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The population of Richmond, Virginia during the Civil War era

John G. Deal

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Population of Richmond, Virginia During the Civil War Era

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Degree: Master of Arts in History

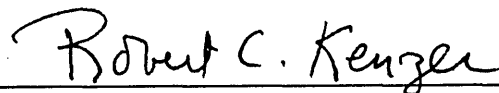
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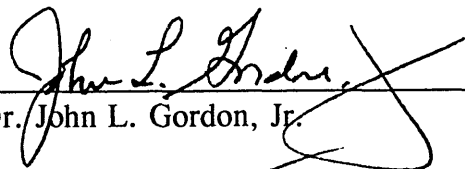
Thesis Director: Dr. Robert C. Kenzer

This thesis studies the population of Richmond, Virginia during the Civil War era by examining the persistence (those who remained in the city for ten years) of a sample of white, male heads of household from 1860. It focuses on such characteristics as age, nativity, wealth, and occupation. In contrast to other investigations of persistence, individuals who left the city, but remained in the state, also are examined. Further, a sample from Richmond's population in 1850 is traced during that decade to compare persistence rates and characteristics to the 1860 sample. The low persistence rates in both the 1850s and 1860s demonstrate high turnover in the population and also in businesses. This investigation suggests that the rapid growth which occurred during the 1850s affected the population in a similar fashion as the Civil War and Reconstruction later did. Theories concerning what characteristics affect persistence were supported as persisters in the 1860s were generally in their thirties, wealthier, and had better occupations than non-persisters.

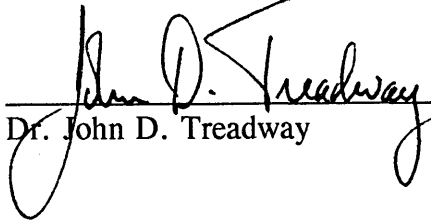
I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



Dr. Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor



Dr. John L. Gordon, Jr.



Dr. John D. Treadway

THE POPULATION OF RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
DURING THE CIVIL WAR ERA

By

John G. Deal

B.A., University of Richmond, 1988

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the University of Richmond

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INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of Richmond's nineteenth century urban development have generally divided along three distinct periods: Richmond's growth in the decades leading up to the Civil War, the war years from 1861-65 when the city was the capital of the Confederacy, and the postwar years as the community tried to rebuild itself within the context of a shattered city, emancipation of its primary labor force, and Reconstruction. Within these chronological categories, there has been some overlap in that historians have outlined briefly the ante-bellum era in a chapter to lay the foundation for a thorough examination of the Civil War years or they have sketched out the ante-bellum and war years in order to describe post-war Richmond. To date there seems to be little historical scholarship tracing Richmond across all three phases. This is especially true when considering what happened to the population of Richmond from 1860 through 1870. How did the population fare with the multitude of changes occurring during this time of tremendous highs, and ultimately, tragic lows, when Richmond was the capital of the Confederate States of America (C.S.A)? This thesis examines the city's population during the Civil War era by tracing a sample of Richmonders to determine who remained in the city for the entire decade (Richmond-persisters), who relocated to other areas of the state (Virginia-persisters), and who left altogether (non-persisters).

The primary work dealing with Richmond's urban ante-bellum growth, David R. Goldfield's Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism, Virginia 1847-1861, examines the process of development from small town to major regional, and partly, national city.¹ Goldfield's central theme is that urbanization of Southern cities, especially Richmond, occurred in a context of sectionalism. The development of cities in the South would not only help the cities themselves to grow, but also contribute to the growth of the entire region. Development of cities such as Richmond would allow the South to reduce, or even possibly end, dependence on the North in manufacturing, commerce, and most of all, trade. Securing economic independence and sectional equilibrium commercially, "the South could compete on a more equal basis with the North and the region's interests and institutions could thus be safeguarded."²

¹David R. Goldfield, Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism, Virginia 1847-1861 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977). General histories of Richmond are abundant. Older accounts include W. Ashbury Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1913); Mary Newton Stanard, Richmond, Its People and Its Story (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923); and John P. Little, History of Richmond (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1933). More recent surveys of Richmond include Jean Gottman, Virginia in Our Century (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969); James K. Sanford, ed., Richmond, Her Triumphs, Tragedies, and Growth (Richmond: Metropolitan Richmond Chamber of Commerce, 1975); Virginius Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971); and Virginius Dabney, Richmond, The Story of a City (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990).

²Goldfield, Urban Growth, xxiii.

Goldfield explains how Richmond, in the years from 1847 to 1861, developed in every significant manner befitting a burgeoning city. Transportation, manufacturing, commerce, and finance each expanded during this period. Additionally, the quality of life of the city's residents progressed as the city council worked to provide better public services such as police and fire protection, street maintenance, and expanded gas and water works. Goldfield maintains that the manufacturers and merchants of the cities (mainly Richmond) and the planters and farmers of the countryside worked together in order to develop the tools for city building. These tools included better access to markets via the railroads, larger warehouses and marketplaces, and bigger factories and refineries. The prevailing attitude of the time was that growth for the cities would mean reciprocal growth for the countryside.³

Goldfield also analyzes the growth of Virginia's cities by tracing a sample of the 1850 population to 1860. He examines such characteristics as age, occupation, wealth, and household size and occupancy. In addition, he traces a subsample of what he termed "city-builders," the urban leadership such as politicians, industrialists, and merchants.⁴

The sectionalism theme of urbanization from 1847 to 1861 is also extended to Virginia's entrance into the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy. Goldfield

³Ibid., 182-97.

⁴Ibid., 29-96.

asserts that economic issues were a primary reason the Commonwealth threw its lot in with the South. Even though significant urbanization had occurred in the past fifteen years, the Commonwealth, and the rest of the South, were still dependent on the Northern market centers, especially New York, for its national and international commerce. Most of the goods that Virginia imported or exported initially went through New York. Even goods traded with other Southern states first travelled northward to New York. In essence, Virginia had indirect trade with every state and nation outside its own borders. The choice for Virginians was whether they wanted to remain a secondary player in the nation's economy, dependent on Northern ports for commerce and trade (a situation which they felt would only worsen after 1860 with the Republican's supposed favoritism toward the North). Their other choice was to join with the Confederacy and begin to trade directly with the West and foreign countries, thus seizing these markets from the North. In theory, this situation would make Richmond the Southern counterpart to New York: an international city and the center of commerce and trade for a new country. The people of the city and state chose the latter. In the end, however, the Union victory of 1865 ended the dreams of a national economy centered in Virginia. After the war the state resumed its status as a regional economic entity such as it had been before the conflict and was forced to fit into the national economy still dominated by the Northeastern cities. In essence, Virginia was back where she was five years previously.⁵

⁵Ibid., 225-70.

Clearly, the topic of the Civil War years encompasses most of the writings about Richmond's history, especially in the nineteenth century. Emory M. Thomas's Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital is one of the more widely-read accounts of the turbulent years when Richmond was the capital of the Confederacy. In this narrative account Thomas explains that the industrial, as well as financial, sector of the economy made Richmond pre-eminent in the South and a necessity for the struggling Confederacy, especially in the face of a war with the Union. Virginia and her capital city, however, had strong ties to the Union, and until the spring of 1861, the Commonwealth was still trying to find a resolution to the division between the Union and the Confederacy. Historians maintain that Virginia's strong emotional ties to the South and the Union intrusion on states' rights, were the ultimate reasons for the state's decision to join the Confederacy, with the federal request for troops by Abraham Lincoln following Fort Sumter being the final blow. According to Thomas, while the city's industrialists, merchants, and tradesmen were beginning to challenge the supremacy of the planter class in 1861, they ultimately bowed to the political will and social values of the planters. This action subsequently led Richmond and other cities in Virginia to vote for secession and stand with their Southern brethren. On 19 April 1861, the secession convention finally voted in favor of joining the Confederacy.⁶ The people of Virginia overwhelmingly ratified the

⁶Emory M. Thomas, The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 4-12.

Ordinance of Secession on 23 May 1861.⁷ Subsequently, the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America voted six states to three (Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina) in favor of moving the capital of the incipient country to Richmond.⁸

Thomas argues that because Richmond became the capital of the Confederacy, eventually the city and the C.S.A. would become emotionally and physically one and the same. The security and safety of Richmond became the linchpin of the Confederacy. As long as Richmond held out the Confederacy survived. But when the city fell, so did the hopes of the South.⁹ Thomas sums up the war years by stating that "the Cause would inspire her finest years, and in the end, when she had made her last sacrifice, the city would feel herself the very embodiment of the Confederacy."¹⁰

When Richmond became the Confederate capital on 20 May 1861, the city was transformed into the center of a nation at war. Almost immediately, tens of thousands of civil servants, state and national (C.S.A.) politicians, and most of all, soldiers from every state flooded into the city. Thomas describes how the local government and residents dealt with being in a wartime capital whose population suddenly burgeoned and which experienced shortages of nearly everything, resulting in inflation. They also had to deal with the wounded and refugees arriving from battlefields all over the

⁷Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 221.

⁸Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 33.

⁹Ibid., 178.

¹⁰Ibid., 31.

state and the defense of the city against the Union. Most interestingly, Thomas illustrates the mood of the Richmond's residents and how they seemed to live and die by each battle that the Confederate forces waged, and how finally, the Confederacy and the city were simultaneously overwhelmed.¹¹

What happened to the city following the end of the war is the focus of Michael B. Chesson's Richmond After the War, 1865-1890. Chesson claims that Richmond fell far short of its promise following the end of the war. With all its industrial, manufacturing, financial, and commercial resources, the city should have continued developing and become one of the leaders in the so-called New South. The fact that it did not do so Chesson blames squarely on its civic leaders, especially city council

¹¹Ibid., 54-190. Other works on the war years include Alfred H. Bill, The Beleaguered City, Richmond, 1861-1865 (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1946); William J. Kimball, Starve or Fall, Richmond and Its People, 1861-1865 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1976); and Samuel J. T. Moore, Moore's Complete Civil War Guide to Richmond (Richmond: Samuel J. T. Moore, 1973). For first-hand accounts of the city during the Civil War in the form of diaries, see include Thomas C. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals: An Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy from Birth to Death (Mobile, Alabama: The Gossip Printing Company, 1892; reprint, Spartansburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1975); Earl S. Miers, ed., A Rebel War Clerk's Diary by John B. Jones, condensed edition (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, Incorporated, 1961); Samuel Mordecai, Richmond in By-Gone Days (Richmond: West and Johnston, Publishers, 1860; reprint, Richmond: The Dietz Press, Incorporated, 1946); and Mary Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, edited by Ben Ames Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961). Primary source material also is available in William J. Kimball, Richmond in Time of War (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), a collection of newspaper, diary, and official accounts. A valuable source for official documentary information is Louis H. Manarin, ed., Richmond At War, The Minutes of the City Council, 1861-1865 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

members. He argues that the municipal government did not manage the problems that the city incurred as the new nation's wartime capital (overcrowding, shortages, inflation, defense, public services, crime). Further, he alleges, "Richmond's wartime experiences cast a shadow over the post-war years and profoundly affected the way in which its ... inhabitants dealt with the problems of Reconstruction."¹²

By war's end nearly all of the business district comprising Richmond's banks, merchants, brokerage houses, and law firms was burned. Most of the food supplies also were destroyed by fire or looters. In addition, the city's transportation system of railroads, bridges, and the James River Canal were all severely damaged. While rebuilding of the city went forward, Chesson asserts that the process of decay that had begun during the war continued on throughout the decade, making Richmond's importance as an American city less significant when Virginia was readmitted into the Union in 1870. He insists that even though the city was largely rebuilt bigger and more modern than before, it was actually already in decline. Richmond's residents and their leaders did not have the same desire for material progress that imbued the New South ideology. The city was too bound to its history and tradition to keep up with the rapid changes occurring in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³

¹²Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890 (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1981), 25.

¹³Ibid., 57-117.

Industrial leaders also were to blame for Richmond's decline as they did not comprehend the challenges facing the economy in the post-war era in order to compete nationwide. Chesson maintains that the industrial sector recovered to an extent following the war, "yet each industry had serious problems that eventually weakened its relative position in the national economy."¹⁴ These problems included reluctance to modernize factories, inadequate supply of raw materials, poor railroads, and a channel too shallow and a harbor too small for large ships. For example, while Richmond had twice as many manufacturers in 1870 as 1860, the value of their output was almost 15 percent lower because the city had moved toward smaller factories and shops. Chesson claims that all of these factors kept Richmond in the status of a "miniature metropolis" for decades. Further, the traditional attitudes of always looking back to the past prevented city leaders from adopting a progressive vision for the future. Thus, Richmond in the 1890s was the "old city of the New South."¹⁵

In recent years scholars of the nineteenth-century South have focused on cities besides Richmond. In New Men, New Cities, New South, Don H. Doyle examines the role of the city booster in the post-war development of Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, and Mobile. Urban development, he finds, was not an inevitable occurrence and entrepreneurial talent was not enough. It took the actions of individuals or groups conducting development plans, investing, promoting, and

¹⁴Ibid., 139.

¹⁵Ibid., 139-172.

influencing favorable government legislation to galvanize a city and make it grow.

Here the city booster is defined as predominantly part of the business class as opposed to solely a politician in the local government.¹⁶

Doyle stresses that individuals with entrenched habits and outdated views of the world were unable to deal with the new post-war conditions. In his final analysis, Doyle contends that Atlanta and Nashville bounced back quickly from the war and spearheaded the New South creed of urban development. These cities had the right combination of city boosters galvanizing their cities to take action, along with favorable geography and other circumstances. On the other hand, because Charleston and Mobile did not have visionary city boosters, nor did they enjoy advantageous geography or circumstance, it took more than a generation for these cities to recover.¹⁷ While Doyle did not include Richmond in his comparison study, Chesson would emphasize that this is what happened to Richmond. Consequently, it never reached the potential it showed in the ante-bellum years.

Recent works on Atlanta and Mobile also contribute to the body of literature on Southern urban history.¹⁸ James M. Russell's Atlanta, 1847-1890: City Building

¹⁶Don H. Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South, 1860-1910 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 17.

¹⁷Ibid., 21-22.

¹⁸Some general southern urban histories include Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield, eds., The City in Southern History, the Growth of Urban Civilization in the South (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press Corporation, 1977); David R. Goldfield, Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers, Southern City and Region, 1607-1980

in the Old South and the New examines the life of Atlanta during all three phases of the Civil War period. Similar to Goldfield and in contrast to Doyle, Russell believes that continuity existed between the Old South and the New South. In emphasizing the importance of boosterism and entrepreneurship in urban development, Russell asserts that the New South city boosters had much in common with (and were sometimes the same men as) the leaders of the ante-bellum era. They shared similar socio-economic and demographic characteristics and possessed similar ideas about city building. Most importantly, they did not have ties to the planter class, and thus rejected its culture. Furthermore, Russell maintains that while the Civil War may have intensified the process of city building, the basic foundation and ideology was present prior to 1861 and simply continued on after 1865.¹⁹

Cotton City: Urban Development in Ante-Bellum Mobile by Harriet E. Amos describes a city that had the worst trade balance of all the ante-bellum Southern cities. Mobile was almost totally dependent on Northern merchants because its only substantial export was cotton bound for Northern mills. Correspondingly, Mobile received nearly all of its imports from New York. During the 1840s and 1850s, city

(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); and Lawrence H. Larsen, The Rise of the Urban South (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985). Slavery in the urban environment is examined in Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); and Claudia Dale Goldin, Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860, A Quantitative History (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976).

¹⁹James M. Russell, Atlanta, 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 260-4.

boosters attempted to make Mobile more self-sufficient by expanding direct trade routes to the North and West and encouraging the development of industry. Their failure caused Mobile's economy to remain commercially-based on exportation of cotton. The city was destined to endure as a secondary port to New Orleans and also dependent on Northern trade. Similar to Richmond, Mobile felt that membership in the Confederacy could spell the end of Northern economic domination. When the war ended, however, Mobile was once again under near total dependency on the North and would remain so for many years.²⁰

Within the urban historical studies of the South, and particularly Richmond, in the nineteenth century, there is room for further investigation. While Goldfield, Thomas, and Chesson each investigate Richmond during a different period (ante-bellum, wartime, and post-war), there has been no comprehensive examination of the city across all three phases of the Civil War era similar to that conducted by Russell on Atlanta. This is especially true with respect to the residents of Richmond. The city's population in 1860 numbered 37,910. With the establishment of the Confederate capital in Richmond, however, the wartime population ballooned to between 90,000 and 150,000. Not surprisingly, the population dropped dramatically

²⁰Harriet E. Amos, Cotton City, Urban Development in Ante-bellum Mobile (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 18, 193-239) 1985.

as the war ended, but still registered 53,038 in 1870, an increase of 35 percent over the 1860 mark.²¹

An investigation of Richmond's population will determine what happened to the city's residents during this decade. Aggregate statistics indicate the size of the population in 1870 as well as its social, economic, and demographic composition. The types and numbers of industries and businesses that existed after the war also are known. What remains unknown, however, is to what degree the people of 1870 Richmond were the same individuals who resided in ante-bellum Richmond. An examination of those who stayed throughout the decade also will reveal whether the industries and businesses operating after the war and Reconstruction were the same ones operating before the war.

Questions concerning the racial makeup of the city in 1870 also require further examination of the population (see Table 1). In the 1850s, the white population in Richmond increased almost 40 percent more than the black population. During the 1860s, however, this trend reversed as the number of blacks swelled some 44 percent more than whites. While Chesson argues that the increase in blacks during the 1860s was a result of the Freedmen's Bureau providing food, shelter and medical care to rural blacks, there are no sufficient explanations for the decline of white population

²¹Chesson, Richmond After the War, 117.

growth in the 1860s as compared with the 1850s.²² The need for explanations to these issues requires examination of the pre-war and post-war Richmond populations.

