FOUR DECADES OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

SCOTTSVILLE, VIRGINIA, 1820-1860

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PREFACE

The nature of this study and the sources available have necessitated a singular methodological approach. Utilizing manuscript census data as the core of my research, I have attempted to reconstruct the social history of Scottsville during the four decades between settlement and the Civil War. Specifically, this study focuses on the social changes within the community that accompanied the emergence, expansion, and contraction of Scottsville's commercial market. To accomplish this task, I have relied on the household unit as my primary tool of social analysis. This particular approach has two advantages. First, the household unit is easily extracted from existing data. Second, it represents the foundation upon which the entire Scottsville community was structured. By tracing the demographic and social changes within and among the various households, I have been able to identify the evolving character of the Scottsville community and the processes behind that development.

Thus, the account which follows is an exercise in the writing of a local social history; a history in which the life experiences of a people and the social developments within their community take precedence over a discussion of formal institutions and detailed ideologies which were, for the most part, peripheral to the day by day concerns of antebellum residents of Scottsville. Accordingly, the organization of this paper reflects the double theme of individual and community social experience during forty years of Scottsville's history. Chapters Two, Three, and

Four examine the common experiences which were most significant in the lives of Scottsville's residents from settlement to departure. Among the major points that are explored in these chapters are shifts in demographic and residential patterns, variations in household composition, and changes in the occupational and class structure of Scottsville from 1820 to 1860.

The remaining two chapters deal exclusively with the several phases of community development that characterized Scottsville during the antebellum years. Specifically, Chapter Five deals with Scottsville in its changing relationship with the outside world. Chapter Six, however, focuses on the social responses of the community to both external and internal developments. In each case, an attempt is made to define Scottsville both by the nature of its ties to other communities and by its adjustments to rapid economic change.

As a background to the forces that influenced the people and the community of Scottsville, Chapter One offers a brief history of Scottsville and of the economic developments that affected the town. However, that chapter is not intended as a comprehensive survey of the economic history of Scottsville. Instead, it is only a sketch of the circumstances that led to the founding of Scottsville and to the expansion and final contraction of Scottsville's economy. Such an outline is necessary to the analysis of social change in Scottsville over four decades. More detailed accounts concerning the history and economy of Albemarle County and the counties to the west are available in other studies, some of which are included in the Selected Bibliography.

Although the primary purpose behind this study is to generate a

meaningful social history of Scottsville, there are several limitations to its scope and depth. First, difficulties with population and slave census manuscripts have made it impossible to deal comprehensively with the slave inhabitants of Scottsville from 1820 to 1860. This is unfortunate since they represented a significant proportion of the community's population in each decade. Appendix II deals with this ommission.

Second, Scottsville was never an isolated village. Its community was never defined solely by its corporate limits. Social, economic, and kinship ties connected it to a larger world. The use of merchant ledgers, legislative petitions, deed books, geneologies, land books, and newspapers demonstrates how extensive the actual Scottsville community was. Farmers who shopped or traded there, bargained and signed agreements, belonged to its voluntary associations, patronized its churches, and participated in its town meetings were as much members of the Scottsville community as were those who resided within the town limits. Unfortunately, the necessity to work with a more manageable unit has forced a circumvention of that part of the Scottsville community beyond the corporate boundaries. Consequently, the account that follows deals with only the sub-community of Scottsville proper.

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INTRODUCTION

When Tompson Noel arrived in Scottsville in 1820, there were only two merchandise stores, a warehouse, a ferry operated by Peter F. Jefferson, and several modest homes. Tompson Noel, a tavern keeper, died shortly after his arrival. His son, James Noel, survived and remained in Scottsville until the outbreak of the Civil War. John D. Moon's son, John S. Moon, also eperienced the growth and change of the years between settlement and war.

Each son saw a town emerge in the span of a few short years. Joseph Martin, in his 1835 gazetteer, described Scottsville as a "flourishing village" that contained, besides numerous residential homes, "one Methodist and one Presbyterian house of Worship, a male and a female school, and two Sunday schools, nine general and five grocery stores, and one apothecaries shop."[1] One son, John S. Moon, profited greatly from his father's success as a Scottsville merchant. The other, James Noel, received no benefits at the time of his father's death. Each was present as the decade of the fifties drained Scottsville of its population and its economic vitality. By 1860, the opportunity for success had passed. James Noel, age fifty-six, would die a modest tailor. John S. Moon, age forty-four, would live comfortably for many years on his substantial inheritance of land and money.

The processes behind the experiences of these two sons of original settlers--and behind the growth, expansion, and final contraction of Scottsville--are not uncommon in the history of rural America. Lewis Atherton's book Main Street on the Middle Border is quite reminiscent of Scottsville during its first four decades. Under the stimulus of a growing agricultural market to the west and the existence of a suitable shipping center at Scotts Ferry on the James River, Scottsville was founded in 1818.

Historical Background

Situated in the southeastern corner of Albemarle County and bounded by the counties of Fluvanna and Buckingham to the east and south, Scottsville was strategically located in the matrix of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century trade and transportation patterns (Figure 1). Only seventy-three miles upstream from Richmond, Scottsville lay at the head of the navigable waters of the James River. To the west lay the fertile farmlands of the Shenandoah Valley. To the east was Richmond, the market center for the staple crops of the west. Scottsville was the creation of these two factors: the produce of the west and the river that flowed to the east.[2]

Settlement in the vicinity of Scottsville (known originally as Scotts Ferry or Scotts Landing) began in 1732. The earliest settlers were attracted to the area both by its river location and by the fertile soil that lay beyond the banks of the James River. One settler, Edward Scott, received a land patent of 550 acres. His son, Daniel, was licensed in 1745 to operate a ferry upon his father's land. Appropriately, the ferry was named Scotts Ferry.[3]

