript					No record in 2nd Art after 6/62
Stokes, David, R. [David Rittenhouse]	42	236	36	Farmer	\$9,000	\$44,488	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Capt.	5/20/1861					Resigned 7/17/61 - submits to Genl Lee "wishes to withdraw his tender of resignation" - 7/22/61
Stokes, Edwd., H. (son of Stokes, Jane., J.)	22 + 2 Emp	810	35	Trader	\$9,000	\$25,815									
Stokes, Wm., H. [William Henry]	9	552	22	Farmer	\$3,000	\$11,500	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/9/1861					POW - Falmouth, VA 4/17/62
Stone, James, W.	1	476	32	Wheelwright	\$0	\$110	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861					Arrested for desertion; drummed out of service with no pay Jan. 19, 1862
Street, Waddy {Waddie} (son of Street, Mrs. Nancy)	18	795	29 [39]	NL [Farmer]	\$3,500	\$23,875	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/9/1861					Discharged by Surgeon 6/26/1861
Sturdivant, Marcus	6	407	32	MD	\$1,500	\$7,462									

Tarry {Terry}, George, W.	11	120	31	Farmer	\$4,000	\$7,080	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861		POW Culpepper C. H. - 4/29/63 or Fredericksburg 5/3/63 both listed			
Taylor, Harrel {H. W.}	1 Emp	404	32	Farmer	\$1,200	\$450	YES	Company D, 28th Btn. VA Inf. & Company I (3), 59th VA Inf.	5th Sgt.	5/20/1862					
Thompson, Wm.	2	49	25	Farmer	\$500	\$1,910									
Tisdale, Daniel, W.	9	265	40	Farmer	\$1,500	\$7,614	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861		POW - Rich Mt. 7/13/61 (age 41)			
Townsend [Townsen], Joseph, P.	4	38	36	Farmer	\$1,000	\$6,987	YES	Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/9/1863	Wded. - 6/18/64		Died of wounds in Petersburg Hosp. - 6/19/64		
Waddle, James, L.	9 Emp	528	30	Carpenter	\$600	\$479	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861	WIA - Chancellorsville 5/3/63				
Wagstaff, George, B.	5	113	28	Farmer	\$3,000	\$392	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	Wded. sometime between April & September 1864 - roll dated 9/30/64				
Wall, Joel, G. {Joel Gibbon}	11	119	35	Merchant	\$3,500	\$13,469									
Wallace, Philip, J.	1 Emp	839	37	Overseer	\$1,750	\$2,000									
Wallace, Wm., H.	1 Emp	500	33	NL	\$100	\$250									
Ward, Benja., E.	2 + 1 Emp	834	29	Farmer	\$1,600	\$1,038	PWR - UNC	22nd VA Btn. Inf.	NL	NL					1902 Pension Application from widow, Lucinda Ward lists 22nd VA Battalion
Watson, Frank {Francis M.?	10	835	21	Farmer	\$6,000	\$13,290									
Watson, Robert, J. (son of Watson, Jesse, A.)	2	44	34	Carpenter	\$0	\$2,100	YES	Company E, 2nd VA Artillery	Pvt.	1/21/1862					
Watson, Thos, B. (son of Watson, Jesse, A.)	1	44	29	Overseer	\$0	\$2,200									

Webb, Edmund, L. {Edward, L.} (son of Webb, Garner)	2	676	27	NL	\$0	\$2,170	YES	Company E, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/16/1864					
Webb, W., W.	2 Emp	557	30	Farmer	\$0	\$192									
Webb, Wm., W. {William, A.}	4 + 9 Emp	346	30	Clrk of Court	\$7,000	\$4,744									
Wilkinson, B. J.	7 + 2 Emp	470	33	Farmer	\$2,600	\$8,358									
Williams, R. L. B. [R. L. Baxter]	6	602	36	Farmer	\$1,400	\$4,238	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery) & Company E, 22nd Btn VA Inf.	Pvt. & Pvt.	9/23/1861 & NL		Captured - Farmville - 4/6/65	Died of catarrh - US Army Hospital - 6/4/65	Discharged from The Staunton Hill Art. - 9/30/62 - age 38.	
Williams, Wm. [William R.]	1	175	32	Farmer	\$234	\$734	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/1/1862					
Willson, Josiah, B., Jr.	10	180	29	Farmer	\$3,500	\$4,115	PWR - UNC	22nd VA Btn. Inf.	NL	NL				1902 Pension Application lists 22nd VA Battalion	
Wilson, Edward {Edward, A.}	16	106	31	MD	\$6,000	\$16,448									
Wilson, R. B. {Robert B.}	7 + 6 Emp	610	30	Farmer	\$8,000	\$10,918									
Wilson, Wm {William A.} (son of Wilson, Paul)	1	1	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	2/13/1863	Wded. near Upperville - 6/20/63	POW on Weldon R.R. 10/11/64			
Wise, Lew	2 Emp	812	35	Painter	\$0	\$0									
Wood, John, S. [John T.]	5	505	21	Farmer	\$5,400	\$3,700	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861			KIA - Manassas - 8/28/62		
Wootton, Wm., H.	6 + 1 Emp	754	30	Farmer	\$3,000	\$6,775									

APPENDIX C

MILITARY-AGE-ELIGIBLE SONS OF LUNENBURG COUNTY SLAVEOWNERS

Data is presented as it was originally entered in Schedule 2, "Slave Inhabitants" ("Slave Schedule") and Schedule 1 "Free Inhabitants" ("Population Census") of the 1860 Federal Census.