There is also a need to understand the characteristics of those individuals who did not stay in Richmond, especially those who may have moved to other parts of Virginia. Previous studies of persistence for this era have not examined the people who did not stay in their respective cities in any significant depth. While the primary focus of this study is examination of those who stayed in Richmond, those individuals who left for other parts of the state and those who left altogether also are examined.

In order to gain an understanding of who stayed in the city and who left during the 1860s, a random sample of 400 white, male heads of household from Richmond was obtained from the 1860 federal manuscript census and traced during this decade (see Appendix A for an explanation of the methodology). There were two groups against which to compare the persistence rates from this study's sample: Atlanta's population from 1860 to 1870 and Richmond's population from 1850 to 1860. Both of these presented problems, however, which caused comparisons to be difficult.²³ Therefore a more similar sample of 200 white, male heads of household was randomly

²²Chesson, Richmond After the War, 117-19.

²³In the case of Atlanta, it was a different city with contrasting characteristics which could affect persistence rates. On the other hand, Goldfield's 1850-1860 Richmond sample included women and blacks which could also affect the persistence rates.

selected from the 1850 census and traced during that decade using the same methodology as the 1860 sample.

This investigation necessarily requires much examination of numerical figures such as rates of persistence and percentages of household heads who possessed certain characteristics. Real individuals, however, will not be neglected. The stories of some of these men will be highlighted to better explain how they lived and what happened to them over the decade. Additionally, Richmond itself will be described to illustrate the condition of the city before the war.

CHAPTER 1

RICHMOND ON THE EVE OF WAR

On the eve of the Civil War, Richmond was one of the leading cities of the South. In the preceding decades the state capital of Virginia had grown in every significant way: population, transportation, commerce, finance, local government, public services, and especially industry. The city's population of whites, free blacks, and slaves in 1860, 37,910, had more than tripled in size since 1820. Richmond's residents represented 3 percent of the total population of the Commonwealth in 1860. From a national perspective, Richmond ranked 25th in population among all cities. In comparison to the rest of the South, however, Richmond ranked third behind New Orleans and Charleston, and would move ahead of the South Carolina capital in the coming years. It would remain second in Southern population to New Orleans until the turn of the century when Atlanta would surpass it.¹

During the 1840s and 1850s Richmond evolved from a sleepy Southern state capital to one of the most important cities in the country, and possibly the most important in the South. One of the main engines driving this growth was the development of a system of transportation connecting the city with the rest of the state, and subsequently with the rest of the country. Central to this system were the railroads. In 1847, Virginia ranked seventh in the nation in railroad mileage with

¹Chesson, Richmond After the War, 4, 12, 115.

only six railroads and 270 miles of track. By 1861, however, the state had nineteen railroads and 1,321 miles of track. This growth catapulted the Commonwealth to a rail mileage ranking behind only New York and Pennsylvania. Richmond went from being accessible only via the James River and Kanawha Canal and a small stretch of the Virginia Central Railroad in 1847, to become the most accessible city in the state.² By 1861, there were five railroads terminating in Richmond alone: the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac (R. F. & P.), the Virginia Central Railroad, the Richmond and Danville (R. & D.), the Richmond and Petersburg (R. & P.), and the Richmond and York River (R. & Y.).³

If "economic progress was the engine of cityhood," as David Goldfield states, then certainly railroads were the engine of Richmond's economic progress.⁴ This burgeoning railway system in Virginia produced higher profits for the individual farmer by tremendously expanding the marketplace for agricultural products and reducing his transportation costs. For Richmond the effect of improved trade with the countryside was manifold. Better transportation from the hinterland to the city opened up new sources of agricultural products and raw materials for the city's industrial manufacturing and refinement sector, reduced the transportation time for existing sources, and, as a result, improved the quality of these articles. Tobacco from the

²Goldfield, Urban Growth, 182.

³Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 79.

⁴Goldfield, Urban Growth, 182.

Southside of Virginia on the R. & D., wheat and livestock from the Piedmont and the Shenandoah Valley using the Virginia Central, and seafood products from the Chesapeake via the R. & Y. were just a few of the commodities making their way to Richmond.⁵ Other sources of transportation such as the James River and Kanawha Canal, which enabled travel along the James River above Richmond to Botetourt County in Southwest Virginia, expanded trade by bringing lime and iron ore from western Virginia to Richmond on canalboats.⁶

The increase in quantity and quality of commodities and raw materials resulted in a dramatic enlargement of the capacity and diversity of the industrial sector of Richmond. This circumstance elevated the capital city to a place of significance in industrial America, especially in comparison with the rest of the South. While the city ranked 13th nationally in terms of the value of its manufactured products, Richmond stood first among the Southern states. At the same time, however, the city's iron foundries helped rank Virginia third in the country in the value of iron production. Additionally, the diversity of the city's manufacturing sector was ahead of anything in the South. The city had over eighty industries including major tobacco factories, flour mills, and iron foundries. Other industries included sugar refining (the most mechanized in the country), clothing production, sewing machine manufacturing,

⁵Ibid., 182-8.

⁶Chesson, Richmond After the War, 5-7.

and carriage springs production for railroad cars.⁷ The manufactured goods from these industries were sent by way of railroads to the rest of the state for further agricultural goods and raw materials. In addition, water and rail connections to the port at Norfolk enabled import and export of raw materials and manufactured goods with the rest of the United States and occasionally directly to other countries.⁸

A substantial result of the tremendous growth in the statewide railroad system was the development of the iron industry in Richmond. Iron foundries were needed to manufacture iron train rails for the ever-expanding railway system coursing through the Commonwealth.⁹ In terms of iron production, the city boasted four rolling mills, more than a dozen foundries and machines shops, and numerous smaller ironworks specializing in such manufacturing as iron rails, circular saws, nails, stoves, and cannons.¹⁰ The famed Tredegar Iron Works even produced a steam fire engine for the government in Russia, which was displayed in the North before being shipped overseas.¹¹ The iron manufacturing industry employed over 1,500 workers who comprised 20 percent of the city's industrial workforce and accounted for over two

⁷Goldfield, Urban Growth, 187-94.

⁸Chesson, Richmond After the War, 7-10.

⁹Bill, Beleaguered City, 13.

¹⁰Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 23.

¹¹Bill, Beleaguered City, 13.

million dollars in annual sales. By far the largest iron manufacturer was Joseph R. Anderson's Tredegar Iron Works, which employed 900 workers.¹²

While iron was probably the most important manufacturing which occurred in the city during the years leading up to the Civil War and certainly a major reason why it was chosen to be the capital of the Confederacy, the processing of tobacco and grains was the most profitable. Ante-bellum Richmond led the nation in tobacco manufacturing and was among the leaders in flour milling.¹³ The fifty-two tobacco factories in Richmond and bordering Henrico County processed tobacco from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Additionally, a variety of businesses and industries complemented, or supplied, the tobacco manufacturers, such as warehousing, box factories, cigar makers, and a tobacco exchange. In sum, the entire industry registered five million dollars in sales during 1860.¹⁴

Not far behind tobacco manufacturing in profitability was the milling industry. While the city and surrounding counties had only ten flour mills, their output rivaled that of Baltimore, the other great milling center of the Atlantic, which had dozens of mills. In 1860, with wheat and corn supplied by the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, these mills produced over 400,000 barrels of flour, most of which

¹²Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 23.

¹³Goldfield, Urban Growth, 192.

¹⁴Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 21.

was traded to South America in exchange for coffee.¹⁵ Similar to the tobacco industry, many corollary industries existed which helped spur on the milling industry such as bakeries, distilleries, and brewers, to a production value of more than three million dollars.¹⁶

The import and export of raw and manufacturing goods especially in the form of tobacco, grains, and iron enabled the city to develop many supporting industries in addition to those for tobacco and grain manufacturing. To support these industries with capital, Richmond had four major banks each with assets over a million dollars and which combined had over ten million dollars in capital assets. In addition, numerous insurance companies were present in the city. Further, Richmond was the center of trade for the state as planters, merchants, and visitors from outside the city helped the hometown merchants gross a reported twelve million dollars in sales annually. In addition, the individual and small manufacturing enterprises of such skilled craftsmen as blacksmiths, brick makers, coopers, carriage makers, tailors, and confectioners all served the needs of the visiting planters and businessmen, as well as the city's own residents.¹⁷

While the tobacco, flour, and iron industries all were extremely profitable enterprises, it must be pointed out that the slave trade practiced in Richmond most

¹⁵Chesson, Richmond After the War, 7-9.

¹⁶Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 21.

¹⁷Ibid., 22-23.

likely eclipsed all but tobacco manufacturing and export in revenue. Richmond was the second largest marketplace for slaves in the country behind New Orleans as its physical location and position as the capital of Virginia made it the center of the slave trade in the Southeast. Sales from the city's dozens of slave trading firms during the 1850s was between three and four million dollars annually.¹⁸

Richmond's growth exceeded just economic dimensions in that expanded city government and provision of public services, both major components of modern urbanization, developed significantly in the years prior to the Civil War.¹⁹ By 1861 Richmond possessed a modern city council structure in which freeholders, with two years of residence in Virginia with one of those in Richmond, elected five councilmen for one-year terms in each of the city's three wards (Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe). The mayor was elected by the city-wide vote of freeholders. From 1853 and throughout the war years, Joseph Mayo retained this office.²⁰

Police and fire protection both had evolved from city reliance on private to professional departments compensated from the public coffers. Among Virginia's cities, only Richmond had day and night-time police patrols and a professional fire department by 1860. Both police and fire departments, however, were supported with minimal funds for manpower (the police force had only thirty officers) and equipment.

¹⁸Chesson, Richmond After the War, 10.

¹⁹Goldfield, Urban Growth, 139-40.

²⁰Manarin, Minutes of the City Council, 1-14.

Moreover, these limited resources were oftentimes allocated with a distinct bias toward the business community.²¹

Street paving was another sign of urban development and the results in Richmond were mixed. In many cities of the time the cost of paving a street was shared between the city and residents living on the street who would pay for the bricks. The only city-subsidized street paving occurred around the public marketplace. Obviously, if the individual had to pay half the cost of street paving (and repairing) only the affluent residential and business areas would be paved.²² The rest of the city outside the downtown area would still endure dirty streets which became muddy, dusty, or icy depending on the weather. Thus, the majority of Richmond's streets would suffer a notorious reputation for years to come.²³

In 1851 Richmond became the first Virginia city to utilize gas lighting, but only began lighting areas such as railroad depots, wharves, and munitions warehouses every night in March 1861.²⁴ While the municipal government paid for lighting on city streets, any individual who wanted this illumination for their residence, factory, or business had to reimburse the city for installation of the proper equipment.²⁵

²¹Goldfield, Urban Growth, 139-48.

²²Ibid., 149-50.

²³Chesson, Richmond After the War, 6.

²⁴Goldfield, Urban Growth, 151; Manarin, Minutes of the City Council, 36.

²⁵Goldfield, Urban Growth, 150-1.

Because water supply was not considered a "showcase" for cities like street lighting and paved streets, most cities did not give much attention to the supply nor purity of their water. While Richmond did have an adequate water supply rivaling cities in the North, the quality was described as "muddy." As historians have pointed out, however, Richmonders apparently got used to this quality of water and newspaper editorials never criticized the situation nor campaigned for improvement. Goldfield maintains that the city's residents frequently boiled their water and also had other "alternatives" to water to satiate their thirst.²⁶ Even though Richmond had grown substantially in the decade leading to the Civil War, the capital city of Virginia was, according to many historians, still in many respects a provincial town.²⁷ Emory Thomas comments that "in the spring of 1861, the city contained a happy blend of rural provincialism and urban potential. Richmond was an old town and a young city combined."²⁸ Maintaining Richmond's public services during the war-years would be a stern test for the city's leaders.

This brief examination of Richmond on the eve of war indicates that it was progressing rapidly in all measures of urbanization. Civic leaders and residents could boast of excellence in transportation, industry, commerce, finance, and before long,

²⁶Ibid., 151-2; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 77.

²⁷Chesson, Richmond After the War, 20-3; Jean Gottman, Virginia in Our Century (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 111-2.

²⁸Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 30.

primacy in Southern politics. Richmonders also enjoyed rapidly expanding public services, city government, and general prosperity that made it distinctive among Southern cities.

CHAPTER 2

RICHMONDERS DURING THE 1850s

Who were the Richmonders during the very early stages of the rapid growth described previously? As seen through the sample of 200 white, male heads of household, the residents of the city mirror the changes occurring around them. More than half of the sample lived in Jefferson Ward in 1850.¹ On average, the heads of household were thirty-eight years of age. Andrew Anton, a confectioner from Corsica, and James Farrell, a laborer from Ireland, both twenty years of age, were the youngest men in the sample. The oldest household head was seventy-eight-year-old Jones Allen, a native Virginia butcher. Over one-third of the heads of household were in their thirties, with substantial numbers also in their twenties and forties (see Table 2a).

The occupations of the household heads represented the industrial, mercantile, and financial emphasis that began shaping Richmond's economy in the 1850s. Over half of the sample consisted of merchants and upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, coach makers, coopers, and millers. The high numbers of these groups are indicative, as described previously, of the benefits that the industrial economy had for merchants and skilled craftsmen. The sample was different from the

¹A total of 51 percent of the sample lived in Jefferson Ward. A further 29 percent resided in Madison Ward and one-fifth lived in Monroe Ward. Appendix B includes a map of Richmond showing these wards.

overall population in the modest numbers of laborers and lower blue-collar workers present because few of those individuals headed households (see Table 3).

Native Virginians led the way as those born in the United States comprised more than three-quarters of the sample (see Table 4).² Pennsylvania and New York provided some household heads with 3 percent and 2 percent of the sample, respectively. Other states such as Massachusetts, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, and Connecticut had only a few native sons among the sample. These figures are indicative of the lack of migration southward by Northern-born Americans.³ The immigrants present were mostly German and Irish, while the United Kingdom, Portugal, and Italy all were represented in the sample.⁴

²Native Virginians comprised 63 percent of the entire sample and 83 percent of those born in the United States.

³There was, however, much migration to the West and North on the part of Virginians (see Gottman, Virginia in Our Century, 117). This may account for what some researchers state is the slow population growth during the first half of the nineteenth century (see Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 5).

⁴Germany had 10 percent among the sample, while Ireland was represented by 8 percent. Other than the United Kingdom (4 percent), no other country contributed more than one household head each. Ireland was separated from England, Scotland, and Wales due to its large percentage. In-depth studies of the immigrant population in ante-bellum Richmond include Michael E. Bell, "The German Immigrant Community of Richmond, Virginia: 1848-1852" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1990); and Kathryn L. Mahone, "The Irish Community in Ante-Bellum Richmond, 1840-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1986). An examination of post-war immigrants is presented in Rudolph H. Bunzl, "Immigrants in Richmond After the Civil War: 1865-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1994).

At this beginning stage of Richmond's growth, the average real estate value for the heads of household was just over \$2,500. Nearly two-thirds, however, owned no land which made the median for the sample zero (see Table 6). Nicholas Mills, a sixty-eight-year-old retired tobacconist, owned real estate assets valued at \$75,000, highest in the sample.

How large were the households that these men headed? The average size was over five individuals per household, with a range from one to seventeen. More than half the households were comprised of two to five people. The largest categories of were five-person (15 percent) and four-person (14 percent) households.

The sample reflects nineteenth-century society in that boarders were present in a significant proportion of the urban households in the South, as well as the North. In 1850, boarders were present in 46 percent of these households (see Table 7). The practice of boarding partly resulted from construction failing to keep up with the demand for housing. The boarders in the study sample of households reflect the general characteristics of boarders during the period.⁵ These boarders included relatives staying with the nuclear family household and also individuals frequently from the family's home state or country trying to get started in a new place. In addition, boarders included adult men who worked with, or for, the head of household (such as unskilled or skilled labor in a factory or clerk in a merchant's shop) as well as a significant number of apprentices. Interestingly, many families in the study

⁵Goldfield, Urban Growth, 46.

seemingly took in off the streets unrelated elderly boarders (generally widowed women), and young people (often teen-age girls working as domestic servants or teen-age boys serving as apprentices). Lastly, there also were several households which could afford to hire free blacks to work for the family who boarded with their employer.

What happened to the Richmonders from 1850 during this period of growth? In contrast to the Goldfield sample traced during the 1850s, a little over one-quarter of the heads of household remained in the city for the entire decade (Richmond-persisters).⁶ Eleven percent left the city, but relocated to other parts of the Commonwealth (Virginia-persisters), while the remaining 63 percent left the state altogether (non-persisters).

Matthew W. Swain, a thirty-year-old grocer from Virginia, was among the majority of the persisters who moved from Jefferson Ward to Monroe Ward during the 1850s. This movement to Monroe Ward made it the largest ward among persisters in 1860. In addition, many persisters moved to Madison Ward, making it the second largest ward at decade's end (see Table 8a). Among the Virginia-persisters, more than half moved only to the surrounding counties of Henrico and

⁶The persistence rate for the 1850 Goldfield sample was 34 percent. Goldfield, *Urban Growth*, 41, 64.

Chesterfield.⁷ This is important because while Don Doyle asserts that individuals began moving out of the center of cities following the Civil War and even relocating to the surrounding countryside, this study reveals that household heads were doing this in relatively substantial numbers more than a decade earlier.⁸

What were the households like that the Richmond-persisters and Virginia-persisters lived in by 1860? The average size for both groups increased from five to over six individuals per household. Most of the Richmond-persister households had an even distribution of sizes from one to ten people (see Table 9). The exception to this was Jacob Barnes, a gas fitter. The fifty-seven-year-old Pennsylvanian and his wife Sarah had five children ages six to twenty, plus seventeen boarders. The Virginia-persisters also had their household sizes spread evenly from one to fourteen. By 1860 the proportion of nuclear-family households had increased somewhat, but the percentage of boarder-households was still significant (see Table 10).

