

8-1997

An arm and a leg for the Confederacy : Virginia's disabled veteran legislation, 1865 to 1888

W. Jackson Dickens Jr.

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dickens, W. Jackson Jr., "An arm and a leg for the Confederacy : Virginia's disabled veteran legislation, 1865 to 1888" (1997). *Master's Theses*. 1154.

<http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses/1154>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.

AN ARM AND A LEG FOR THE CONFEDERACY:
VIRGINIA'S DISABLED VETERAN LEGISLATION, 1865 TO 1888

by W. Jackson Dickens, Jr.

Thesis for Master's Degree

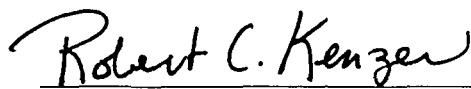
University of Richmond

1997

Dr. Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Director

The Civil War, more than any other conflict in American history, left a legacy of maimed and disabled veterans. In Virginia a social consciousness began to develop during the war which led to both private and public attempts to aid these men. Following the war this philanthropy was continued by the General Assembly with a series of acts intended to provide for the disabled veterans of the Commonwealth. Initially a small scale program to provide artificial limbs to amputees, this initiative quickly expanded to include disabled veterans of all types. It was from this aid program that a general state Confederate pension system developed in 1888. This study examines the early accomplishments of this aid program. In order to provide insight into the individuals assisted by the program, it focuses on the disabled veterans of Augusta and Chesterfield counties. This thesis relies heavily on the records of Virginia's Auditor of Public Accounts, the General Assembly's legislative record, and the manuscript census.

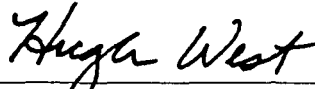
I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor



John L. Gordon, Jr.



Hugh A. West

AN ARM AND A LEG FOR THE CONFEDERACY:
VIRGINIA'S DISABLED VETERAN LEGISLATION, 1865 TO 1888

By

W. JACKSON DICKENS, JR.

B. A., The University of Richmond, 1994

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the University of Richmond

in Candidacy

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

August, 1997

Richmond, Virginia

Copyright by W. Jackson Dickens, Jr. 1997
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professor Robert C. Kenzer who first suggested this as a possible topic for study. Once this study was begun he was always available to assist me with revisions, suggestions, advice, and encouragement. I am grateful to the University of Richmond for providing me the opportunity to continue with the study of history. I must also thank the faculty and in particular the history department for guiding my development from an enthusiastic undergraduate to a know-it-all graduate student. I must also thank my fellow graduate students who provided me with both companionship and advice. My experience at this institution has been most rewarding. Finally, but most importantly, I wish to thank my family without whose constant support and encouragement none of this would have been possible. It is to them I dedicate this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	iii
List of Tables	v
Introduction	1
Chapter	
1. Philanthropic Attempts to Provide for Disabled Soldiers of the Confederacy	11
2. Virginia's Attempts to Provide Artificial Limbs for Veterans, 1865 to 1880	25
3. Expanding Aid During the 1870s	53
4. The Final Evolution	74
5. Epilogue	88
Bibliography	91

LIST OF TABLES

Tables

1. Occupations of Augusta and Chesterfield Veterans, 1860	30
2. Economic Status, Sample Group, 1860	31
3. Ages, Sample Group, 1860	31
4. Estates, Household Heads, Sample Group, 1870	47
5. Estates, Non-Heads of Household, Sample Group, 1870	47
6. Ages, Sample Group, 1870	48
7. Occupations, Sample Group, 1870	49
8. Economic Status, Sample Group, 1870	49
9. Artificial Limbs and Commutation by Year, 1867 to 1887	67
10. Appropriations for the Aid Program, 1867 to 1886	68
11. Occupations, Sample Group, 1880	71
12. Wounds, Sample Group Applications by Year, 1867 to 1886	85
13. Aid Program and Annual Appropriations, 1867 to 1886	86

INTRODUCTION

The pain was excruciating. William could hardly believe that just a few hours before he had been standing with his company near the base of Culp's Hill southeast of the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. After so many battles, the excitement, anticipation, and nervous fear were familiar companions to William E. VanFossen. The pain of foot sores and pulled muscles were hardly noticeable to him after his years of service in Company F, 52nd Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment of the Army of Northern Virginia.¹ Then the attack order had come.

VanFossen was born on February 29, 1840 in Augusta County, Virginia. Until the secession of Virginia in 1861, William had worked as a farm laborer. But as secession fever swept Augusta County, William, along with hundreds of others in the district, enlisted in the Confederate Army. William selected the 52nd Virginia on July 31, 1861. As a private he fought with this unit in the Army of Northern Virginia for two years.

Now William found himself on Northern soil. A battle had raged here for two days with General Robert E. Lee coming close to victory on both days. As the third day dawned the order came to prepare to attack once again up the wooded hill southeast of the town where the Union forces had successfully repelled attacks the previous day.²

¹Robert J. Driver, Jr., 52nd Virginia Infantry, (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1986), 40-41. Company F of the 52nd Virginia was one of several units which were mustered in the county of Augusta. Unlike many other companies, this unit had no nickname. The men of the sample group for this thesis are taken from an assortment of Virginia units. All information on the events surrounding the 52nd Virginia and William E. VanFossen are drawn from Driver's book.

²Driver, 38-39. This is a fictionalized story based on the facts surrounding William E. VanFossen's wounding and amputation. The facts for this story were drawn from Robert J. Driver's 52nd Virginia Infantry and William E. VanFossen's application for

William and his company moved out. The rugged and forested slopes of Culp's Hill made progress difficult enough without the fire of Federal soldiers.³ He and his companions marched toward the sounds of heavy fighting which revealed the location of the 2nd Virginia Regiment which was in dire need of the 52nd Virginia's assistance.⁴ They closed with the enemy. The fighting had been fierce. Then it happened. A sharp pain hit William in his right thigh. Before he knew what was happening, he was lying on the ground. The battle was all but forgotten as the pain took over VanFossen's existence.⁵

William could only watch as the members of his company not already dead or grievously wounded began a disorderly retreat back down Culp's Hill.⁶ Writhing in pain and faint with loss of blood, he was not at all upset when Federal soldiers moved forward and placed him into custody. He hardly cared that he was now a prisoner of war.⁷ Thankfully, the Federal soldiers sent the suffering VanFossen to the field hospital behind the Union lines.

Commutation submitted to the Auditor of Public Accounts for the State of Virginia, May 2, 1884.

³While the third day of the Battle of Gettysburg is best remembered for Pickett's Charge, there was heavy fighting earlier in the day on the extreme right flank of the Union line. That flank was anchored by the rugged and forested Culp's Hill. It is here that the 52nd Virginia Infantry Regiment, and William E. VanFossen, fought to break the Union line on July 3.

⁴Driver, 40-41.

⁵Driver, 158. While the actual details of William VanFossen's injury are not detailed, Driver states that he was wounded in the leg on July 3, 1863 at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania and that the leg was amputated.

⁶Driver 41.

⁷Driver, 40 - 41.

William learned the true horror of his condition when he was carried to the field hospital. He was informed by the overworked Union surgeon that the leg, hopelessly mangled just above the knee, would have to be amputated.⁸ As if that were not enough, he had to wait in a gruesome line as the surgeons worked through the other wounded soldiers. That was when he became aware of the screaming. The men ahead were having their arms and legs sawed off without the benefit of anesthesia for none was available to the surgeons. After three days of hard fighting and thousands of wounded, medical supplies were all but used up. Even the intense pain of his wounds was not enough to make William want to undergo this horrible operation. Then it was his turn.⁹

Scenes such as this were all too common during the American Civil War. Tens of thousands of men from both the North and the South lost an arm or leg to the wounds of battle. Many thousands of others were injured so severely that a limb was rendered useless. Still more lost eyes or received other debilitating wounds. By the end of the war the people of Virginia began to look for ways to aid the unfortunate men of their state who gave of themselves to defend the cause of the Confederate States of America.

This thesis will begin with a brief discussion of the actions taken during the Confederacy to aid those unfortunate soldiers who were left disabled by wounds which either led to amputation or left the veteran otherwise unable to perform manual labor. The thesis examines Virginia's postwar attempts to aid those disabled soldiers, sailors and marines. Shortly after the close of hostilities, Virginia began programs to obtain and distribute artificial limbs to veterans. Later, as more men applied and the problems associated with fitting, care and usage of artificial limbs became apparent to the General

⁸Reports of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1886, March 4, 1886. The commutation applications are located on microfilm and in manuscript form at the Library of Virginia in Richmond.

⁹Driver, 158.

Assembly of Virginia, these programs were altered to grant money in lieu of artificial limbs. It was from these programs that a general pension program eventually passed the General Assembly of Virginia in 1888.¹⁰ This thesis will discuss briefly the pension programs of Virginia which later resulted from these early philanthropic efforts.

To better understand the impact of Virginia's aid programs, I took a sample of applicants from the thousands of applications housed in the Library of Virginia. This sample was composed of the veterans of Augusta and Chesterfield counties. Unfortunately, the applications were not organized by county. Therefore, I had to individually examine each application to determine the residency of the veteran. This exhaustive study revealed a total of 172 men out of the more than 5,000 applications on file at the Library of Virginia were from these two counties. It is this initial sample which forms the basis of much of the following discussion.¹¹

Augusta County is located in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. Though dominated by the town of Staunton, Augusta had a large number of small towns within its borders. Thus, this county gives an excellent view of both rural and urban residents of Virginia during the period from 1860 to 1888. I found a total of ninety Augusta veterans who

¹⁰Jeffery R. Morrison, "Increasing the Pensions of these Worthy Heroes: Virginia's Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927," (Unpublished Thesis for Masters Degree, University of Richmond, 1996). Morrison's thesis covers Virginia's Confederate Pension program in far more depth than this thesis will endeavor to do.

¹¹A total of 174 applications were found and analyzed for these two counties. However, four of the applications belonged to just two men. Abner J. Forsee applied for and received a commutation of \$30 with an application in 1879. He reapplied and received another \$30 under the Act of 1882. E. F. Lockett applied for commutation in 1884. However, his application had not been processed by 1886 and he submitted a new application. Because of these two duplicates the total number of men in the sample is 172.

applied for aid from the state during the period between the end of the war and the institution of Virginia's pension program.

Chesterfield County, located just to the south of the capital city of Richmond, while largely rural, also consisted of a fair number of urban inhabitants because of its close proximity to both Richmond and Petersburg. I found a total of eighty-two Chesterfield veterans who applied for aid.

After collecting the applications from Augusta and Chesterfield I searched the U. S. Manuscript Census for Virginia. The census recorded information on the veteran's family, occupation, personal estate, real estate, and whether or not they headed a household.¹² Unfortunately, the index for the various census reports are less than reliable. Therefore, I had to examine the census reports line by line for both counties for the years 1860, 1870, and 1880 was required to find as many veterans as possible.

To better place the aid programs in an overall context a study was made of the legislation surrounding it. I began by searching the index for the Joint Acts and Resolution of the House of Delegates and Senate, and the Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate for the years 1865 to 1894 for the following topics were examined: artificial limbs, maimed, commutations, veterans, disabled, soldiers, wounded, and confederate. In this way I located the legislation relevant to assistance for disabled veterans.¹³

¹²Unfortunately, the 1880 Census does not include estate information. Nevertheless, a review of the 1880 census does provide other useful information on the veterans family and occupation.

¹³While the chronological scope of this thesis extends only to 1888 there was one relevant act passed in 1894. Upon review of this legislation, which will be mentioned later, it was determined that it was not important enough to warrant an extension of the scope of the thesis.

After reviewing Virginia's postwar legislation, I made a similar search of the Confederate period. Unfortunately, no comprehensive source was available which detailed all the legislation reviewed by the Confederate Congress. However, by reviewing various sources, I discovered much of the pertinent legislation. These sources include: Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, and various bills preserved at the Library of Virginia. It was during this search of the Library of Virginia's documents that the fortunate discovery of the "Brief Review of the Plan of Operations of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers" gave some insight into the private aid attempts during the Confederacy.

Following the review of the Confederate era, I searched the Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts. This source gave information on approximately how many of Virginia's veterans were aided and how much money was spent by the government in any given year. This placed the sample group into the context of Virginia as a whole.

I consulted numerous secondary sources to provide additional background for the thesis. These included Federal Military Pensions in the United States, Artificial Limbs for Confederate Soldiers, Orthopedic Injuries of the Civil War, Ghosts of the Confederacy, and Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia. These works included information which was relevant to the thesis but was not included directly in the primary source material.

I also reviewed the pension applications for 1888, 1900, and 1902 to determine which members of the sample group applied for further relief. However, the majority of information concerning Virginia's Confederate pension program was found in

“Increasing the Pensions of these Worthy Heroes: Virginia’s Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927” by Jeffery R. Morrison.

This thesis primarily considers the period between the end of the war and the creation of Virginia’s Confederate pension program in 1888. Because little has been written on similar artificial limb programs in the Southern states it is necessary to look at the pension programs granted to Civil War veterans by both the Union and the various former Confederate States.

The largest aid program for Civil War veterans was the pension program initiated by the Federal government to provide for the veterans and widows of the Union Army. This pension program sprang from the prewar benefit package granted to regular army soldiers. As the army swelled with volunteer and conscript soldiers the United States Congress began to allow pensions to soldiers with benefits based on disability resulting from military service.¹⁴ The Congress also granted benefits to widows, orphans, and other dependents of deceased soldiers. These dependents received from the government an amount in money equal to that which the veteran would have received if he were alive and completely disabled.¹⁵

In 1862 the Federal pension included a total of 10,700 recipients receiving about \$1 million.¹⁶ By 1866 the Federal pension list had escalated to 126,722 beneficiaries

¹⁴Theda Skocpol, “America’s First Social Security System: The Expansion of Benefits for Civil War Veterans,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 108 (Spring 1993), 93. The internal quote was taken by Skocpol from William H. Glasson, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1918), 125.

¹⁵Skocpol, 93.

¹⁶Glasson, 124.

receiving about \$15.5 million. Following the war veteran lobby groups, such as the Grand Army of the Republic, steadily pressured Congress to increase benefits. By 1900 veterans were receiving aid based on age-related disability rather than war-related injury. By 1910, 28 percent of men over age 65 were on the pension rolls receiving an average of \$189 per year, a hefty sum at the time.¹⁷

As generous as the Federal pension system was, it did not grant benefits to the hundreds of thousands of men who served in the Confederate Army. By the 1880s Confederate Veterans began to pressure their individual states for similar pension programs. Each Southern state granted a pension to its disabled veterans. Like the Federal program, these Southern pensions were later expanded to include age-related disability.

It is here that the similarities between the two programs end. The Confederate pension programs, based on the economies of individual states, could not hope to match the monetary generosity of the Federal program.¹⁸ From the end of the war in 1865 to about 1930 the average Federal pensioner received \$165 per year compared to the average Confederate pensioner's \$38.50.¹⁹

Although the Confederate pension programs were not constituted until well after the war, many Southern States had already instituted programs to aid severely disabled veterans. One work which describes an artificial limb program in another Southern state

¹⁷Skocpol, 97, 85. As no former Confederate soldiers were eligible for this pension this number represents only those elderly men in the North who fought for the Union.

¹⁸B. U. Ratchford and K. C. Heise, "Confederate Pensions," Southern Economic Journal 5 (October 1938), 215.