Data indicated within < > represents differences between information entered in the "Slave Schedule" when compared to the "Population Census".

Data indicated within { } is additional/different information from other Federal Census sources.

Data indicated within [] is additional information from military records - Compiled Service Records (CSR).

Name	Slaves	House #	Age	Occupation	Real Estate Value	Personal Estate Value	Military Service	Unit	Rank	Date of Enlistment	Wounded	Captured	Killed/Died	Notes	Notes
A?ms {Arms/Armes}, Robt., J.	2	510	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cavalry	Pvt.	9/6/1863	July, 23 1863 - Culpepper Courthouse				
Adkinson/Atkinson, Wm., M. [William Mayo]	34	306	27	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & 9th VA Cav..	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 5/3/1862					
Allen, Cornelius, F. {Cornelius T.} {Cornelius Tacitus} [Cornelius Tactius]	27	314	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	2nd. Lt. & 1st. Lt.	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862	WIA at Battle of Fort Harrison (Chaffin's Farm) three times 9/29/64 and Sailor's Creek 4/6/65	Sailor's Creek 4/6/65		1860 Grad of Richmond College	
Allen, Edwd., M. [Edward Marshall]	27	314	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	4th. Corp.	1/25/1862		Captured Harper's Farm 4/6/65			
Allen, Robt. {Robert A.}	27	314	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 44th Btn. VA Inf.	1st. Lt.	10/13/1863					
Allen, Wm., J. [William Jones]	27	314	21	MD	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 3/1/1862		Captured Farmville 4/6/65		Detailed Hospital Steward for Chaffin's Bluff Camp, later detailed as Asst. Surgeon and Surgeon (by Sec. of War)	
Anderson, Peter	2	170	24	Overseer	\$0	\$1,350									
Arvin, Langston [Langston C.]	29	764	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H (2), 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/30/1862					
Arvin, Saml., S. [Samuel T.]	29	764	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861	WIA - side & arm - Rich Mt., W. VA. - 7/11/61	POW Rich Mt. - 7/11/61	Died (likely of wounds) 8/8/61	Confederate records list as KIA, but actually died (likely from wounds) as a POW "about 8/8/61" per statement filed in conjunction with claim for benefits - age 21	

Arvine <Arvin>, Marcellus	22 (listed as 21 + 1 as last entry in schedule under Arvin, W.)	592	22	NL [Farmer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	6/7/1861 & 8/24/1862 Transfers back to 9th Cav. per orders dated 12/17/1862			Discharged by Surgeon 4/5/62
Arvine <Arvin>, Mortimer [L.]	22 (listed as 21 + 1 as last entry in schedule under Arvin, W.)	592	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Detailed as Courier for Gen. Anderson 6/7/62
Arvine <Arvin>, Thomas, J	22 (listed as 21 + 1 as last entry in schedule under Arvin, W.)	592	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	2/7/1863			
Arvine [Arvin], George, S. [George, T.]	25	782	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Discharged by Surgeon 6/3/62
Arvine, Jno., K.	25	782	15	NL	\$0	\$0							
Atwell, Josiah, F.	4	521	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company I, 56th VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/11/1863 - Conscript			
Atwell, Wm., T.	4	521	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 23rd VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/2/1861		POW 7/3/61 - Carricks Ford	KIA 7/3/61 - Carricks Ford
Barns [Barnes], WM., H.	17	509	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	4/8/1864			
Bayne, Edward, P.	3	726	14	NL	\$0	\$0							
Bell, David T.	9	132	14	Farmer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Artillery	Pvt.	2/21/1863	WIA - on or about 3/1/64		Retired to Invalid Corps due to continued illness and disability - 12/12/64
Bell, F. N. [Frank Nathaniel]	9	132	19	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20 VA Inf. & Company B(3), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 9/3/1862		POW - Rich Mnt.	
Bishop, ?attie {Chatman C.} [C. C.]	18	286	34	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/12/1864 - Conscript			

Bishop, Robert [Robert L.]	18	286	40	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 9/2/1863 - \$50 Bounty due					
Blackwell, Thomas	41	613	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/20/1864			Died of Typhoid - Gordonsville Charity Hospital - 5/18/64		
Bohanan, P. D. {Bohannon Philip D.}	6	23	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Artillery	Pvt.	7/31/1863					
Boswell, Edmund [Edmund D.]	17	114	17	NL [Student]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861 - \$50 Bounty due			Killed 6/27/62 at Gaines' Mill		
Boswell, Thomas [Thomas, R.]	17	114	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 5/5/1862		POW Aberdeen Church 4/3/65			
Boswell, Wm.	17	114	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	10/18/1864		Captured at Burkeville - 4/6/65			
Bradshaw, James M.	2 + 2 Emp	686	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	NL - likely 1864					
Bradshaw, Jno., S. [John, T.]	2 + 2 Emp	686	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epe's Battery, Johnston Art. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	10/14/1861 (did not join) instead joined 2nd VA Art. - 1/25/1862					
Bragg, A. B. {Alexander, B.}	5	118	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 12/5/1861					
Bragg, David, P.	1	270	19	NL	\$0	\$0									
Bragg, Jno, J.	1	270	22	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 44th Btn. VA Inf.	NL - Likely Pvt.	NL - earliest Record is Clothing Receipt - Oct. 1864					
Bragg, Jos, T. {Thomas, R.}? [James T.]	5	118	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epe's Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	2/24/1863					