In terms of which household sizes persisted and which did not, little difference existed between the three groups as Richmond-persisters and Virginia-persisters had average households of six people compared to five for the non-persisters. No substantial trend existed with regard to what size households would fall into one of the persistence groups, except for the fact that most of the households with ten or more

⁷Ten percent moved to Henrico's Western Division, 5 percent moved to Henrico's Eastern Division, and 3 percent moved to Chesterfield County.

⁸Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South, 190.

individuals were Richmond-persisters (see Table 11). The presence of boarders was not an indicator of persistence as almost equal numbers of nuclear-family and boarder households in 1850 ended up as Richmond-persisters, Virginia-persisters, or non-persisters (see Table 12).

Age of the heads of household also was not an indicator of which persistence group the men would occupy. The Richmond-persisters were, on average, about the same age as non-persisters and just slightly older than Virginia-persisters in 1850.⁹ Additionally, the age distribution of household heads was similar for each of the three persistence groups, with most individuals in their thirties (see Table 13). This was especially true for the Virginia-persisters where over half were in their thirties.

Joseph Rosenbaum was a thirty-one-year-old merchant from Germany who persisted in Richmond from 1850 to 1860. This made him unusual because the proportion of immigrants who remained in Richmond or Virginia diminished over the decade as foreign-born individuals were most likely to become non-persisters.¹⁰ Most of the heads of household in each persistence group were native-born Virginians, due

⁹The average age in 1850 for the Richmond-persisters was thirty-nine years, with a range from twenty-one to sixty-eight. The average for Virginia-persisters was somewhat lower at thirty-five years (range from twenty to fifty-six), while the average for non-persisters was slightly lower at thirty-eight years (range from twenty to seventy-eight).

¹⁰While immigrants comprised about one-quarter of the entire 1850 sample, the percentage of immigrants among Richmond-persisters was 16 percent and the proportion of Virginia-persisters who were immigrants was 17 percent. Correspondingly, non-persisters had the largest percentage of immigrants at 29 percent of the group.

in all likelihood to their overall large numbers in the sample (see Table 14). Heads of household from other states were more likely to be Richmond-persisters. On the other hand, Germans and Irish comprised most of the immigrants who did remain in the city.

David Goldfield's contention that occupational status is positively related to persistence finds mixed support among the 1850 heads of household.¹¹ For example, men like William Stringfellow, a miller in 1850, were just as prevalent among non-persisters as Richmond-persisters. In fact, there was little difference in the proportion of upper blue-collar craftsmen among each of the persistence groups (see Table 15). For their part, Virginia-persisters had a contrasting mixture of the highest proportions of both upper and lower blue-collar, as well as laborers among the three groups. Similarly, while merchants were present among the Richmond-persisters in larger percentages than those who left the city, those with no occupation in 1850 were also proportionately larger among the Richmond-persisters. Also in conflict with Goldfield's ideas concerning occupation and persistence, non-persisters had the largest percentage of white-collar workers in the sample.

The heads of household were a very stable group occupationally as most, such as William Stringfellow noted above, remained in the same job status throughout the

¹¹Goldfield, Urban Growth, 64.

decade.¹² Some improvement did occur, however, as over one-fifth of Richmond-persisters and nearly two-fifths of Virginia-persisters elevated their occupational status. For those remaining in Richmond, by 1860 the proportion of upper blue-collar craftsmen and merchants had decreased, while the percentage of white-collar workers and those in the "other" category increased (see Table 16). The improvement in "other" occupations was most likely the increased numbers of individuals working for the city due to the increased role of the municipal government and enhanced public services. One such individual was William Page, a twenty-four-year-old Virginian who was a baker in 1850, but became a city policeman by 1860. The Virginia-persisters saw a decrease in upper and lower blue-collar workers and laborers. Increases were seen among the merchant, white-collar, and "other" categories. Men like P. J. Tiller, a fifty-three-year-old Virginian who became a farmer, account for the "other" category increase.

Property holding is another variable viewed as affecting people's movement because those with real estate assets are said to be established and do not need to relocate to obtain prosperity.¹³ Results from the 1850 household heads reveal that, indeed, those who remained in Richmond had larger real estate holdings than either the Virginia-persisters or non-persisters. The non-persisters, however, had more

¹²Over 70 percent of Richmond-persisters remained in their same job status from 1850 to 1860, while 48 percent of Virginia-persisters did not change occupations.

¹³Goldfield, Urban Growth, 64.

average real estate wealth than the Virginia-persisters.¹⁴ Additionally, the Richmond-persisters had substantially fewer individuals who did not own real estate than either of the other groups (see Table 17).

How did those who remained in the city or state manage financially over the decade? The results reflect the prosperity of the decade for Richmond and the rest of the state described in the previous chapter. Among Richmond-persisters, 63 percent improved their financial status by 1860, with only one-fifth suffering losses. Moreover, 91 percent of the Virginia-persisters enhanced their wealth, with only the remaining 9 percent having fewer assets by the end of the decade.

The average real estate value for those who stayed in the city more than doubled to about \$8,900. Typical of those who prospered was Elijah Crump, a thirty-four-year-old carpenter. At the beginning of the 1850s this Virginia native already owned \$2,000 in real estate. Over the course of the decade Crump remained in the city, moved from Jefferson to Monroe Ward, and enhanced his real estate holdings to \$11,000. Perhaps he was part of a construction boom occurring due to the increased population, as well as new businesses, factories, and warehouses being built during the decade. William Blank was another head of household who increased his wealth during the 1850s. He was a forty-three-year-old tailor with no real estate assets. By

¹⁴The average real estate value for Richmond-persisters was over \$4,400. Conversely, the average for Virginia-persisters was only \$700, while the figure for non-persisters was just over \$2,000.

1860, however, this native of Pennsylvania had moved from Madison to Monroe Ward and owned some \$4,000 in real estate.

The increase for those who moved to other areas of the Commonwealth was striking as the average real estate value increased over 700 percent to \$6,000. One who did well was Stephen Fisher, a thirty-seven-year-old shoemaker originally from Pennsylvania. In 1850 he lived in Jefferson Ward and owned \$1,000 in real estate. By 1860 Fisher, one of the few who changed occupations, had become a Methodist minister with \$5,000 in real estate holdings. William Trent also certainly benefitted from a change of scenery. In 1850 Trent, a twenty-seven-year-old physician, owned no real estate while living in Jefferson Ward. By decade's end Trent lived southeast of the city in Gloucester and possessed \$60,000 in real estate.

The percentage of household heads who owned no real estate holdings also decreased over the decade for both Richmond-persisters and Virginia-persisters (see Table 18).¹⁵ This increase in land ownership for the Virginia-persisters was most likely due to the actions of individuals, such as P. J. Tiller, who needed land for their farms.

Personal property assets, which were collected in the manuscript census beginning in 1860, also demonstrate the prosperity of the era. The Richmond-persisters were especially affluent as the average value of personal property assets was

¹⁵By 1860 the proportion of Richmond-persisters who owned no real estate decreased 4 percent, while the percentage of Virginia-persisters decreased 13 percent.

about \$12,000, while the total for the group was over \$600,000. This wealth was not truly shared by everyone, however, as 45 percent of the Richmond-persisters possessed no personal property, making the median value for the group about \$50 (see Table 19). The individual who possessed the largest part of the \$600,000 was Nicholas Mills, the retired tobacconist described previously, who owned \$183,000 in personal property, as well as \$76,500 in real estate. Another affluent Richmonder was John L. Brown, a thirty-six-year-old merchant in 1850. By 1860, this native Virginian possessed \$71,000 in personal property, in addition to the \$30,000 in real estate he owned.

The Virginia-persisters possessed significantly less personal property with the average being about \$3,000. In contrast to the Richmond-persisters, their group total of \$69,000 was enjoyed by most of the heads of household as only about 9 percent owned no personal property (see Table 19). One Virginia-persister who prospered was Alfred L. Lee, a thirty-year-old commission merchant who moved to the Eastern Division of Henrico during the 1850s. Lee not only enhanced his significant real estate assets from \$5,000 to \$25,000 during the decade, but also owned a further \$5,000 in personal property. Lee was the exception, however. John V. Hardwicke, a forty-year-old tailor, reflects the median for the group with the \$200 of personal property he possessed in the Eastern Division of Henrico.

This examination of what happened to a sample of 1850 heads of household revealed that each of the persistence groups were very much alike in many instances.

On other occasions the groups did not display expected characteristics such as the non-persisters being more affluent than Virginia-persisters. Because of the similarities between the three persistence groups and the unexpected differences, in many ways the results did not support prevailing theories on what characteristics differentiate persisters and non-persisters such as age, household size, presence of boarders, occupational status, and real estate wealth.

CHAPTER 3

RICHMONDERS IN 1860

Who were the heads of household who resided in Richmond on the eve of the Civil War? The sample population of 400 in this study reflects the overall white male population of the period. Residents of ante-bellum Richmond in the sample lived in the three wards at a rate consistent with the representation in the general population. In contrast to the 1850 group, the majority of residents lived in Madison Ward, followed by Jefferson and Monroe Wards, respectively.¹ The sample of household heads also reflects the general population of the period in that 31 percent owned slaves. The average age for the sample was about forty. The youngest member of the sample was seventeen-year-old Thomas Shay, a mason from Ireland, while the oldest was one Moses W. Meyers, an eighty-nine-year-old "gentleman" from New York. Those in their thirties represented the largest age category with 35 percent of sample population (see Table 2b).

Similar to the heads of household from the 1850s, the occupations of the sample represented the continuing growth of the industrial, mercantile, and financial sectors of Richmond's economy. Nearly half of the sample consisted of merchants,

¹Overall the breakdown for the white population of Richmond in the three wards in 1860 was 31% Jefferson, 37% Madison, and 32% Monroe. For the sample population the distribution by ward was 34% Jefferson, 38% Madison, and 28% Monroe.

and upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen (see Table 3). In addition, those men working in white-collar occupations which also obtain business from a strong industrial economy such as tobacconists, bank administrators and cashiers, and clerks were also present in large numbers.

Again, paralleling the 1850 sample, only moderate numbers of the sample were laborers and lower blue-collar workers because few white males of these occupations were household heads. Further, slaves, who performed much labor, also were not selected. Richmond was the first urban area to incorporate slaves into factory work as a cheap alternative source of labor.² By 1860, many large businesses owned slaves to work in their factory or business, and even the city bought slaves to use in cleaning the streets and at the gas works.³ More and more common in the years leading up to the war was the practice of slavemasters hiring out their slaves as the need arose. It was common for those slavemasters in the rural surrounding counties to hire out their slaves when work was slow on the farm or plantation, especially during wintertime.⁴ While slaves certainly were used in the laborious tasks of a factory, as time went on they more often took up skilled positions, especially in the later years of the war. For example, in 1863 nearly one-quarter of the labor force in the Tredegar Iron Works

²Wade, Slavery in the Cities, 33-36.

³Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 26.

⁴Goldin, Urban Slavery in the American South, 2, 13-16, 38-45.

was comprised of slaves. This proportion increased to more than half by 1864.⁵

This could be attributed to the increased demand for white men to serve as soldiers in the war and the continuing necessity for industrial production.

Richmond on the eve of the war was made up predominantly of individuals born in the United States, and not surprisingly, individuals born in Virginia. While a clear majority of the sample were native-born Americans, about half of the entire sample were Virginians.⁶ (See Table 4.) With the exception of several individuals from Louisiana and Tennessee, those in the sample from other states came from the eastern seaboard including Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania.

In contrast to 1850, immigrants made a much larger contribution to the composition of Richmond just before the Civil War. The sample reflects how antebellum Richmond had become a favored settling place for those born in foreign lands.⁷ The sample was comprised of two-fifths immigrants, most of whom were western Europeans. Germany and Ireland led the way with 15 percent and 13 percent

⁵Moore, Complete Guide, 84-85.

⁶A 60 percent majority of the sample (n=242) was born in the United States. Native Virginians numbered 192 heads of household, and therefore accounted for 48 percent of the entire sample and 79 percent of those born in the United States.

⁷In 1860, immigrants accounted for 13 percent of all Richmonders. When the free black and slave populations are removed from the population count immigrants represented over one-fifth of the city's residents. See Chesson, Richmond After the War, 120. The sample had a somewhat higher proportion of immigrants, 30.5 percent.

of the sample, respectively.⁸ The United Kingdom was the next significant contributor, with English and Scottish immigrants accounting for 6 percent of the household heads. Other immigrants in far fewer numbers came from France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, and Holland. The nativity of the household heads in the sample reflects the general population trend that more immigration came from foreign countries to Virginia than from the West or the North.

The occupational status of those in the sample born in the United States versus foreign-born immigrants proves very striking. While U.S. natives had generally substantial numbers in all occupational categories, some categories were more represented than others. These included upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen, merchants, and white-collar employees (see Table 5). The striking exception to the dominance of native-born heads of households occurs in the laborer category where nearly all of the men were immigrants and overwhelmingly from Ireland. Similar to the situation for native-born versus immigrants, Virginians were well represented among all the occupations due to their substantial numbers in the sample population (nearly half of the entire sample). Among Virginians, however, an occupational emphasis also was present as many were merchants, upper blue-collar craftsmen,

⁸Bavarians and Prussians were the most numerous of the Germans in the sample at 3.2 percent each. In some cases, however, the census taker did not record from which German state a household head was from, only that he was from "Germany."

white-collar employees, and "others."⁹ High representation among Virginians in the merchant category is not surprising since Richmond had become the center of trade and commerce in Virginia. Similarly, the planters, traders, visitors, industries, and factories all needed the supportive products from the upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen. The white-collar category contained individuals such as tobacconists, hotelkeepers, clerks, and bankers. Virginians were well represented in the "other" category since it was comprised of the various state and municipal officials such as superintendents of the water and gas works, court judges, police officers, and state public guard officers, as well as gentlemen (probably most people did not travel to other states to retire). Interestingly, only two laborers of Virginia birth were present in the entire sample.

The lack of Virginia-born laborers probably results from the fact that white laborers seeking work in ante-bellum Richmond faced much competition. They had to compete with other whites, especially immigrants, free blacks, and slaves. This situation was magnified by the system of slave hiring-out.

John D. Blair, a tobacconist, typifies the lifestyle of many white-collar individuals in the sample. The forty-three-year-old native Virginian owned \$6,000 in real estate property, but interestingly no personal property. Perhaps it is because Blair headed a household of thirteen people, none of whom had real estate or personal

⁹Virginians represented 52 percent of entire merchant sample, 43 percent of the upper-blue collar occupations, and 69 percent of the white collar and "other" categories.

property, and of whom only two had jobs (as clerks, probably in Blair's business). The large household included Blair's wife and five children, but also a family of boarders, the Binfords. The Binfords were led by Mary, a forty-seven-year-old "gentlewoman." In addition, two unrelated children, Catherine (age four), and William Willison (age one), also lived with the Blairs.

Hotelkeeper John B. Ballard exemplifies a successful Virginian. With a household of five, seemingly his brother Thomas's family, the forty-four-year-old Ballard owned real estate valued at \$150,000 (the Ballard House) and personal property valued at \$75,000. Ballard had constructed the hotel bearing his name in 1855. The Ballard House, however, was commonly referred to as the "Exchange Hotel" since the two buildings were connected by an overhead iron bridge over Franklin Street. Ballard operated both the Ballard and Exchange during the war and both survived the fire. The Ballard is remembered as the last residence of former President John Tyler and his wife, Julia, who died there in 1862 and 1889, respectively. The larger and more prestigious Exchange Hotel was built in 1841 and survived until the turn of the century. The most famous visitor to the Exchange Hotel was the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, travelling incognito as Baron Renfrew in 1860.¹⁰

¹⁰Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 58-59; Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 209.

was

A less celebrated, but no less important, Virginian from the sample is fifty-eight-year-old David J. Tyree, a street superintendent with real estate valued at \$1,200 and no personal property. The Tyree household included his fifty-six-year-old wife Nancy, and an amazing ten children ranging in age from four to twenty-eight. The occupations of his adult children, none of whom possessed any real estate or personal property, included two carpenters, two seamstresses, and a bricklayer. The household also included Susan Jenkins, a twenty-five-year-old white domestic servant.

Those in the study sample who migrated to Virginia from other states generally served in white-collar, merchant, professional, and upper blue-collar occupations. Few were laborers and lower blue-collar workers. Two men in the study provide examples of the few Northerners who migrated south. James M. Talbott was a forty-five year-old master machinist from Maryland who certainly had a comfortable existence in 1860 with real estate valued at \$50,000 and personal property worth \$31,000. Since Talbott had teen-age children born in Virginia, it can be speculated that he went south in the mid-1840s just as the industrial sector was getting started in Richmond. He probably got in on the ground floor, and now he had considerable personal wealth to show for his efforts. Similarly, William Taylor was a fifty-year-old merchant New York native. He was even more prosperous than Talbott, with nearly \$65,000 in real estate and \$90,000 in personal property. With his oldest child born twenty years earlier in Virginia, it is possible that Taylor travelled to Virginia around 1840 and was among the first merchants to benefit from opening of trade

patterns between Richmond and the countryside brought about by railway and waterway expansion.

Most of the foreign-born in the sample population were represented among the occupational categories as upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen, merchants, and laborers. Some were lower blue-collar unskilled workers and a few had white-collar and professional occupations. Only thirty-six laborers were among the sample population and nearly all came from overseas. More than two-thirds of the laborers were from Ireland, which is representative of the Irish who worked in ante-bellum Richmond.¹¹ Typical of the Irish immigrants living in Richmond prior to the Civil War was Jeremiah Sexton, a fifty-five-year-old laborer. Sexton and his wife Mary reported owning no real estate or personal property. Apparently Sexton spent some time in Connecticut in the late 1840s as his eleven-year-old daughter, Ellen, was born there. The family migrated south during the 1850s and his second daughter, Mary, was born in Virginia during 1856. It seems ironic that so many laboring Irish immigrants would migrate to Virginia seeking work because there was much competition for employment from slaves, especially in the industrial sector.