THE SCOTTSVILLE MARKET

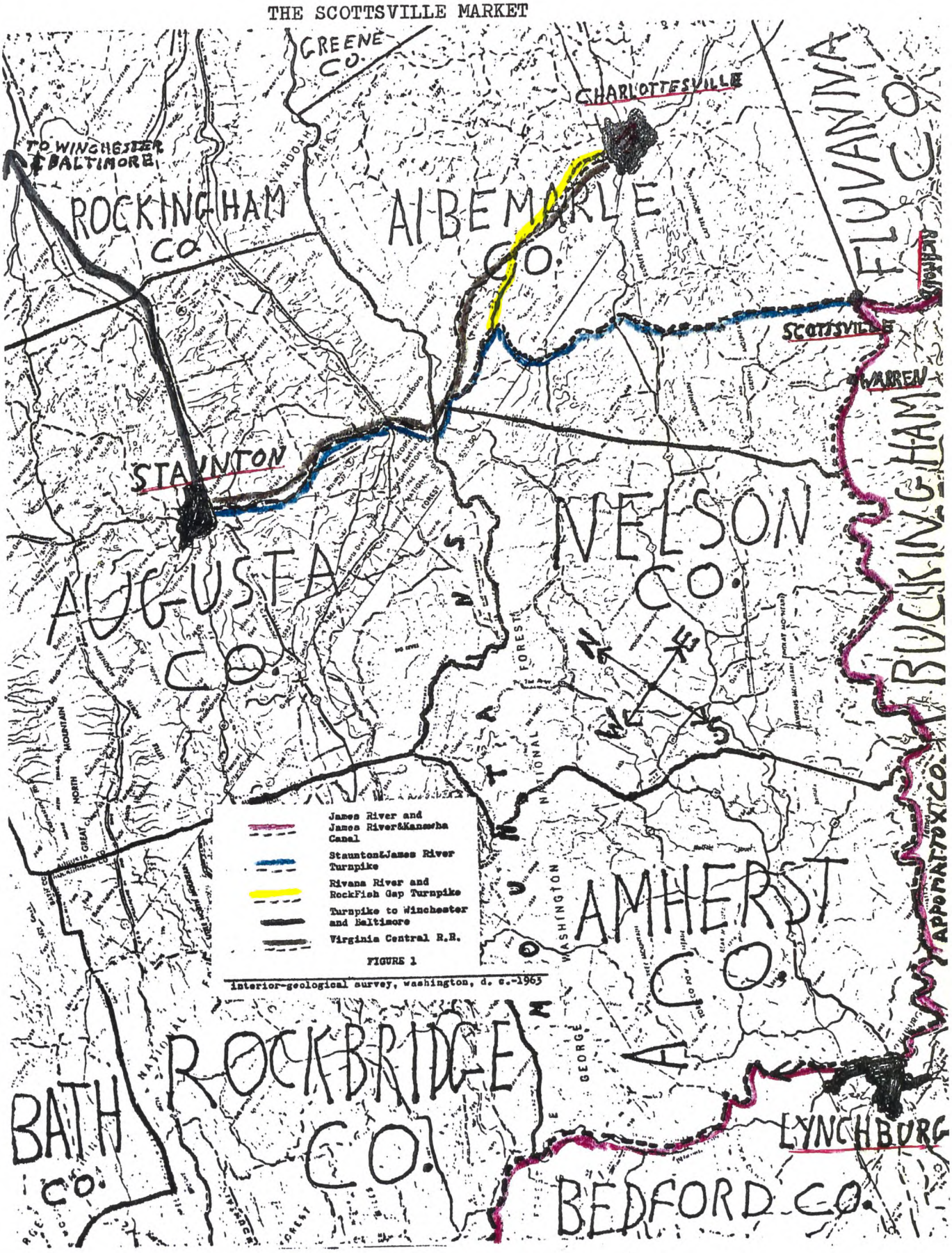


FIGURE 1

interior-geological survey, washington, d. c.-1963

FIGURE 1

The temporary location of the Albemarle County Courthouse near Scotts Ferry between 1742 and 1761 had little effect on the commercial status of this minor trading depot. Other than offering a convenient ferry service across the James River, Scotts Ferry remained insignificant in the economic life of the surrounding area. It had not yet exploited its economic and geographic assets. The falls that lay just above Richmond accounted for this failure.[4] Until those falls could be removed or circumvented, the economic potential of Scotts Ferry would have to wait for future realization. The wait was not long. By 1795, that obstacle was overcome with the construction of a canal to by-pass the dangerous falls that blocked access to Richmond by water. Yet even before the canal was completed, the first attempt to establish the town of Scottsville was made.

Attracted by both the economic potential of Scotts Ferry and the increase in trade that had occurred since 1761, John Scott, another son of Edward Scott, petitioned the General Assembly of Virginia on October 28, 1789, that a "town may be established at said Ferry."[5] Stressing the advantageous location of Scotts Ferry, he also asked the assembly for an inspection station for tobacco and, later, one for flour. Another petition, circulated the same year by "inhabitants of the County of Albemarle," supported John Scott's request by emphasizing the economic importance of Scotts Ferry:

> It has been the Reposit of tobacco for near Forty Years, and we are sensible [it] could very well Support itself, receiving at this time between five and six Hundred Hogsheads of Tobacco, and a considerable Quantity of Wheat and Flour Yearly.[6]

The General Assembly was not convinced by the pleas of the petitioners. Instead of granting town status and inspection rights to Scotts

Ferry, the assembly granted those same privileges to Warren, a small village several miles southwest of Scotts Ferry and on the James River (Figure 1).[7] The temporary dominance of Warren over the James River shipping trade was assured. As long as it could preserve its monopoly over inspection rights, Warren could easily maintain an insurmountable competitive edge over its neighboring river rival. Scotts Ferry would have to wait another thirty years before realizing its potential.

An Economic Overview: 1820-1860

A petition, dated December 5, 1817, and signed by John Scott, repeated the requests of 1789.[8] This time the General Assembly accepted the petition in full. In an act passed January 27, 1818, the General Assembly of Virginia declared:

> Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that fifteen acres of land, the property of John Scott, at a place on the James River called Scotts Landing, in the County of Albemarle, so soon as the same be laid off into lots with convenient streets, be established a town by the name of Scottsville (Figure 2).[9]

Another act of the same year established tobacco and flour inspection stations at the newly created town of Scottsville.[10] Scottsville was now on a competitive basis with Warren, but it was not yet in the position to fully exploit its strategic geographical location. Inspection stations would help, but they were not sufficient in themselves to bring Scottsville the prosperity it would experience in the coming years. Two other factors proved vital to the emergence of Scottsville as a primary market and shipping center in central Virginia: river improvements and the construction of a turnpike to the counties west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