¹⁹M. B. Morton, "Federal and Confederate Pensions Contrasted," The Forum 16 (September, 1893 - February, 1894), 74.

other than Virginia is Patrick J. McCawley's Artificial Limbs for Confederate Soldiers.²⁰ McCawley's work discusses the efforts of the South Carolina General Assembly to obtain and distribute artificial limbs to the former Confederate soldiers of its state.²¹ McCawley's study demonstrates what another state went through to institute aid programs for disabled soldiers.

It will be shown that many of the changes which took place in South Carolina mirrored those made by the Virginia General Assembly. Like Virginia, South Carolina began its attempts to aid disabled veterans shortly after the close of the war. Also like Virginia, South Carolina began with a simple program to give artificial limbs to amputee soldiers. As the years passed both programs evolved to include veterans with other disabilities and finally converted to general pension programs.

Chapter One of this thesis examines the actions taken by the Confederacy to aid their disabled veterans during the war. Of particular interest are the actions by the Confederate Congress from the initial battles to the surrender in April of 1865. However, this chapter also takes a close look at one private philanthropic organization founded during the war to take up the slack left by the government.

Chapter Two, covering the period from 1865 to 1870, details the conception and initial institution of Virginia's aid program as a small plan to provide artificial limbs to the Veterans of the Commonwealth. This chapter also introduces the process and complications associated with medical care in the Civil War era.

²⁰Patrick J. McCawley, Artificial Limbs for Confederate Soldiers (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1992).

²¹McCawley, 1-6.

Chapter Three shows the evolution of the program from the simple distribution of artificial limbs to a large program to help all disabled veterans by 1880. In addition to the legislative history, the effects of the program on the individual veterans is discussed by analyzing its effects on the men of Augusta and Chesterfield counties.

Chapter Four discusses the final evolution of Virginia's aid program. The 1880s saw a program which included all disabled veterans, amputees or otherwise. Thousands of men applied for aid from 1882 to 1888. Here again the veterans of Augusta and Chesterfield are looked at to determine the impact of the aid programs. It was from the various acts passed during the 1880s that Virginia's Confederate pension program evolved. This Chapter also includes a brief discussion of how this pension program was created in 1888.

CHAPTER ONE
PHILANTHROPIC ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE FOR DISABLED SOLDIERS
DURING THE CONFEDERACY

Leroy Parker Dangerfield, Jr. joined the Bath Cavalry on May 14, 1861. On June 3, 1861, more than a month before the Battle of First Manassas, this 35-year-old farmer from Bath County was wounded in the leg at the Battle of Phillipi in what would soon become West Virginia. His wound was so serious that surgeons determined that amputation was the only alternative. Thus, Dangerfield became the first soldier to have a limb amputated during the Civil War.¹ He would not be the last. Each battle became larger than the last and very quickly both the North and the South had a numerous disabled soldiers on their hands.

In April of 1862, as it became clear that the war would not end soon, the Confederate government first addressed the need for separate dispensation for its disabled soldiers. On April 21, 1862, "Bill No. 32" was proposed before the House of Representatives. "An Act to provide for granting discharges to disabled soldiers" was intended to allow such soldiers to leave the army and return home but without

¹U. S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Bath County, Virginia; Richard L. Armstrong, *11th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989), 5, 136. Armstrong states that it was believed Leroy Parker Dangerfield, Jr. was the first man to undergo amputation surgery during the Civil War. While it is impossible to prove beyond a doubt that this is the case, he surely was one of the first. Because Dangerfield moved to Augusta County after the war he is included in the sample group discussed throughout the thesis.

monetary compensation from the government.² Disability had to be proven and sworn to by a surgeon or two assistant surgeons, then submitted to the approval of the Surgeon General or the Medical Director of the Division.³ It was hoped that this double approval requirement would prevent fraudulent discharge of able-bodied soldiers. Once cleared by the Surgeon General of the Confederacy, the soldier's disability was then brought to the attention of the Secretary of War. It was up to his discretion whether or not to discharge any given soldier.⁴

In December of 1863 the Confederate Congress determined it must do more for its growing population of disabled soldiers. A House bill, whose number has since been lost, established that any soldier or officer who proved before a board of surgeons that he was disabled,

by reason of wounds or injuries received, or disease manifestly received in the service, and in the line of duty, may resign his commission, or demand his discharge, (as the case may be), or continue in the service, as he may prefer.⁵

²Bill No. 32 is housed in the Rare Books Room of the Library of Virginia. It is not reported if in its original form it was passed into law. However, later legislation refers to disabled soldiers discharged from the army thus proving that this bill, or one like it, was passed by the Confederate Congress of 1862.

³Bill No. 32, Section 1.

⁴Bill No. 32, Section 2.

⁵Bill No. "Blank", Section 1. This bill is housed in the Rare Books Room of the Library of Virginia. The original document does not state its number. Nevertheless, this bill provides an excellent insight into the legislative attempts to aid disabled soldiers during the Civil War.

Section 2 of this “Bill No. Blank” stated that any officer or soldier who elected to remain in the army despite disability would be considered on furlough without pay. If, however, the disabled soldier was able to prove that his disability prevented him from earning a livelihood and that he was not receiving aid from any other private or government source, he would receive pay. Officers with such disability received half their usual pay. Non-commissioned officers and privates received full pay as if they were still on active duty.⁶ This act also required that any disabled soldier whose injury healed enough to end that disability would be returned to active duty.⁷ Under this bill it was the responsibility of the Secretary of War to see to it that these men returned to duty.⁸

By allowing their disabled soldiers to draw pay from the army, the Confederate Congress granted a monetary allowance to these men. This is the first occasion in which the Confederate States created what could be considered a social welfare program for those in need. By granting this money the Confederacy allowed its disabled soldiers to feed themselves and their families when they may not have otherwise been able to do so.

Despite its benefits, the new law caused some problems. It created within the Confederate Army a large contingent of men who, while still officers and soldiers, were unable to perform active duty.⁹ The administrative problems of accounting for

⁶Bill No. “Blank,” Section 2.

⁷Bill No. “Blank,” Section 4.

⁸Bill No. “Blank,” Section 5.

⁹No provision is made under this law for disabled sailors or marines.

thousands of men of questionable status within the army led the Confederate Congress to enact on February 17, 1864 a law to provide for an Invalid Corps.¹⁰ This new law required that all officers and soldiers who became disabled would be “retired or discharged from their respective positions . . . but the rank, pay and emoluments . . . shall continue to the end of the war, or as long as they shall continue so retired or discharged.”¹¹ These benefits were contingent upon the soldier’s appearance before a medical board once every six months for examination. If the soldier failed to appear without a valid reason, such as being unable to get out of bed, he would be dropped from the Invalid Corps and become subject to conscription.¹²

This new Invalid Corps did not send disabled soldiers home, as had previous laws, except in cases of extreme disability. The Confederacy required all its men, healthy or not, to perform such duty as they were able. The Secretary of War was responsible for assigning these soldiers to light duty according to their ability.¹³

The only direct mention of artificial limbs within the Confederate Congress came on December 24, 1864. Representative John B. Baldwin presented to the House

¹⁰James M. Matthews, ed., “Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-1864” Chapter LVL. - “An Act to Provide an Invalid Corps,” The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America (Buffalo, New York: Williams, Hein and Company, 1888), 293.

¹¹Matthews, 293, Chap. LVL, Section 1.

¹²Matthews, 293, Chap. LVL, Section 2 and 3. The only valid reason for failure to appear before a medical board stated in the law was extreme disability requiring the soldier to remain at home.

¹³Matthews, 293, Chap. LVL, Section 4.

the petition of Hanger and Brothers, a manufacturer of artificial limbs.¹⁴ Hanger and Brothers asked the Congress to exempt manufacturers like themselves from taxation.¹⁵

Several additional bills concerning aid to wounded and disabled soldiers were discussed in 1864 and 1865.¹⁶ While copies of these bills no longer exist, it would appear that they were similar in form to Bills 31 and "Blank".

Before the end of the war, one final step was taken by the Confederate government to aid its disabled soldiers. Because of the large numbers of men with poorly-treated wounds it was decided to create a system of orthopedic hospitals intended "for the exclusive treatment of old injuries and deformities from gunshot wounds."¹⁷ Two such hospitals, one in Richmond, Virginia, and the other in

¹⁴Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861 - 1865, VII (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1968; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905) 385. Henceforth, this work will be referred to as House and Senate Journal. Unfortunately it is unclear exactly what provisions these bills contained. Later evidence proves that the Confederate Congress had not passed any ordinance to grant artificial limbs to its soldiers by January of 1865. It is possible that such a provision was passed in the final months of the war. If this were the case, however, there was little time to implement the legislation before the fall of the Confederacy in April of 1865.

¹⁵Journal, IV 385. It is unclear if the Confederate Congress allowed this tax exempt status to manufacturers of artificial limbs. John B. Baldwin would later represent Augusta County in the Virginia General Assembly and, as Hanger and Brothers was located in Augusta, he was the obvious proponent for their case in the Confederate Congress.

¹⁶Journal, IV 659, 675, 686, 712; VII 718, 737, 738, 762.

¹⁷Julian E. Kuz, and Bradley P. Bengtson, Orthopedic Injuries of the Civil War. An Atlas of Orthopedic Injuries and Treatments during the Civil War, (Kennesaw, Georgia: Kennesaw Mountain Press, Inc., 1996), 12.

Lauderdale Springs, Mississippi, were created before the end of the war. A measure passed by the Confederate Congress on March 9, 1865 opened these hospitals to all disabled soldiers with “reasonable prospects of responding to skilled surgical attention.”¹⁸ These hospitals were to care for unhealed or imperfectly healed wounds, necrosis, sloughing, false joints, ununited[sic] dislocations, local paralysis, hernia, stone of the bladder, and various other postoperative complications.¹⁹ According to H. H. Cunningham, these hospitals had little effect as the war came to a close shortly after their conception. However, he points out that their introduction shows the general concern for disabled veterans by the people of the South.²⁰

By 1864 the Confederate government was just beginning to come to the aid of its disabled soldiers. It was at this time that many civilians began to see the need to augment government efforts. This social awareness led to the formation of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers. The Association was founded at a public meeting at the African Church in Richmond on January 22, 1864.²¹ It was

¹⁸H. H. Cunningham, Doctors in Gray, The Confederate Medical Service, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 236.

¹⁹Cunningham, 236.

²⁰Cunningham, 236.

²¹“Brief Review of the Plan of Operations of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers,” 1. This report is housed in the Rare Books Room of the Library of Virginia. Henceforth this work will be noted as ARMS (Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers).

contended in “Brief Review of the Plan of Operations of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers” that

more than 10,000 men have lost limbs by<sic> casualties of battle, during the war, and the sight of empty sleeves and of men hobbling on wooden pegs, or swinging on the galling crutch, is now familiar, and should suggest to all observers the necessity for organization for the relief of these sufferers, and for the encouragement of proper manufacturers.²²

The Association’s official report stated that its purpose was to

appeal principally to benevolent and patriotic Confederate citizens, to unite and present to each of those deprived of their limbs, an artificial limb not as an act of charity, but of esteem, respect and gratitude.²³

Before the war amputees were uncommon in the largely agrarian South. Disease and farm accidents accounted for most of the rare amputations each year. These few unfortunate souls were able to obtain artificial limbs from manufacturers located primarily in the North. The report of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers stated that the North, being heavily industrialized, had a much higher percentage of amputees and as such most manufacturers of artificial limbs were located in its cities.²⁴ The Association determined to collect money by private donation and encourage manufacturing as well as beginning distribution of artificial limbs to needy disabled veterans.²⁵

²²ARMS, 1.

²³ARMS, 2-3.

²⁴ARMS, 1.

²⁵ARMS, 1.

The Association's primary means of collecting money was through membership dues. An annual subscribing member was required to pay \$10. A life membership cost \$300. Those who donated \$1,000 were made Honorary Directors of the Association, R. M. S.²⁶ The Association's first Honorary Director was General Robert E. Lee as soldiers recuperating at Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond donated \$1,000 to the Association for the express purpose of honoring him. Its second was Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest when a similar honorary donation was made on his behalf by soldiers in Mississippi.²⁷ Between January 22, 1864 and January 17, 1865, the Association gained receipts totaling \$113,464.²⁸ Over this same period the Association incurred expenditures amounting to \$122,958.²⁹

As a private philanthropic organization the Association chose to ask various government agencies for money in order to make good on its debts. Letters were sent to the governors of each Confederate state. At the time of its first annual report on January 1865, most of the governors had not responded. However, Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina promised to see to it that the North Carolina legislature reimbursed the institution for the cost of all artificial limbs given to the men of his

²⁶ARMS, 3.

²⁷ARMS, 3. The exact date upon which these honorary positions were conferred is not recorded.

²⁸ARMS, 3. Most of the money received by the Association came from residents in and around Richmond.

²⁹ARMS, 3. This amount left the Association with an outstanding debt of \$9,494, which is referred to repeatedly in the report. The report centers much of its attention on the efforts of the Association to recoup its debts.

state.³⁰ His assurance amounted to \$7,105. With this promise the Association expected to reduce its debt to just \$2,389.³¹ It was hoped that the governors of other states would make similar donations to allow the Association to recoup costs.

So what did the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers get for its money? The Association claimed to produce and distribute an average of 75 artificial legs every month. Despite the fact that the Association was based in Richmond, its members wished to aid all the men of the Confederacy. As such, the artificial legs were distributed to the men of the Confederacy without bias as to their home state.³² Men from fourteen states, including all the Confederate states as well as several border states, received legs from the Association.³³

The Association purchased artificial limbs on contract to manufacturers for a cost dependent on the kind of limb produced. Artificial legs for below the knee cost \$150, for those at the knee \$175, and for legs above the knee \$200.³⁴ The Association even provided corresponding shoes to go with the new artificial leg for \$65.³⁵ According to its report the distribution of limbs could be greatly increased if only more money were made available.³⁶

³⁰ARMS, 4.

³¹ARMS, 4.

³²ARMS, 4.

³³ARMS, 5.

³⁴ARMS, 7. These prices appear to be rather high. The postwar aid programs paid no more than \$60 to \$80 per artificial limb. It is likely that the price of artificial limbs during the war was inflated both by a lack of supply and the high inflation experienced by the Confederacy.

³⁵ARMS, 7.

As the money was collected and the artificial limbs began to be distributed, the Association ran into the second of its problems. With the majority of artificial limb manufacturers being located in the North, the Association was forced to turn to Southern manufacturers and foreign imports. Representatives were sent to Europe to make contracts and it was hoped this would soon become a source of supply for the South.³⁷ But, as of January 1865, few if any artificial limbs had been imported. That left Southern manufacturers as the only available source of supply.

The Association listed those manufacturers it had on its rolls as part of its “Brief Plan of Operations.” In the entire Confederacy after four years of war there were only seven full time manufacturers of artificial limbs in contact with the Association. The Association admitted in its report that there could be more, but only these seven had submitted proposals for contracts: G. W. Wells and Brothers, Charlottesville, Virginia; Spooner and Harris, Charlottesville, Virginia; James W. Hanger and Brother, Staunton, Virginia; Strasser and Callahan, Montgomery, Alabama; Hughes and Knode, Montgomery, Alabama; W. T. Cole, Newman, Georgia; and Frank Rummel, Augusta, Georgia.³⁸ The Association also listed Peter Brenner, Augusta, Georgia; Richard Tozer, Columbia, South Carolina; William Bradley,

³⁶ARMS, 4. This point is repeated several times within the Association’s annual report.