Not all the Irish immigrants who came to America, however, were laborers. Some were blue collar skilled craftsman like James Duffy, a thirty-year-old blacksmith. From the census record it is probable that Duffy and his twenty-four-year-old wife arrived from Ireland in the mid-1850s. They seemed to be steadily

¹¹Chesson, Richmond After the War, 120.

working their way south as their first son Thomas was born in New York in 1856, while their second son, John, was born in Virginia a year later. Perhaps Duffy felt that a need for skilled craftsman existed in the burgeoning factories and industries of Richmond. With moderate property holdings of \$800 for real estate and \$100 for personal property, Duffy was doing well in 1860.

German immigrants were well represented in the study sample as upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen such as millers, masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and tailors. In addition, many Germans in the sample were merchants. These occupations of German-born residents in the study sample are characteristic of the occupations held by Germans in 1861.¹² One German immigrant, Lewis Held, a native of Bavaria, was a thirty-nine-year-old dry goods merchant living in Madison Ward who seems to have resided in Virginia for at least a decade since his eldest daughter was born in the Commonwealth ten years before. While most immigrants did not have white-collar occupations in America, in this sample one white-collar German deserves mention. Burghardt Hassel founded the Richmond German language newspaper Taglicher Anzeiger in 1853 at the young age of twenty-four. A native of Hasse Cassel, Hassel edited the local German language paper throughout the 1860s. In addition to being the sole German language newspaper in Richmond, the Taglicher Anzeiger also had the distinction of being Richmond's only daily and Sunday newspaper in 1860.¹³

¹²Ibid., 120.

¹³Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 75.

Continuing in the cultural vein, Hassel allowed William Gebhart, a professional musician from Bavaria, to reside as a boarder.

The real estate and personal property values of the heads of household in the sample confirm Emory Thomas's contention that Richmonders just before the war were extremely prosperous, feeding off the city's position as the center of trade and commerce for the state, and its pre-eminence in industrial production in the South.¹⁴ Indeed, the economy of the city was certainly in high gear by this time and profitable to nearly everyone. In comparison to the real estate holdings from a decade earlier when the industrialization of the economy was beginning, the 1860 levels were substantially higher. This prosperity also could reflect the predominantly merchant and skilled craftsmen occupational level among the sample population and the corresponding shortage of laborers. For the entire sample of 400 the average value of real estate property as listed in the census was \$34,913, with a range from zero to \$400,000. In terms of personal property, the average was \$31,324, with a range from zero to \$464,500. Like 1850, however, more than two-thirds of the sample did not have any real estate property value at all, making the median real estate value zero. Similarly, nearly 40 percent of the sample did not have personal property value, making the median approximately \$90 (see Table 6).

Lewis D. Crenshaw, a forty-two-year-old merchant/miller, boasted the highest real estate value in the sample at \$400,000 and also had one of the highest personal

¹⁴Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond, 24.

property amounts in the sample at \$150,000. Crenshaw acquired most of his wealth from Crenshaw's Mill and the larger Haxall and Crenshaw Mill, which he owned with William and Philip Haxall. Additionally, Crenshaw was the owner/proprietor of the Brockenbrough House and the famed Spotswood Hotel.¹⁵ The Spotswood, opened in 1859, survived the evacuation fire only to be burned in another fire in 1870. In May 1861, President Jefferson Davis resided at the Spotswood for two months until the permanent Confederate White House was completed (the mansion previously owned by Crenshaw).¹⁶

Sixty-five-year-old flour merchant Abram Warwick also enjoyed \$400,000 worth of real estate. Similar to Lewis Crenshaw, Warwick's fortune came from a flour mill. In partnership with William J. Barksdale, Warwick owned and operated the Gallego Mill (also known as the Warwick Mill and the Warwick and Barksdale Mill). Destroyed in the evacuation fire in 1865, the twelve story building was one of the largest brick buildings in the country in 1860 and produced 190,000 barrels of flour per year. William C. Allen also possessed appreciable amounts in real estate and personal property. This sixty-six-year-old farmer had \$464,500 in personal property value (the highest) and \$295,000 in real estate. While Crenshaw, Warwick, and Allen were all native Virginians, men from other states also enjoyed success in

¹⁵Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 57-82.

¹⁶Dabney, Richmond, The Story of a City, 164.

Richmond. For example, Isaac Davenport, a forty-six-year-old merchant from Maine, possessed \$150,000 in personal property.

Household size of the sample and the individuals who comprised the various households provide an interesting look at the household heads of ante-bellum Richmond. On average about six individuals were present in a household for the sample population, with a range of one to twenty-eight. The median number in a household was four. A majority of the households in the sample were composed of four to seven individuals, while large households of eight to twenty-eight constituted the next highest proportion. Similar to the 1850 sample, households with four and five individuals were the single largest categories.¹⁷

Who were the occupants in these households? In half the households in the sample, only nuclear-family members resided. In the other half of the sample, more often than in 1850, boarders resided in the household (see Table 7). Perhaps more households with boarders existed in 1860 due to the increased size of the population (see Table 1) and the continued lack of housing. As in 1850, the boarders included extended family, persons from the family's home state or country, and people who worked for, or apprenticed with, the household head. The households were more

¹⁷Households with four to seven members comprised fifty-five percent. Large households of eight to twenty-eight had 23.2 percent of the total household size. Just over one-fifth of the sample had one to three residents. The two largest household number categories were four and five individuals at 15.5 percent (n=62) and 16.3 percent (n=65) of the sample, respectively.

diverse in 1860, however, as many more households had free blacks working for, and boardering with, the family.

Another category of household membership different from that described above, was whites acting as domestic servants. Like the free blacks who resided in their employer's household, they consisted mostly of women who, for the most part, were illiterate. In many cases, these white domestic servants were immigrants living with someone from their native country.

The diversity also is evident in that a number of households had a combination of strangers, extended family, white domestic servants, or free black servants all living as boarders. While a variety of practical, personal, and philanthropic reasons existed for taking in boarders, it also seems that it was an effective way to supplement a family's income. In a number of instances from the sample group the head of household had a lower or upper blue-collar occupation, but with boarders was able to generate sizable real estate or personal property holdings.

While most of the boarders had little money because they were just getting started or had low paying occupations, it should be noted that in many households the boarders had real estate or personal property and sometimes in significant amounts. As stated previously, another boarding category included free blacks working as domestic servants, field hands, or factory labor who lived in the household. This occurred seventeen times in the sample and most of these were women acting as domestic servants in the home. The lack of free black males residing in the household

of white men is understandable in the face of limited space in the urban environment. If a free black male was hired to work in a tobacco factory or even a small shop, for example, he likely would live elsewhere such as in the free black neighborhoods which dotted the city. This would be comparable to the urban slaveowners or renters who, due to the lack of living space, were forced to allow the slave to live elsewhere than on his property.¹⁸

Mr. W. J. Clarke, a fifty-two-year-old tobacconist, headed the sample's twenty-eight member household. This native Virginian with no real estate or personal estate assets had no family except his wife Mary listed in the manuscript census, but did have twenty-five boarders. William Miller certainly had a full household as well, but much more diverse in type. The forty-nine-year-old German baker from Saxe Weimar provides an example of several different household makeups. His eleven-member household included his wife Elizabeth and their six children. Henry, the oldest at sixteen was already serving as a clerk in his father's bakery. In addition, William's seventy-five-year-old mother Magdeline lived with her son. Rounding out the household were three male boarders ages sixteen to thirty-five, one of whom was from Bavaria. Two of the boarders were bakers and the sixteen-year-old was a baker apprentice. The Millers were indicative of many households in which large nuclear families had sons working for the father and oftentimes an elderly parent also living with his/her children. Another trend present in the Miller household was boarders

¹⁸Wade, Slavery in the Cities, 62-63.

who were in the same occupation as the head of household (or apprenticing) who frequently were from the same state or country.

A further example of household composition comes from one Thomas V. Moore, a forty-two-year-old minister originally from Pennsylvania who was prospering well in Richmond with \$2,500 in real estate property and \$20,000 in personal property. The Reverend Moore's twelve-person household included a large core family of a wife, Matilda, and six children ranging in age from three to seventeen. This time, however, the eldest son did not follow in his father's spiritual footsteps, but instead was a salesman. Among the four boarders was Frances F. Garathing and her teenage son, Robert, neither of whom was employed. A Virginia seamstress, Frances V. Cox, resided with the Moore's as did Rachel Brice, a fifty-three-year-old free black who served as a domestic servant.

As mentioned previously, boarders were not always penniless. Richmond police officer Benjamin M. Morris, a forty-year-old native Virginian and his wife, Mary, lived a comfortable existence in Madison Ward with \$12,000 in real estate property and a further \$7,500 in personal property. And so how did a police officer obtain that much wealth? The answer could be that the Morris household had eight boarders who supplanted his municipal salary. Four of the boarders were males with substantial occupations and property holdings. Andy Johnson was a merchant with \$9,000 in personal property holdings. Isaac Centerfield, a printer, along with his wife Harriet had \$6,000 in real estate property (which explains why Isaac's sister Lucy was

also a boarder). Furthermore, John Berry, a carpenter, and William Wilkerson, a miller, each had \$10,000 worth of real estate property. All of these well-heeled boarders may have allowed Morris to let Peter Baungrass, a thirty-year-old German artist with no property holdings, reside in the household.

The household heads in the 1860 sample represented the population of Richmond in terms of demographic and socio-economic characteristics. They were prosperous men directly, or indirectly, involved with the industrial sector which dominated the economy of the city. What happened to these individuals over the course of the decade will be examined in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 4

THOSE WHO STAYED IN RICHMOND OR VIRGINIA DURING THE 1860s

After the decade of the 1860s Richmond was a changed city. Throughout the Civil War it was the fledgling country's heart and soul. During the war years Richmond reached tremendous highs and suffered terrible tragedies as the capital of the Confederacy. Following the traumatic end to the war, which saw the most important parts of Richmond burned to the ground, the city underwent five years of Reconstruction before readmission into the Union in 1870.¹

What happened to the residents of ante-bellum Richmond over the course of the decade? Were there substantial differences between those heads of household who stayed in the city until 1870, those who moved out of the city into another area of the Commonwealth, and those who could not be located at all? Additionally, did differences exist between what happened to the 1850 and the 1860 heads of household? Those individuals who could be located in Richmond and other parts of Virginia will be examined in this chapter, while the non-persisters will be looked at in the subsequent chapter.

¹See Thomas, Confederate State of Richmond and Chesson, Richmond After the War for an examination of the city during the war years and post-war years.

Those Who Stayed in Richmond

Nearly one-quarter of the 400 antebellum heads of household traced for this study were still living in Richmond by 1870. A further 6 percent were located in other areas of Virginia. Over two-thirds could not be located in the 1870 manuscript census records.² By comparison, in Atlanta, a city entirely destroyed by the war, 38 percent of the white, male heads of household remained during the 1860s.³ While the persistence rate for Atlanta surpassed Richmond, it may not be fair to compare the two cities due to their different socio-economic, demographic, and geographic characteristics.

In comparison to Goldfield's study whereby a sample of Richmonders traced from 1850 to 1860 had a one-third persistence rate, the present study sample again was lower.⁴ When compared to the 1850 sample of 200 traced for this study,

²Internal validity of the sample was demonstrated when a sample of 200 out of the original 400 yielded a persistence rate of 23 percent, comparable to the rate for the full sample.

³Russell, Atlanta, 1847-1890, 153, 273.

⁴While this sample has a higher persistence rate than the present study, the Goldfield sample's inclusion of females and blacks, could affect the results. If the sample did contain females and blacks, however, it would seem that the persistence rate would be lowered. Goldfield, in fact, finds that persistence among females and blacks was lower than that for white males in the 1850s. A sample of white males only from 1850 would likely have an even higher persistence rate than the 34 percent. Goldfield, Urban Growth, 41, 64.

however, the results were different. The persistence of the 1850 heads of household was similar to the primary study sample with just over a one-quarter persistence rate. The low persistence rates for both decades presented in this study suggests an ever-changing population. Russell comments that with a 38 percent persistence rate during the 1860s, Atlanta was a city which experienced substantial population turnover.⁵ Certainly, with a 25 percent rate, the same could be said for Richmond. While there was a net increase in the population of 35 percent over the decade in Richmond, the trials and tribulations of those years such as the wartime population spike to upwards of more than 100,000, the upheavals of the siege operations of the Union army in and around Richmond, and the subsequent burning of the economic heart of the city most likely affected the turnover of the population.

The post-war Reconstruction years also affected the population growth. As stated previously, according to Chesson the increase in the black population (62 percent) accounted for much of the net growth during this period. During the same period, the white population increased only 18 percent, however. Moreover, much of the net increase in population, especially for whites, came in 1867 when Richmond annexed 2.5 square miles of Henrico County and doubled the city's size to 4.9 square miles, thus bringing about the creation of Marshall Ward on the eastside and Clay

⁵Russell, Atlanta, 1847-1890, 153.

Ward on the westside.⁶ This annexation added about 8,000 people to the city's population.⁷

Who were the people who did stay in this markedly changing community throughout the decade? In contrast to the 1850 persisters, most of whom came from Jefferson Ward, many of the 1860 persisters lived in Monroe Ward at the beginning of the decade. Household heads such as Felix Matthew, a forty-five-year-old merchant, and his fellow residents helped Monroe Ward contain the largest number of persisters of the three wards (see Table 8b). Nearly four-out-of-ten persisters came from this ward, as compared to the over one-third who resided in Madison Ward, and the almost three-tenths who came from Jefferson Ward. The number of Monroe Ward residents found in 1860 is remarkable given the fact that it was the least numerous ward in the sample population. The result was that Monroe had the best proportion of its sample population remain in the city for a decade compared to the other wards (one-third versus one-fifth for Madison and Jefferson).⁸

⁶The two new wards did not alter the existing boundaries of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe Wards. Common Council of the City of Richmond, The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Richmond (Richmond: V. L. Fore, 1869), 44-45.

⁷Chesson, Richmond After the War, 117-27.

⁸The study sample was very similar to the overall population representation of the three wards. Madison Ward had the most residents in ante-bellum Richmond, with Jefferson ranked second, and Monroe third. It is interesting to note that if the sample had been chosen so as to have equal numbers of the study sample in each ward, this would have elevated Monroe Ward's sample size and most likely increased the number of persisters from this ward to even higher levels.

Where the persisters lived in 1870, however, was different. They were more likely to reside in Madison Ward in 1870 than in Jefferson, Monroe, Clay, or Marshall Wards (see Table 8). In contrast to the 1850 group, most persisters like Felix Matthew did not move out of their 1860 ward. Nearly three-quarters lived in the same ward in 1860 and 1870. More than one-third of these same-ward persisters remained in Madison Ward, while a further one-third stayed in Monroe and 30 percent continued in Jefferson. For those few who did change wards (n=26), more than half moved out of the center of the city (e.g., Jefferson and Monroe Wards along Main, Cary, and Franklin Streets) east to Clay Ward or west to Marshall. A further 23 percent relocated north of Broad Street to Madison Ward. Moreover, there was little movement to Monroe Ward and Jefferson Ward.

Though the numbers are small, these findings support Don Doyle's contention that following the Civil War, when movement occurred by individuals, it was out of the center of the city where the business district was normally concentrated.⁹ The fire that erupted at the end of the war most likely did not contribute to this trend since its destruction was mostly confined to the business and government district, primarily an area from Grace Street south to the James River and from 4th Street west to 16th

⁹Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South, 190; Chesson, Richmond After the War, 122.

Street (though the Capitol and City Hall were spared due to their locations on Shockoe Hill). Only two hotels and most of the residential areas had not been burned.¹⁰

The seven-member household of Felix Matthew was also indicative of those who stayed in the city. Nearly two-thirds of the persisters had household sizes of four to seven individuals in ante-bellum Richmond compared to 56 percent in the overall sample (see Table 20). Similarly at the end of the decade the most predominant size of households were five to seven with a combined 42 percent of the total (see Table 21). It is not unreasonable to suggest that households with larger numbers of individuals were more stable and thus less likely to relocate. This would especially be true if moving the entire household constituted a financial burden. While Felix Matthew's household became smaller during the 1860s, the average number of individuals residing in persisters' homes increased from about six to seven by decade's end.

Because he took in boarders Adam Turner and his household of five individuals were also typical of persisters. John Clark, a twenty-eight-year-old tailor from Scotland and his wife, Mary, lived with Turner, a fifty-six-year-old machinist also from Scotland. Boarders were more prevalent compared to 1850 as over half the 1860 persisting households contained boarders. A further 42 percent were comprised solely of nuclear family members (see Table 22). The existence of boarders among

¹⁰Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 118-9; Chesson, Richmond, After the War, 60-64.

persisters confirms the findings of the 1850 persister study by Goldfield that households with boarders were more likely to be persistent over the decade than those with no boarders.¹¹ By 1870, the prevalence of boarders and family-only households had diminished, but the result was a diversification of persister households (see Table 23). In only 37 percent of the households were family members the only residents. The percentage of boarders was also reduced to just over two-fifths of the households. The diversity comes in the growing number of white and blacks living in the households as live-in domestic servants.

Well over one-third of the persister households had blacks living in the home in that capacity. Additionally, 10 percent had white domestic servant boarders. Further, some households had combinations of these categories whereby 15 percent were comprised of boarders and free blacks. The diversity of persister households in 1870, especially the prevalence of black domestic servants, is more than likely a result of the larger numbers of blacks migrating to the city during the decade, and emancipation, both of which increased the competition for jobs among blacks. It is probable that many households with black domestic servants in 1870 had slaves doing the same work in 1860.