FIGURE 2

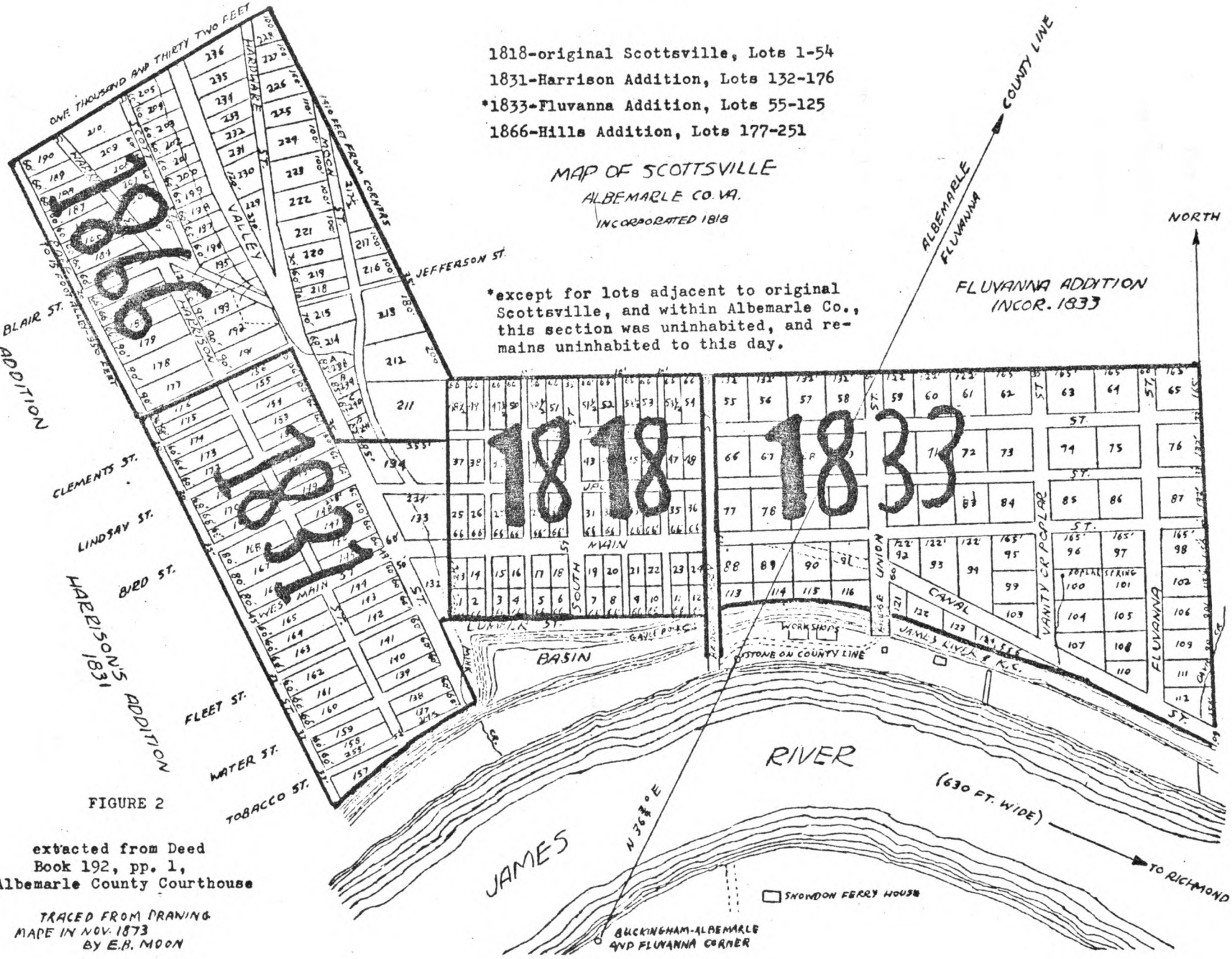


FIGURE 2

extracted from Deed
Book 192, pp. 1,
Albemarle County Courthouse

TRACED FROM DRAWING
MADE IN NOV. 1873
BY E.B. MOON

During the 1780's, the James River Company was formed to improve the navigability of the James River. The company had been responsible for the construction of the canal that by-passed the falls above Richmond. After 1795, the company became lax in its care and improvement of the river. A series of complaints led to the revocation of the company's charter. However, the Second James River Company was established in 1820 to continue the clearing and improvement of the James River for navigational purposes. Important as this was to the success of a river town like Scottsville, it took the completion of the Staunton and James River Turnpike in 1826 to remove the final barriers to the fulfillment of Scottsville's already established potential.

Prior to the completion of the Staunton and James River Turnpike, farmers in the Shenandoah Valley counties shipped their produce to Baltimore for marketing. The construction of the turnpike altered this trade pattern by permitting the farmers in the central section of the Valley of Virginia to ship their produce to Richmond more directly and cheaply by water.[11] Scottsville was the beneficiary of this trade development; however, this did not occur immediately. In the four years from 1827 through 1830, Scottsville continued its limited village existence. Not until the following year, 1831, did Scottsville experience the full force of economic expansion.

In a petition of 1831, the residents of Scottsville claimed that:

> Scottsville has become the principal depot for the county of Augusta and several of the adjacent counties in the valley, and its intercourse with the valley country is increasing to such an extent as to promise still farther accession to a trade from that section. . . . Your Petitioners therefore pray that an Act of Assembly may pass authorizing the town of Scottsville to be so extended as to embrace within its limits about 21 acres of the land of said [Peyton] Harrison. . . .[12]

Two months later, Scottsville doubled its size with the addition of Peyton Harrison's land (Figure 2). The annexation was necessary to provide space for additional shops and warehouses to deal with the increasing trade brought by the new turnpike.

Scottsville's first newspaper was published later in 1831. In its prospectus, the editors declared that "the growing importance of that place in a Commercial Point of view, imperiously demands a paper. It is so situated to command a great portion of the Valley trade. . . ."[13] As an indicator of its growing commercial importance, Scottsville's first hotel was opened to the public shortly afterwards.[14] Scottsville had finally come of age.

By 1836, residents of Scottsville were estimating the value of their annual trade to be approximately $615,000. Wheat, flour, and tobacco were responsible for $390,000 of the total commerce. Bacon, butter, lard, venison, whiskey, feathers, wool, iron castings, various seeds and other merchandise goods accounted for the remaining $225,000.[15] Six years later the value of that trade was reported to have increased to $1,000,000. The amount of wheat and flour handled by Scottsville merchants had risen from 40,000 barrels in 1836, to 110,000 barrels in 1842. Although tobacco did not increase in volume, other commodities emerged as major trade items in its place.[16] Scottsville was now reaping the full benefits of its newly established transportation network.

The remaining years of the 1830's witnessed the extension of these profitable trade connections. For example, the completion of the James River and Kanawha Canal in 1840 further contributed to the economic prosperity of Scottsville. Extending from Richmond to Lynchburg, the

canal opened additional market opportunities to the merchants of Scottsville. The extent of Scottsville's commercial success is reflected in the responses of Charlottesville merchants to that success. Newton Jones, in his study of Albemarle County, notes that "the loss of some of the trade of the Western part of Albemarle and of the valley . . . led to a series of events [on the part of Charlottesville merchants] to recapture some of this trade from Scottsville."[17] Among these events was the construction of the Rivanna River and Rock Fish Gap Turnpike, connecting Charlottesville with the Staunton and James River Turnpike (Figure 3).