Bragg, R.R. {Robert, R.} [Robert Richard]	1	270	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861				Letter indicates initially joined Neblett's Lunenburg Heavy Art, Co. H in July 1861
Bragg, The. {Telemicus}	1	270	27	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862				Discharged 10/12/62 - disability certificate
Bragg, Wm. L., Jr.	1	270	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861				
Brown, Aaron, V.	20	673	16	NL [Student]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861				
Brown, Marcus, W.	25	708	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	3rd. Corp.	5/23/1864				
Brown, Saml. {Samuel R.} [Samuel Robert]	25	708	25	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company, 9th VA Cav.	1st. Sgt. & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 5/20/1862				Discharged by Surgeon 10/18/62
Brown, Wm., B.	20	673	18	NL	\$0	\$0								
Bruice {Bruce}, George, A.	14	42	27	Suptndt on farm	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	6th. Corp.	1/16/1862				
Burnett, Warner, W. {William, W.} [William Warner]	1 + 2 Emp	473	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/6/1863				
Cheatham, Ebenezer (listed as Female) {Ebenezer M.}	22	341	18	Farm Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf. & Company C, 25th Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861 (Transfer to the 25th Btn. is dated 10/8/63)				12/31/61 is listed as the enlistment date in the 25th Btn., but the earliest record is a muster roll dated Jan 1864 "updated 2/29/64"

Ceatham, Jno., R. [John Rowlett]	21	775	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864			Transferred to Camp Lee - no further record.	Pension Application lists Reserve unit and also states the 22nd Btn. was joined at Richmond - no record located for the 22nd Btn.
Ceatham, Ludwell {Ludwell C.} [Ludwell T.]	22	341	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			KIA - The Crater 7/31/64	
Ceatham, Thomas, B.	21	775	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/20/1864 - Conscript	WIA - Petersburg Trenches - Leg Amputated			
Chumney, Grief {Grief C.}	4 + 11 in Estate	799	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Detailed to the Signal Corps - 6/1/61 - 10/31/64	Roll card indicates "drafted for 2 years from expiration of present term" dated 4/24/62
Chumney, Wm, M.	4 + 11 in Estate	799	23	Gary School Teacher	\$1,500	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	POW Hagerstown, MD 7/12/63, (exchanged 3/17/64)		Assigned "Special Duty" in Quartermaster's Dept. - July '61. Later "Detailed as Scout of Gen'l W. H. F. Lee - May or June 1863	Discharged by Civil Authority" - likely 1/18/65, no details given
Coleman, Achilles, B. [Achillus, B.]	27	110	19	NL [Student]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 21st VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/20/1861			Detailed as Clerk due to poor health - 3/7/65	Born in Mecklenburg County - joined the "Oliver Greys" a unit recruited in Mecklenburg

Coleman, Samuel, J.	27	110	18	Laborer [Student]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 21st VA Inf.	4th. Sgt.	6/20/1861			KIA - Cedar Mountain - 8/9/62	Born in Mecklenburg County - joined the "Oliver Greys" a unit recruited in Mecklenburg
Crawley, R. R. {Cralle, Robert, R.}	12	166	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	9/18/1863 - \$50 Bounty due				
Crowder, Geo, W.	9	140	27	Overseer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861				
Crowder, Green, A.	9	140	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862			Died - 11/25/62 of typhoid fever	
Crowder, Jas, W.	9	140	23	None	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/3/1861			Died 8/18/62	
Crowder, Lafivar, R. [Robert, L.]	3	145	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 44th Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	NL - Earliest date is Hospital Record - 3/1864				Discharged 1/18/65 - "pulmonary disease of lung" likely from pneumonia
Crowder, Marcellus, A.	3	145	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861				
Crymes, George, A.	15	577	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/31/1861	WIA - By bursting shell - Chancellorsville 5/2/62			
Crymes, Jno., T.	15	577	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	4th. Sgt.	5/21/1861 & 12/31/1861				
Crymes, Robt., M.	13	791	21	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861				
Davis, N. {Nicholas} E., Jr.	31	329	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	WIA - 10/17/63 - "left in hands of enemy"			KIA Near Manassas - 10/17/63 (likely died of wounds)
Davis, Patrick, H.	21	84	16	NL	\$0	\$0								
Dowdy, Jno., S. {T.}, Jr.	9 + 12 Emp	824	21	NL	\$0	\$0	PWR - UNC	9th VA Cav.	NL	NL				