In 1870 the average age for Richmond-persisters was about fifty-one years, with a range of thirty-five to eighty-one. Over one-third of the persisters were in their forties, while nearly 39 percent were in their fifties. Not surprisingly, the

¹¹Goldfield, Urban Growth, 297.

average age of persisters in 1860 was forty-years-old, with a range of twenty-four to seventy-one. The average was about a year older than Virginia-persisters and non-persisters.

In contrast to the 1850 sample, much age differentiation existed between the household heads in each of the three persistence groups. Those who stayed in Richmond were much more likely to be in their thirties than either those who stayed in Virginia or those who left altogether (see Table 24). Correspondingly, persisters were the least likely to be in their twenties and over sixty. The fact that the persister group had less representation in the younger and older age groups supports Goldfield's findings that those in their twenties were less established and more inclined to move while the majority of those in the older age groups would not persist due to mortality. Conversely, those in their thirties were more established and less inclined to relocate.¹²

Additionally, for this decade, those in their twenties would be the most likely to serve, and possibly die, in the war and thus lower the possibility of persistence. Interestingly, the proportion of heads of household in their forties was similar for all three study groups at just over one-quarter of the group. In addition, a slightly higher

¹²Ibid., 65, 290. See also Robert C. Kenzer, Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community, Orange County, North County, 1849-1881 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 22.

percentage of persisters were in their fifties than non-persisters. This could be due to the low numbers of men in this age cohort called to fight for the Confederacy.¹³

Chesson has noted that the city was no longer the place for immigrant settlement following the war.¹⁴ The persisters in this study certainly reflect that finding. Those born in the United States numbered nearly three-quarters of the persisters in 1870, as compared to their three-fifths ante-bellum representation of the sample. Virginians comprised most of the increase as their proportion was enlarged to four-fifths of those native to the United States, and more than six-out-of-every-ten persisters overall (see Table 25). Conversely, the one-quarter of the persisters who originally came from a foreign country were substantially lower as compared to their overall two-fifths representation in 1860. Irish and Germans made up most of the immigrant persisters at 39 percent each and each numbered one-out-of-every-ten persisters overall. The low persister rate of immigrants and the subsequent reduced proportion of immigrants in Richmond reflects the general trends which show that the immigrant population in Richmond was reduced to only 7 percent of the total population in 1870. Moreover, the combination of high Virginian and low immigrant persistence supports Chesson's assertion that Richmond had become more insular in the post-war years. The city was more like its southern neighbors and had moved away from the cosmopolitan nature of the ante-bellum years in which it resembled

¹³Kenzer, Kinship and Neighborhood, 176.

¹⁴Chesson, Richmond After the War, 119.

northern cities. Chesson further states that few new immigrants came to Richmond due to competition for jobs from the large free black population.¹⁵ Certainly this competition could also motivate people to move out of the city, thus contributing to low persistence.

The nativity of persisters was similar for both 1850 and 1860 samples. The proportion of immigrants among the persisters of either decade was less than their number in the original sample, and significantly less than the those born in the United States. Additionally, Irish and Germans comprised most of the foreign-born persisters. The low persistence rates of immigrants for either decade, and conversely their high representation in the overall samples, suggest that while many immigrants resided in Richmond at various times, they did not settle down permanently in the city, especially after the war.

What kinds of occupation did the persisters have in ante-bellum Richmond? Merchant James Ellett, blacksmith Thomas Winston, and S. B. Smith, a cashier at the Exchange Bank, all are typical of persisters. Well over half of the persisters were merchants, upper blue-collar skilled craftsmen, and white-collar employees (see Table 26). Few persisters had occupations in the professional and laborer categories, while those who were not employed did not persist until 1870. In contrast to the 1850 group, the moderate persistence rate of merchants, upper blue-collar craftsmen, and white-collar employees combined with the low rate of lower blue-collar workers and

¹⁵Ibid., 119-21.

laborers supports Goldfield's contention that occupational status is positively correlated with persistence rates.¹⁶

Of course, the low rate of persistence for professionals for this study does not support this hypothesis. The low rate by professionals cannot be attributed to their nativity as over half were native Virginians. In addition, the average age of this group was forty. While this age cohort had a moderate persistence rate of 27 percent, it was not low enough to account for the small numbers of professionals located in 1870.

At first glance the study's results point to a positive relationship between nativity, occupation, and persistence. The moderate persisting merchants and white-collar groups had predominantly native Virginians among their number. Conversely, laborers consisted mostly of immigrants. While these figures support the positive relationship, this may not be the case, however, because the upper blue-collar category had significant numbers of immigrants and moderate persistence. In addition, the low persisting professional and "other" groups had mostly native-born individuals in their ranks.

By the end of the 1870s Ellett, Winston, and Smith, along with nearly three-quarters of the persisters, remained in the same occupational category they were in before the war (although Smith did take a position as a cashier with the First National

¹⁶Goldfield, Urban Growth, 64.

Bank).¹⁷ This stability closely resembles the 1850 group of Richmond-persisters. Since little movement occurred in job status over the decade, the top post-war occupations for the persisters remained merchant, upper blue-collar, and white-collar (see Table 27). Upper blue-collar was the top occupational category accounting for over one-quarter of the persisters. Close behind, and increasing its share from 1860, however, were those in white-collar positions, while the merchant category decreased its share of the sample slightly. Similar to that for the 1860 categories, there were moderate numbers in the lower blue-collar and "other" categories, while few professionals, laborers, and those without jobs were present in the persister ranks in 1870.

The relative stability of the persister occupational categories and the overall one-quarter persistence rate for the entire sample seem to suggest that the businesses and industries which were in abundant numbers five years after the war's end were most likely not operated by the same ante-bellum individuals. Thus, the findings of this study point to high turnover, not only of people, but also of businesses. Additionally, they support Chesson's claim that only 35 percent of the city's merchants who lost their businesses due to the fire or looting in 1865 were open once again in 1871.¹⁸

¹⁷Another 16 percent upgraded their job status, while 11 percent held lower occupational positions.

¹⁸Chesson, Richmond After the War, 59-60.

This dynamic situation was not all that different, however, from the 1850 sample. This group also had the combination of low persistence and job stability which lead to business ownership turnover. While the events of the war seem to have affected the 1860s sample, perhaps the rapidly growing city of the 1850s similarly triggered large turnover in the population, and subsequently, business.

One of these merchants who did not reopen after the war was William Christian, who made a career change during the decade. In 1860 Christian was a forty-two-year-old dry goods merchant with \$36,000 in personal property assets. By 1870, however, he was a fire insurance agent with only \$5,000 in personal property. Perhaps because his store or inventory of goods was one of the three dozen destroyed by the fire he decided that a change was in order.¹⁹ Adolphus Morris also could have been a Richmonder who gave up the merchant trade. In 1860, this forty-five-year-old native Virginian operated a pub and bookstore, owning \$12,500 in real estate and \$30,000 in personal property. At the end of the decade, Morris had no assets of any kind and was working as a clerk in an undescribed store. Morris's situation seems all the more probable in light of Chesson's assertion that every bar in town was destroyed by the fire.²⁰

Similar to the 1850 sample, Goldfield's assertion that property holding is positively related to persistence was supported by the 1860 heads of household. There

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., 60.

was a higher proportion of real estate and personal property holders among persisters than non-persisters.²¹ Real estate ownership especially seems to be a strong indicator of persistence. Before the war just over half the Richmond-persisters owned real estate property, whereas slightly more than one-quarter of non-persisters possessed real estate (see Table 28). Little difference existed in personal property holdings between the persistence groups: 64 percent of Richmond-persisters had personal property, compared to 61 percent of non-persisters (see Table 29).

Those remaining in Richmond also had much higher ante-bellum real estate and personal property assets than the other persistence groups.²² The average Richmond-persister had over \$10,000 more real estate value than Virginia-persisters and more than \$15,000 more than non-persisters. Similarly, the persisters had nearly \$13,000 more personal property wealth than Virginia-persisters and more than \$14,000 than non-persisters. While it is evident that ante-bellum persisters were more prosperous than non-persisters in both wealth categories, it is the 25 percent difference in proportion of persisters who owned some real estate that is especially significant. If the head of household possessed land, no matter what the value, he would likely be more settled, and so less inclined to relocate.

²¹Nearly three-quarters of the Richmond-persisters had real estate or personal property wealth as compared to two-thirds of non-persisters.

²²The average Richmond-persister owned real estate valued at nearly \$19,000, with a minimum of zero and a maximum of \$400,000. For personal property the average was nearly \$18,000, with a range of zero to almost \$465,000.

Another indication of wealth and stability, ownership of slaves, was much more prevalent among Richmond-persisters than Virginia-persisters and non-persisters. Well over half of the household heads who remained in the city owned slaves in 1860. Conversely, only 29 percent of Virginia-persisters and 24 percent of non-persisters owned slaves.

Adolphus Morris, described previously, was a typical persister as the events of the decade seemed to take its toll on the wealth of this group. When the financial status of the persisters was examined for 1870, the average value of real estate and personal property was markedly less.²³ Similarly, when the persisters' total value of real estate and personal property was determined, the group was much better off in ante-bellum Richmond.²⁴ The one positive result of the decade was that the proportion of household heads with zero real estate holdings and personal property assets was smaller in 1870 than in 1860 (see Tables 30 and 31). While those who owned assets of any kind increased over the decade, most of the aggregate indicators of wealth suggest that the persisters as a group were worse off financially in 1870 than they were a decade earlier. Financial setbacks are not surprising in light of the high inflation of the war, the reduction of many jobs following the war boom, and the

²³The average value of persisters' real estate was reduced 32 percent, an amount equal to \$6,000. The reduction in their average personal property was even greater at 67 percent of its 1860 figure, an amount equal to nearly \$12,000.

²⁴The total value of persisters' real estate decreased 32 percent from \$1.84 million in 1860 to \$1.25 million in 1870. The total value of personal property decreased even more from \$1.74 million in 1860 to \$568,000 in 1870, a drop of 67 percent.

damage to the factories as a result of the evacuation fire. Reduction of persister wealth sharply contrasts the 1850-1860 persisters who increased their assets in a decade which saw tremendous growth in the city and economy.

The damage of the fire also affected individual business owners in multiple ways. First, they lost income from the weeks and possibly months until their businesses were operating once again, if they could rebuild. Second, the actual expense of rebuilding would have been substantial. In addition to the detrimental effect of the fire, emancipation also caused slaveowners to lose the money they had invested in slaves. Indeed, nearly two-thirds of the household heads who had less personal property in 1870 owned slaves at the beginning of the decade.

One example of the cost of rebuilding and loss of slaves among the sample was Abram Warwick. At seventy-five years of age, Warwick endured through the war, but his Gallego Mill was one of many which did not survive the evacuation fire. While the mill was rebuilt soon after the war, the expenditure was most likely large. In addition, Warwick lost the value and services of the slaves he owned prior to the war. The cost for rebuilding and loss of slaves seemed to have drained most of Warwick's assets as his real estate and personal property wealth were significantly reduced from their ante-bellum levels.²⁵

If the overall sample and individuals such as Warwick fared poorly in the decade, did anyone improve their financial situation? In fact, nearly two-fifths of the

²⁵Moore, Complete Civil War Guide, 82.

persisters improved their real estate holdings by 1870 (less than the 63 percent of 1850 persisters who enhanced their wealth). By contrast, almost a third possessed fewer real estate assets, while slightly more than a third exhibited no change in their real estate wealth (most had nothing in 1860 and 1870). The situation was worse in terms of personal property where over half of the persisters retained lower amounts of personal wealth in 1870 as compared with 1860. Again, much of the loss of personal property most likely resulted from emancipation. The financial picture was not moving downward for everyone, however, as nearly a third of the persisters had improved their personal property holdings.

The lack of a clear trend in either property category suggests that while as a group the wealth of persisters went down, the events of the decade created money-making opportunities for some, and simultaneously, financial misfortune for others. While the possible causes for decreases in wealth are illustrated above, reasons for increases also existed. An individual whose business escaped the damage of the fire would have been in a favorable position with less competition. For example, Lewis D. Crenshaw, owned the Spotswood Hotel, one of the few buildings in the path of the fire that escaped unscathed. While the Spotswood would burn down at the end of 1870 with a loss of eight lives, at the time of the 1870 census it was still standing and Crenshaw had increased his personal wealth during the 1860s.²⁶ John Spotts may have been another businessman who profited due to the events of the decade. In 1860

²⁶Ibid., 57.

Spotts, a merchant, owned no assets of any kind and lived only with his wife, Betty. Ten years later he was a wholesale grocer with a substantial real estate holdings valued at \$40,000 and personal property worth \$10,000. In addition, he and Betty had four children and four white domestic servants in their home.

In addition, anyone connected with the construction business most likely prospered with the necessary rebuilding of the area damaged by the fire. The rebuilding could have benefitted someone like Thomas Clark, a carpenter living in Monroe Ward. His real estate and personal property increased during the 1860s and he even had a black domestic servant residing in his home in 1870.

Losses could also have been avoided if an individual did not have a business dependent on slave labor, or a dependence on railroad and canal transportation, which were severely damaged by the end of the war.²⁷ For example, one who most likely did not depend on slave labor or the railroads, A. J. Ford, the owner of the Powhatan House hotel near the capitol, persisted throughout the decade. While his wealth decreased somewhat, he felt confident enough to rename the Powhatan "Ford's Hotel" shortly after the war.²⁸ In addition, Burghardt Hassel, the founder and editor of the German-language newspaper Taglicher Anzeiger, also was not dependent on slave labor or the railroads and canal. By 1870 he still edited the paper and had increased

²⁷Chesson, Richmond After the War, 68-72.

²⁸Ibid.

his real estate holdings from zero in 1860 to \$5,000 in 1870. He also enlarged his personal property assets from nothing before the war to \$1,000 a decade later.

The Richmond-persisters also did their part for the Confederate cause. At least two-fifths served in the armed forces in some capacity, most of these for the local defense of the city. Individuals such as V. M. Randolph Branch, a twenty-eight-year-old clerk and Isaac Davenport, a forty-six-year-old merchant, served in the 1st State Reserve and 2nd Class Militia. In addition, some men such as William Isaacs, a forty-two-year-old broker, and Andrew Johnston, a forty-nine-year-old lawyer, served in the Richmond Ambulance Corps.

Thus, the results of the Richmond-persister analysis demonstrate that there was much turnover in the population during the 1860s as evidenced by the low persistence rate. The persisters themselves, however, were a very stable group of individuals, primarily native Virginians, with some hailing from Ireland and Germany and a few from other states or countries. In addition, those who stayed in the city generally did not move out of their 1860 ward.

Further characteristics of stability were evident in the size of the persister households and the presence of boarders. Stability also carried over into their working life, as the majority of persisters had positions in merchant, upper blue-collar, and white-collar occupations. Additionally, they most often stayed in these occupations throughout the decade. The stability of the group was also related to their age as men in their thirties were more likely to persist than those who were younger

and those who were over sixty. Persisters also were more financially stable because more members of the group owned real estate and personal property, especially slaves, than the non-persisters.

The 1860 sample shared two critical characteristics with that of 1850: low persistence and job stability. This seems to suggest that the economic and urban growth of the 1850s and the war-years of the 1860s both affected the population similarly resulting in a turnover of the population and business. Another similarity included the low persistence rates of immigrants in either decade's sample which contributed to this changing population.

Many distinctions existed, however, between the two persister groups themselves. Some differences include the higher prevalence of boarders among the 1860 persisters, their distinct age distribution, and their lack of movement between the wards of the city itself. Additionally, while similarities occurred in the stability of occupational status for both groups over the decade, the occupations of the 1860 persisters supported prevailing theories concerning the relationship between occupation and persistence. Moreover, while both the 1850 and 1860 persisters had more real estate wealth in comparison to their non-persister counterparts, those household heads from the 1850s benefitted from the economic boom of the decade and improved their financial assets, whereas the 1860s persisters suffered reduced wealth. While the Richmond-persisters of the 1850s and 1860s displayed characteristics of stability in the

midst of overall population turnover, what of those who relocated to other areas of the state?

Those Who Remained in Virginia

Those heads of household who chose to relocate out of the city of Richmond but remain in Virginia comprised 6 percent of the study sample, a figure slightly less than the Virginia-persisters of the 1850 group. As in the 1850s, the counties surrounding the city were popular spots for relocation. One-quarter moved to the Henrico County townships of Brookland, Fairfield, and Tuckahoe just north and west of the city. In addition, 8 percent relocated just south of the James River in Chesterfield County. Moreover, Dinwiddie County, south of Chesterfield, was a post-war settling place for 17 percent of the Virginia-persisters. The fact that so many moved to Henrico and Chesterfield continued the trend seen in the 1850s whereby individuals who moved out of the city most often relocated nearby to the surrounding counties.

The Virginia-persisters and Richmond-persisters exhibited many differences and shared many similarities. In contrast to those who stayed in Richmond, a majority of Virginia-persisters such as George R. Peake, a fifty-two-year-old merchant who eventually settled in Lunenburg County, lived in Madison Ward in 1860.²⁹ Virginia-persisters had the largest proportion of those who lived in Madison Ward before the

²⁹Nearly 46 percent of Virginia-persisters lived in Madison Ward in 1860. More than one-third lived in Jefferson, while only about 17 percent lived in Monroe.

war between the persistence groups, while the proportion of those from Monroe Ward was the smallest.

In contrast to Richmond-persisters, but similar to their 1850 counterparts, household size in 1860 did not seem to affect movement outside of the city. The average household size was just one person less than for Richmond-persisters, but also slightly less than for non-persisters. In addition, the household numbers were distributed from two to eight individuals with only moderate variation, especially considering the small numbers involved (see Table 20). Similarly, by 1870 most of the household sizes were spread out fairly evenly from two to eight residents (see Table 21). Also, the average number of individuals per household did not change from 1860 to 1870, staying at five.