Written accounts by visitors to Scottsville testify to the prosperity of these early years. In an 1831 letter to the editor of the Staunton Spectator, an Augusta County farmer referred to Scottsville as "a place, in my opinion, in the prosperity and business of which we have great interest, as it is becoming the market for nearly all our surplus products, and a very good one."[18] Another traveller, disgusted with most that he had seen in central Virginia, was sufficiently impressed by Scottsville to enter a word of approval in his diary: ". . . the stage took us to Scottsville, a very neat pretty town on the James River."[19] This was quite a concession from a man who saw mostly ugliness in the Virginia countyside.

Visitor's accounts also reflected a continuing prosperity through the following decade. A correspondent for the Southern Planter wrote in 1850: "This village is now waking up to see and feel the true prosperity that awaits her. . . . I counted seventy odd mountain wagons in the street to-day."[20] However, the optimism of his statement was qualified by his next sentence: "This is not wonderful, when we think of what a

ROADS OF ALBEMARLE COUNTY

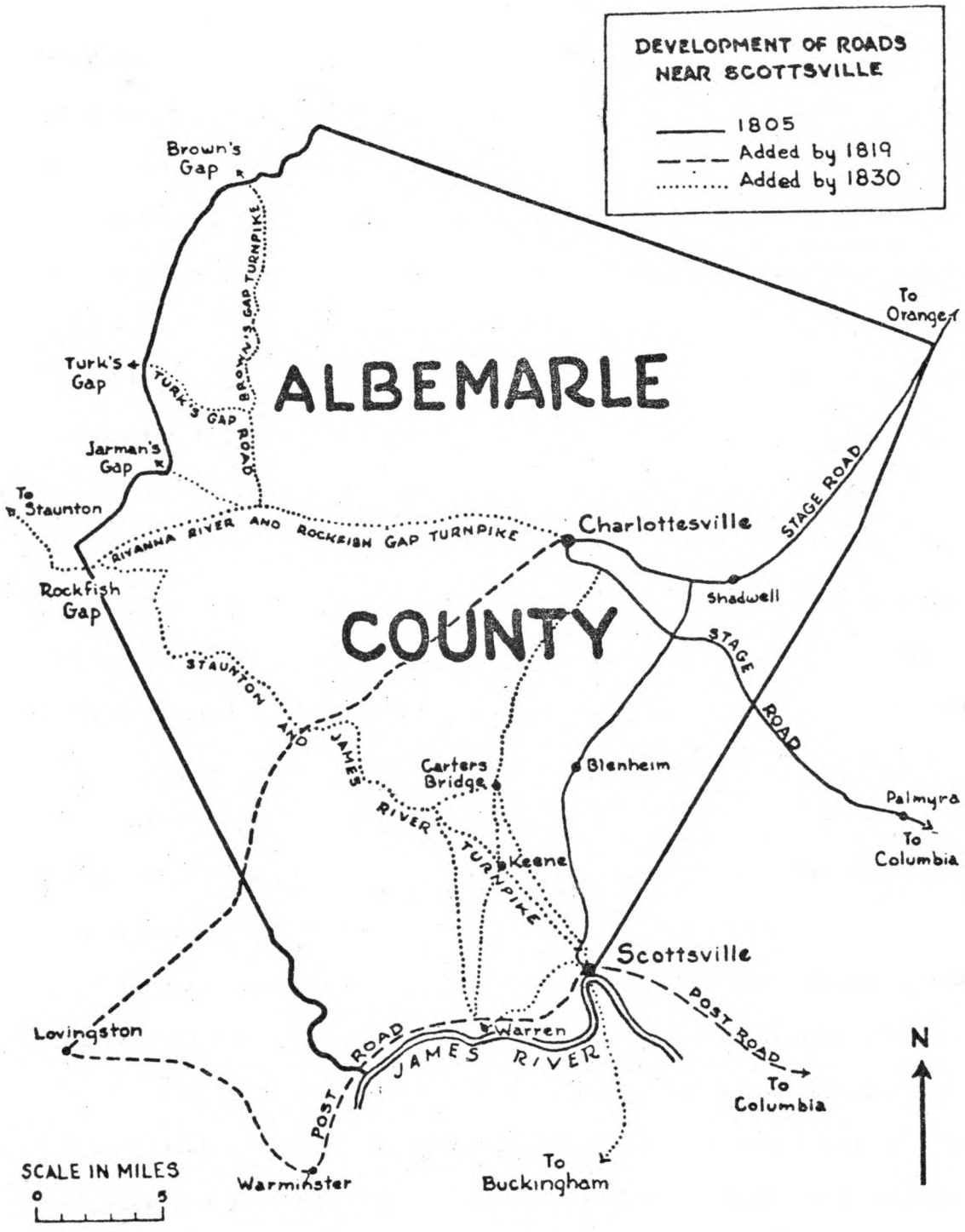


FIGURE 3

From Robert Goldstone's
Historical Geography of Scottsville, Virginia

rich agricultural country lies between this point [Scottsville] and the middle valley of Virginia." His cautious words underlay other ominous signs which suggested that the heyday of Scottsville's commercial pre-eminence was on the decline. The decade of the forties was not just a continuation of the prosperity of the thirties. It was the beginning of the end of an exciting period in the history of Scottsville.

Ever since its completion in 1826, the Staunton and James River Turnpike had been the economic lifeline of Scottsville. Without it, Scottsville would have been just another farm village, serving a considerably smaller community of producers and traders. A petition of 1838 estimated "that over $500,000 in produce was transported over the Staunton and James River Turnpike" during the previous year.[21] This trade, in addition to the large volume of merchandise sales to the valley farmers, probably represented the bulk of all trade received in Scottsville.[22] Consequently, the maintenance of the turnpike was a central concern to the residents of Scottsville who depended on it for their livelihood.

Ironically, the very business that made the turnpike so valuable often reduced the turnpike to a muddy, rutted, and impassable trail. As early as 1839, the residents of Scottsville called a town meeting to discuss possible ways to improve the turnpike.[23] Although the road had been gravelled from the beginning of its existence, many felt this to be insufficient. Several merchants at the town meeting insisted that only a macadamized road, like the one between Staunton and Winchester, could insure a continuous flow of traffic between Scottsville and the valley. Petitions to this effect were issued, but not until 1847 was positive

action taken by the General Assembly to repair the deteriorating turnpike. In the meantime, a major reversal in trade patterns had begun, a reversal that not even a belated attempt to improve the turnpike could alter.

Farmers, finding the "mud turnpike" increasingly impassable, began diverting much of their trade to Winchester and Baltimore.[24] Although the distance to Baltimore was considerably farther than that to Richmond, the far superior roads to the north allowed the greater distance to be spanned more quickly and more easily than the shorter route along the Staunton and James River Turnpike. Improvements on the turnpike during the 1840's kept this shift in trade patterns from assuming disastrous proportions. Nevertheless, the economy of Scottsville had reached its apex by 1840. The remaining years of the 1840's would be characterized more by stagnation than by growth.