Estice {Estes} [Estis], Anderson, S.	5 + 3 Emp	730	21	Teacher	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861				Discharged 10/25/1861 with Tuberculosis	
Estice {Estes}, Joh. {Jno.}, J. [John James]	5 + 3 Emp	730	19	At (Attendant) on farm	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Parker Artillery & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt. & NL & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 6/7/1861	WIA Hagerstown - 7/12/63				
Estice {Estes}, Wm., E., Jr.	5 + 3 Emp	730	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	4th. Corp.	5/23/1864				Transferred to Camp Lee - no further record	
Eubank, James, F. [James, Francis]	22 + 1 Emp	843	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 23rd VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/2/1861 & 1/20/1864		Captured 3/23/62 - Kernstown			
Eubank, Wm. {William, L.}	15	838	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 23rd VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/2/1861 & 10/26/1862	Wded. - 7/8/63	Captured 3/23/62 - Kernstown			
Farley, George, H.	6	578	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	10/9/1863 - \$50 bounty		POW Harper's Farm 4/6/65	Died - Chronic Diarrhea - Point Lookout Prison 5/17/65	Detailed as Courier for Col Beale - 1864	
Forest, James, S.	6 + 15 in Trust	763	35	NL	\$0	\$6,333									
Forest, Peter [Forrest], J. [P. J.]	6 + 15 in Trust	763	14	NL	4000 Trust	14250 Trust	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/20/1864					
Foster, Wm., J.	1	277	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	Pvt.	1/1/1862					
Foulks, Armstead, E. [Fowlkes, Armstreet, E.]	30	824	28	NL	\$0	\$1,500	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	4th. Corp.	6/7/1861			KIA Boonsboro - 9/15/62		
Foulks, Jno., S. [Fowlkes, John S.]	30	824	25	School Teacher	\$0	\$1,150	YES	Company E, 3rd VA Cav.	3rd. Sgt.	5/27/1861				Disch 3/27/62 - surgery certificate	Enlisted at Nottoway C. H.
Foulks, Thomas, C. [Fowlkes/Fowleks/Folkes/Fo wlks, Thomas Chatham]	14	343	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/4/1863 - \$50 Bounty due	WIA - The Crater	POW - Burkeville - 4/6/65			
Gallian {Gallion}, Thomas {Thomas, A.}	2 + 1 Emp	487	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	5/21/1861 & 10/14/1861					
Gaulding {Gauldin}, James, M.	12	816	22	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861 - \$50 Bounty due					

Gaulding, E. A. {Gaulden, Edward A.}	12	817	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/6/1863 - Conscript	Wded. - Right Foot - 1/64?			
Gee, Edward, N.	22	518	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf. & Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	Pvt.	12/31/1861 & 4/20/1863			Discharged from the 22nd Btn. 7/30/62	
Gee, George, E.	29	283	27	MD	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Young's Harbor Guard & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	9/1/1862, Transferred to Young's Harbor Guard, on 12/19/1862 & joined the 9th Cav., 7/28/1864 as a Conscript			Discharged 12/20/1862 - Furnished Substitute	
Gee, Henry, M.	10	276	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861				
Gee, Joshua, N. [Joshua Neville]	20	785	20	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf. & Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	12/31/1861 & 5/23/1864	Wded. in side - on or about 8/28/62	Captured on three separate occasions - 5/3/63 near Fredericksburg (Battle of Chancellorsville), Falling Waters, MD 7/14/62 and Farmville 4/6/65	Transferred to Camp Lee - 2/14/65 under Special Order No. 25 - no further record	
Gee, Thomas [Thomas, N.]	15	279	22	Tchr Commn Schl	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864			Detailed for "Public Necessity" 11/1/64	
Gee, Thomas, C.	22	518	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	Pvt.	5/10/1864				
Gills, Daniel [Daniel A.]	6	690	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861			Died 8/12 or 8/13/61 (both dates used) - no cause given	

Gills, James [James, M.]	6	690	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	10/18/1862			Died at Chaffin's Bluff post hospital of fever on 8/13/64
Gregory, Charles, C. {Charles H. C.} [H. Cass.]	21	41	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	Pvt.	1/16/1862			
Gregory, Darten	4	238	14	NL	\$0	\$0							
Gregory, David J {David James}	21	41	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861		POW - Farmville - 4/6/65	
Gregory, Roger {Rodger}	4	238	22	NL	\$0	\$0							
Gregory, Thomas [Thomas, E.]	19 + 2 Emp	682	18	NL [Student]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861	Wded. 9/14/62 - Slaughter's Gap (Boonsboro)		Detailed as Clerk 9/25/63 - due to wounds - "severely wounded in arm"
Gregory, West {Werter or Winter} {"Wirt"}	4	238	16	NL	\$0	\$0							
Gregory, Wm. H. {William, T. H.} [William Henderson]	21	41	19	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 23rd VA Inf.	2nd Lt.	5/2/1861			KIA 5/8/62 - McDowell
Hamlin, Jno., R.	9 + 1 Emp	668	14	NL	\$0	\$0							
Hammock, William [William, C.]	18	647	24	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 - \$50 Bounty due			Discharged for disability - 8/8/62
Harding, Edward [Edward B.]	9	593	29	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/26/1862			
Harding, Henry [H. A.]	9	593	34	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	3/23/1862 - trans. to 9th Cav. 9/1/63			
Harding, Josiah, A.	7	2	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861	WIA - 7/1/64		
Harding, L. T. {L. Berry T.}	7	2	14	NL	\$0	\$0							