In contrast to the 1850 sample, more Virginia-persisters had households with only nuclear families, and correspondingly, fewer boarders than Richmond-persister households (see Table 22). Well over half the Virginia-persister households consisted of family members only in 1860, while just more than one-third kept boarders. By 1870, the disparity in household composition between the two persister groups was even wider (see Table 23). While the Richmond-persister group had household compositions of families, boarders, and white and black servants, a full two-thirds of the Virginia-persisters were comprised solely of family members in 1870. Only one-quarter of the households contained boarders. The small number of boarders in the areas outside Richmond is not surprising in light of the fact that a primary reason for

taking in boarders was the lack of housing in the city. The situation did not develop in the countryside where many of the Virginia-persisters moved.

Few differences existed in the ages of Virginia-persisters and Richmond-persisters. The average age in 1870 for those located outside of Richmond was nearly identical to the Richmond-persisters at fifty years-old. Similar to the Richmond-persisters over one-third of the group were in their forties. In addition, like those who stayed in Richmond, most of the Virginia-persisters were in their thirties and forties before the war and fewer individuals were over fifty and in their twenties (see Table 24). This distinction in age groupings contrasts with the 1850 Virginia-persisters who had little differentiation in age distribution.

Nativity of the Virginia-persisters was less dominated by those born in the United States as compared to Richmond-persisters.³⁰ While their numbers were small, Virginia-persisters were proportionately composed of fewer native Virginians than those who stayed in Richmond (see Table 25). Those originally from states such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, and New Jersey were more likely to become Virginia-persisters. Moreover, proportionately more household heads were from other countries, in this case Ireland and Germany, among those who left the city. This is different from the 1850 sample where the proportion of immigrants in other areas of the state was similar to the Richmond-persisters.

³⁰Overall the proportion of those born in the U. S. was 70 percent for Virginia-persisters, as compared to the nearly 75 percent for Richmond-persisters.

Among the Virginia-persisters was John Kearny, a thirty-year-old laborer from Ireland, and John Miller, a thirty-six-year-old tailor from Massachusetts. Not only do these men represent the diversity of where the Virginia-persisters originated, they also reflect the most numerous occupations of the group. In contrast to the Richmond-persisters, but again similar to the 1850 group, those who relocated elsewhere in Virginia had substantial percentages of upper blue-collar craftsmen and laborers among their number, while few were employed as merchants and professionals (see Table 26). Of course, the number of laborers in this group corresponds to the number of Irish present since they were predominant in this occupation.

Overall, the Virginia-persisters improved their occupational standings over the course of the decade better than the Richmond-persisters. Almost one-third of the Virginia-persisters improved their occupational position, nearly double the percentage of Richmond-persisters. Additionally, the almost 10 percent who found themselves in lower categories of jobs and 62 percent who did not change their occupational categories, were still lower than the Richmond-persisters. The job status increase, however, was less than the 1850 Virginia-persisters.

Most likely many of those who improved their job status were like John Kearny, discussed above. Since many of the Virginia-persisters were laborers, like Kearny they had much room to develop occupationally. Indeed, by 1870 Kearny was a retail grocer living in the Petersburg Ward of Dinwiddie County and had increased his personal assets from \$150 to \$1,000. Like Kearny, while few Virginia-persisters

were merchants in 1860, nearly three-out-of-ten worked as merchants in 1870 (see Table 27). Furthermore, those working in the "other" category increased significantly to one-quarter of the group (due to the number of farmers present). While upper blue-collar craftsmen were still prevalent, the number of laborers and white-collar workers among the group decreased over the decade.

In terms of relative wealth of this group, the Virginia-persisters generally possessed more than the non-persisters and less than the Richmond-persisters. This trend contrasts the 1850 Virginia-persisters who actually had less real estate wealth than the non-persisters. Overall, the group owned an average of \$8,330 in real estate holdings and \$5,090 in personal property assets. In comparison to the other persistence groups, Virginia-persisters owned over \$10,000 less in average real estate holdings than the Richmond-persisters, but over \$5,000 more than the non-persisters. This difference held for personal property where the average differences equaled nearly \$13,000 less than Richmond-persisters and over \$1,000 more than non-persisters. Similarly, the percentage of Virginia-persisters who owned slaves was less than Richmond-persisters, but more than non-persisters.³¹ These findings would seem to fit the hypothesis that those who were more prosperous would have been less likely to relocate. Virginia-persisters, it seems, stood somewhere in the middle. They were not affluent enough to stay in Richmond, but were prosperous enough to not

³¹Twenty-nine percent of Virginia-persisters owned slaves as compared to 53 percent of Richmond-persisters and 24 percent of non-persisters.

have to move very far. An opposing explanation could be that the Virginia-persisters did not have enough wealth to move farther away.

Similar to the change in occupation, the Virginia-persisters improved their financial situation just a bit more than the Richmond-persisters. In comparison to the 1850 sample, however, far fewer Virginia-persisters enhanced their financial state. Forty-two percent of the Virginia-persisters improved their real estate holdings compared to 38 percent of city-dwellers during the 1860s, and 90 percent of Virginia-persisters during the 1850s.³² The financial status in terms of personal property was not as bright, however, as 46 percent of Virginia-persisters held less in 1870. Close behind, however, more than two-fifths did improve their level of personal property assets. Compared to Richmond-persisters, however, the group again had proportionately more individuals improve their personal property wealth, while fewer experienced decreases. The fewer decreases in personal property wealth could be attributed to the lower proportion of Virginia-persisters who owned slaves in 1860. Prussian native Joseph Kampner certainly did well during the decade. In 1860, the twenty-five-year-old tailor owned only \$200 in personal property. By 1870, however, he had relocated north to Culpeper County and had become a dry goods merchant. The owner of more than \$7,000 in personal property, he had four children and even hired four live-in domestic servants and a nurse.

³²The percentage with reduced real estate also favored the Virginia-persisters in that only one-fifth owned less real estate, whereas the figure was over 30 percent for the Richmond-persisters.

In addition to positive indications of wealth, those who lived in Virginia suffered financial setbacks as well. On average, the real estate and personal property wealth of Virginia-persisters in 1870 was reduced from the 1860 level, and, in both cases, the reductions were more than what the Richmond-persisters experienced. The average real estate holdings of the group diminished 62 percent, a figure which equals an average amount of \$5,131. For personal estate, the average dropped 72 percent, or \$3,683. One head of household who saw his assets diminish was John P. Glazebrook, who began a new life just outside of Richmond in the Brookland Township of Henrico. Glazebrook was a fifty-year-old carpenter before the war with significant assets of \$30,000 in real estate and \$15,000 in personal property. Perhaps he decided on a more sedentary life because in 1870 the census reported him as a sixty-two year-old farmer. He now had his son in college and his elderly mother residing with him. By 1870, he owned about \$10,000 less in real estate and more than \$14,000 less in personal property.

The total value of assets also diminished for the Virginia-persisters during the decade. The total value of real estate holdings decreased a significant 62 percent, a \$123,000 total reduction. Personal property was reduced even more dramatically as heads of household recorded losses of 72 percent, more than \$88,000. The decrease in real estate value was significantly higher (nearly one-third) than the losses for Richmond-persisters, while the losses in personal property were slightly less.

In contrast to these downward trends for economic indicators, the proportion of Virginia-persisters with no real estate value decreased significantly from 1860 to 1870. At the beginning of the decade two-thirds of the group owned no real estate, but after ten years the figure was 46 percent (see Tables 28 and 30). The decline in the number of individuals with no land was much larger than the 5 percent reduction for the Richmond-persister group. This was not the case with personal property, however, where the proportion of heads of household who had no property assets increased slightly during the 1860s (see Tables 29 and 31).

One Virginia-persister who became a new land owner was John Miller, the previously mentioned thirty-six-year-old tailor. For Miller, a switch to the farming life certainly helped him prosper. In ante-bellum Richmond, he lived with his wife and five children in Madison Ward and had no assets of any kind. By 1870 Miller farmed in the Dublin Township of Pulaski and he had increased his financial assets to over \$6,000 in real estate and nearly \$1,500 in personal property. Furthermore his household now included a live-in farm hand and domestic servant.

The financial picture of the Virginia-persisters in 1870 as compared with 1860 was both positive and negative. On the one hand, their average real estate and personal property assets diminished, as did their total assets. In addition, both the average and total wealth decreased more than that for Richmond-persisters. On the other hand, their occupations did improve over the decade, and the number of individuals having no real estate decreased significantly. The trend reversed again,

however, as there was an increase in the number of individuals with no personal property holdings. Despite their average and cumulative losses in wealth, the group probably was better off than those who stayed in the city. Both persister groups suffered these kinds of financial losses during the decade. The more severe losses for the Virginia-persisters could be attributed to the cost for relocation, such as the purchases of new land as indicated by the increased number of real estate owners.³³ With the increased ownership of real estate and improvement in occupational status, indications are that perhaps the years after 1870 were promising ones for the Virginia-persisters.

One individual who seems to have decreased his personal property at the expense of elevating his real estate holdings was George H. Tompkins. Originally a forty-nine-year-old barkeeper living in Madison Ward, Tompkins had \$8,000 and \$17,000 in real estate and personal property, respectively. Sometime during the decade he moved his entire household of eleven individuals outside of Richmond to the Brookland Township of Henrico County and took up farming. By 1870 his real estate holdings had increased to \$12,500, while his personal possessions had decreased substantially to \$1,500. It seems possible since all of the saloons burned down in the evacuation fire that Tompkins lost his bar establishment at that time and decided to

³³A substantial portion of the land acquisition most likely was conducted by the one-fifth of the Virginia-persisters who became farmers.

migrate out of the city.³⁴ The cost of this relocation and the purchase of the farmland probably cost Tompkins the better portion of his personal savings.

James A. Byrne was a rarity among those who moved out of the city in that he went against most of the trends for the Virginia-persisters. For instance, he was one of those few who improved his personal property (from \$400 to \$3,000), while still not owning real estate. In addition, he moved much farther than the surrounding counties and actually moved to another city--Lynchburg. Perhaps because he lived in a city, he was even one of the few Virginia-persisters who took in boarders. Moreover, Byrne was one of the few Irishmen in the sample who was not a laborer. He started out in ante-bellum Richmond as a papermaker in Madison Ward and ended up as a retail grocer in 1870.

Similar to their counterparts who remained in the city, nearly 38 percent of the Virginia-persisters served in the armed forces of the Confederate States of America. Joseph Kampner, the tailor described above, like many Richmonders, served in the 1st State Reserve and 2nd Class Militia. Others in the armed forces included James A. Byrne, a private in Virginia's 6th Regiment, and Edward Lockwood, a forty-year-old confectioner, who served as a private in Virginia's 3rd Regiment.

In the final analysis, those heads of household who left Richmond shared many differences and similarities with those who remained in the city. In many instances the Virginia-persisters seemed to hold the middle ground between Richmond-persisters

³⁴Chesson Richmond After the War, 60.

and non-persisters. For example, while they did not remain in the city, they also did not move out of the Commonwealth altogether. In addition, most of the Virginia-persisters did not relocate very far, just to the surrounding counties around the city. The average member of the group also possessed less real estate and personal property wealth (including slaves) than Richmond-persisters, but more than non-persisters. Similarities between the Virginia-persisters and Richmond-persisters included individuals in their thirties and forties, predominance of Virginians in the groups at the expense of immigrants and those from other states. The differences between the two groups include what ward they each came from in 1860, and the relative importance of household size and composition.

Similarities and differences came together in the occupations of Virginia-persisters. The mixture of occupations included significant proportions of upper blue-collar workers and laborers, with few merchants. While the financial indices such as the decrease in average and total wealth point to misfortune, the improved occupations and financial assets of the group (especially new land ownership) were proportionately more than the Richmond-persisters, and indicates that the relocation was, in the long term, a positive event for many.

In comparison to the Virginia-persisters from the 1850 sample, many differences and similarities existed. The persistence rates for both groups were somewhat close, and about half of each moved to areas near the city. Additionally, household size did not seem to affect movement outside of the city. There were many

more contrasts, however. One primary difference was that the Virginia-persisters and Richmond-persisters from 1860 had many differences between them, while the groups from 1850 shared many similarities. For example, age differences existed between the 1860 Virginia-persisters and Richmond-persisters that did not exist in the 1850 sample. This age difference carried over into comparisons of the two groups of Virginia-persisters. Furthermore, the 1860 Virginia-persisters had proportionately much fewer boarders and more immigrants than their 1850 counterparts. Moreover, while the Virginia-persisters from both decades shared similar occupations, many more from the 1850s improved their occupational position compared to the 1860s group. Interestingly, one major difference between the two Virginia-persistence groups was that the group from the 1860s had more wealth than non-persisters, while the 1850 group did not, thus contradicting the expected relationship between persistence and wealth. Chapter Five examines those men who relocated to such an extent that they could not be found in Virginia.

CHAPTER 5

THOSE WHO LEFT DURING THE 1860s

J. H. Bugleston was a thirty-four-year-old merchant before the war living in Jefferson Ward. The native-Virginian owned \$5,000 in personal property and had a large household of boarders. By all measures of persistence Bugleston should have remained in Richmond throughout the decade, but he did not. What happened to Bugleston and the over two-thirds of the household heads who were not located in 1870? Also, what were they like compared to those who stayed in Richmond or those remaining in the Commonwealth? Moreover, how did they compare to the 63 percent of non-persisters from the 1850 sample?

The wards from which the non-persisters came were similar to, and different from, the other persistence groups. The non-persisters emulated the Virginia-persisters with nearly four-out-of-ten household heads living in Madison Ward prior to the war. This pattern was in contrast to the Richmond-persisters who mostly came from Monroe Ward. The non-persisters had the highest proportion of individuals such as J. H. Bugleston, who resided in Jefferson Ward at 36 percent of the group.

At thirty-nine, the average age for the non-persisters was but a year younger than Richmond-persisters, and about the same as Virginia-persisters in 1860. In contrast to the 1850 group, the 1860s non-persisters had age characteristics consistent with theories concerning persistence, however. Over one-fifth of the non-persisters

were in their twenties and nearly 8 percent were over sixty (see Table 24). These percentages were higher than for either of the persister groups supporting the concept that younger people were less stable and more likely to relocate and that those over sixty died. In addition, an individual in his thirties, such as J. H. Bugleston, was not as prevalent in the non-persister group. The non-persisters had the lowest proportion of individuals in their thirties (one-third) of all the persistence groups, generally a very stable group. The three persistence groups were similar in their proportions of heads of household in their forties. Interestingly, the non-persisters had the lowest representation of men in their fifties at just over 11 percent.

Thirty-six-year-old grocer Joseph Forstman and his fellow Germans reflect the large immigrant composition of the non-persisters (see Table 25). The ratio of native-born versus foreign-born residents among the non-persisters was much closer than both of the other persistence groups with only 55 percent of the non-persisters originally from the United States. The 45 percent of the immigrants in the ranks of non-persisters was much higher than their one-quarter representation in the Richmond-persister groups and signifies their substantial share of this group. While immigrants comprised a larger percentage of non-persisters in both the 1850s and 1860s, the proportion of immigrants in the 1860 non-persisters was larger than the figure for their 1850 counterparts. That the highest number of non-persisters, native or immigrant, originally came from Virginia is due to their overall numerical superiority in the sample. On the other hand, the substantial non-persisters were comprised of

many Germans and Irish. Generally, foreign-born residents in 1860 were much more likely to be non-persisters than persisters of either type because four-fifths of all immigrants in the study sample would become non-persisters.¹

There were both similarities and differences between occupational groups in the non-persister and persister groups. Nearly three out of every ten non-persisters had an upper blue-collar occupation in 1860, while over one-fifth were employed as merchants (see Table 26). In addition, over 13 percent were engaged in white-collar occupations and over 10 percent were laborers. The non-persisters had many more laborers among their number, most likely due to the high concentration of Irish immigrants who constituted most of the laborers. The white-collar and "other" groups were less represented among the non-persisters. This is most likely because white-collar workers, a stable, prosperous group, had no need to relocate. The difference in the "other" group is due to the fact that many of the heads of household were state and municipal officials and retirees who most likely were not moving, or who were farmers and thus living outside Richmond as Virginia-persisters. Interestingly, the non-persisters had a lower proportion of lower blue-collar workers and a higher proportion of upper blue-collar craftsmen. Not surprisingly, all of those who had no occupation in 1860 failed to persist to 1870.

¹Out of the total immigrant population, 80 percent of Germans, 72 percent of Irish, and 100 percent of Englishmen in the sample did not persist until 1870.

Similar to the 1850 non-persisters, the concept that the higher the occupation the diminished chance the individual will be a non-persister finds mixed support here. On the one hand, in this study sample, white-collar and "other" both had lower proportions among non-persisters. Correspondingly, laborers and those with no occupation were more prevalent among non-persisters. Conversely, the conflicting results of the upper and lower blue-collar categories as well as similar representation of merchants (such as J. H. Bugleston) in both non-persister and persister groups does not support this theory. These conflicting results are most likely due to the predominance of non-persisters overall which could be enough simply to include all eight occupational categories in its ranks. Subsequently, this situation would dilute any substantial differences within the group, and hinder comparisons with other persister categories unless the effect was extremely significant.

While mixed results appear for occupational status, there are clear results in terms of the non-persisters' wealth. Most of the non-persisters were not like J. H. Bugleston, the owner of \$5,000 in personal property. They were, instead, most like George Puckett, a twenty-seven-year-old ironworker from Virginia, who owned only \$150 in personal property, or Charles Backman, a twenty-three-year-old tinner from Germany, who also possessed only \$150 in personal property. Overall, the average value of the non-persisters' assets was significantly lower than for both groups of

persisters in ante-bellum Richmond.² This trend was in contrast to the 1850 non-persisters who had, on average, substantially more real estate than Virginia-persisters.