However, the decade of the fifties brought disaster to the economy of Scottsville. Trade along the Staunton and James River Turnpike fell to only a trickle. In the year following its construction, 1827, $2,085, in tolls were collected. By 1860, the amount of annual tolls collected fell to $293.45.[25] The turnpike ceased to be a major artery of trade in central Virginia. The deterioration of the road and the consequent shift in trade patterns was responsible for much of this decline. The emergence of the railroad as a competitive transportation system made that decline permanent (Figure 1--Virginia Central Railroad).

Robert Goldstone, in his study of changing transportation systems and their relationship to Scottsville, wrote:

> Scottsville had become important and grown because it was a transhipping point. This service was responsible for the town having gained the prominence it enjoyed, and the freight from

the Valley of Virginia was the principal factor in this development.[26]

The change in trade patterns that began in the 1840's, and then reinforced by the construction of a railroad connecting Charlottesville to the farmers of the Shenandoah Valley in the 1850's, ended the role of Scottsville as the major transshipping center for the produce of Western Virginia.

The story was now complete. No longer would the heavy traffic of wagons crowd the narrow streets of Scottsville, carrying the products that local merchants thrived on and the river and canal trade depended on. The "iron horse" had by-passed Scottsville. In so doing, it drained Scottsville of its prosperity, only to transfer the same to Charlottesville in central Albemarle County and to Winchester, on the route to Baltimore. Scottsville, once the market center of an agriculturally rich region, was now just another small town, not unlike those that Lewis Atherton saw on the decline in the Mid-west.[27]

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF A COMMUNITY

Settlement and Growth

The external factors that influenced the community of Scottsville, as previously described, are well documented. No one can deny that this river town was deeply affected by the ups and downs of a rapidly developing economy. Yet, these were not the developments that intimately touched the lives of James Noel and John Moon. More immediate and pressing changes overtook the lives of these and other early residents.

When these young men and their families first arrived, there were only thirty-five free inhabitants in the town of Scottsville.[1] A decade later, that population level had more than doubled. Yet, the seventy-five free inhabitants of 1830 hardly distinguished Scottsville from its sparsely populated surroundings.[2] It was a town more in name than in fact. Other towns, such as Milton, Warren, and Charlottesville, were major trade and social centers of the Albemarle County of 1830. Scottsville was still a minor service center, extending its influence only to the neighboring farms of southeastern Albemarle and those that populated the flood plain of the adjoining two counties.[3]

Simultaneous to the sudden burst of economic activity after 1830, major demographic and social developments altered the nature of this once quiet river village. Prior to 1830, only a few town lots were developed with shops or homes. In 1820, seven developed lots contained eight

families.[4] By 1830, fifteen families shared thirteen lots that contained either residences, shops, or a combination of both.[5] The majority of these developed lots were along Lumber Street, which offered the most direct access to the river (Figure 4). The remaining lots, bordered by Main, Jackson, and Holman Streets, were mostly deserted, except for several homes on Main Street. By 1835, the number of developed lots had increased to a phenomenal thirty-five.[6] Even more impressive was the expansion of Scottsville's population to between 200 and 240 by 1835.[7] Forty families now resided within the corporate limits of a rapidly expanding market town.

The year 1840 saw a continuation of this demographic pattern. The population of Scottsville was now 432, representing sixty-one households.[8] The original land area of Scottsville was becoming heavily developed. Almost all the lots bordered on the south by Lumber Street and on the north by Main Street were inhabited. Even those lots farther from the river were covered with various structures. Only the peripheral lots north of Holman Street remained undeveloped. The hilly terrain upon which these outer lots were situated made them unsuitable for settlement. Consequently, many residents turned to the more desirable lands of the Harrison's Addition. Like the original Scottsville land that lay south of Holman Street, the newly acquired lots were located on a mostly flat terrain that became hilly only as one reached its northern perimeter. Most of the hills lay in the Hills Addition, which would not be annexed until 1866.[9]

Settlement in this area, however, was sparse. In 1836, there was a cluster of houses on lots 142 through 148. These lay immediately