Harding, Thomas, C.	3	78	27	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			POW- 4/6/65 - Farmville		
Hardy, A. A. {Adrian} {Abram, A.}	26	370	19	Overseer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 5/5/1862				Horse killed and equipment taken - near Culpepper C. H. - 9/13/63 - Claim submitted for horse- \$750 and equipment \$80	
Hardy, Charles {M.} [C. M.]	23 + 1 Emp	846	24	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	4th. Corp. & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 1/20/1864 Conscript who volunteered					
Hardy, Edwin S. {Listed as Ellen S.}	26	370	21	Tchr Commn Schi	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf.	2nd. Sgt.	5/20/1861				Discharged 8/24/61 - medical disability	
Hardy, John {T.}	23 + 1 Emp	846	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf. & Company K, 1st VA Resvs.	Pvt. & 3rd. Corp.	2/28/1862 & 5/23/1864	Wded Frayser's Farm - 6/30/62	POW Saylor's Creek - 4/6/65			
Hardy, Joseph {H.}	23 + 1 Emp	846	20	NL	\$0	\$0									
Hardy, Luther, C. [Luther, Chappell]	13	514	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	Wded. Brandy Station - Rt. Thigh - 6/9/63	POW - Guinea Station - 5/22/64			
Harriss {Harris}, Joseph May	29	230	20	NL [Farmer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Died of disease - Edry, VA - 10/9/61		
Harriss {Harris}, Junius, H. [Junius Haskins]	26	227	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 8/11/1864 - Conscript				Discharged - 8/31/61 - Pulmonary Disease	
Hatchell {Hatchett}, Archibald {Archerbeld}	24	182	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 44th Btn. VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	NL - likely Pvt. & Pvt.	NL - earliest record is a clothing receipt for July 1864 & 8/19/64 - Conscript					

Hatchell, H. {Hatchett, Haynie}	23	182	18	[Farmer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861	Wded - slightly in leg - First Manassas - July 21, 1861		Died at home - Jan 8, 1862 (typhoid fever)		
Hawthorne, Fred, A. [Fred Spencer]	25	435	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt. & 2nd Lt.	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862			Died - Typhoid Pneumonia - 11/24/62		
Hawthorne, Peter [Hawthorn, Peter, W.]	25	435	26	Supt.	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G, 56th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 7/25/1862 (transfer dated 4/19/64?)		POW Garrett Station 4/2/65		Detailed as Nurse in Hospital 7/1864	
Hazelwood, Jas., W.	22	217	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/26/1863 - \$50 Bounty		POW 2/3/1865 per roll		Detailed as a laborer to cut logs - Summer 1864	
Hazelwood, Jno., J.	22	217	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22 Btn. VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company I, 56th VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861 & 9/1/1862 & trans. to 56th 11/63				Detailed as Nurse in Hospital Dept. - 8/31/63	
Hill, George, W.	1 + 1 Emp	732	19	NL	\$0	\$0									
Hurt, Jno., P.	39	172	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861					
Hurt, Lew, {Lewling} M. [Lewellen M.]	39	172	23	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	3/17/1862					
Hurt, Tazewell, P.	39	172	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/31/1863 - \$50 Bounty due		WIA - 10/31/64			
Inge, Joseph, H.	3	658	23	Laborer	\$0	\$0									
Inge, Joseph, S.	5	160	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	9/6/1864					
Irby, Edmund {Edward}	44	679	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	11/22/1862	Wounded - Gettysburg, per PWR	Captured - Farmville 4/6/65			
Jefferson, James	34 + 9 Emp	876	15	NL	\$0	\$0									
Jeffress, Richd., J., Jr. {Jeffries, Richard, G.}	35	591	15	NL	\$0	\$0									
Johns, Branch, S. [Branch, T. [Taylor?]	39	814	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861		POW - Thompson's Cross Roads - 5/4/63			
Johns, Wm., C.	39	814	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company D, 25th Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	9/28/1863		POW Farmville - 4/6/65			

Johnson, Wm.	20	410	26	NL	\$0	\$0											
Justice, Elijah	4 + 4 Emp	661	18	NL	\$0	\$0											
Justice, George, W.	4 + 4 Emp	661	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	10/3/1863 - \$50 Bounty due							
Laffoon, Duguffy {Jugartha and Ingartha - listed as Female} [Jugurtha, A.]	1	460	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt. & 2nd. Sgt.	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862							Under arrest 2/28/65 - reason not given
Lambert, Benj. [Benjamin P.]	5	100	16	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1862							
Lee, James H.	4	9	24	None	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/5/1862 - Conscript							
Lee, Jno., W. [John Wimbish]	46	612	26	Manager on Farm	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/3/1862	Wded. Markhan Stat./Manassas Gap R. R. - 11/5/62						Detailed as Asst. Enrolling Officer - Lunenburg County 9/63-9/64
Lee, William, E.	4	9	20	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	2/9/1863							
Lipscomb, John C.	5	57	18	NL	\$0	\$0	XXXX	Listed in census as "Dumb"	XXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX					
Love, Allin {Allen}, H.	34	263	27	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	2nd. Corp.	6/7/1861							Discharged 10/26/61 per Special Order No. 190
Love, David, R. [David Robert]	34	263	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	Wded Near Culpepper - Leg - 9/13/63 and gunshot through neck, jaw and shoulder - 6/24/64						
Manson, Fletcher, S.	18	486	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	7/25/1864 - Conscript							

Manson, Richd., W.	18	486	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	3/11/1862				Detailed as Quarter Gunner - June, 62 and as Courier of the post - 2/28/63 (noted that as courier entitled to \$.40 per day or \$12 month additional compensation for use of his horse)
Manson, Thomas, F. [Thomas Frederick]	18	486	21	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt. & 3rd. Sgt.	5/20/1861 & 1/25/1862		Captured - Burkeville 4/6/65		
Marshall, Benajer [Benj., A. or Benagah, A.]	11	93	32	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	3rd. Sgt.	6/11/1861			Appted 2nd. Lt. 8/6/62	
Marshall, Edw., O.	12	664	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 & 8/11/1864 - Conscript				Detailed as Wagoner - 6/7/62
Marshall, Jno., W	12	664	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company I, 20th VA Inf. & Company NL, 46th VA Inf.	Pvt. & NL	6/3/1861 & NL (earliest record is of sick leave 5/15/62)			Died - Sick - 10/31/1862	
Marshall, Robt., S. {Robert, T.} [Robert, T. (S.)]	12	664	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	4/24/1863 - \$50 Bounty		Captured - Farmville - 4/6/65		
Marshall, Wm., A {Wm., M.}	12	664	18	NL	\$0	\$0								
May, Charles {Jr.} [Charles, E.]	6	187	22	Tchr Commn Schl	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/12/1861	WIA - Malvern Hill 7/1/62 - face by exploding shell & Drewry's Bluff 5/16/64 - gunshot in leg			
May, John [John, D.]	6	187	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	2nd. Corp. & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 3/31/1862		POW - Rich Mt. 7/11/61	Horse Killed - Culpepper C. H. - 9/13/63 - Paid for claim of \$1200	