³⁷ARMS, 10. The report of the Association refers to plans to import limbs from France and learn how to produce domestic prosthetics using the same designs. However, at the time of the January 1865 report, this was a future objective of the Association rather than one already completed.

³⁸ARMS, 6.

Manchester Cotton Mills, Virginia; Christopher C. Sommersett, New Hanover County, North Carolina; and William F. Brown, Amherst County, Virginia as “Persons who have made artificial limbs, but who are not extensively engaged in their manufacture.”³⁹ Thus, there were only seven full-time and five part-time manufacturers of artificial limbs to meet the needs of the thousands of men in the Confederate States who lost limbs in battle.

How did those interested in obtaining artificial limbs go about getting them from the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers? The Association required that an application be made, either in person or by letter, to its Corresponding Secretary. This application asked for the applicant’s name, rank, company, date on which the limb was amputated, the limb amputated, the Surgeon’s name, the hospital at which the operation was conducted, the reason for its removal, where and when the wound was received, and the current residence of the applicant.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, these applications, which would give an excellent view of the men who applied, no longer exist. Nor was there any report as to the total number of applications made to the Association.

Despite the fact that exact numbers of applicants are not available, surely there were thousands. In its report the Association specifically states that “no reference is made to the supply and manufacture of Artificial Arms to applicants.”⁴¹ However, this commentary refers to many hundreds of applicants for artificial arms specifically.

³⁹ARMS, 6.

⁴⁰ARMS, 8.

⁴¹ARMS, 10.

Unfortunately, monetary constraints caused the Association to decide that its effort should be directed to those men who lost legs as they were in greater need.⁴² As the Association centered its early efforts on artificial legs, it is likely that many more applications were made for legs than arms. Therefore, as hundreds applied for artificial arms it is likely that thousands applied to the Association for legs and other assorted disabilities.

In addition to its work in getting artificial limbs to disabled soldiers, the Association played an active role in promoting its cause to the Confederate Congress. It was commonly known that the United States Congress had previously passed an act which guaranteed all its maimed soldiers an artificial limb paid for by the government.⁴³ It was the fervent hope of the Association that similar legislation, being considered by the Confederate Congress, would be enacted.⁴⁴ However, until such legislation were passed, disabled Confederate veterans were left hobbling on their crutches. Only the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers was there to help these unfortunate men.

⁴²ARMS, 10. A man with one leg cannot get around without a crutch which is cumbersome and uncomfortable at best. A man without an arm still has another with which to perform necessary tasks.

⁴³ARMS, 5.

⁴⁴ARMS, 5. It must be noted that by this late date in the war the Confederacy was in great financial turmoil. Unlike the wealthy Federal Congress, the Confederate Congress did not have the funds available to pursue such an endeavor. Near the end of the war orthopedic hospitals were set up by the Confederacy, one in each state, specifically for follow up care of amputee soldiers. However, no evidence exists which suggests that the Confederate Congress enacted legislation similar to that of the United States Congress for the purpose of insuring artificial limbs to all disabled soldiers before the close of hostilities.

While waiting for the national government to take over its relief program, the Association had a suggestion as to what the Confederate Congress could do to help its cause. One major problem associated with the lack of manufacturers in the South was distribution. Most manufacturers were located in the few major cities. In order to insure a proper fit and thus a functional substitute limb, the maimed soldier had to present himself to the manufacturer for precise measurement for the artificial limb. This necessity required that every soldier needing aid had to travel from his home to one of the large cities. As many of these unfortunate men were unable to afford transportation it was suggested by the Association that the Confederate Congress should allow these men to travel free of charge.⁴⁵ It was also hoped that the Congress would provide transportation to the officers and representatives of the Association as they went about their work and perhaps pay some of the cost of the manufacture of the artificial limbs.⁴⁶

The first and only report of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers was written in January of 1865, three months before the close of the war. The months leading up to that point were a time of confusion in Richmond. Therefore, it is unclear whether the Confederate Congress passed artificial limb legislation before the close of hostilities. Even if such laws were passed, there would have been little time to put them into effect. However, given the institution of the orthopedic hospitals, it is not

⁴⁵ARMS, 5.

⁴⁶ARMS, 5. No mention of these requests is contained in the various legislative records of the Confederate government. Therefore, it is unlikely that the Association received payment for artificial limbs from the government. It is possible that it was allowed free travel. However, no evidence remains of such a policy on behalf of the Confederate Congress.

unlikely that had the Confederacy survived longer such artificial limb legislation would have passed the Confederate Congress.

The Association was instituted under the Confederacy. Therefore, with the fall of the Confederate government the Association ceased to exist.⁴⁷ Disabled veterans would have to look elsewhere for aid. Fortunately, the public had not forgotten the sacrifices of its loyal soldiers. In the years following the war this sentiment led the General Assembly of Virginia to enact legislation for their benefit. The upcoming three chapters detail the institution and evolution of the postwar aid program from 1867 to the institution of a general pension program in 1888.

⁴⁷There is no evidence which would suggest the Association remained in tact following the war. However, there is evidence that smaller organizations which aided veterans on a smaller scale did exist.

CHAPTER TWO
VIRGINIA'S ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE
ARTIFICIAL LIMBS FOR VETERANS, 1865 TO 1880

With the war over and the Confederacy dissolved, Virginia found itself with thousands of disabled veterans who were incapable of caring for their families and ineligible for the pensions offered by the Federal government. The General Assembly quickly moved to assist these men.

Beginning as early as December of 1865, just eight months after the end of the war, the General Assembly of Virginia began proposing legislation to aid its disabled Confederate soldiers. General proposals were made for their aid by delegates A. S. Hancock of Chesterfield County and J. Wood of Albemarle County.¹ Both these proposals were deemed, after discussion in committee, to be not expedient at that time. However, the advocates for disabled Confederate Veterans were far from defeated.

Governor Francis H. Pierpont suggested in his annual speech to the General Assembly on December 4, 1866 that Virginia should supply artificial limbs to the maimed soldiers of the war.² He argued that with the assistance of artificial limbs

¹Morrison, 4-5. While the focus of Morrison's thesis is the pension programs which follow these aid programs, he provides a brief overview of the legislative process surrounding the aid programs. His study will be referred to occasionally and is suggested to readers who wish to learn more of Virginia's aid programs after 1888.

²Jennifer Davis McDaid, "Artificial Limbs for Confederate Veterans," 1. This unpublished essay, which accompanies the microfilm applications for commutation located at the Library of Virginia in Richmond, is a brief discussion of the artificial

these men would be able to return to the work force and thereby survive without further support from the state.³

With this speech in mind the General Assembly began work to aid its disabled veterans. On Monday, December 3, 1866, Delegate A. J. Clark proposed a resolution to determine the expediency of exempting disabled soldiers from taxation. This resolution was referred to the Finance Committee where, on December 13, it was determined that such an exemption was not expedient as the county courts of the Commonwealth held jurisdiction over such taxation.⁴

Within a week of this defeat the General Assembly considered House Bill No. 50, "an act to provide artificial limbs for citizens of this commonwealth who lost their limbs in the late war."⁵ Before its passage Bill No. 50 underwent many changes and attempted revisions. For example, on January 10, 1867, Senator Philip W. Strother, representing Rappahannock, Fauquier, Madison, and Culpeper counties, moved to include within the provisions of the act those soldiers residing in the new state of West Virginia. Despite the loyal Confederate service of those men of West Virginia, this amendment was defeated.⁶

limb and commutation program. While the essay is lacking in detail and contains some inaccuracies, it provides a good introduction to the sources contained in the Library of Virginia.

³McDaid, 1.

⁴Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1866-1867, 7, 45. Unfortunately, the proceedings and discussions of the various committees relevant to this material do not appear to exist and cannot, therefore, be included in a discussion of the artificial limb legislation.

⁵Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1866-1867, 79-80.

⁶Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1866-1867, 104-105.

It was also determined at this time that the program would only provide artificial limbs to amputees. An amendment presented by Senator Jefferson T. Lawson, representing Carroll, Floyd, and Patrick counties, as well as one presented by Senator Edmund C. Robinson of Norfolk, to grant an equivalent in money to those men who could not use artificial limbs, was defeated.⁷ Senator George H. Peck, the representative of Giles, Montgomery, Roanoke, and Craig counties, even suggested that recipients should receive double the cost of an artificial limb.⁸ Peck's suggestion also was defeated. The bill then went to the House of Delegates.

On January 20, 1867 the House of Delegates and Senate finally passed a law to grant artificial limbs to its disabled veterans.⁹ The law created a board consisting of the Governor, Auditor of Public Accounts, and Dr. F. B. Watkins of the city of Richmond, to contract and furnish one artificial limb to "every citizen of this commonwealth<sic> who lost a limb in the late war."¹⁰

⁷Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1866-1867, 104-105. The exact vote count was not recorded in this case.

⁸Morrison, 5.

⁹Acts of Assembly, 1866-1867, 576. An interesting conflict occurred in the dates of the passage of this law. According to the Acts of Assembly the law was enacted on January 20, 1867. However, the Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate refers to a joint committee of both the House and Senate which was put together specifically to work out the differences between the two bodies over Bill No. 50. According to the Journal, this committee presented its findings to the Senate on January 24, 1867. Its recommendations, thus accepted, were sent to the House which agreed on January 25, 1867. It would thus seem that the law was enacted on January 25, not on January 20, 1867.

¹⁰Acts of Assembly, 576.

The Act of 1867 required that all veterans who lost limbs during the war must submit to the board a certificate from their county court. This certificate must confirm that the applicant resided in Virginia both before the war and at the time of application. Further, the applicant had to provide proof that he lost his limb during the Civil War.¹¹ The applicant also was to include such information as his unit, where and when he was wounded, and an evaluation of these wounds by a medical doctor. Once these certificates were written by the court they were sent to the Auditor of Public Accounts in Richmond. It was then up to the Auditor and his office to approve or disallow the application.¹²

While the General Assembly appropriated \$20,000 to provide artificial limbs to veterans, it vastly underestimated the expense to which it was committing the state of Virginia. Indeed, the law stated that this sum may be more than was required to complete the state's obligation.¹³ However, the \$20,000 proved to be just the beginning in a series of acts granting hundreds of thousands of dollars to thousands of Virginia's disabled soldiers.

This initial appropriation lasted only two years. In 1867 approximately 225 artificial limbs were given out for a total sum of \$13,700. In 1868 approximately

¹¹Acts of Assembly, 576.

¹²Reports of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867.

¹³Acts of Assembly, 576.

another 105 artificial limbs were distributed at a total cost of \$6,292. This accounted for the entire \$20,000 appropriated in 1867.

In order to better understand the impact of the new aid program it is necessary to look at some of the individual disabled veterans who were affected by its institution. To that end I have assembled a sample group of 172 veterans from the applications to the Auditor of Public Accounts for the various programs. Rather than choose completely randomly from across the state I decided to center attention on the counties of Augusta and Chesterfield. Initially, I chose these two for their variation in location in order to evaluate a better representation of the overall population of Virginia. However, as will be shown, these two turned out to be excellent choices for other reasons as well.

Augusta County is located in the Shenandoah Valley in what is now northwest Virginia. A glance at the occupations of the men who lived in Augusta in 1860 shows clearly that they lived in a rural society. (See Table 1.) Fifty-eight percent of the sample worked as farmers, farm laborers, or came from farming families. However, a large minority of non-agricultural workers shows the heavy influence of the city of Staunton located in the center of the county.

Chesterfield County also was largely rural in the nineteenth century as 61% of its veterans who would later apply for aid were farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, or were members of farming families. (See Table 1.) Like Augusta, Chesterfield also had a large minority urban class. While it did not have a single dominating large city, like Augusta, its location just south of the capital of Richmond gave it this urban characteristic. Like Augusta, Chesterfield County also forms an excellent sample to

represent Virginia as a whole. In 1860 the men of both counties fell fairly evenly along socio-economic lines. (See Table 2.) They also reflected a fairly even spread in age. (See Table 3.)

Occupation	Augusta	Chesterfield	Other*	Total
Farmer/Farm	9	13	2	24
Farm Manager	0	3	0	3
Laborer/Farm Hand	17	3	0	20
Carpenter	2	3	1	6
Blacksmith	2	0	0	2
Mechanic	0	1	0	1
Student	7	3	1	11
Merchant(family)	0	1	0	1
Miner	0	1	0	1
Limeburner	1	0	0	1
Grocer	0	1	0	1
Tailor	1	0	0	1
Stage Driver	1	0	0	1
Miller	1	0	0	1
Teacher	1	0	0	1
Printer	1	0	0	1
Arms Collector	0	0	1	1
None Given	2	2	1	5
TOTAL	45	31	6	82

Source: U. S. Manuscript Census Reports, 1860, Schedule 1, Augusta, Chesterfield, Amelia, Bath, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Shenandoah Counties, Virginia; Virginia Regimental Series: 5th Virginia Infantry, 6th Virginia Infantry, 9th Virginia Infantry, 14th Virginia Infantry, 25th Virginia Infantry, 52nd Virginia Infantry, 2nd Rockingham Artillery.

* Some of the men in the sample group moved to Augusta or Chesterfield after the war. A total of 6 of these men were located in the 1860 U. S. Manuscript Census in different counties.

Table 2: Economic Status, Sample Group, 1860

Estate Value*	Augusta			Chesterfield			Other		
	Personal Estate	Real Estate	Total Estate	Personal Estate	Real Estate	Total Estate	Personal Estate	Real Estate	Total Estate
\$0	13	5	5	9	3	2	1	0	0
1-100	1	7	4	0	4	4	0	1	1
101-500	1	5	4	1	2	1	0	0	0
501-1,000	1	2	2	3	2	1	0	2	1
1,001-5,000	5	6	6	4	3	5	1	0	1
,001-20,00	7	3	6	1	4	4	2	1	0
20,000 +	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1

Source: U. S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Augusta, Chesterfield, Bath, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Shenandoah Counties of Virginia.

* For those men who are not heads of household, the head of their households property is listed.
Total estate combines both real and personal.

Table 3: Ages, Sample Group, 1860

Age	Augusta	Chesterfield	Other*	Total
12-17#	4	6	1	11
18-20	4	2	0	6
21-25	9	2	1	12
26-30	2	3	1	6
31-35	4	3	1	8
36-40	4	2	0	6
41 +	0	0	1	1
Total	27	18	5	50

Source: Virginia Manuscript Census, 1860, Augusta, Chesterfield, Amelia, Bath, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Shenandoah counties.

Jacob Sheets was listed as being 12 years of age in 1860, the youngest member of the sample group.

* These men resided in counties other than Augusta or Chesterfield in 1860 but moved to one or the other after the war.

It was under the Act of 1867 that the first applications began to come in from Augusta County. Two veterans, Charles E. Wood and M. Y. Hall, applied to the Auditor of Public Accounts for artificial legs. Charles E. Wood's September 25, 1871 application detailed the condition of his wound. While serving in the 5th Virginia Infantry during the Battle of Winchester on May 25, 1863 Wood received a wound to his right leg just below the knee.¹⁴ Five days later, while still in the field, it was determined that the leg must be amputated. The surgeon chose to perform a circular amputation procedure.¹⁵ Following the operation the limb healed properly.¹⁶ M. Y. Hall's April 25, 1872 application merely claimed that he lost a leg during the war.¹⁷ Both men, having been residents of Virginia before the war and residing in Augusta County after the war claimed the benefit of aid from the state. Accordingly, orders were placed with Dr. H. L. Thomas, M. D. and James E. Hanger for artificial legs for these two disabled veterans.¹⁸

¹⁴Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867, Wood, Charles E.