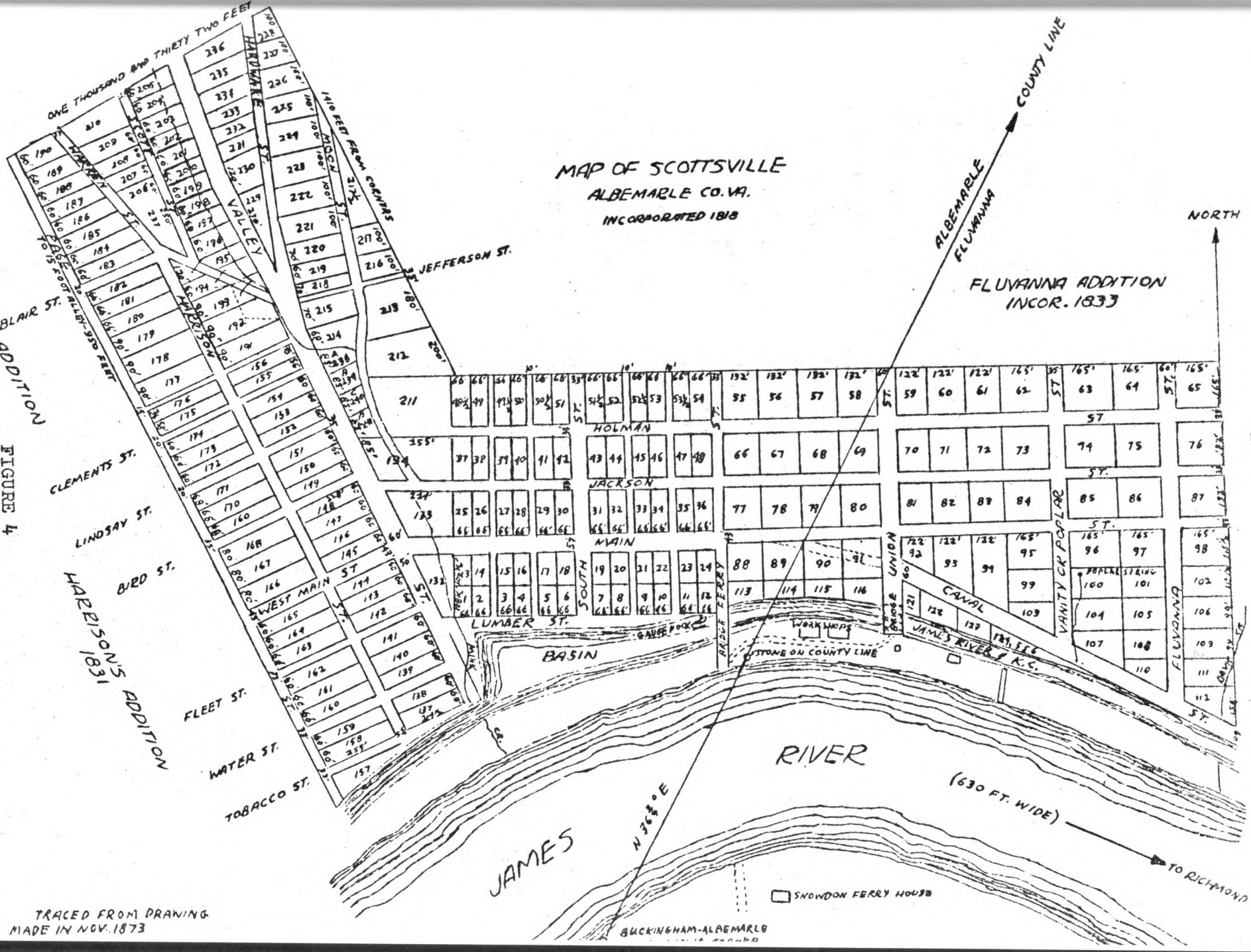


FIGURE 4

Source: Deed Book 192, pp. 1, Albemarle County Courthouse

TRACED FROM DRAWING MADE IN NOV. 1873

west of Valley Street and were adjacent to the heavily inhabited Lumber and Main Streets. By 1840, this same cluster had extended west to Harrison Street, but still within close geographical limits of the original town. The logic of settlement was simple. The geographical and economic superiotity of those lots closest to the river attracted the earliest residents--mostly merchants who, dealing in the river trade, needed convenient access to the docks and warehouses along the river. Those who arrived after the 1830's followed a similar pattern. Rejecting the northernmost lots of original Scottsville, they settled the more favorable lands of the Harrison's Addition. Not only was this land physically desirable, but many of its lots (those settled earliest) lay close to the major transportation artery of Scottsville, the James River.

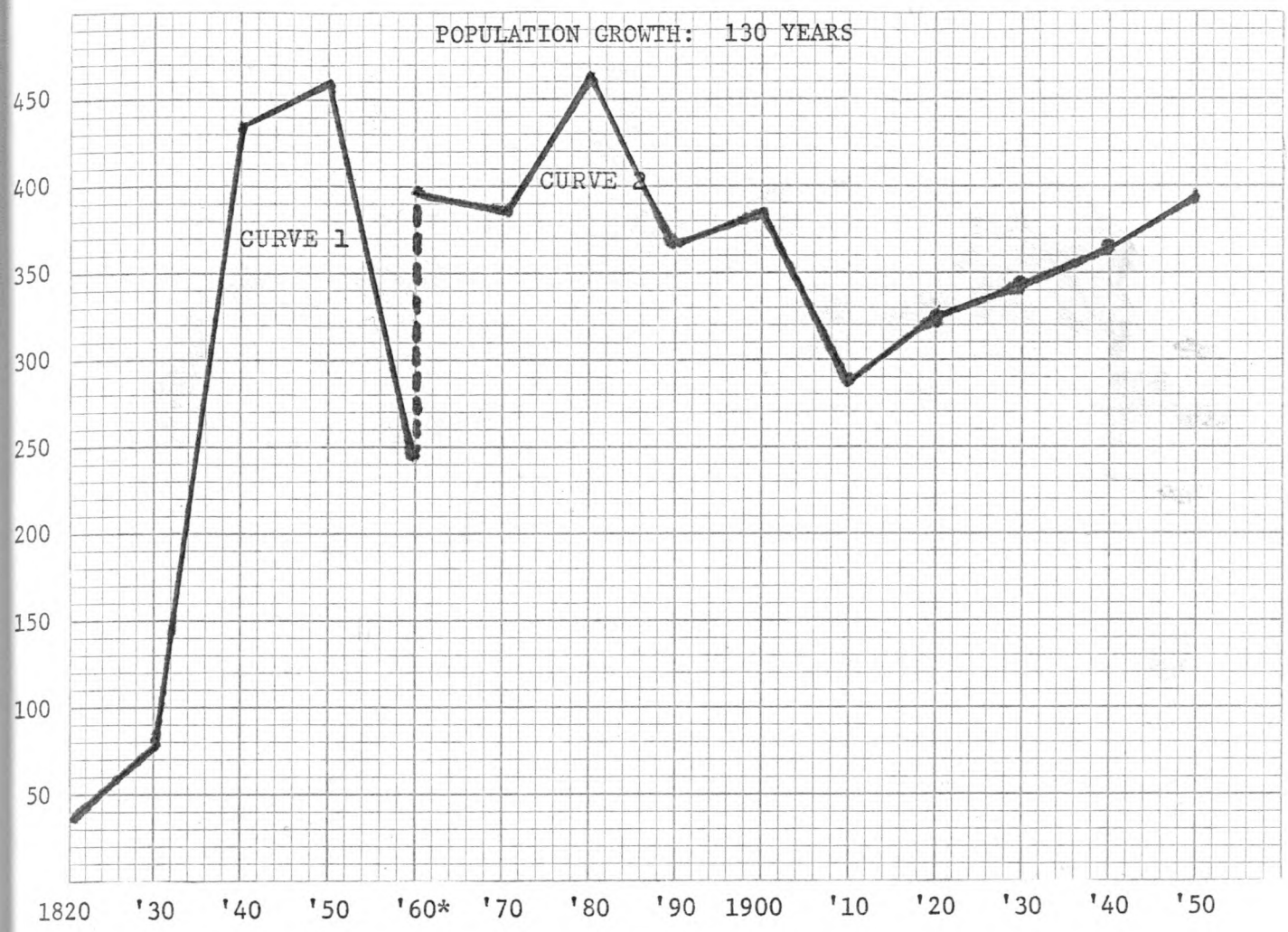
The nature of residence and work reinforced the clustering tendency that characterized the first two decades of Scottsville's history. Insurance records and statements included in many wills suggest that most early residents combined their living structures with their working structures. In 1833, Charles Grillet sold a building to another Scottsville resident. In the deed of sale he described the building "as a residence and Store House."[9] Records from the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia demonstrate the same phenomenon. One policy holder, Nathaniel Ragland, owned four buildings in Scottsville.[10] Two were listed as store houses, but immediately adjacent to both were separate buildings described as kitchens. The store houses were rectangular, twenty-two feet by thirty-six feet. Their structures were of brick, although the outside was planked with wood. Each was two stories. However, the kitchens were only one story high and their floor space was only a fraction of that

of the adjoining structures.