McCormick, Beverly, D.	5	176	24	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861			Retired to Invalid Corps - 9/9/64 after partial paralysis - fall from his horse at Brandy Station - 6/9/63	
McCormick, Danl. B.	5	176	18	NL	\$0	\$0								
Mize {Mise}, Benj [Mize, Benjamin H.]	1	127	22	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861			Died 8/15/61 - No cause given	
Mize {Mise}, Paul [Mise, P W.]	1	127	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	NL - earliest date is Hospital Record - 2/10/65				
Mize {Mise}, Silas [Mise, Silas, S. or Myers, S. S.]	1	127	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/5/1862			Discharged by Surgeon for disability - 4/3/63	
Mize {Mise}, Wm [Mize, William H.]	1	127	25	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company B (3), 59th VA Inf. & Company D, 46th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 5/22/1862 & 6/16/1862		KIA - Battle of the Crater - 7/30/64	Detailed 11/62 - building Col.'s Quarters	Discharged by Order of Sec. of War, unit disbanded - 9/11/61
Moore, Samuel, C. {James} [James C.]	6	659	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Died August 12, 1862 - Measles	
Moore, Thomas, A.	4	253	14	NL	\$0	\$0								
Neal, Henry, S.	22 + 3 Emp	831	17	Farmer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861				
Neal, Young, A. {Allen, Y.}	22 + 3 Emp	831	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/23/1862				
Neblett, Henry, M.	36	853	22	NL [Physician]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/20/1862		POW - Sailor's Creek - 4/5/65	Detailed "to attend the sick at Louisa C. H. 8/25/62 - later placed in charge of Hospital and promoted to Asst. Surgeon of the regiment	

Neblett, N. M. {Norman, W.} [Norman, M.]	36	853	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cav.	3rd. Sgt. & Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 7/20/1862		POW - Boonsboro - 9/15/62 and Namozine Church - 4/5/65	Also listed as being appointed 2nd Lt. in the 3rd VA Art. 2/5/62 - Signed petition requesting exemption from local defense service in lieu of active service
Orgain, Edwd., B	27	616	21	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/28/1862			KIA - Gaines Mill - June 27, 1862
Orgain, Geo., C. [George Craig]	27	616	23	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Capt.	5/21/1861			
Orgain, James [James R.]	27	616	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 18th VA Inf. & Company G, 9th VA Cavalry	2nd. Sgt. & NL & Pvt.	5/21/1861 & 2/28/1862 Transferred to 9th Cav. 10/28/1862			KIA Brandy Station 6/9/63
Orgain, Thomas {Thomas A.}	27	616	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Company G, 18th VA Inf.	2nd. Lt.	5/21/1861 & 2/28/1862			KIA - Gaines' Mill June 27, 1862
Osborne, Jno., R.	7	746	15	NL	\$0	\$0							
Parish [Parrish], Wm.	3	653	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 44th Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	NL - Earliest record is a Clothing Receipt from July 1864		Captured Jetersville - 4/6/65	Died 6/30/65 - Chronic Diarrhea
Parish, Alfred, H.	3 + 2 Emp	448	39	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company A, 8th VA Inf.	Pvt.	8/24/1862			Died of "Camp Fever" - causing "inflammation of his brain" - 11/14/62
Parish, Daniel, W.	3 + 2 Emp	448	22	NL	\$0	\$0							
Parish, J. W. {James, W.} [Parrish, James, W.]	3 + 2 Emp	448	33	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862 - \$50 Bounty due		Captured - Farmville 4/6/65	Detailed as Shoemaker 8/13/63
Parish, Tho., L.	3 + 2 Emp	448	27	NL	\$0	\$0	PWR - UNC	8th VA Inf.	NL	NL			Pension App lists 8th VA Inf.