¹⁵This is one of two primary amputation procedures. More information will be provided on the circular amputation method later in the thesis.

¹⁶Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867, Wood, Charles E.

¹⁷Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867, Hall, M. Y.

¹⁸Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1866-1875. J. E. Hanger was responsible for the manufacture of the artificial limbs. Dr. Thomas was paid to examine the limbs.

On March 4, 1870 , the question of artificial limbs was once again brought before the General Assembly. In the House of Delegates John R. Moss of Amelia County resolved that the committee of finance should inquire into the expediency of an appropriation toward furnishing artificial limbs to disabled soldiers.¹⁹ On May 5, 1870, a similar resolution was made in the Senate by J. L. Greever of Washington and Smyth counties.²⁰ On, May 16, the finance committee approved House Bill No. 163.²¹

On June 3, 1870, on motion of Mr. Thurman, House Bill No. 163 was sent to a special committee consisting of Delegates Benjamin H. Moulton, S. B. Morrison, J. L. Campbell, Richard U. Burgess and A. N. Fretz.²² This committee deliberated the wording and substance of Bill No. 163 and returned its findings to the House of Delegates. On July 5, the House passed Bill No. 163 with 79 yeas and 6 nays.²³

During this same period the Senate moved forward with Senate Bill No. 254, which was virtually the same as that of the House.²⁴ However, on July 5, the Senate received word from the House of the passage of House Bill No. 163.²⁵ With this House bill now under consideration, the Senate equivalent was suspended and the

¹⁹Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 163.

²⁰Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 376.

²¹Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 441.

²²Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 505.

²³Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 505.

²⁴Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 495.

²⁵Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 596.

usual political and legal squabbling began between the House and Senate over Bill No. 163.²⁶

Finally, with a Senate vote of 95 yeas and 3 nays, on November 1 “An ACT to provide Artificial Limbs for Citizens of the Commonwealth who lost their Legs during the late war” became law.²⁷ While similar in form to the Act of 1867, it is interesting to note that this new law specified that artificial legs were to be distributed. No mention was made of artificial arms and no explanation was given for the change. It is likely that during the first four years of the program following the Act of 1867 it was determined that the cost of the program would exceed the early expectations. Therefore, it is likely that the House of Delegates decided to center its attention on the area of most need, those men without legs.

The Act of 1870 also prohibited the granting of artificial limbs in several cases. The applicant had to state under oath that he had not received an artificial leg from any other source including the United States government. The applicant also had to swear that he had not received an artificial leg from the state of Virginia under the Act of 1867.²⁸ In this way the House of Delegates hoped to insure that its efforts were

²⁶Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 721, 726, 734.

²⁷Acts of Assembly, 1869-1870, 533. According to Luther Porter Jackson, Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1865 to 1895 (Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945), 7, 24, the primary opposition to this bill came from African-American delegates to the General Assembly. These members made several attempts to defeat or otherwise deflect this legislation before being overwhelmingly defeated by the majority in the General Assembly.

²⁸Acts of Assembly, 1869-1870, 533.

directed to those who were most in need, the men who had gone unaided since the end of the war.

Once again the state appropriated \$20,000 for the purpose of providing another 300 artificial legs to its disabled veterans.²⁹ This time a commission consisting of Doctors B. R. Wellford, L. S. Joynes, J. B. McCaw, Hunter McGuire, R. S. Coleman, F. D. Cunningham, J. S. Wellford, O. F. Manson, R. S. J. Peebles, and J. S. D. Cullen, of the Medical College of Virginia was created to review the designs of various artificial legs and determine those most appropriate for the purposes of this new program. Dr. H. L. Thomas was named as Surgeon of the Board and was placed in overall charge of insuring the quality and fit of the artificial legs.³⁰ After completing its responsibilities, the oversight board was abolished with the repeal of Section 3 of the act on February 6, 1871.³¹

Virginia's effort to aid disabled veterans in some ways parallels those of the state of South Carolina which also faced the problem of thousands of its veterans in need of aid. In September of 1866 the General Assembly of South Carolina was petitioned by Drs. George Trescott and Samuel Logan on behalf of those men of

²⁹There is no report of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts pertinent to the distribution of artificial limbs from the Act of 1870. The number 80 is an estimate based on the \$60 cost of artificial limbs and the fact that the Act of 1872 used \$15,138.21 of the \$20,000 appropriation made in 1870.

³⁰Acts of Assembly, 1869-1870, 534.

³¹Acts of Assembly, 1870-1871, 63.

South Carolina who had lost limbs in the late war. In November of that year the General Assembly appropriated \$20,000 for the purpose of obtaining and distributing artificial legs to its needy citizens.³²

While the appropriations of South Carolina and Virginia were identical, South Carolina granted one additional benefit to its disabled soldiers. Free railroad passage was given to all soldiers who needed to travel in order to be fitted for an artificial leg.³³

A board of surgeons recommended to the South Carolina General Assembly that it purchase and distribute the artificial legs of Dr. Douglas Bly of Rochester, New York. Dr. Bly agreed to manufacture his "Army and Navy Leg" for \$74.65 and his "Anatomical Patent Leg" for \$150. The General Assembly decided to provide to each of its disabled soldiers the sum of \$74.65. Any veteran who wished to purchase the more expensive leg from Dr. Bly had to pay the difference out of his own pocket.³⁴

Governor James L. Orr appointed Dr. George Trescott as inspector of artificial legs. Dr. Bly then began to supply and fit artificial legs through his office in Charleston. This program was continued in this fashion until February of 1869 when the Reconstruction government, no longer interested in the welfare of former

³²McCawley, 1.

³³McCawley, 1. There is some debate as to whether or not Virginia included free travel to its maimed soldiers at this point. Nowhere in the law or anywhere within the applications is such a provision made or alluded to. However, in "Artificial Limbs for Confederate Soldiers" McDaid states that such transportation was provided free of charge by Virginia (See McDaid, 2.) Unfortunately, she does not include a reference as to where she found evidence of free transportation. All attempts to contact Ms. McDaid on the subject failed.

³⁴McCawley, 1.

Confederate soldiers, ended the program.³⁵ South Carolina did not return to aiding its disabled soldiers until 1877, after Reconstruction. That left South Carolina's veterans without the benefit of aid for over seven years.

The same Dr. Douglas Bly who provided artificial limbs to South Carolina was also the major provider for Virginia during the 1860s. Sometime prior to 1870 William J. Stickles, Dr. Bly's representative, opened a shop on Main Street in Richmond where he made and sold Dr. Bly's celebrated artificial legs.³⁶ Profits were then forwarded to the home office in Rochester, New York.³⁷

Unlike the arrangement in South Carolina, Dr. Douglas Bly did not have an exclusive contract with Virginia. One of his competitors, James E. Hanger, had himself lost a leg at the Battle of Philippi on June 3, 1861.³⁸ Unable to find a suitable artificial replacement, Hanger made his own and began a home manufacturing business in Staunton during the war. In 1867 Hanger appealed to the Virginia General

³⁵McCawley, 2.

³⁶McDaid, 2.

³⁷McDaid, 3. While William J. Stickles manufactured and sold artificial limbs in Richmond, he was the employee of Dr. Douglas Bly of New York. Therefore, profits from the sale of prosthetics were not retained within Virginia but were sent to New York.

³⁸The previously noted M. Y. Hall of Augusta County specified in his application for an artificial leg that it was to be manufactured by Hanger. Hanger began his business in Staunton, Augusta County, and it is likely that many of the disabled soldiers from that county received their artificial limbs from Hanger rather than Bly or another manufacturer.

Assembly for a commission to produce his artificial limbs for the new state programs. Shortly thereafter he moved his firm to Richmond where he successfully provided many artificial legs to his fellow disabled veterans.³⁹ From 1872 to 1875 Hanger received a total of \$10,194 from the state for the manufacture of 1,642 artificial limbs.⁴⁰

At this point a little background on the specifics of medicine and surgery during the Civil War period must be provided to better understand the reasons behind some of Virginia's later legislation. By looking at the actual procedure of amputation as well as the subsequent effects of recovery it can be learned why artificial limbs were not always the best solution to the problems faced by Virginia's disabled Civil War veterans.

At the outbreak of hostilities neither the Union nor the Confederacy was adequately prepared for the vast number of casualties they would sustain over four years. Neither side initially had a dedicated ambulance corps for the removal and transportation of the wounded. Both sides quickly moved to institute some form of ambulance service. The Confederacy created a dedicated ambulance corps for the purpose. Unfortunately, in the South ambulances were in short supply to do an adequate job. The Union first attempted to use hired civilian teamsters for an

³⁹McDaid, 3.

⁴⁰Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1872-1875. In addition to the artificial limbs provided by J. E. Hanger an additional 557 applications received commutation of \$60. It is likely that the majority of these were directly converted to artificial limbs made by other manufacturers.

ambulance service. At First Manassas those teamsters who did not run away treated their wounded roughly. It was often days before a wounded soldier was evacuated from the field to receive medical treatment.⁴¹

Once in the hospital the wounded soldier encountered a doctor whose medical knowledge and treatment may or may not have been adequate. Most hospitals began as little more than tents, barns, or houses which were convenient to the battlefield. However, as the war progressed hospitals on both sides began to improve. Medical personnel started to believe that “bad air” led to infection and the spread of disease, so cleaner and better ventilated hospitals resulted. Unfortunately, the idea of germ and bacteria transmission was unknown during the Civil War and medical instruments often went unwashed between uses.

Field hospitals, the most common location for surgical treatment, were also the most prone to transfer of infection and other medical mishaps. As battles raged, the small number of medical personnel became inundated with wounded. The land around field hospitals were often crowded with the wounded waiting for hours just to enter the facility.⁴² One surgeon, Simon Baruch, recalled working constantly for two days and two nights following the Battle of Gettysburg.⁴³ With this mass of humanity to treat, the surgeons were unable to take time even for rudimentary cleaning between operations. Operating tables became inundated with the blood of hundreds, passing bacteria to each successive patient.⁴⁴ The overworked surgeons, lacking adequate

⁴¹Kuz, 11-12.

⁴²Cunningham, 221.

⁴³Cunningham, 222.

⁴⁴Cunningham, 221.

sleep, were prone to make other medical errors. Even as the war progressed and hospitals behind the lines began to improve, the field hospitals remained a primary source for infection and botched operations.

Anesthesia, contrary to popular belief, was commonly used during the Civil War, especially ether and chloroform.⁴⁵ These drugs were most often employed using the drop method. A sponge or cloth was placed over the nose and mouth of the patient and the anesthesia was then slowly “dropped” onto the sponge or cloth.⁴⁶ Opium and other drugs were used for pain control.⁴⁷ However, these medicines were in shorter supply in the blockaded South than in the North.

In addition to the problems associated with the supply of proper drugs, there was little agreement in the early years of the war as to the adequate treatment for any given wound. As was previously noted, doctors were also unaware of bacterial infection. The common use of seldom washed probes to locate bullets and determine the extent of wounds led to secondary infection. These secondary infections were often misinterpreted by the doctor. Indeed, when an amputation stump developed white, creamy “laudable” puss it was believed to be a sign of proper healing.⁴⁸

⁴⁵In Doctors in Gray, The Confederate Medical Service, 225-227, H. H. Cunningham contends that chloroform was used almost exclusively in the South. Northern surgeons preferred the use of chloroform, but ether was also used extensively by the Union when chloroform was unavailable.

⁴⁶Cunningham, 226.

⁴⁷Kuz, 12.

⁴⁸Kuz, 15.

Doctors were aware of the great discrepancy in accepted treatment. In an attempt to standardize medical care, Sanitary Commissions were created on both sides. In the North, The Committee of the Associate Medical Members of the Sanitary Commission met to discuss possible solutions to the problem. The Committee determined that the medical libraries most surgeons consulted before operations would be unavailable on the field of battle. It was decided that as a replacement the Committee would print and distribute booklets on surgical procedures which could be easily transported by surgeons in the field.⁴⁹

These booklets created a standard for field treatment of injuries and, in particular, amputations. Each booklet began with a list of objectives to be followed when evaluating a patient. Amputations were to be done “with a view either to preserve the largest extent of the extremity possible for subsequent service, or to adapt a stump that affords the best medium for mechanical appliances.”⁵⁰

To accomplish this task two forms of amputation became the most commonly used. The circular method began with the surgeon dividing the skin and tissue to the level of the muscles and then retracting them much like rolling up a sleeve.⁵¹ The muscles were then divided circularly and the bone was cut with a saw. Large veins and arteries were pulled with forceps and then sutured closed. When possible the

⁴⁹“Report of a Committee of the Associate Medical Members of the Sanitary Commission, on the subject of Amputations, Second Edition” (New York: Baillere Brothers, Publishers, 440 Broadway, 1862), 1.

⁵⁰“Report of a Committee . . .,” 5.

⁵¹The following discussion is derived completely from Kuz, 37.

large nerves were also pulled as far as possible and cut in order to numb the resulting stump.

The flap method was identical to the circular except for the way the soft tissues were divided. The surgeon cut directly down to the bone and “skid” the knife beside the bone and out the other side. The surgeon then cut laterally away from the bone and out of the limb. This method was then repeated on the other side of the bone. This created two flaps which could then be used to cover the base of the stump.

Following the cutting of the bone, both methods called for the smoothing of the end with forceps, rasps, and rongeur type instruments. The skin, tissue, and muscle would then be drawn back around the stump and loosely sutured. The stump was then dressed and the patient was treated with opium and whiskey to reduce postoperative pain.

Both the circular and flap methods had their advantages and disadvantages. The circular method was the easier of the two in terms of postoperative care. It was simple to dress, easy to transport, and was believed to be less conducive to secondary hemorrhage. The flap method had the distinct advantage of being the quickest to complete, making it popular in field hospitals where time was of the essence. The flap method also insured adequate soft tissue to cover the stump of the bone.

In general both procedures called for the bone to be shortened and all large nerves to be pulled out and cut well above the area of amputation. By this method the stump would be much easier to equip with a prosthetic at some later date. However, in the confusion and hurry of battle surgery many men found they had bones placed too near the surface for comfort.⁵² When such men attempted to use artificial limbs

⁵²Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867, Library of Virginia. In a letter to the Auditor, Henry Bishop of Botetourt County

they often felt extraordinary pain from the stab and rub of these bones. Similar discomfort resulted from nerves being left in the stump or not sufficiently cut.

Added to these problems were others associated with the wound and its subsequent care. Often amputations were required because of the shattering of the bone within the extremity. Surgeons attempted to remove bone fragments, but without the aid of x-ray photography many men were left with painful, sharp bones within the stump. Post surgery infection often led to necrosis, the death of tissue surrounding a wound. The bones and tissue then healed improperly creating gross deformation and sharp protrusions from the bone of the stump.⁵³ Necrosis could also affect the bone itself, leading to enlargement of the bone with accompanying sharp edges and ridges which caused further damage to the limb from the inside. Those men fortunate enough to survive these postoperative infections often experienced pain and irritation of the stump. These pains were exacerbated by the rubbing and pressure associated with the use of prosthetic limbs.