Apparently, the ground floor was used as a store, whereas the upper floor was kept as a dwelling. The separate kitchen, common in the early nineteenth century, provided the remaining living facilities. This housing arrangement probably dominated the lives of those who resided in Scottsville during its first two decades. Besides the evidence provided by deeds and insurance records, the nature of the resident's occupations suggests the practicality of such a living and working combination. Most were merchants who were just establishing themselves in Scottsville. The location of home and work under one roof allowed them to not only save the cost of an additional residence, but to remain close to their shops at all times.

There is reason to believe that the nature of work and residence may have begun to change between 1840 and 1860. The findings of a study of Manchester, Michigan, correspond closely to patterns developing in Scottsville. The study reveals that although early settlers tended to combine house and work under the same roof, they would later move to a peripheral, residential area of the town, leaving the old structure in the center of town to serve an exclusively economic function.[11]

As noted earlier, the population of 1840 represented a phenomenal increase of almost five times that of 1830 (Figures 5 and 6). Just as the economy had mushroomed, so had the population grown. Likewise, the following decade of population growth was a mirror reflection of an economy approaching stagnation. By 1850, the population had climbed to only 460 free inhabitants, representing eighty-two separate families.[12] Scotts-ville had reached the zenith of both its demographic and economic



1820- 33	*1860-399	1910-283
1830- 75	1870-388	1920-329
1840-432	1880-465	1930-341
1850-460	1890-362	1940-368
1860-246	1900-384	1950-394

Source: Manuscript Censuses, 1820--1860 (Appendix I)
Printed Censuses, 1870--1950

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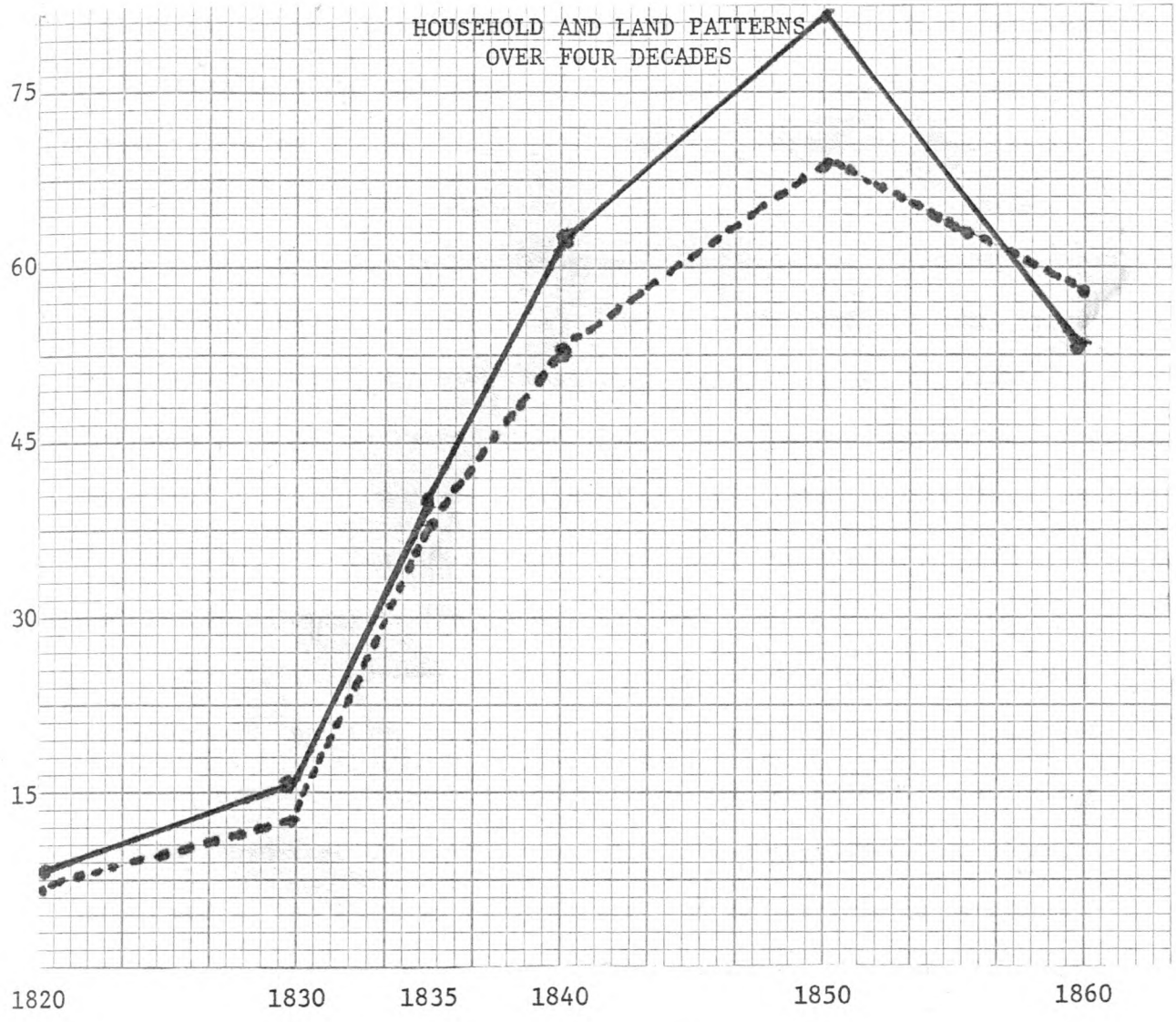
*Unfortunately, population figures prior to 1870 are not comparable to those of 1870 and after. Due to difficulties of determining slave inhabitants (Appendix II), I have limited my population data to free white and black residents only. The population data for 1870 and after includes many who prior to emancipation were enslaved, and therefore not included in my measurements. However, I have managed to arrive at a fairly accurate figure for the Scottsville slave population in 1860. This has enabled me to recast the 1860 figure into a form more comparable to those that follow. Curve 1 represents the first forty years of growth. Curve 2 represents 1860 revised to 1950.

FIGURE 5



------No. of developed lots

1820- 7
1830-13
1835-35
1840-52
1850-69
1860-58

_____No. of households

1820- 8
1830-15
1835-40
1840-61
1850-82
1860-53

Source: Compiled from Albemarle County Land Books, 1820--1860, and Manuscript Censuses of 1820--1860

FIGURE 6

expansion. In the census year of 1860, only fifty-three families remained in Scottsville. The population of free inhabitants had fallen to 246, a figure far below the level of 1840 and more comparable to Scottsville in 1835.[13]

Coincidental with the demographic and economic shifts was a change in the development of Scottsville's land; a change that may well support the findings of the previously mentioned Michigan study. The number of developed lots had increased since 1840, but, like population, at a decreasing rate. In 1850, there were sixty-nine lots listed as containing at least one structure.[14] Although the nature of these structures was not specified, their location suggests their possible uses.