Pearson, John, E.	1	35	15	NL	\$0	\$0										
Pearson, Joseph, F. {Joseph, T}	1	35	20	Laborer	\$0	\$0										
Pennington, Charles D.	1	7	20	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 2nd VA Art. & Company E, 22 Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862 & 5/31/1862						
Pettus, Jno., O. {John, A.}	8	599	17 {9}	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 23rd VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/2/1861						KIA 3/23/62 - Kernstown
Powers, Benja., M.	2	309	16	NL	\$0	\$0										
Powers, Geo., W.	2	309	22	NL	\$0	\$0										
Ragsdale, Bracy, H. [Bracy Hester]	25	191	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 3rd VA Cav.	Pvt.	7/15/1862	Wounded - 5/64					- substitute for A. B. Crallie
Ragsdale, George, A.	25	191	24	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company A, Camp Guard, VA Conscripts (Camp Lee)	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 7/30/1862						
Ragsdale, James, G.	25	191	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	8/1/1862, trans to 2nd Art - 4/30/1863 - \$50 Bounty due						Deserted to enemy 12/1/64 - Transportation furnished to Phila., PA
Ragsdale, Joel, B.	25	191	22	NL	\$0	\$0										
Ragsdale, Richard, E.	25	191	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	8/24/1862						Captured - Burkeville 4/6/65
Rany, Henry, D. [Rany and Raney, Benjamin D.] [Rainey, Benjamin D.]	2	223	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company D, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	4th. Sgt.	1/20/1862	Wded. 5/3/63					
Rany, James, S. [Rainey, James, T.]	4	194	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	NL - earliest date is Hospital Record - 6/14/1864						
Rash, Cornelius N.	24	681	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Chappell's Co. Local Defense (Pickett Guard)	Pvt.	NL - earliest date is Hospital Record - 2/6/1864						
Rash, Joel {Joel, W.}	15	724	21	NL	\$0	\$0										
Rash, Melvin {Melvil, C.}	15	724	22	NL	\$0	\$0										
Rash, Thomas A.	24	681	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H & B, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861						Captured 4/2/65 - Five Forks On detached service in QM Dept. Petersburg - 4/7/63

Reed, Wesley, C.	18	713	17	NL	\$0	\$0											
Robertson, Fets ? {Fitzoman /Fitz} [Fitz Orman]	2	155	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epes' Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	2/24/1863							
Robertson, Richd, F.	4	267	26	Farmer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	8/11/1864 - Conscript							
Russel {Russell}, Lewis, W.	7	257	22	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861							KIA - Manassas - 8/28/62
Saunders, Albert	13	240	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/22/1863 - \$50 Bounty Due							
Saunders, Edward, T.	13	240	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 8/24/1862							Discharged by Surgeon - 11/9/62
Saunders, James, E.? {A.} [James, A.]	13	240	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	3/17/1862 - \$50 Bounty, Transferred to Young's Harbor Guard, 12/19/63							Appears to be conscripted back to the 2nd Art. - 11/27/64
Saunders, Wm., H.	13	240	23	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & enlisted in the 2nd VA Art prior to 10/62							Discharged 10/30/62
Scoggins {Scoggin}, James, H.	16	419	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/20/1862							Detailed as Shoemaker - 12/31/63
Scruggs [Scraggs], Wm. H.	4	101	16	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	7/25/1862							Captured - Burkeville 4/6/65
Seay, Richard {R. B.}	30	683	26	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	NL	4/22/1861							Wded - Gaines Mill - June 27, 1862
Shelton, Jno., W., Jr.	4	506	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company D, 1st Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/23/1861							
Smith, Algernon [Algernon Sidney]	12	184	25	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	11/23/1863							
Smith, Benj E. [Benjamin Edward]	28	315	21	[Lawyer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf. and Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 12/1/1862							POW - Rich Mtn., 7/11/61 Attended VMI
Smith, C. C. {Charles} [Charles, C.]	12	184	21	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861							Wded. left thigh - 5/12/64
Smith, Geo. L.	12	184	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	3/20/1862 - \$50 bounty due							

Spencer, Tho., J.	18 (include s two separate listings: one for 12 and one for 6)	818	20	School Teacher	\$0	\$0									
Staples, M., L. {Melancthon, L.}	12	557	18	NL	\$0	\$0									
Staples, Staples, James, T.	12	557	25	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	3rd. Lt.	6/7/1861					On "Special Duty" for Quarter Master's Dept 7-8/61
Stokes, Jno., B.	16	550	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	3/4/1863	Wded. Brandy Station - 6/9/63		Died of wnds - 7/6/63		
Taylor, Edmd., L.	4	433	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	9/11/1862	Wded. Sailor's Creek 4/6/65				Detailed as Teamster and Laborer - 8/31/63
Taylor, Robt., S.	4	433	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 3rd VA Art.	Pvt.	3/1/1862			Died in service 3/29/62		
Thomas, John {John, R.}	16	128	22	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861					Detailed in Company Commissary, 9-10/62
Thomas, Wm. R. [William Richard]	16	128	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861					Discharged due to fractured wrist 5/3/62 reenlisted 1/30/63
Thompson, Norton, D.	15	61	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Company, Staunton Hill Art.	Pvt.	1/16/1862					
Thompson, Sterling, W.	6	394	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864					
Tisdale, Antonius, T. {Listed as A. F. - Female}	15	133	14	NL	\$0	\$0									
Tisdale, Wm., H.	8 + 1 Emp	767	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861	Gunshot in chest - Hanover - 6/30/63	POW - Hanover 6/3/63			listed as KIA but wded and taken POW
Townsend, Saml. {Stephen, S.}	5	86	19	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22 Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862	WIA - 6/26/62	POW - 11/27/63 - Mine Run			
Townsend, Silas, C.	5	86	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company E, 22 Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/21/1862					POW sometime after 12/31/64