Examination of the total sum of 1860 real estate and personal property made clear the disparity between those who stayed in Richmond and those who left the state altogether. Even though the non-persisters were nearly two-thirds larger in number than the Richmond-persisters, the total sum of real estate holdings which the non-persisters owned was over \$1 million less than the total for the Richmond-persisters. Similarly, the total amount of personal property possessed was over \$700,000 less than the Richmond-persisters. This trend, however, was not sustained in a comparison against Virginia-persisters where the numerical superiority of non-persisters (over 91 percent) was just too much.³

The differences between the non-persister and persister groups extended even further in that the proportion of heads of households with no real estate or personal property was much higher for the non-persisters than for the persisters (see Tables 28 and 29). Nearly three-quarters of non-persisters were like William Gibson, a twenty-eight-year-old carpenter from Virginia, or Martin McNally, a forty-six-year-old

²The average real estate value was about \$3,000, more than \$15,000 less than Richmond-persisters and more than \$5,000 less than Virginia-persisters. The non-persisters had, on average, nearly \$4,000 in personal property. This was about \$14,000 less than persisters and more than \$1,000 less than Virginia-persisters.

³Due to their sheer numbers the non-persisters had total real estate assets that were over \$600,000, and personal property valued at nearly \$900,000, more than the Virginia-persisters.

laborer from Ireland, both with no real estate or personal property assets.

Conversely, slightly less than half of the Richmond-persisters and two-thirds of the Virginia-persisters had zero real estate assets. The non-persisters from the 1850 sample, however, had a similar proportion of household heads with no real estate assets as the Virginia-persisters. This disparity was not as great in terms of personal property, however. While almost 40 percent of non-persister heads of household had no personal property, the figure was about 36 percent for persisters and one-third for Virginia-persisters. Less than one-quarter of the non-persisters, however, owned slaves. This percentage was significantly less than Richmond-persisters and somewhat less than Virginia-persisters.

All of this analysis of financial indicators concerning the non-persister group supports the belief that wealth is positively related to persistence. In terms of average and total sum for both real estate holdings and personal property assets, the non-persisters had significantly less than Richmond-persisters. Also, except for total personal property assets, the non-persisters had moderately less than the Virginia-persisters. The wealth-persistence relationship carries over into the proportion of individuals with no assets as well. The percentage of non-persisters who did not own real estate was substantially higher than both persister groups. Likewise, the proportion of those heads of household with no personal property was the highest for non-persisters.

Similar to the 1850s non-persisters, the size of the household seemed to make little difference in persistence versus non-persistence and this again is probably due to the overall number of non-persisters (see Table 20). There was little difference in average household size in that the non-persisters and Richmond-persisters both had an average of about six residents per household, while Virginia-persisters had slightly less at five per household.⁴

Interesting results did occur in an examination of non-persisters and household composition. The percentage of nuclear family-only households was larger than Richmond-persisters, but smaller than Virginia-persisters (see Table 22). Conversely, the proportion of boarder households was lower than Richmond-persisters, while higher than Virginia-persisters.⁵ Also interesting to note were that nearly all of the households with white servants, and combinations of boarders, free blacks, and white servants did not persist to 1870. In comparison to the 1850 group, the 1860 non-persisters had approximately the same proportion of family-only and boarder households.

⁴Within the non-persister group, there were substantial percentages of each household size (ranging from 1 to 28 residents). Similarly, within each household size category the non-persisters represented anywhere from half to all of the cases in each category.

⁵Over half of the non-persisters had households comprised only of the nuclear family. Furthermore, nearly two-fifths of the non-persisters had households which included boarders.

Another factor which possibly added to the number of non-persisters was service in the Confederate Army. Twenty-nine percent of non-persisters served in the armed forces during the war and slightly more than 17 percent perished in the conflict.⁶ One individual who did not see the war's end was Richard Gary, a thirty-eight-year-old tinner residing in Madison Ward. Gary enlisted in Company K of the 4th Regiment on 10 March 1862. He was captured on 3 July 1863 at the Battle of Gettysburg and was sent to Point Lookout Prison. On 1 March 1864, just over two years after enlisting, he died of disease in prison.⁷

Records from military service provided information on another reason why some men became non-persisters: desertion. One such individual was James Conway, a twenty-eight-year-old merchant living in Jefferson Ward in 1860. He served as a private in Company E of Virginia's 40th Regiment. Conway's record as a soldier was not exemplary, however. He deserted twice between his enrollment date of 4 July 1861 and 5 June 1863. After he was recaptured the second time, he was

⁶Proportionately fewer non-persisters (29 percent) were in the armed forces as compared to Richmond-persisters (39 percent) and Virginia-persisters (38 percent). The non-persisters, however, served mainly in frontline regiments as compared to the predominance of Richmond- and Virginia-persisters operating in local defense militia units. A total of eighty-one non-persister household heads served and fourteen died during the war.

⁷Kenneth L. Stiles, 4th Virginia Cavalry, Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1985), 11.

interned as a prisoner of war at Camp Hamilton, Virginia in 23 December 1864. This was the last notation in his record.⁸

Another Richmonder who did not adjust to military life was forty-three-year-old John Elmore. Elmore, a grocery and feed store operator, enlisted on 1 March 1862 and served as a private in Company K of the 40th Regiment. Within three months he was wounded in the Seven Days Battle at Gaines's Mill (also known as New Cold Harbor). Following recovery from his wounds, Elmore was declared absent without leave (AWOL) on 12 December 1862. He was captured within a month and served until he deserted on 30 March 1865. He took the oath of allegiance to the Union shortly thereafter and was sent to Leonardstown, Maryland.⁹

The results from this analysis of those who left the city and state demonstrates that the non-persisters often had strikingly different characteristics from the other persistence groups, especially those still residing in Richmond. These characteristics were the same ones which have been hypothesized to predict persistence. Consistent with age cohort theories and persistence, the non-persister group had the highest proportion of individuals in their twenties and over sixty, and correspondingly, the lowest proportion in their thirties. Non-persisters also had the highest proportion of immigrants in the three groups. With respect to financial indicators, their average

⁸Robert E. C. Krick, 40th Virginia Infantry, Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1985), 392.

⁹Ibid., 81.

value of assets was lower than both persister groups; the total sum of assets was significantly less than the total for Richmond-persisters; and the proportion of heads of household with no real estate or personal property, was much higher for the non-persisters than for both groups of persisters.

Only occupational status and household size did not fully support expected predictions concerning persistence. The non-persisters had an expected high proportion of laborers, and lower representation of white collar and "other" occupations. They also numbered, however, many upper blue-collar, and conversely, reduced numbers of lower blue-collar workers. The average size of the households also seemed to make little difference in persistence versus non-persistence. The findings for both of these characteristics may be due to the high number of non-persisters which could neutralize all but the most extreme differences.

As with the other persistence groups, the 1860 and 1850 non-persisters had both similarities and differences. Similarities included the proportion of households with boarders, the negligible effect of household size in predicting those who would not persist, and the large representation of immigrants among non-persisters. In addition, the theorized relationship between non-persistence and occupational status found mixed support in both groups.

There were also differences between the 1850s and 1860s non-persisters. For example, the 1860s group had age characteristics consistent with theories concerning persistence, whereas there was little age distinction in the 1850s group. Further,

while the average real estate wealth of the 1860s non-persisters was lower than the Richmond- and Virginia-persisters, as expected, the 1850 group had more average real estate assets than the Virginia-persisters. In addition, similar percentages of the 1850 non-persisters and the Virginia-persisters had no real estate holdings. In contrast, the 1860 non-persisters had many more household heads with no real estate than the other persistence groups.

CONCLUSION

This study of population shifts in Richmond during the 1860s looked at what happened to a sample of heads of household from before the Civil War to after Reconstruction. Who persisted during the decade, or not, and their characteristics were explored. Different from other studies, however, this investigation also examined what happened to those household heads who left Richmond and moved to other areas of the Commonwealth.

In the final analysis a picture emerges of tremendous turnover in Richmond's population during the 1860s. Driven by the events of the decade, there was overall population growth largely due to an increase of blacks, and simultaneously, large numbers of the white population were leaving the city as evidenced by the low persistence rate for the decade. This would explain the decline in white population growth in the 1860s as compared with the robust growth of 55 percent in the 1850s. Furthermore, the low persistence rate also indicates that many of the businesses and industries that existed in 1870 were not operated by the same individuals as in 1860, thus contributing to the changes occurring during the decade.

What were the heads of household like who persisted in Richmond from 1860 until 1870 and how did they compare to those who left the city, but stayed in Virginia, and to those who left altogether? In contrast to the non-persisters, the persisters were a stable group due to the fact that they remained in the city for the

decade. It could be said that the Virginia-persisters fell between these two groups, in that while they left the city, they remained in the state.

This stability of the persisters continued in that most stayed in the same ward during the 1860s. In addition, they had moderately large households which included boarders. In contrast, smaller households were more prevalent for Virginia-persisters and the household composition of Virginia-persisters and non-persisters was much more dominated by the nuclear family.

The ages of the heads of household in the three persistence groups support the idea that those in their thirties and forties would be most likely to persist, while those younger in their twenties and over sixty would be less likely to persist due to lack of economic stability and death, respectively. The Richmond-persisters had proportionately the most individuals in their thirties and forties, and correspondingly the fewest in their twenties and over sixty. Conversely, the non-persisters had the lowest percentage of household heads in their thirties and the highest representation of the younger and older age groups. In this case, Virginia-persisters were more similar to those who stayed in Richmond.

As a group, the persisters were much less diverse than the other persistence groups, or the sample as a whole, because most of the household heads who remained in Richmond were native Virginians, with few immigrants or individuals from other states remaining. While the proportion of Virginians present was substantial for all

three groups, immigrants were most represented among the non-persisters, and a large percentage were also Virginia-persisters.

The predominant occupations held by persisters such as merchant, upper blue-collar, and white-collar not only reflected Richmond's position as the center of trade and industry for Virginia and the South, they also were consistent with theories that level of occupation is positively related to persistence. Moreover, this group again exhibited stability in that they most often continued in these occupations throughout the decade. While the Virginia-persisters had significant percentages of upper blue-collar craftsmen which made it similar to the Richmonders, many laborers and few merchants were present which made it different from those who stayed in the city. Similarly, the non-persisters also had conflicting results. Many laborers were among them, which supported the persistence theory, but there were also substantial upper blue-collar craftsmen and fewer lower blue-collar workers which opposes it.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the groups was the disparity in wealth. Richmond-persisters possessed more real estate and personal property (including slaves), in greater value, as compared to Virginia-persisters, and especially non-persisters. In addition, significantly fewer Richmond-persisters owned no real estate than the other persistence groups. Virginia-persisters had somewhat fewer individuals who did not possess personal property than Richmond-persisters or non-persisters. While examination of the financial assets certainly revealed the superior wealth of Richmond-persisters to the other groups, it is the situation of the Virginia-

persisters that was, perhaps, most interesting. It must be remembered that both the Richmond-persisters and Virginia-persisters suffered financial losses as a group during the 1860s. While in 1870 the Richmonders were still more prosperous than those who left the city, the Virginia-persisters had improved their occupations and their ownership of real estate. Thus, it is possible that the move to another area of the Commonwealth was indeed beneficial for them.

Overall, this examination of what happened to a sample of Richmonders during the 1860s found low persistence among the households over the course of the decade. Additionally, those who stayed in Richmond and those who left the state altogether exhibited many of the characteristics which are thought to positively and negatively affect persistence. The study also revealed that the Virginia-persisters seemed to be in the middle between these groups, possessing characteristics of both Richmond-persisters and non-persisters. Lastly, through the descriptions of a number of household heads from all three persistence groups, how the events of this turbulent decade changed the lives of those who lived through them were illustrated.

Comparisons between the 1860 and 1850 samples proved interesting. The persistence groups from the 1850 sample were very much alike and in many ways did not support prevailing theories on what characteristics differentiate persisters and non-persisters such as age, household size, presence of boarders, occupational status, and real estate wealth. In contrast, the 1860 persistence groups, were different from each other and generally did support these theories.

The persistence groups from both decades shared many similarities and displayed many differences. The main difference between them was the increase in wealth displayed by the 1850 Richmond-persisters and Virginia-persisters as compared with the losses taken by their 1860 counterparts. This is certainly due to the economic and urban growth occurring during the 1850s. In contrast, the 1860s was a time of war and recovery which drained the resources of the household heads. The primary similarities were the low persistence rates and occupational stability (for those who remained) exhibited by each decade's sample. This resemblance is important because it suggests that the dynamic and rapid growth which occurred during the 1850s affected the population in a similar way as the Civil War and Reconstruction would during the 1860s. The result for each decade was high turnover of the population, and subsequently, of business and industry. Thus, it can be suggested that the Civil War truly did not begin an era of change in Richmond, but only continued the dynamic changes in the city, albeit in an ultimately destructive direction, that had begun in the 1850s.

APPENDIX A

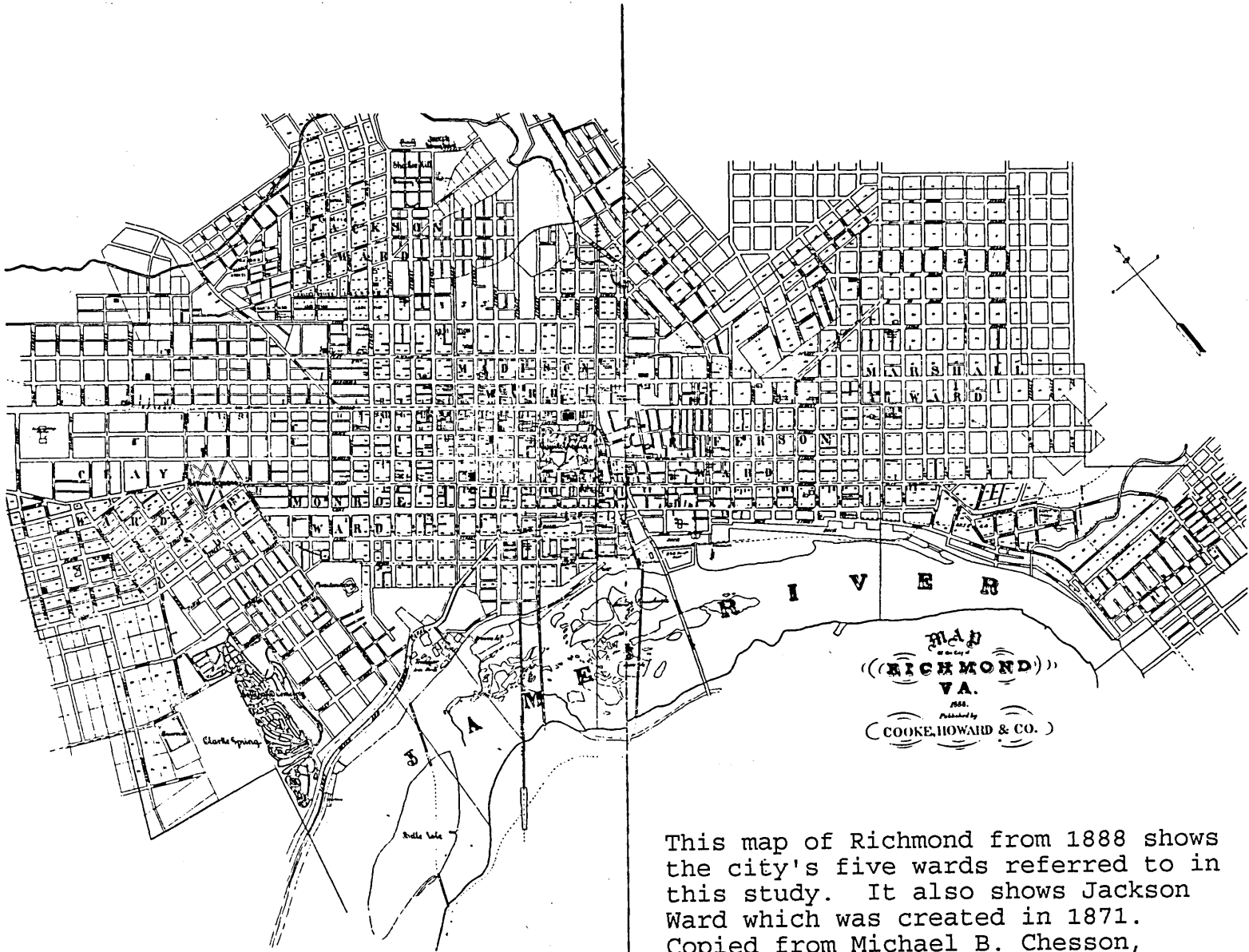
Description of Methodology

The random sample of 400 white, male heads of household from Richmond was collected by taking the information of the first full white household headed by a male on every third page of microfilm from the 1860 federal manuscript census. The sample size of 400 individuals was selected to be statistically significant based on the population size during that time. Information was collected for each individual living in the household on gender, age, race, and occupation; value of real estate and personal estate; birthplace; whether the individual was married within the year; school attendance within the year; literacy status for those over twenty; whether the individual was deaf, dumb, blind, insane, pauper, or convict; and in which ward the individual resided (Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe).

Following data collection from the manuscript census records, the names of the heads of household were verified using the 1860 census index for Virginia. The 1870 census index for Virginia was then used to determine which individuals remained in the city of Richmond (defined here as Richmond-persisters) or moved to other parts of the state (Virginia-persisters). Heads of household not located were referred to as non-persisters.

If the individual was identified in the 1870 census index, he was then located in the 1870 manuscript census and information was collected on his entire household. Information collected in the 1870 manuscript census was similar to that obtained for 1860 with the only significant change being the addition of a parentage category (whether parents were born in the U.S. or foreign-born). By 1870, the number of city wards expanded to five with the addition of Clay and Marshall Wards.