As a result of the various problems associated with amputation and medical care during the Civil War, many of Virginia's disabled veterans were unable to use their artificial limbs. One of these men was the very same William E. VanFossen whose story opened this thesis. As a resident of Virginia, William was entitled to an artificial limb from the state. He first applied for relief on April 22, 1867 but did not

claims to have been provided with two artificial limbs already. However, he was unable to use either due to a sharp bone very near the surface of the stump which he claimed caused the artificial leg to hurt.

⁵³Many examples of this can be found in Bradley P. Bengtson and Julian E. Kuz, ed., Photographic Atlas of Civil War Injuries, Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Medical Staff Press, 1996).

receive a limb at that time.⁵⁴ On May 18, 1872 he once again applied for the limb due him from the state.⁵⁵ Two years later he was fitted for and received his artificial leg. However, according to his later application, made May 2, 1884, he was unable to use this new leg.⁵⁶

Amputation was not the only surgical method employed during the Civil War. In many cases the wounds to arms or legs were not deemed to require such a drastic procedure.⁵⁷ Given that it was considered the best course of action to preserve the limb if possible, it is no surprise that resection became common alongside amputation in both the North and the South.⁵⁸

When a minie ball struck a bone it more often than not shattered it beyond hope of repair. To prevent infection and save the life of the wounded soldier amputation was the only option.⁵⁹ However, when wounds were received in or near

⁵⁴Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Records, 1867, Correspondence and Receipts, Library of Virginia. The application claimed the amputation of the right leg was about six inches below the knee. The leg was amputated on the field using the flap method. The wound had since healed. As William was obviously entitled to an artificial limb from the state, it can be assumed that the delay in his receiving one was due to either the backlog of applications or a lack of sufficient funds.

⁵⁵Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Records, 1871-1874, Correspondence, May 13, 1872.

⁵⁶Records of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1886. Despite the application having been filed in 1884, it was not processed until after the passage of the Act of 1886. VanFossen received a commutation of \$60 on March 4, 1886.

⁵⁷Cunningham, 224.

⁵⁸Kuz suggests that amputation was more common in the South because the Confederacy's lack of medical supplies made resection difficult.

⁵⁹Cunningham, 220.

the joints where the bone is softer and less brittle the tremendous damage of the minie ball was reduced. It was in these cases that resection was performed.⁶⁰ Resection called for the surgical removal of the joint and damaged bone with the preservation of the limb.⁶¹ While this saved the limb it left the unfortunate soldier with an all but useless appendage.⁶²

Like those amputee soldiers who were unable to wear artificial limbs, men who received resection were at a grave disadvantage in the postwar aid legislation. According to the early laws, only those men who actually lost a limb were entitled to aid in the form of artificial replacements. Those who had undergone resection to their limbs often had no more use of the limb than did amputee. Yet these men were left to fend for themselves until 1875.⁶³

In addition to the new Virginia legislation that year, a new federal census was taken. This source provides a better look at just how the disabled veterans of Augusta and Chesterfield were faring.

Of the men in the initial sample of 172 a total of 44 could be located in the manuscript census for 1870. Of those veterans, 66% reported themselves as heads of

⁶⁰Cunningham, 220.

⁶¹Cunningham, 224.

⁶²Cunningham, 225.

⁶³The Act of 1875 and its amendments will be discussed later.

household. While this was an increase from 46% in 1860 it must be remembered that many of these men were quite young when the war started and could not be expected to have families. Under normal circumstances most of the men would have become heads of household by 1870. However, it is likely that the disability of the veterans created by their wounds forced them to remain under the roofs of their parents or to reside in other people's households.

Of those 29 veterans who claimed to be heads of household in 1870, 27 were married and 24 had children living at home. Another eight also claimed other dependents including elderly family members, domestic servants, and boarders. Therefore, a large portion of the disabled veterans had women and children at home who depended on their ability to provide for them. Unfortunately, fourteen of the household heads, 48.3%, owned neither real nor personal estate while another five, 17.2%, owned estates worth less than \$500. As such, they could not be considered financially stable. (See Table 4.)

Estate Value	Real	Personal	Combined
\$0	20	16	14
1-100	0	0	0
101-500	2	8	5
501-1,000	0	5	3
1,000 +	7	0	7

Source: U. S. Manuscript Census. Schedule 1, 1870, Augusta and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia

Comparatively, those veterans who were not heads of household were financially better off. Of the fifteen veterans not heading households in 1870 eleven, 73.3%, lived with their parents. These families tended to be relatively financially stable. Only 4 of these veterans lived in destitute households and all of them were boarders or laborers for other families. Of the remaining eleven, who lived with their parents, only two, 13.3%, owned less than \$500 in combined estates. The vast majority lived in homes with more than \$1,000 in combined estate. (See Table 5.)

Estate Value	Real	Personal	Combined
\$0	5	5	4*
1-100	0	1	0
101-500	1	3	2
501-1,000	1	4	1
1,001-5,000	5	1	5
5,000 +	3	1	3

Source: See Table 4.

* All four of these men were living as either boarders or laborers in other households.

Consequently, of the disabled veterans who were household heads in 1870 only 31% owned real estate and only 44.8% had any personal estate. Of those who lived at home, 66.6% resided in households which owned real estate and 73.3% owned personal estates. Apparently, veterans who remained at home were better off than their more independent companions.

Both groups, heads of household and non-heads of household, contained men who fell into a wide range of ages. Youth was not necessarily a sign of a dependent

veteran nor a sign of independence. However, the median age of those veterans who headed households was 34 years while non-heads of household was 27 years.

Therefore, younger veterans were more likely to remain at home following the war.

(See Table 6.)

Ages	Heads of Household	Non-Heads of Household	Total
20-25	2	3	5
26-30	6	7	13
31-35	11	2	13
36-40	3	1	4
40 +	7	2	9
Total	29	15	44

Source: See Table 4.

Despite a general lack of money among many veterans, their disability did not stop most of them from working entirely. The census reports 61% of them as working on farms in 1870 either as farmers or laborers and another 14% worked at jobs which required manual labor. These men may have been forced by their disability to work less or at lighter jobs, but somehow they got by. Another group of disabled veterans chose to enter professions which did not call for manual labor. This 14% included three physicians, one attorney, one constable, and one school teacher. (See Table 7.)

Occupation	Augusta	Chesterfield	Total
Farmer	8	14	22
Farm Laborer	6	2	5
Factory Worker	0	2	2
Carpenter	1	1	2
Blacksmith	1	0	1
Millwright	1	0	1
Jailor	0	1	1
Attorney	0	1	1
Physician	2	1	3
Constable	1	0	1
Teacher	0	1	1
Miner	0	1	1
TOTAL	18	24	44

Source: U. S. Manuscript Census, 1870, Schedule 1, Augusta and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia.

Estate Value	Augusta			Chesterfield		
	Real Estate	Personal Estate	Combined Estate	Real Estate	Personal Estate	Combined Estate
\$0	11	7	7	14	12	9
1-100	0	1	0	0	0	0
101-500	1	6	3	3	8	7
501-1,000	0	4	2	0	2	0
1,001-5,000	6	2	6	6	1	7
5,001-20,000	2	0	2	1	1	1
20,000 +	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: See Table 4.

Therefore, it is not surprising that many of the disabled veterans of Augusta and Chesterfield were not destitute. In fact, either on their own or with the aid of their families many of the disabled veterans lived quite comfortably. Households which claimed more than \$1,000 in real and personal estates accounted for 34% of the

veterans in 1870. (See Table 8.) While this does leave 34% without any estate whatsoever and 32% with estates less than \$1,000, it does draw into question the need for the aid program.

However, it must be noted that only 44 of the 172 veterans in the Augusta/Chesterfield sample group were located in 1870 census. Given the inaccuracy of the records of the period it is not surprising that only a few were recorded. Nevertheless, some supposition must be made about those men who are missing. Most men of means were certainly reported in the census. Those who were less well off were often overlooked. Consequently, it is likely that many of the 128 veterans not found in the census were destitute.⁶⁴ If this supposition is correct then as many as 83% of the sample group may have had no estate whatsoever in 1870. Such a high number of destitute families shows the dire need for the disabled veteran aid program.

However, going purely on those men found in the 1870 census, 66% of the disabled veterans held estates it would seem that they were financially able to either provide for themselves or were being assisted by their families already. Even if the unrecorded veterans were destitute, almost 20% of the total were financially stable. This shows what is perhaps a second driving reason behind the programs to aid disabled soldiers after the war. With the war ending in defeat, many Southerners

⁶⁴A review of the manuscript Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Overseer of the Poor, for the years 1865 to 1888 did not reveal any of the Augusta/Chesterfield sample to have been living in poor houses. Therefore, without any record of their economic status any conclusions drawn concerning these veterans are merely theoretical.

found it necessary to glorify the ideals of the Confederacy in what became known as the Lost Cause.

In the years that followed the war many monuments were erected in the South. Most of these monuments came in the form of memorial cemeteries and statues.⁶⁵ Others, such as the Confederate Memorial Literary Society's Roll of Honor, sought to preserve the memory of all those who fought for the Confederacy.⁶⁶ It is likely that this sentiment was in large part responsible for the continuation and evolution of the disabled veterans aid program. In this way the people of the South created a legislative program to preserve not the mere memory of the men who fought but the men themselves.

As 1870 came to a close the artificial limb legislation which had been in force since 1867 also was coming to a conclusion. Over that period approximately 330 artificial limbs had been distributed with another 80 veterans receiving commutation. These limbs and commutation accounted for \$40,000 of the state's money. Some of the veterans who received aid were in dire need while others were financially capable on their own. The artificial limb program was likely appreciated by the veterans it helped, whether destitute or wealthy.

⁶⁵Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy, Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁶⁶W. Jackson Dickens and Robert C. Kenzer, "The Confederate Memorial Literary Society's Roll of Honour," Civil War History 43: 59-69.

The aid legislation of the 1860s was intended to be a relatively small program to provide only artificial limbs to amputee veterans of the Confederate Army. However, by 1870 the General Assembly began to realize there were many veterans needing assistance who were not covered by the law. Consequently, it began to expand the coverage of the program to those who were otherwise disabled or members of military organizations other than the Confederate Army.

The next chapter details the expansion of the program as the General Assembly endeavored to provide for its residents. This evolution of the program began with the inclusion of those veterans who, while not amputees, had lost the use of a limb. By 1880, as the next chapter will show, the program was then expanded to include just about any debilitating injury and was altered to include the sailors and marines of the Confederacy who also were in need.

CHAPTER THREE
EXPANDING AID DURING THE 1870s

After over five years of providing artificial limbs, the General Assembly of Virginia determined that other aid must be given. Therefore, on March 25, 1872 the General Assembly enacted legislation which amended the Act of 1870. The new legislation stated that any disabled veteran who had previously received an artificial leg from the state of Virginia and could prove that the limb was unusable should be paid by the state a sum equal to the cost of an artificial leg.¹ Thus, the state moved away from its original stance that only artificial limbs were to be provided to its disabled soldiers.

Another interesting addition to the artificial limb legislation also came in the Amendment Act of 1872. The final provision in Section 1 stated that “Colored men who lost legs as soldiers or employees in the late war shall be entitled to the benefits of this act.”² African-American men did serve to a limited extent in the Confederate

¹Acts of Assembly, 1871-1872, 440-441. The original suggestion to alter the legislation in this manner had come two years earlier from Delegate E. S. Bishop of Lee County. Apparently his suggestion was found to be unfeasible at that time. However, by 1872 the problem of unusable artificial limbs had become too great to ignore. See Morrison, 6.

²Acts of Assembly, 1871-1872, 441. The African-American delegates to the General Assembly formed the primary opposition to this legislation. While they were unable to stop passage of the bill to provide for disabled Confederate soldiers, it is likely they were responsible for this addition to the law. No evidence has been found that any African-American applied for and received aid from the state under the terms of this law.

military. From the beginning of the war blacks served as body servants and laborers in the Confederate Army.³ As early as 1862 many free blacks were employed by the army as musicians.⁴ A few may even have been used by the Confederacy as soldiers. For example, on December 22, 1861 a group of 700 armed Confederate blacks was reported to have attacked a New York regiment near Newmarket Bridge.⁵ In general, units of this sort were organized by militia commanders in response to Union raids and were quickly disbanded. However, there is evidence that a few African-Confederates served as soldiers for extended periods. A Harper's Weekly sketch of a rebel encampment at Fredericksburg in 1862 shows two "fully armed Afro-Confederate soldiers."⁶

On March 11, 1864 the Confederate Congress, desperate for able-bodied men, passed an act which authorized the conscription of 20,000 male slaves to work on fortifications if sufficient numbers of free blacks were not available. Sentiment was rising that similar legislation should be passed to allow the arming of slaves as entire regiments for the Confederate Army.⁷ However, many Confederate legislators were hesitant to arm the slaves and managed to evade the issue with protestations over the

³Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in the Civil War, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995). Jordan devotes an entire chapter to body servants.

⁴Jordan, 219. It is interesting to note that these men even received the same pay as their white companions.

⁵Jordan, 222.

⁶Jordan, 222.

⁷Jordan, 234.

infringement of property rights. It was not until February of 1865 that Virginia's General Assembly agreed to government employment of slaves as soldiers.⁸ The end of hostilities and the fall of the Confederacy occurred before any black soldiers could be recruited in this manner.⁹

The number of blacks to serve and be wounded in the service of the Confederacy was relatively small.¹⁰ Therefore, the 1872 provision granting them access to the aid program suggests how Reconstruction politics permeated the General Assembly of Virginia during the postwar period. It is unlikely that many, if any, African-American men applied for relief under these programs. I have found none who did.¹¹ However, the African-American politicians during Reconstruction pushed for such amendments to legislation primarily to assert the principle that they were as entitled to aid as the white veterans.

The Amendment Act of 1872 failed to allocate more funds to the program. The original 1871 amount of \$20,000, surprisingly, had not been used up and it was believed that this sum would be sufficient. According to the Auditor of Public

⁸Jordan, 235-236.

⁹Jordan, 246.

¹⁰No list or count of blacks wounded fighting for the Confederacy exists. If large numbers had been wounded then some evidence to that effect would likely remain. Consequently, it can be assumed from the lack of such evidence that the number of blacks wounded must have been small.

¹¹While it is likely that a few African-Confederates received wounds which entitled them to compensation under the program, none are found to have done so. It is unclear whether this is due to a general lack of knowledge of the program on their part, if racist sentiment kept them from applying, or merely that their applications have since been lost.

Accounts the Act of 1872 saw another 37 artificial limbs manufactured by James E. Hanger and an additional 300 commutations paid out by the state. Therefore, under the 1872 Act \$15,138.21 of the \$20,000 allocated by the Act of 1870 was used.¹²

By 1873 it was clear that the General Assembly had once again underestimated the costs involved in providing aid to its disabled veterans. On January 13, 1873, after reviewing the large number of applications still waiting to be processed by the Auditor of Public Accounts, the General Assembly appropriated another \$20,000 for the program.¹³ This new law repeated almost verbatim the Act of 1872 with the addition of a requirement that assistance be given to those who had yet to receive any aid.¹⁴ By this act those who were applying for money to replace an unusable artificial leg were forced to wait until those yet to receive a leg were processed by the Auditor of Public Accounts.