Townsend, Wm. O.	5	86	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Paris' Co. VA Art. (Staunton Hill Artillery)	Pvt.	7/17/1863	Wded - head and skull - per pension application			
Tucker, Geo., N. [George, M.]	2	216	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company C, 20th VA Inf & Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	5/20/1861 & 9/1/1862		POW - Rich Mt. 7/13/61 & Farmville 4/6/65		
Tucker, Jno.	3	225	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 1st Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	2/4/1863 - Bounty due				
Tucker, Peter, L. {Allen?} [Peter Allen]	3	225	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 32nd VA Inf.	Pvt.	10/30/1863 - Conscript		Captured - 5/11/64	Pension App. lists 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	assigned to 32nd. Inf. 5/5/64
Tucker, Richd., A.	2	216	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 32nd VA Inf.	Pvt.	10/30/1863 - Conscript		Captured - Henrico County - 5/12/64		assigned to 32nd. Inf. 5/5/64
Tucker, Robt. P.	2	216	21	NL [Farmer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/25/1862		Died in camp 9/23/63	Detailed as Carpenter & Plasterer - 8/31/63	
Tucker, Wm. [William, M.]	3	225	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861		KIA - The Crater, 7/30/64	Note in records indicates "held in service two years by Conscription Act" dated 6/30/62	
Turner, Hiram [Hiram, H.]	6	426	20	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	2/2/1863		Harper's Farm 4/6/65	Detailed as Laborer in Quarter Master's Dept. - 2/28/65	
Turner, Wm., B.	6	426	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 1st Regt. VA Resvs.	Pvt.	5/23/1864				
Vaughan, G. W. {Waverly} [George, W.]	21	848	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	12/7/1862		POW - Amelia County - 4/3/65		
Vaughan, H. N. {Norwood}	21	848	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/20/1864		POW - near Petersburg - 10/11/64	Died 1/16/65 - Typhoid Fever, Pt. Lookout Prison	
Wallace, Benja., F	3	333	20	NL	\$0	\$0								
Watson, John, E. {Jackson, E.}	11	44	24	Mechanic	\$0	\$125	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	1st. Sgt.	6/11/1861	Wded in the head - The Crater - 7/30/64		Died of Wounds 8/4/64	

Webb, Jno., A. [John Armistead]	14	676	17	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/23/1862	Wded - left Leg - Gettysburg - July 3, 1863	POW - Gettysburg			
Webb, Jordan {Jordan, C.}	14	676	25	NL	\$0	\$0		Company G, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	4/22/1861	Wded - eye - Gettysburg - July 3, 1864	POW - Gettysburg	Died - Ft. Lookout Prison - 10/11/1863		
White, Edwin	22	747	21	Horse Trader	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861					
White, Francis	22	747	15	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	5/3/1862					
Wilkinson, Jno., W.	16	308	22	NL	\$0	\$0									
Williams, Ashley D.	5	531	23	Laborer [Farmer]	\$0	\$0	YES	Company K, 21st VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/28/1861		Captured - Spotsylvania Court House - 5/12/64			
Williams, Erasmus	5	531	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 14th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/5/1862					
Williams, Malcolm	5	531	25	Laborer	\$0	\$0									
Williams, Thomas, J. [Tignal J.]	12	331	18	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	6/7/1861		Captured Amelia C. H. - 4/3/65			
Williams, V. P. {believed to be Virgnius, possibly Virginius, R.}	102	847	27	Farmer	\$0	\$0								EP + VP are listed in the slave schedule as owners together, since no property is listed under V.P. (the son) he is listed as a "son" not "owner"	
Williams, Wm., F.	12	331	16	NL	\$0	\$0									
Williams, Zebulon	5	531	15	NL	\$0	\$0									
Williamson, James	7	807	23	Carpenter	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861			KIA - Rich Mt. 7/11/61		
Williamson, Robt., A.	7	807	21	Laborer	\$0	\$0									
Wilson, James, A. [J. A.]	20	1	14	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company G, 9th VA Cav.	Pvt.	1/20/1864					
Winn [Wynne], Wm. C.	12	73	20	Overseer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	12/31/1861	WIA - Gettysburg 7/3/63	POW - Saylor's Creek 6(4)/6/65			
Winn, Corbin {Corban}, A.	12	73	15	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf.	Pvt.	6/11/1861			Died 1/24/1862 at Pig Point, Nansemond County, VA - No cause given		

Winn, Lewellen, C. {Leweling} [Lewellen P.]	5	751	19	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Company B, 22nd Btn. VA Inf.	Pvt.	5/21/1861 & 12/31/1861	WIA - Falling Waters 7/14/63	POW 7/14/63			
Winn, Lewis, E.	12	73	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company H, 9th VA Inf. & Company C, 28th VA Inf. Btn. & Company H (2), 59th VA Inf.	Pvt.	10/18/1861			Died - 9/62 - No cause given (likely Dysentery)		
Woodson, Abner {T.}	2 + 2 Emp	813	26	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf. & Capt. Epe's Battery, Johnston Art.	Pvt.	5/21/1861 & 10/14/1861				Discharged 9/11/61 "by order of the Adj. Genl."	
Woodson, Beverly	48	497	16	NL	\$0	\$0	YES	Company F, 2nd VA Art.	Pvt.	1/19/1864 - \$50 Bounty due					
Woodson, Douglas [Douglas B.]	2 + 2 Emp	813	17	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Company B, 20th VA Inf.	Corp.	5/21/1861	WIA - Rich Mt. 7/11/61	POW - Rich Mt.			
Woodson, Miller [Miller, A.]	2 + 2 Emp	813	20	Laborer	\$0	\$0	YES	Capt. Epe's Battery, Johnston Art. & Company E, 18th VA Inf.	Pvt.	1/8/1862 & transferred to 18th VA Inf. 12/21/1864	Wded - Per Pension App., Hatcher's Run - lost thumb and shot in thigh				

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