Another sample of 200 white, male heads of household was randomly selected from the 1850 census and traced to 1860 using the same methodology described previously. Again, the sample size was based on the population size of the time. The 1850 manuscript census index provided less information, however, it did include name, age, gender, race, and occupation; value of real estate owned; birthplace; whether the individual was married within the last year; school attendance within the last year; literacy status for those over 20 years old; and their ward (Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe).



APPENDIX B: Map of Richmond

This map of Richmond from 1888 shows the city's five wards referred to in this study. It also shows Jackson Ward which was created in 1871. Copied from Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890.

TABLES

Table 1: Richmond's Racial Composition, 1850-1870

Race	1850	1860	1850-60 % Change	1870	1860-70 % Change
Whites	15,274	23,635	54.7%	27,928	18.2%
Blacks	12,296*	14,275*	16.1%	23,110	61.9%
Total	27,570	37,910	37.5%	51,038	34.6%

*Includes free blacks and slaves

Source: Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890.

Table 2a: Age of 1850 Sample Population

	20-29*	30-39	40-49	50-59	over 60
Sample Population (N=200)	24.0% (n=48)	35.0% (n=70)	24.5% (n=49)	11.0% (n=22)	5.5% (n=11)

Source: Richmond White, Male Head of Household Sample.

Table 2b: Age of 1860 Sample Population

	20-29*	30-39	40-49	50-59	over 60
Sample Population (N=400)	18.8% (n=75)	35.2% (n=141)	27.0% (n=108)	12.5% (n=50)	6.5% (n=26)

*The 20-29 age category includes one 17-year-old.

Source: Richmond White, Male Head of Household Sample.

Table 3: Occupational Status of Samples, 1850 and 1860

Occupational Group	1850 Sample (N=200)	1860 Sample (N=400)
Professional	7.5%	7.3%
White-Collar	13.5%	15.2%
Merchant	20.0%	20.8%
Upper Blue-Collar	38.0%	27.8%
Lower Blue-Collar	7.0%	11.0%
Laborer	7.5%	9.0%
Other*	3.5%	6.5%
No Occupation Listed	3.0%	2.5%

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen, farmers, sailors.

Column percents may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 4: Nativity of Samples, 1850 and 1860

Nativity	1850 Sample (N=200)	1860 Sample (N=400)
Connecticut	.5%	1.0%
District of Columbia	0	.8%
Delaware	0	.3%
Louisiana	0	.5%
Maine	1.5%	.5%
Massachusetts	1.5%	1.5%
Maryland	1.0%	2.8%
North Carolina	1.0%	.5%
New Jersey	1.0%	.3%
New York	2.0%	2.0%
Pennsylvania	3.0%	2.0%
South Carolina	.5%	0
Tennessee	0	.3%
Vermont	.5%	.3%
Virginia	63.0%	48.0%
Austria	0	.3%
Belgium	0	.3%
Canada	0	.5%
Corsica	.5%	0
France	0	1.5%
Germany	10.5%	15.5%
Holland	0	.3%
Ireland	7.5%	13.2%
Italy	.5%	1.3%
Poland	0	.3%
Portugal	1.0%	0
Switzerland	0	.5%
United Kingdom	4.5%	6.0%

Source: See Table 2.

Table 5: Occupational Status of 1860 Sample by Nativity

Occupational Group (N=400)	Born in U.S.	Foreign-Born
Professional (n=29)	79.3%	20.7%
White-Collar (n=61)	85.2%	14.8%
Merchant (n=83)	62.7%	37.3%
Upper Blue-Collar (n=111)	54.0%	46.0%
Lower Blue-Collar (n=44)	63.6%	36.4%
Laborer (n=36)	5.6%	94.4%
Other* (n=26)	76.9%	23.1%
No Occupation Listed (n=10)	50.0%	50.0%

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen (retirees), farmers, sailors.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 6: Real Estate and Personal Property for Samples, 1850 and 1860

Dollar Amount	1850 Real Estate	1860 Real Estate	1860 Personal Property	1860 Total Wealth
\$0	66.0%	67.2%	37.8%	31.2%
\$1-999	6.0%	4.5%	32.2%	29.8%
\$1,000-4,999	15.0%	11.5%	12.2%	15.2%
\$5,000-9,999	7.0%	6.2%	5.0%	5.0%
\$10,000-49,999	5.5%	6.8%	9.2%	3.0%
\$50,000-99,999	.5%	2.2%	2.0%	2.2%
\$100,000 and up	0	1.5%	1.5%	3.5%

Column percents may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 7: Distribution of Household Member Types in the Samples, 1850 and 1860

Occupant Status	1850 Sample (N=200)	1860 Sample (N=400)
Family Members Only	54.0%	50.3%
All Boarders	46.0%	49.7%
Strangers/Extended Family	43.0%	40.0%
Free Blacks	2.0%	1.5%
White Domestic Servants	0	3.0%
Strangers/Extended Family/ White Servants	0	2.5%
Strangers/Extended Family/Free Blacks	1.0%	2.5%
Strangers/Extended Family/ Free Blacks/White Servants	0	.2%

Source: See Table 2.

Table 8a: Ward Residence of Persisters, 1850 Sample

Ward	Ward of Residence in 1850	Ward of Residence in 1860
Jefferson	50.5%	21.6%
Madison	28.5%	35.3%
Monroe	21.0%	43.1%

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 8b: Ward Residence of Persisters, 1860 Sample

Ward	Ward of Residence in 1860	Ward of Residence in 1870
Jefferson	28.6%	25.5%
Madison	32.7%	32.7%
Monroe	38.8%	27.5%
Clay	***	8.2%
Marshall	***	6.2%

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 9: Household Size of 1850 Sample Persisters in 1860

Household Size	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)
1	13.7%	8.7%
2	7.8%	4.4%
3	5.9%	4.4%
4	9.8%	13.0%
5	11.8%	4.4%
6	9.8%	8.7%
7	3.9%	26.1%
8	7.8%	13.0%
9	13.7%	4.4%
10	13.7%	8.7%
14	0	4.4%
24	2.0%	0

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 10: Household Boarders of 1850 Sample Persisters in 1860

Household Members	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)
Family Only	56.9%	56.5%
All Boarders	43.1%	43.5%
Strangers/Extended Family	39.2%	43.5%
Boarders/White Servants	2.0%	0
Boarders/Free Blacks/ White Servants	2.0%	0

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding

Source: See Table 2.

Table 11: Household Size by Persistence, 1850 Sample

Household Size	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)	Non-Persisters (n=126)
1	0	4.4%	4.0%
2	11.8%	13.0%	12.7%
3	9.8%	4.4%	15.9%
4	13.7%	8.7%	15.9%
5	19.6%	21.7%	11.9%
6	11.8%	8.7%	10.3%
7	9.8%	13.0%	11.9%
8	7.8%	8.7%	5.6%
9	2.0%	0	7.1%
10	5.9%	13.0%	3.2%
11	0	4.4%	.8%
12	3.9%	0	0
13	2.0%	0	0
15	2.0%	0	0
17	0	0	.8%

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 12: Boarders in Household by Persistence, 1850 Sample

Household Members	Richmond- Persisters (n=51)	Virginia- Persisters (n=23)	Non- Persisters (n=126)
Family Only	51.0%	47.8%	56.3%
All Boarders	49.0%	52.2%	43.7%
Strangers/Extended Family	49.0%	0	38.9%
Free Black	0	0	3.2%
Boarders/Free Blacks	0	0	1.6%

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding

Source: See Table 2.

Table 13: Age of Persistence Groups, 1850 Sample

Age	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)	Non-Persisters (n=126)
20-29	21.6%	17.4%	26.2%
30-39	33.3%	52.2%	32.5%
40-49	27.4%	26.1%	23.0%
50-59	11.8%	4.3%	11.9%
Over 60	5.9%	0	6.3%

Columns may add up more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 14: Nativity of Persistence Groups, 1850 Sample

Nativity	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)	Non-Persisters (n=126)
Connecticut	0	0	.8%
Maine	3.9%	0	.8%
Massachusetts	3.9%	0	.8%
Maryland	2.0%	0	.8%
North Carolina	2.0%	0	.8%
New Jersey	2.0%	0	.8%
New York	3.9%	0	1.6%
Pennsylvania	5.9%	8.7%	.8%
South Carolina	0	0	.8%
Vermont	0	0	.8%
Virginia	60.8%	73.9%	61.9%
Corsica	0	0	.8%
Germany	7.8%	4.4%	12.7%
Ireland	5.8%	8.7%	7.9%
Italy	0	0	.8%
Portugal	0	0	1.6%
United Kingdom	2.0%	4.3%	5.6%

Columns may add up more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 15: Occupational Status of 1850 Sample by Persistence

Occupational Group	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)	Non-Persisters (n=126)
Professional	7.8%	13.0%	6.3%
White-Collar	11.8%	4.3%	15.9%
Merchant	23.5%	13.0%	19.8%
Upper Blue-Collar	37.2%	43.5%	37.3%
Lower Blue-Collar	7.8%	13.0%	5.6%
Laborer	2.0%	13.0%	8.7%
Other*	3.9%	0	4.0%
No Occupation Listed	5.9%	0	2.4%

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen, farmers, sailors.

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 16: Occupational Status of 1850 Sample Persisters in 1860

Occupational Group	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)
Professional	7.8%	13.0%
White-Collar	19.6%	8.7%
Merchant	19.6%	17.4%
Upper Blue-Collar	27.4%	39.1%
Lower Blue-Collar	7.8%	4.3%
Laborer	0	8.7%
Other*	11.8%	8.7%
No Occupation Listed	5.9%	0

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen, farmers, sailors.

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 17: Real Estate Wealth of 1850 Sample by Persistence Group

Dollar Amount	Richmond- Persisters (n=51)	Virginia- Persisters (n=23)	Non- Persisters (n=126)
\$0	51.0%	69.6%	71.4%
\$1-999	7.8%	4.3%	5.5%
\$1,000-4,999	17.6%	17.4%	13.5%
\$5,000-9,999	13.7%	8.7%	4.0%
\$10,000-49,999	7.8%	0	5.5%
\$50,000-99,999	2.0%	0	0

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 18: Real Estate Wealth of 1850 Sample Persisters in 1860

Dollar Amount	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)
\$0	47.1%	56.5%
\$1-999	2.0%	4.3%
\$1,000-4,999	17.6%	13.0%
\$5,000-9,999	9.8%	13.0%
\$10,000-49,999	19.6%	8.7%
\$50,000-99,999	2.0%	4.3%
\$100,000 and up	2.0%	0

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 19: Personal Property Wealth of 1850 Sample Persisters in 1860

Dollar Amount	Richmond-Persisters (n=51)	Virginia-Persisters (n=23)
\$0	45.1%	8.7%
\$1-999	19.6%	60.9%
\$1,000-4,999	13.7%	13.0%
\$5,000-9,999	5.9%	8.7%
\$10,000-49,999	7.8%	8.7%
\$50,000-99,999	2.0%	0
\$100,000 and up	5.9%	0

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 20: Household Size by Persistence, 1860 Sample

Household Size	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)	Non-Persisters (n=278)
1	0	0	1.1%
2	4.1%	20.8%	12.6%
3	7.1%	16.7%	9.7%
4	18.4%	4.2%	15.5%
5	19.4%	16.7%	15.1%
6	16.3%	4.2%	12.6%
7	11.2%	8.3%	10.8%
8	5.1%	20.8%	6.5%
9	4.1%	4.2%	5.0%
10	2.0%	0	3.2%
11	4.1%	4.2%	3.6%
12	4.1%	0	1.4%
13	2.0%	0	.4%
14	1.0%	0	.4%
15	1.0%	0	.4%
16	0	0	.4%
17	0	0	.4%
21	0	0	.4%
25	0	0	.4%
28	0	0	.4%

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 21: Household Size of 1860 Sample Persisters in 1870

Household Size	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)
1	1.0%	4.2%
2	6.1%	12.5%
3	5.1%	20.8%
4	8.2%	8.3%
5	11.2%	8.3%
6	16.3%	16.7%
7	14.3%	8.3%
8	6.1%	8.3%
9	7.1%	4.2%
10	7.1%	0
11	4.1%	0
12	4.1%	4.2%
13	1.0%	4.2%
14	0	0
15	3.1%	0
16	5.1%	0

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 22: Boarders in Household by Persistence, 1860 Sample

Household Members	Richmond- Persisters (n=98)	Virginia- Persisters (n=24)	Non- Persisters (n=278)
Family Only	41.8%	58.3%	52.5%
All Boarders	58.2%	41.7%	47.5%
Strangers/Extended Family	51.0%	33.3%	36.7%
Free Black	1.0%	0	1.8%
White Servants	0	4.2%	4.0%
Boarders/Free Blacks	2.0%	4.2%	2.5%
Boarders/White Servants	3.1%	0	2.5%
Boarders/Free Blacks/ White Servants	1.0%	0	0

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding

Source: See Table 2.

Table 23: Household Boarders of 1860 Sample Persisters in 1870

Household Members	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)
Family Only	36.7%	66.7%
All Boarders	63.3%	33.3%
Strangers/Extended Family	22.4%	20.8%
Blacks	15.3%	4.2%
White Servants	3.1%	4.2%
Boarders/Blacks	15.3%	4.2%
Boarders/White Servants	2.0%	0
White Servants/Blacks	3.1%	0
Boarders/Blacks/ White Servants	2.0%	0

Columns may add to more than 100% due to rounding

Source: See Table 2.

Table 24: Age of Persistence Groups, 1860

Age	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)	Non-Persisters (n=278)
20-29	12.2%	16.7%	21.2%
30-39	41.8%	37.5%	32.7%
40-49	26.5%	25.0%	27.3%
50-59	14.3%	20.8%	11.2%
Over 60	5.1%	0	7.6%

Columns may add up more than 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 25: Nativity of Persistence Groups, 1860 Sample

Nativity	Richmond- Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)	Non-Persisters (n=278)
Connecticut	2.0%	8.3%	0
Dist. of Columbia	0	0	1.1%
Delaware	0	0	.4%
Louisiana	0	0	.8%
Maine	2.0%	0	0
Massachusetts	0	8.3%	1.4%
Maryland	3.1%	4.2%	2.5%
North Carolina	0	0	.7%
New Jersey	0	4.2%	0
New York	4.1%	0	1.4%
Pennsylvania	1.0%	0	2.5%
Tennessee	0	0	.4%
Vermont	0	0	.4%
Virginia	61.2%	45.8%	43.5%
Austria	0	0	.4%
Belgium	0	0	.4%
Canada	0	0	.7%
France	3.1%	0	1.1%
Germany	10.2%	8.3%	18.0%
Holland	0	0	.4%
Ireland	10.2%	20.8%	13.7%
Italy	0	0	1.8%
Poland	0	0	.4%
Switzerland	1.0%	0	.4%
United Kingdom	2.0%	0	7.9%

Columns may add up more than 100% due to rounding. Source: See Table 2.

Table 26: Occupational Status of 1860 Sample by Persistence

Occupational Group	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)	Non-Persisters (n=278)
Professional	6.1%	8.3%	7.6%
White-Collar	20.4%	16.7%	13.3%
Merchant	22.4%	8.3%	21.2%
Upper Blue-Collar	22.4%	37.5%	28.8%
Lower Blue-Collar	14.3%	12.5%	9.7%
Laborer	3.1%	16.7%	10.4%
Other*	11.2%	0	5.4%
No Occupation Listed	0	0	3.6%

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen, farmers, sailors.

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 27: Occupational Status of 1860 Sample Persisters in 1870

Occupational Group	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)
Professional	5.1%	4.2%
White-Collar	24.5%	4.2%
Merchant	18.4%	29.2%
Upper Blue-Collar	25.5%	20.8%
Lower Blue-Collar	10.2%	12.5%
Laborer	4.1%	4.2%
Other*	11.2%	25.0%
No Occupation Listed	1.0%	0

*Other includes state and municipal officials, gentlemen, farmers, sailors.

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 28: Real Estate Wealth of 1860 Sample by Persistence Group

Dollar Amount	Richmond- Persisters (n=98)	Virginia- Persisters (n=24)	Non- Persisters (n=278)
\$0	49.0%	66.7%	73.7%
\$1-999	5.1%	8.3%	4.0%
\$1,000-4,999	12.2%	8.3%	11.5%
\$5,000-9,999	11.2%	8.3%	4.3%
\$10,000-49,999	14.3%	4.2%	4.3%
\$50,000-99,999	5.1%	0	1.4%
\$100,000 and up	3.1%	4.2%	.7%

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 29: Personal Property Wealth of 1860 Sample by Persistence Group

Dollar Amount	Richmond- Persisters (n=98)	Virginia- Persisters (n=24)	Non- Persisters (n=278)
\$0	35.7%	33.3%	38.8%
\$1-999	22.4%	41.7%	34.9%
\$1,000-4,999	14.3%	8.3%	11.9%
\$5,000-9,999	7.1%	0	4.7%
\$10,000-49,999	12.2%	12.5%	7.9%
\$50,000-99,999	3.1%	4.2%	1.4%
\$100,000 and up	5.1%	0	.4%

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 30: Real Estate Wealth of 1860 Sample Persisters in 1870

Dollar Amount	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)
\$0	43.9%	45.8%
\$1-999	6.1%	16.7%
\$1,000-4,999	14.3%	8.3%
\$5,000-9,999	15.3%	16.7%
\$10,000-49,999	15.3%	12.5%
\$50,000-99,999	3.1%	0
\$100,000 and up	2.0%	0

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

Table 31: Personal Property Wealth of 1860 Sample Persisters in 1870

Dollar Amount	Richmond-Persisters (n=98)	Virginia-Persisters (n=24)
\$0	34.7%	37.5%
\$1-999	29.6%	29.2%
\$1,000-4,999	14.3%	20.8%
\$5,000-9,999	12.2%	8.3%
\$10,000-49,999	6.1%	4.2%
\$50,000-99,999	0	0
\$100,000 and up	3.1%	0

Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source: See Table 2.

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