Under the Act of 1873 another 37 limbs were manufactured and distributed to veterans by James E. Hanger at a cost of \$2,220. However, the shift toward commutation made under the Act of 1872 accounted for the majority of the new appropriation. Commutations accounted for another 300 applications for a total of \$18,000.¹⁵

¹²Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1872, 12.

¹³Acts of Assembly, 1872-1873, 14-15.

¹⁴Acts of Assembly, 1872-1873, 14.

¹⁵Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1873, 15.

On February 20, 1874 an additional appropriation of \$6,000 was made for the aid program.¹⁶ From this sum another 23 artificial limbs were manufactured and distributed with an additional 73 veterans receiving commutation.¹⁷

However, the money allocated also proved to fall well short of the mark intended by the Virginia General Assembly. Additional allocations were made on, February 23, 1875, February 10, 1876, March 29, 1877, March 12, 1878, and February 8, 1879.¹⁸ These additional acts provided \$3,000, \$6,000, \$10,000, \$15,000, and \$15,000 respectively for the program.

The laws to date had required that any applicant must be a resident of the state of Virginia and have proof that he had been one before the war began. It is commonly known that there was a large emigrant contingent on both sides of the war. As such there were some men in Virginia who had lost their limbs fighting for the Confederacy who were passed over for aid because of their prewar residence.

On March 26, 1873 the General Assembly made an exception for one native of Great Britain, Moses Cavanaugh, who had fought for a Virginia regiment. In the course of the war Cavanaugh lost his arm in battle. It was acknowledged that his foreign residency made Cavanaugh ineligible to receive an artificial arm from the

¹⁶Acts of Assembly, 1874, 40-41.

¹⁷Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1874, 19.

¹⁸Acts of Assembly, 1874-1875, 98-99; 1875-1876, 37-38; 1876-1877, 238; 1877-1878, 180-181; 1878-1879, 73.

state.¹⁹ The General Assembly passed a law which specifically granted an artificial arm, or commutation, to him.²⁰

When it was determined in 1875 that the sum of money allocated to the program for the relief of maimed soldiers was exhausted, a new law was passed to allocate an additional \$3,000. However, in the course of this routine legislation a new group of beneficiaries was added. In the Act of 1875 was a provision that, in addition to all men who lost an arm or leg, all men whose arm or leg was paralyzed by wounds or surgery should also receive the benefit of aid from the state.²¹ Until this point the focus of Virginia's aid program was to get artificial limbs to needy veterans. With this new addition to the law opening the door for thousands of new applicants, the General Assembly had more than doubled the intended bounds of the program.

By the Act of 1875 commutation had almost completely taken over for the old artificial limb program. Only two new limbs were manufactured by James E. Hanger

¹⁹Acts of Assembly, 1872-1873, 214.

²⁰None of the 172 veterans of the sample group was born in a foreign country. However, because Moses Cavanaugh was granted a pension a precedent was set which would have allowed other foreign born veterans to apply for commutation.

²¹Acts of Assembly, 1874-1875, 98-99. An amendment by Senator Wyatt M. Elliott of Fluvanna, Buckingham, and Appomattox counties to include those men who had lost eyes in the war was also discussed. However, the House of Delegates did not concur with an amendment to that effect. Men who lost eyes would have to wait until 1877 for state aid. See Morrison, 8. The 1877 amendment also opened the door for the thousands of men who underwent resection surgery during the war.

for the state under this act. An additional 52 veterans received the benefit of a \$60 commutation.²²

One problem developed from the Act of 1875 which had not previously been reported. Far more applications were received by the Auditor of Public Accounts than could be handled under the new appropriation. The General Assembly knew their efforts since 1867 had fallen short, however, it was not until 1876 that a large number of applicants went unaided. The Auditor of Public Accounts stated in his Annual Report for 1876 that over 200 applications were on file in his office which he had been unable to process because of insufficient funds.²³ This led to a new appropriation of \$6,000 in 1876.

In addition to more money, the Act of 1876 further expanded the aid program:

Any soldier or employee disabled in such a manner as to prevent the use of his limbs in manual labor, induced by wounds or surgical operations rendered necessary thereby, who shall furnish the certificate required . . . shall be entitled to commutation at the rate of sixty dollars each, in lieu of the limb heretofore provided by law.²⁴

Now soldiers who lost limbs or had them paralyzed were joined by men who had lost some function in their limbs which prevented manual labor. Once again the General

²²Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1875, 20-21.

²³Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1876, 11-12. The Auditor of Public Accounts claimed that about 230 applications were on file. It was his estimate that around 200 of them would qualify for commutation under the Act of 1873. Keep in mind the acts which followed the Act of 1873 were amendments and appropriations. Legally, it was the Act of 1873 under which veterans were receiving aid until the Act of 1879.

²⁴Acts of Assembly, 1875-1876, 37.

Assembly extended the scope of the aid program and brought thousands more disabled veterans under its purview.

This move toward commutation rather than providing artificial limbs directly was continued in 1876 when a new act appropriated an additional \$6,000 and ordered it to be paid to soldiers who had applied in lieu of artificial limbs.²⁵ This act also excluded those soldiers who had previously received an artificial limb or commutation from Virginia or any other source. Under this act an additional 100 veterans received commutation from the state while leaving an additional 200 applications left unpaid and on file with the Auditor of Public Accounts.²⁶

In 1877 a new commutation law repeated almost to the letter the provisions of the previous acts. However, the Act of 1877 added the loss of an eye as an acceptable disability for commutation.²⁷ The loss of an eye had been considered for addition to the aid program as early as 1875.²⁸ Unfortunately for those veterans who had lost eyes the General Assembly did not agree to include them for two years.

Another important addition included in the Act of 1877 was the proposal of Delegate A. H. H. Stuart of Augusta County.²⁹ Until this point the aid and commutation acts included those men disabled while serving in the Confederate Army. While this included the vast majority of those who served in the Confederacy, it did

²⁵Acts of Assembly, 1875-1876, 37-38.

²⁶Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1876, Document II, 4; 1877, 8.

²⁷Acts of Assembly, 1876-1877, 238.

²⁸Morrison, 9.

²⁹Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1877, 271; Morrison, 9.

of 1867 men who had received artificial limbs had complained that they had been unable to use them. Also, after years of wear and tear many of those limbs had become worthless. As a result, many of the men already aided by the program were returning their useless artificial limbs to the government.

It was determined by the General Assembly that something must be done to aid these men. As their artificial limb was no longer usable, the purpose of the aid program had been undercut. In an act approved April 2, 1879 the General Assembly granted, with the return of useless artificial limbs, a \$40 commutation to the soldier thus bereft of his prosthetic.³¹ However, this new law extended benefits only to those men who had been unable to use the limb from the beginning. In order to receive the \$40, the limb had to be returned in good condition. Thus, the men who had worn out their limbs were not included in the new legislation of 1879.

Many of Virginia's amputees received aid from the state between 1866 and 1878. Of the 172 men in the Chesterfield/Augusta sample, 31 received assistance either in the form of artificial limbs or commutation during this period. Of those men only five failed to reapply for assistance during the 1880s. Those veterans who reapplied stated in their later application that either their artificial limb had worn out from years of use or that their artificial limb had never worked properly.

One of these men, Ausbert G. VanLear, was a 26-year-old laborer living in Augusta County with his wife, Sarah, and their four young children in 1860. He had

³¹Acts of Assembly, 1878-1879, 354.

no real estate and only a few hundred dollars in personal estate.³² He lost a leg during the war and, rather than become a burden to his family, he chose to become a doctor. By 1870 he claimed \$3,000 in real estate and \$500 in personal estate.³³ But despite his personal wealth he was granted an artificial leg during the 1870s.³⁴ However, in 1877 the leg broke and by 1883 VanLear wanted compensation. He applied for commutation on January 28, 1883 but was not granted his benefit until March 5, 1886.³⁵ Many others like VanLear also received commutation in the 1880s even though they had already received benefits during the 1870s.

Until 1880 the plight of another group of Virginia's residents had gone unaddressed. Many soldiers had died during the war and many others succumbed after the conflict from complications resulting from their wounds. Many of these men left behind families. Widows were left without a man to provide for them or their children. One of these unfortunate widows, Josephine Robinson, was the former wife of Walter Robinson of Culpeper County. Walter had been disabled during the war and was eligible for commutation under the laws already passed by the General Assembly. While Walter Robinson waited for the money entitled to him, he became sick as his old

³²U. S. Manuscript Census, Schedule 1, 1860, Augusta County, Virginia.

³³U. S. Manuscript Census, Schedule 1, 1870, Augusta County, Virginia.

³⁴In his application of January 28, 1883 VanLear could not recall exactly when he received his artificial limb, but it was sometime in the 1870s.

³⁵Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1886.

wounds came back to haunt him. Shortly thereafter, Walter passed away.³⁶

However, because of the backlog of applications, the Auditor of Public Accounts did not review his case until 1879, after Walter's death.³⁷

Walter Robinson's death raised questions within the General Assembly. Money had been appropriated for the purpose of granting commutation to the disabled soldiers of the Commonwealth. Robinson had applied for this money and was entitled to it by law. Did the law still apply to his estate?

The General Assembly determined that the law did not apply to the widow of deceased soldiers. However, since many in the Assembly sympathized with the plight of Josephine Robinson, a bill was proposed and passed into law on March 4, 1880 which specifically addressed the case of Josephine Robinson.³⁸ The law stated that because Walter Robinson had been entitled to money from the state, had applied for such during his lifetime, and had passed away before receiving the money, the state must provide money to his widow Josephine. The Auditor of Public Accounts, therefore, was ordered to pay to Josephine the amount of \$40 as commutation.³⁹

The case of Josephine Robinson is the first recorded evidence of Virginia addressing the needs of the widows of its Confederate Soldiers. It is interesting to note that Josephine's law did not evolve into a new act to provide commutation for all widows of disabled soldiers at the time of its passage. It was not until a new act was

³⁶Acts of Assembly, 1879-1880, 154-155. The date of Walter Robinson's death is not stated in the legislation.

³⁷Acts of Assembly, 1879-1880, 154-155.

³⁸Acts of Assembly, 1879-1880, 154-155.

³⁹Acts of Assembly, 1879-1880, 154-155.

established in 1886 that the plight of widows was once again addressed by the General Assembly.

On February 8, 1879 the General Assembly once again passed an act intended to grant commutation for Virginia's maimed and disabled veterans. The sum of \$15,000 was appropriated for the purpose. While this act resembled earlier legislation, there was a difference between the Act of 1879 and those of prior years. It was determined after passage of the act that the sum of money was not adequate to assist the many disabled veterans. It was therefore determined that applicants would receive only the sum of thirty dollars. In this way the Auditor of Public Accounts was finally able to empty his files of the unpaid applications which had concerned him since 1875.

Under the Act of 1879, 497 veterans received commutation of \$30 from the state. An additional 26 veterans received commutation for the return of the artificial limbs previously provided to them which were considered useless.⁴⁰ By reducing the commutation from \$60 to \$30 the Auditor of Public Accounts was able to provide some aid to all those who applied by 1879. However, the reduction denied these men the benefit to which those of previous years had been entitled. As a result, the men who received benefits in 1879 would once again clutter the desk of the Auditor with new appropriations made in the 1880s.

⁴⁰Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1879, Document II, 22.

It was during the 1870s that the aid program for the disabled soldiers of Virginia really took hold. From 1870 to 1879 a total of \$95,000 was appropriated for Virginia's aid program. (See Table 10.) This figure was 375% higher than the amount appropriated from 1865 to 1869. From 1867 to 1870 a total of about 330 artificial limbs were distributed to veterans. During the 1870s artificial limbs were distributed to 167 veterans with another 1,598 receiving commutation. This represented an increase of over 500% from the 1860s. (See Table 9.) This massive increase shows two important facts about Virginia's situation at that time. First, the increase suggests Virginia's rising concern for the care of its disabled soldiers. Second, the increase reflects the expansion of the aid program, beginning in 1875, to more and more veterans.

During the 1870s, but before the Act of 1879, the counties of Augusta and Chesterfield saw 22 applications for either artificial limbs or commutation. The Act of 1879 alone saw another 21 applications approved. The men of these counties received during that period 18 artificial limbs and \$878 in commutation money.⁴¹

⁴¹This should be considered the minimum received by the men of Augusta and Chesterfield. It is possible, even likely, that more applications were made and approved over this period. However, as these applications no longer exist there cannot be an estimation made as to how much money the state paid to them.

Year	Artificial Limbs	Commutation	Total	Applications Left
1867	225*	0	225	0
1868	105*	0	105	0
1869	0	0	0	0
1870	0	80#	0	0
1871	0	0	0	0
1872	105	132	237	0
1873	37	300	337	0
1874	23	73	96	0
1875	2	52	54	200
1876	0	100	100	200
1877	0	165	165	365
1878	0	253	253	0
1879	0	523@	523	0
1880	0	0	0	0
1881	0	0	0	0
1882	0	600	600	0
1883	0	0	0	0
1884	0	1000	1000	0
1885	0	14	14	0
1886	0	0	0	0
1887	0	1100	1100	0
Total	497	4392	4889	1065

Source: Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1867 to 1887.

* These are approximations based on the sum of money reported spent by the Auditor of Public Accounts and assuming \$60 per artificial limb.

An approximation based on the sum of money allocated minus that reported spent in the 1872 Annual Report and \$60 per artificial limb.

@ Includes 26 veterans who returned useless artificial limbs.

Act of	Date of Appropriation	Amount Appropriated
1867	January 20, 1867	\$20,000
1870	November 1, 1870	\$20,000
1872	March 25, 1872	\$0
1873	January 13, 1873	\$20,000
1873	February 20, 1874	\$6,000
1873	February 23, 1875	\$3,000
1873	February 10, 1876	\$6,000
1873	March 29, 1877	\$10,000
1873	March 12, 1878	\$15,000
1879	February 8, 1879	\$15,000
1882	February 14, 1882	\$30,000
1882	April 22, 1882	\$10,000
1884	February 25, 1884	\$60,000
1886	February 5, 1886	\$70,000
1886	March 6, 1886	\$6,000
1886	March 6, 1886	\$7,000
1886	March 5, 1894	\$300*
1886	March 08, 1894	\$4,000#
	Total	\$302,300

Source: Acts of Assembly, 1867 to 1894.

* A specific appropriation was made on March 5, 1894 for \$300 to furnish George T. Meats, W. M. Taliaferro, J. H. Conley, E. G. Wall, and Thomas Rudd, disabled Confederate veterans and residents of the Soldiers Home in Richmond.

The final appropriation of \$4,000 was intended to furnish artificial limbs to veterans at that time on the pension rolls.

One of these men was Abner G. Forsee of Chesterfield County. Before the war in 1860, at the age of 29, Forsee was reported as being the manager of the Matoacca farm of his 66 year old mother Betsy.⁴² His family's personal and real estate was listed as over \$6,000. While serving with Company K of the 6th Virginia

⁴²U. S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Chesterfield.

Infantry Regiment a minie ball passed through Forsee's leg leaving it disabled.⁴³ After the war he continued to work as a farmer and live with his mother. However, their estate was completely gone by 1870 and Forsee was destitute.⁴⁴ Forsee took the opportunity to improve his life when the Act of 1879 granted him \$30.⁴⁵ He would later receive another \$30 in 1886.

A census was once again taken in 1880 which provides some limited information on the disabled veterans of the Augusta/Chesterfield Sample group. However, there are two problems associated with this new census. First, unlike previous censuses no record was made of the estates. This exclusion makes it hard to determine the exact monetary status of the veterans to any accurate degree. Second, only a very few of the veterans were recorded in the 1880 census. Of the 172 veterans in the initial sample only 18 were located and, therefore, the information they provide cannot be considered conclusive. Nevertheless, the 1880 census suggests some interesting patterns.

Of the 18 veterans found in 1880 15, 83.3%, are reported as being heads of household. This represents a vast increase in percentage over the previous two census reports. Ironically, considering the paucity of veterans located in 1880, ten of the

⁴³Michael A. Cavanaugh, *6th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 96.

⁴⁴U. S. Manuscript Census, 1870, Schedule 1, Chesterfield.

⁴⁵Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Act of 1886, Applications and Receipts.

veterans were not recorded at all in 1870. All ten of these rediscovered men were reported as heads of household.

The census report for 1880 showed that fourteen veterans were married, thirteen had children, and four also had other dependents to care for. A review of the occupations of the veterans also reveals that most were working at what could be considered manual labor, which suggests, if not decisively, that these men were poor. (See Table 11.) Also, those veterans who performed manual labor would have found it harder to work as age made their disability more pronounced. Consequently, as most men had families and were relatively poor, the aid program was likely still necessary by 1880. These facts were not lost on the members of the General Assembly and, as will be shown, the 1880s would see an increase in both the scope and appropriations made for the program.

Occupation	Augusta	Chesterfield	Total
Farmer	5	3	8
Laborer	2	1	3
Carpenter	2	0	2
Blacksmith	1	0	1
Shoemaker	1	0	1
Miner	0	1	1
Retail Grocer	0	1	1
School Superintendent	0	1	1

Source: U. S. Manuscript Census, Schedule 1, 1880, Augusta and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia.

Virginia's expansion of its program to assist disabled veterans paralleled efforts in South Carolina. As Reconstruction took firm hold in South Carolina, the interest within the General Assembly began to shift away from the care of former Confederate soldiers. As a result, the early aid programs begun shortly after the close of hostilities

ended before 1870. However, by 1877 when white native South Carolinian's once again took control of their legislature, the state again moved to aid its disabled veterans.⁴⁶

South Carolina instituted a broad aid program on December 24, 1879. The new law provided both artificial legs and arms to disabled veterans. This legislation also allowed disabled soldiers the option of accepting commutation in money for the limb owed them. A total of \$20,000 was allotted by the General Assembly for the distribution to disabled soldiers and a board was created to oversee the administration of the program as well as set up eligibility requirements.⁴⁷

The board determined that a deadline must be established in order to limit the number of applications to the program. The initial deadline was to be July 1, 1880, but it was decided to allow applications until October 31, 1880, the end of the fiscal year. By December of 1880 the board had paid out some \$13,000 to disabled veterans.⁴⁸ Despite the deadline, as disabled veterans continued to submit applications for commutation the General Assembly reappropriated the remaining \$7,000 in December of 1880.⁴⁹

By 1881, it was reported by Governor Johnson Hagwood that the Board had paid 309 claims. These claimants received the benefit of the twenty thousand dollars

⁴⁶McCawley, 2.

⁴⁷McCawley, 2.

⁴⁸McCawley, 2-3.

⁴⁹McCawley, 3.

minus administrative costs. The Board also reported that there were twenty-six claims outstanding in 1881.⁵⁰

With the great success of the 1879 program as well as the remaining unaddressed claims, the South Carolina General Assembly expanded its program. In 1881 the General Assembly passed legislation modeled after that of 1879 which once again appropriated \$20,000. However, this new legislation included men whose limbs had become permanently disabled because of war-related injuries but had not been removed.⁵¹ Once again a new segment of the South Carolina population became eligible for assistance from the state.

Between the close of the war and 1880 the disabled soldiers of Virginia, like those of South Carolina, had seen substantial changes in their states aid program for veterans. The General Assembly had recognized the sacrifice they had made on behalf of the Commonwealth. Virginia had responded to their sacrifice by initially providing artificial limbs only but gradually expanded this assistance to include those who lost eyes, had limbs which were paralyzed or had lost mobility, and, in general, those who had any other disabling war related injury.

Despite all the effort by the state, much was still left to do. Thousands of men had yet to receive aid from the state. Thousands of those already helped had lost the use of their artificial limb or had spent the money given them in commutation. The

⁵⁰McCawley, 3.

⁵¹McCawley, 3.

1880s would see the enactment of legislation intended to provide for veterans who had never been aided and those who simply needed more.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FINAL EVOLUTION

The culmination of the evolution of the aid program came during the 1880s. On February 14, 1882 an act was passed by the General Assembly which incorporated within itself the various changes instituted in the 1860s and 1870s.

The Act of 1882, "An Act to provide commutation to such soldiers, sailors, and marines, in lieu of artificial limbs, eyes, or otherwise disabled, as many not heretofore have received the same under the provisions of former acts," did far more than even its long title suggests.¹ In addition to providing for those in need, this act made specific provision for those men who had received aid previously but needed more.

According to the Act of 1882 any disabled veteran who had proof of his disability was entitled to the sum of \$60 in lieu of an artificial limb. If aid had been received in the form of an artificial limb,

upon satisfactory proof that an artificial limb has been worn out, or destroyed by accident, such soldier, sailor, or marine shall be entitled to the same commutation.²

Significantly, another group was also added to the program by the Act of 1882. As has been shown, many veterans applied for and received commutation under

¹Acts of Assembly, 1881-1882, 126-127.

²Acts of Assembly, 1881-1882, 126-127.

the Act of 1879. As the commutation was divided the sum of thirty dollars was paid to each of these men. In order to accommodate them, the Act of 1882 specifically stated,

should any person entitled to the benefits of this act have heretofore received only a portion of the sixty dollars, he shall be entitled to the residue: provided that any certificate now on file with the auditor of public accounts in due form shall be deemed sufficient.³

Along with the extension of aid in 1882 came a new appropriation of funds. The initial act of February 14, 1882 appropriated \$30,000 for the program. Within two months this sum was already exhausted. On April 22 a new appropriation of \$10,000 was added to the money already on hand for the new distribution effort.⁴

In addition to the more generous program, beginning in 1882 the state instituted a more structured application process. Until 1882 there was no standard form upon which a disabled soldier applied for his commutation. Up to that point it had been up to the clerk of the court of the applicant's county to write out in long hand the evidence of the soldier and his disability.⁵

³Acts of Assembly, 1881-1882, 126-127.

⁴Acts of Assembly, 1881-1882, 488.

⁵Some of the few remaining applications from the Act of 1867 are written on a rudimentary form. The form asked which leg was amputated, where it was removed, what kind of operation was performed, the present condition of the stump, the current post office of the applicant, and the company and regiment under which he served as well as including the county and date on which the application was made. However, few of these early forms remain. The acts which followed did not have anything in the

While these early applications did include certain basic information, they sometimes left out important facts. With the Act of 1882 it was decided that all applicants must fill out a specified form. The form thus established asked for the soldier's name, county or city in which the court was located, date, post office address, and the sworn testimony of the soldier and witnesses.⁶ In order to avoid confusion and prevent incomplete applications, each form included a statement detailing the four primary requirements for eligibility. First, the applicant must swear that he had not received previous aid. Second, the disabled soldier must prove his inability to perform manual labor was due to the loss of the use of a limb or eye. Third, any applicant who had received an artificial limb in the past must prove that the limb was destroyed or rendered otherwise unusable. Fourth, those men who had received \$30 under the act of February 8, 1879 were entitled to the remaining sum appropriated by the state.⁷

The purpose behind this new application form was also written into the form itself. A brief statement by S. Brown Allen, the Auditor of Public Accounts at the time, stated that the forms were intended to save the applicants time and expense by allowing them to apply directly to the Auditor. It was hoped that in this way the

way of a prefabricated application form.

⁶Reports of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1882. Further reference numbers are impossible to include in this note. The commutation applications are arranged by act (1882, 1884, 1886) and then in alphabetical order by the last name of the applicant. Each applicant's information is included in a file with his name. Therefore, page numbers cannot be included. All references to these applications will be referred to by the year of the act under which they were recorded.

⁷Act of 1882. All applications from the Act of 1882 follow this form.

disabled soldiers would avoid having to go through agents and attorneys to obtain their commutation.⁸

A final legal addition to the forms of 1882 was to include in print the legislation under which the applicants commutation was assured. This included a copy of the Code of 1873, Chapter 76; Section 17, previously referred to as the Act of 1873, as well as Chapter 125 of the Code of 1882.⁹

Under the Act of 1882 another 600 veterans received commutation for the wounds they received over twenty years before. This number included several hundred who had received \$30 in commutation under the Act of 1879. These men finally received the rest of the \$60 which they were legally entitled to. The aid program had now assisted over 2,000 veterans. However, thousands more waited to receive their due.

One of these remaining men was Joseph E. Moore of Chesterfield County. A letter from Moore included in the Records of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, 1882, illustrates the need and frustration of those men as they sought to continue the aid program.

With tears in my eyes I have to pen you these lines.
I travelled<sic> all night last night and never slept one minute
to reach this place in time to get my commutation
before it was all paid out but alas! was told it was
doubtful about my getting it. It would depend whether
you construed the law in my favor or not. My dear Sir
if you knew my circumstances you would not fail to let
me have the commutation right away. I have only one

⁸Act of 1882. This statement is included on all the application forms for 1882.

⁹Act of 1882.

leg to work for a large family and such is my condition now that all of us will have to suffer unless we receive help and I think I prefer death rather than see my wife and little children suffer for bread. But it is very difficult for me to write these lines[.] [T]he tears involuntarily blind my eyes Eight years ago I received a . . . leg lasting with extreme care not quite three years. I have never received a dollar from any source, State or Federal. Please try and allow me the commutation . . . I believe God will amply reward you for it.

I remain yours
Very respectfully
Jos. E. Moore
May 3rd 1882¹⁰

Moore had been entitled to receive sixty dollars as commutation for his lost leg. However, he had received an artificial leg some years prior and was therefore placed at the end of the line for benefits. According to his letter, Joseph feared that the money appropriated for the Act of 1882 would be exhausted before his name came to the attention of the proper authorities. He was correct.

By the end of 1882 the money appropriated for the Act of 1882 had been exhausted. Most of the money distributed went to first time claimants. As such, many men who had received artificial limbs years before were left to care for themselves and their families alone. Therefore, it was determined once again in 1884 that the disabled soldiers of Virginia needed additional aid. A new act, and thus a new appropriation of \$60,000, was passed by the General Assembly on February 25, 1884.¹¹ It was

¹⁰Act of 1882. This letter was contained in the 1882 file for Joseph E. Moore. His application, dated March 5, 1882, was approved. However, this approval came on February 9, 1886, almost four years later, and was granted under the later Act of 1884 rather than that of 1882.

¹¹Acts of Assembly, 1883-1884, 187.

determined that this money would not be distributed on a first-come first-serve basis. As with some of the previous acts, this new legislation placed veterans seeking aid into two groups. Class One claimants were those men who had never received aid from the state.¹² It was determined that Class One applicants would receive preferential treatment and thus were placed ahead of Class Two claimants. Class Two applicants were all those disabled veterans who had previously received either artificial limbs or commutation from the state.¹³ In order to advance the needs of Class One claimants it was ordered that no Class Two applicant would receive payment until after all applications for Class One had been processed and the date of June 1, 1884 had passed.¹⁴

Like the previous Act of 1882 this new legislation provided that all eligible applicants were entitled to receive from the state a sum of \$60. However, the new Act of 1884 included a new provision. Some men had lost the use of more than one leg or arm or eye. It was determined, therefore, that these men should and would be entitled to \$60 for each limb disabled or lost during the war.¹⁵

The Act of 1884 represented the largest single grant of aid by the state of Virginia to that point. The \$60,000 translated into more than 1,000 veterans receiving

¹²Acts of Assembly, 1883-1884, 187.

¹³Acts of Assembly, 1883-1884, 187.

¹⁴Acts of Assembly, 1883-1884, 187-188.

¹⁵Acts of Assembly, 1883-1884, 188. This appears to have been a relatively rare occurrence. Not a single man in the Augusta/Chesterfield sample group applied for and received money in excess of \$60 under the 1880s legislation.

\$60 commutations.¹⁶ Yet, once again the General Assembly soon realized there was more work to be done.

Within two years the \$60,000 appropriated in the Act of 1884 was used up. A new law, therefore, was passed on February 5, 1886 to provide for the continuing needs of Virginia's disabled soldiers. The Act of 1886 appropriated an additional \$70,000.

This legislation followed the example of its predecessors by adopting the provisions of the earlier acts and then adding to them. The new addition in 1886 was the inclusion of those claims like the one made by Josephine Robinson in 1879. It was determined that should a soldier, legally entitled to commutation for wounds received in service to the Confederacy and having filed an application to the state previously, pass away before receiving his compensation that the state would pay the same to one of two possible beneficiaries.¹⁷ If the unfortunate soul left behind a widow then she would receive \$60 as compensation. If the man left no wife behind, the money would be paid to his "infant" children.¹⁸

One widow who applied for commutation was Mrs. Newton A. Fry of Augusta County. Her husband lost his left arm during the war and, upon reading a news article

¹⁶Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1882-1883. See Table 4.

¹⁷Acts of Assembly, 1885-1886, 71.

¹⁸Acts of Assembly, 1885-1886, 71. It is likely from this stipulation that if the soldier's children were of an age to be considered adult by law the money would not be paid to them.

about the new Act of 1886, she wished to receive the benefit she felt was entitled to her. On April 19, 1886 Mrs. Fry wrote a letter to the Auditor of Public Accounts inquiring as to how she should go about applying.¹⁹ While the Auditor's response no longer exists it is clear from her subsequent letters that there was a complication. Newton A. Fry had received \$60 from the state about ten years before. The Auditor, therefore, informed Mrs. Fry that no commutation was owed to her.²⁰

In her subsequent correspondence, which grew increasingly irate in tone, Mrs. Fry informed the Auditor that she has discussed the problem with two disabled veterans, John Schindel and Jas. Kennedy.²¹ She told the Auditor that both men accompanied her husband to Staunton ten years before and received \$60 each. She also stated that these two men applied for and received aid once again in 1886. Her conclusion was that since they received commutation again she should as well. She also threatened the Auditor by mentioning that she wrote a letter on the subject to Governor Fitzhugh Lee. On June 12, 1886 Mrs. Fry received a commutation of \$60.

The General Assembly was not through with the disabled veterans for the year 1886. On March 6 under a law entitled "an ACT appropriating public revenues for the

¹⁹Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1886, April 19, 1886.

²⁰Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1886, April 22, 1886.

²¹Both men are part of the sample group from Augusta County.

fiscal years 1886 and 1887” included two additional provisions for the aid program.²² An additional \$6,000 was set aside to be paid to those men considered by the Auditor of Public Account to be in Class Two who had yet to receive secondary aid from the state. Another \$7,000 was appropriated for those men who had lost arms and were “rejected by the auditor of public accounts as not included by the law, but who were entitled under that law.”²³ These appropriations granted benefits to more than 1,100 disabled veterans.²⁴

The Act of 1886 would be the last of the appropriations for commutation for Virginia’s disabled veterans.²⁵ On March 5, 1888 the Virginia General Assembly passed a new law which created a pension program for the state’s Confederate veterans. Unlike its predecessors, the Confederate Pension program did not grant an artificial limb or a one time commutation to the states veterans. Instead, the Pension granted an annual allotment to both disabled veterans and their widows based on the degree to which the veteran had been disabled.

²²Acts of Assembly, 1885-1886, 528.

²³Acts of Assembly, 1885-1886, 533. It would appear that there had been some confusion on the part of the Auditor of Public Accounts as to who was eligible for aid under the acts of 1884 and 1886. Consequently, it seems the Auditor had disallowed those men who had lost arms during the war for reasons which are not recorded. This additional appropriation was not intended as a new addition to the law but rather a correction of a previous error in interpreting the existing legislation.

²⁴Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1886-1887. See Table 4.

²⁵An act passed on March 5, 1894 granted artificial limbs to George T. Meats, W. M. Taliaferro, J. H. Conley, E. G. Wall, and Thomas Rudd of the Soldiers Home in Richmond. This appropriation was for \$300 and applied only to these five men making it very limited in scope.

According to section one of the 1888 pension legislation any veteran who lost an arm, leg, foot, or hand while in the service of Virginia would receive \$30 per annum. Any resident who lost two eyes, two feet, two hands, or a hand and foot would receive \$60. Any veteran who was certified as being totally disabled for reasons other than the loss of a limb would receive \$30. Any veteran who was partially disabled would receive \$15 per year.²⁶

The new pension also specifically included widows. Any widow of a soldier who died during the war would receive the benefit of \$30 per year. The only restriction placed on widows was that they remain unmarried. If a widow were to marry again it was considered that she no longer needed aid and, therefore, she was removed from the pension rolls.²⁷

According to Jeffrey Morrison a total of 2,097 veterans had entered their names on the pension roll from 1888 to 1899. At the same time an additional 1,372 widows received aid from the state. Additional pension acts passed in 1900 and 1902. The act of 1900 saw 8,163 veterans and widows receiving benefits. By 1905 that number had increased to 12,200.²⁸

Of the 172 men in the Augusta/Chesterfield sample group, 64 veterans applied for the pension before 1910. An additional seven widows of the sample group's veterans also received pensions.²⁹

²⁶Joint Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly, 1888, 469-470.

²⁷Joint Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly, 1888, 470.

²⁸Morrison, 41.

²⁹Virginia, Confederate Pension Applications, 1888, 1900, 1902.

With the institution of the pension program the old aid programs came to an end in 1888. Beginning in 1867 the legislation had evolved from a simple program to give artificial limbs to veterans. During the 1870s the program expanded to include thousands more veterans by extending benefits to those veterans who were disabled in ways other than amputation. It was also during the 1870s that the program changed from an artificial limb to a commutation program. By the 1880s the program had become an all encompassing program which granted commutation to all disabled veterans and even added widows.

By looking at the wounds received by the veterans from Augusta and Chesterfield certain facts become evident as to the evolution of the program. Beginning in the 1870s there were a few applicants with disabled rather than amputated limbs. By the 1880s this type of application came to predominate. Under the Act of 1873, the first to allow non-amputees commutation, 86% of the veterans who applied from Augusta and Chesterfield were reported to have lost some use of a limb or received a wound to an area of the body other than an arm or leg. By 1882 this number was over 90% and in 1884 it was over 72%. (See Table 12.)

These numbers demonstrate that as the program expanded it actually moved away from the original intentions of its creators in 1867, to grant artificial limbs to those who need them. But, just ten years later there were more men applying who retained their limbs than had lost them. Therefore, as the program expanded in its scope it is no surprise that it was quickly followed by a general pension program in 1888.

Wound	1867	1873	1882	1884	1886	TOTAL
Leg or Foot Amputated	2	0	3*	15	11	31
Arm or Hand Amputated	0	0	1	9	3	13
Eye Lost	0	1	1	1	1	4
Leg/Hip/Foot Disabled	0	1	10	28	9	48
Arm/Shoulder/Hand Disabled	0	4	16	20	7	47
Stomach/Lung/Head/Neck	0	1	15	17	0	33
TOTAL	2	7	46	90	31	176#

Sources: Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1867 to 1880; Commutation Applications 1882, 1884, 1886.

* One man reported in 1882 had a wound to his spine which shattered a vertebra. This wound led to paralysis of both his legs. He is considered for the purpose of these statistics as having lost his legs.

This number is greater than the size of the sample group because some applicants claimed multiple wounds with disability in more than one location.

From 1867 to 1888 Virginia appropriated a total of \$298,000 for the various programs to aid its veterans. (See Table 13.) In any given year the appropriation for the program ranged from 0 to 3 percent of the total expenditure for the state averaging .5% for the entire period. (See Table 13.)³⁰ This sum translated to around 5,000 veterans receiving either artificial limbs or commutation. While many of these men may have been able to get by without the aid, any additional money had to have helped particularly as they were aging and their disability made it increasingly difficult to earn a living.

³⁰If the budget numbers for the years which did not include appropriations for the aid program are removed this percentage rises to .88%

Year	State Appropriations	Program Appropriation	Percentage
1867	\$1,555,402.94	\$20,000.00	1.28
1868	\$1,909,438.76	\$0.00	0
1869	\$1,819,634.87	\$0.00	0
1870	\$2,781,851.94	\$20,000.00	0.72
1871	\$1,855,210.71	\$0.00	0
1872	\$2,146,275.57	\$0.00	0
1873	\$2,459,542.51	\$20,000.00	0.81
1874	\$3,301,619.86	\$6,000.00	0.18
1875	\$2,814,614.32	\$3,000.00	0.1
1876	\$3,773,501.69	\$6,000.00	0.16
1877	\$3,044,865.17	\$10,000.00	0.33
1878	\$2,997,067.09	\$15,000.00	0.5
1879	\$2,811,859.86	\$15,000.00	0.53
1880	*\$2,700,000.00	\$0.00	0
1881	\$2,612,308.22	\$0.00	0
1882	\$3,665,273.94	\$40,000.00	1.09
1883	\$3,912,586.77	\$0.00	0
1884	\$3,948,493.82	\$60,000.00	1.52
1885	\$3,305,354.61	\$0.00	0
1886	\$3,146,883.93	\$83,000.00	2.63
Total	\$53,861,786.58	\$298,000.00	0.5

Source: Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1867-1887; See Table 7.

While the aid program was in effect until 1888 its final appropriation was made in 1886.

* No record exists for the year 1880. Therefore, this is an estimate based on the annual appropriations of Virginia for 1879 and 1881.

When compared to South Carolina's program Virginia spent much more on its disabled veterans over that period. By 1886 South Carolina had paid out just over \$46,000 to its disabled veterans, about one-sixth of the \$298,000 appropriated by Virginia.³¹ However, Virginia's disabled veteran population was in the thousands. A

³¹McCawley, 3. Unlike Virginia, South Carolina passed artificial limb legislation even after the that state instituted a Confederate Pension program in 1887. Acts passed in 1892, 1894, 1902, 1903, and 1907 provided an additional \$17,800 mostly for repair

survey by the comptroller of South Carolina in 1886 reported only 560 disabled veterans in that state.³² If these numbers are accurate then Virginia spent just over \$60 per disabled veteran while South Carolina paid out just over \$82 per veteran. Taken as a whole, both states provided comparable amounts for its disabled veteran population.

and replacement of old artificial limbs.

³²McCawley, 4.

EPILOGUE

The Civil War left the devastated South with thousands of maimed and disabled veterans who were unable to provide for themselves or their families. With the fall of the Confederacy it was up to the individual states of the South to aid these unfortunate men. In Virginia a social consciousness which had developed during the Civil War was continued by the General Assembly in the form of aid legislation. The first manifestation of this aid legislation came in the form of a small program intended to provide artificial limbs to amputee veterans. However, as time progressed this initial aid legislation was steadily increased in scope to include paralysis, blindness, and finally any disability which could be documented by a physician. By 1888 over five thousand veterans had received more than \$300,000 in benefits from the state. From this early aid program sprang the general Confederate pension which aided veterans well into the twentieth century.

This thesis has provided an introduction into the aid program of Virginia in the postwar period. However, there remain many unanswered questions. The applications and census reports which form the basis of this study provide an insight into the lives of the maimed veterans of Virginia. Yet, the cold statistics included in them do not allow a look at the individuals involved on a more personal level. It is hoped that further study on the subject can shed light on the more private aspects of Virginia's disabled veterans and their families.

If letters or diaries of maimed soldiers in the postwar period could be found they might reveal the social and economic problems these men faced. They would clarify whether their disability made them outcasts or honored citizens. They also might help determine whether different types of injuries were greeted with different kinds of reactions. Finally, they may shed light on whether the veterans were afflicted with psychological problems as a result of their injuries.

Similarly, this thesis does not delve into the effect of disability on the wives and families of the disabled veterans. What effects did the return of a maimed husband and fathers have on the family? Were the women generally proud of their men or did they find the disfigurement revolting? How did wives compensate for the loss of their husband's potential income? Were children forced to work at a younger age and thus lose the opportunity for education? Perhaps letters or diaries exist from the women involved which would shed insight into the postwar plight of maimed soldiers and their families.

This thesis also covers the legislation involved in Virginia's disabled veteran aid program following the Civil War. However, little information was found on the behind the scenes aspects of the legal process which was so integral to the program. A study of newspaper editorials, letters, and diaries may reveal answers to some interesting questions. How did the veterans and their families pressure the state legislature to provide and expand assistance? Who were the major advocates for the veterans both inside and outside of government? Did any disabled veterans attain higher office and if so what effect did their disability have on them? If disabled veterans were elected, did their disability help them in the election process and, if so, how? Similarly, if disabled veterans lost elections did their disability contribute to their defeat? These questions and many more remain as yet unanswered.

In a broader context, there are many Southern states which have yet to be studied. Did they provide aid programs to their maimed soldiers and, if so, how did they compare to those of Virginia and South Carolina? Did the Border states pass legislation to aid their Confederate veterans and, if so, in what form did they take?

From the close of the war Virginia sought to provide for the men who gave so much in a losing effort to defend their homes. The reasons behind this desire ranged from the practical hope that disabled veterans could reenter the workforce if provided an artificial limb to the idealistic view that these men needed to be revered as martyrs to the Lost Cause. For these reasons the state devoted over \$300,000 to an aid program from 1867 to 1888.

What began in 1867 as a small program to grant artificial limbs to amputee veterans quickly evolved into a more comprehensive social welfare program which included disabled veterans of all types. It was from this program that the general Confederate pension program sprang in 1888. Whether created out of idealism stemming from the Lost Cause or practicality, the artificial limbs and commutation program of Virginia succeeded in aiding thousands of disabled veterans through the troubled years following the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Library of Virginia. Acts of Assembly, 1866-1888.

_____. Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, 1867-1888.

_____. Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Correspondence and Receipts, 1867-1880.

_____. Annual Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1882, 1884, 1886.

_____. Bill No. "Blank," December 1863.

_____. Bill No. 32, April, 1862.

_____. "Brief Review of the Plan of Operations of the Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers," January 1865.

_____. Joint Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly, 1866-1894.

_____. Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, VII, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1968; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.

_____. Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate, 1866-1888.

_____. "Report of a Committee of the Associate Medical Members of the Sanitary Commission, on the subject of Amputations, Second Edition," New York: Baillere Brothers, Publishers, 440 Broadway, 1862.

Manuscript Census, Amelia, Bath, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Shenandoah counties, Virginia, 1860; Augusta and Chesterfield counties, Virginia, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Matthews, James M., ed. The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, Buffalo, New York: Williams, Hein and Company, 1888.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Armstrong, Richard L. 25th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1990.

_____. 7th Virginia Cavalry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1992.

_____. 11th Virginia Cavalry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989.

Bell, Robert T. 11th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1985.

Bengtson, Bradley P. and Julian E. Kuz, ed. Photographic Atlas of Civil War Injuries. Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Medical Staff Press, 1996.

Cavanaugh, Michael A. 6th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988.

Collins, Darrell L. 46th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1992.

Crews, Edward R. and Timothy A. Parrish. 14th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1995.

Cunningham, H. H. Doctors in Gray. The Confederate Medical Service, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.

Dickens, W. Jackson, Jr., and Robert C. Kenzer. "The Confederate Memorial Literary Society's Roll of Honour," Civil War History, 43 (Spring 1997).

Driver, Robert J., Jr. 52nd Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1986.

_____. The 1st and 2nd Rockbridge Artillery, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1987.

_____. The Staunton Artillery - McClanahan's Battery, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989.

- Foster, Gaines M. Ghosts of the Confederacy, Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Frye, Dennis E. 2nd Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1984
- Glasson, William H. Federal Military Pensions in the United States, New York: Oxford University Press, 1918.
- Gregory, G. Howard. 38th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988.
- Henderson, William D. 12th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1984.
- Jackson, Luther Porter. Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1865 to 1895, Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945.
- Jordan, Ervin L. Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in the Civil War, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.
- Jordan, Ervin L. and Herbert A. Thomas, Jr. 19th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1987.
- Kuz, Julian E. and Bradley P. Bengtson. Orthopedic Injuries of the Civil War. An Atlas of Orthopedic Injuries and Treatments during the Civil War, Kennesaw, Georgia: Kennesaw Mountain Press, Inc., 1996.
- Macaluso, Gregory J. Morris, Orange, and King William Artillery, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1991.
- McCawley, Patrick J. Artificial Limbs for Confederate Soldiers. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1992.
- McDaid, Jennifer Davis. "Artificial Limbs for Confederate Veterans," Library of Virginia. Reports of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Applications and Receipts, Act of 1882, 1884, 1886.
- Morrison, Jeffery R. "Increasing the Pensions of these Worthy Heroes: Virginia's Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927." Masters thesis, The University of Richmond, 1996.
- Morton, M. B. "Federal and Confederate Pensions Contrasted," The Forum 16 (September, 1893-February, 1894).

- Murphy, Terrence V. 10th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989.
- Nanzig, Thomas P. 3rd Virginia Cavalry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989.
- Rankin, Thomas M. 23rd Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1985.
- Ratchford, B. U. and K. C. Heise. "Confederate Pensions," Southern Economic Journal 5 (October 1938).
- Reidenbaugh, Lowell. 27th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1993.
- _____. 33rd Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1987.
- Riggs, Susan A. 21st Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1991.
- Robertson, James I. 4th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1982.
- Ruffner, Kevin C. 44th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1987.
- Skocpol, Theda. "America's First Social Security System: The Expansion of Benefits for Civil War Veterans," Political Science Quarterly, 108 (Spring 1993).
- Stiles, Kenneth L. 4th Virginia Cavalry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1985.
- Trask, Benjamin H. 9th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1984.
- _____. 61st Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988.
- _____. 16th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1986.
- Wallace, Lee A., Jr. 5th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988.

_____. 17th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1990.

_____. Surry Light Artillery and Martin's, Wright's, Coffin's Batteries of Virginia Artillery, Virginia Regimental Series, Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1995.

Young, William A. And Patricia A. Young. 56th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Series. Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1990.

BIOGRAPHY

W. Jackson Dickens, Jr. was born on September 19, 1971 in Winder, Georgia. He graduated from Pine View School in Sarasota, Florida in 1990. He was awarded his B. A. in History and Classical Civilizations from the University of Richmond, in 1994. He has been employed by the Museum and White House of the Confederacy since 1994. He will be entering the University of Georgia as a doctoral student in history in September, 1997.

W. Jackson Dickens, Jr.

1233 Hillview Drive

Sarasota, Florida 34239

(941) 365-7265