Unlike the earlier clustering pattern, more distant lots were now occupied. By 1850, several of the outer lots of original Scottsville had been developed, including some north of Holman Street. Also, the northwest corner of the Harrison's Addition was populated from Clements Street and as far south as Fleet Street. It is possible to attribute this outward movement to an increase in population. However, the population had risen by only 7 per cent since 1840, whereas the number of developed lots had grown by 33 per cent. Population change alone could not be responsible for this substantial increase of inhabited lots. Economic growth might have accounted for this increase; but it is unlikely, due to the increasingly stagnating nature of Scottsville's economy during the last years of the 1840's.

Only one explanation is plausible for this development, given the economic and demographic trends of the decade. Many residents who had previously lived in multi-purpose dwellings were now sufficiently

established (materially and socially) to leave their shops for exclusively residential homes in the peripheral lots of the town. The residential pattern of modern Scottsville suggests this hypothesis. Today, the commercial and business district is limited to lots south of Jackson Street in old Scottsville and to those immediately adjacent to Valley Street in the Harrison section. The remaining areas are almost exclusively residential. Finally, 1860 land data for Scottsville clearly reveals a continuation of 1850 housing trends, despite an absolute decline in the number of developed lots.[15] Scottsville was no longer a town of combined residence and work. By 1860, the residential and business patterns of modern Scottsville had been born.

The Changing Household

The patterns of settlement and of population growth discussed so far can yield only limited insight into the life of antebellum Scottsville. To understand the nature of this community, one must examine more closely the composition and characteristics of its fluctuating population. One way to accomplish this is to analyze changes in family structure during Scottsville's first forty years.[16]

In 1820, Scottsville was a collection of mostly small households.[17] Only James Noel's family was unusually large. It contained twelve members. William Gibson and Littlebury Moon each had wives and offspring. Their family sizes were five and eight respectively. John D. Moon and Peter F. Jefferson had only recently married, and their families had only themselves and their spouses. Another household contained the two Perkins brothers, whereas the remaining two housed single males.

The average household size was understandably small. These early residents were mostly young men venturing from an agricultural background to a commercial way of life. They had not yet established families; if they had, it would be some time before their first offspring were born. Scottsville had the aura of a frontier town. Its average family size (4.2) was 1.5 members below that of Albemarle County.[18]

Family size tended to increase throughout the 1820's. By 1830, the average Scottsville household contained exactly five members, not far behind the 5.5 that could be found in the "typical" Albemarle County household.[19] Yet, Scottsville deviated from the county norm in one important aspect: many of its families housed unusually large numbers of males. Unfortunately, 1830 census data does not list the names of dependents. Consequently, one can only speculate on the relationships of these excess males to the households in which they resided. Several households probably contained brothers, as the case was in 1820. One known example is that of John Hartman, whose brother, Henry, lived and worked with him.[20] Other possibilities include the presence of non-related male boarders. These members, often apprentices, would account for much of the increase in household size by 1840. Finally, the existence of four all male households out of a total of fifteen households most certainly contributed to the young male image of Scottsville in 1830.

Other than the increasing "maleness" of its population (sex ratio of 142), Scottsville had not yet experienced any major shift in family structure. There was an increase in families with offspring, which probably accounted for most of the growth in household size since 1820. However, this increase occurred primarily among persistent

families and, therefore, did not represent a significant in-migration of families with offspring. Scottsville was still a town of small households, as it had been in 1820. The youth of its nuclear families and the relatively large numbers of its all male households continued to characterize Scottsville as a frontier town.

This changed by 1840. The frontier town of 1820 and 1830 now emerged as a major commercial center. More importantly, family structure had undergone a major transformation. Whereas the average family size for Albemarle County continued its downward trend (reaching 5.3 by 1840), Scottsville experienced an unparalled increase in its average household size. A "typical" household now contained more than seven members (7.1).[21] In a single decade, average family size had risen by over two members. Determining the source of this increase is difficult without the names of dependents. Nevertheless, data does exist that offers a possible explanation for the rise.

An extremely high sex ratio of 135 for all ages, and an overwhelming proportion of residents under thirty (79 per cent), point towards a disproportionate increase of young males in 1840.[22] Yet, such an increase cannot be accounted for by all male households. By 1840, they were insignificant in relation to both the total number of households and the absolute population level. Instead, the source of the increase must be seen as emanating from some addition other than offspring to the nuclear household.

Some households did contain dependent brothers, as they had in 1830. There is no concrete evidence supporting this, but the large numbers of brothers with separate households in 1840 makes it only

reasonable to assume that a few may have lived as dependents. However, it is unlikely that the number of dependent brothers was sufficient to account for the substantial excess of males under the age of thirty. An increase in unrelated male boarders is the most likely explanation for the 1840 change in family size. Many of the households had one or more males listed in the same census age category as that of the head of family. Furthermore, a substantial number of these apparently unrelated boarders resided in the households of merchants. It is probable that many of these boarders were apprentices, serving as clerks to the merchant head of household. This was the case in both 1850 and 1860.

The arrival of these boarders is closely related to the economic development of Scottsville. Between the two census years of 1820 and 1830, occupational opportunities were limited by the size of the Scottsville market. As a result, few single males migrated to Scottsville during this period. Following the economic boom of 1831, however, many young men came in search of commercial opportunity. Their choice to become boarders was a logical one. Having come to Scottsville alone and with limited resources, they chose to live in established households for both occupational reasons and for the comfort and association offered by a family in an otherwise strange environment.

The decade of the forties witnessed the disappearance of many of these boarders. After several years of increasing economic stagnation, opportunities for these young men may well have narrowed, convincing many of them to leave. That they did leave is reflected in a sharp drop in the sex ratio to 114 by 1850, and a proportionate decrease in the number of residents under the age of thirty.[23] The decline in the average

family size to 5.6 members was largely a product of this development.

A statistical breakdown of the "typical" 1850 household suggests the magnitude of the decline in boarders. An examination of 1850 population figures reveals that less than one male boarder per household existed at this time in Scottsville. Although an equivalent figure for 1840 does not exist, it is reasonable to assume that over one, and probably two, boarders were present in the average household. If this was the case, then the decline in family size from 7.1 in 1840, to 5.6 in 1850, can largely be explained in terms of a reduction in the number of unrelated male boarders.

Besides accounting for the decline in male boarders, census data allows an insight into the various family forms that characterized the community of Scottsville in 1850. Typically, a Scottsville household contained a male and female spouse. Each family also housed an average of three or four offspring. Attached to the nuclear family was one or more other dependents. A sister or mother living with a married brother or son was the most common instance of an extended family. Unlike previous census years, however, the presence of a dependent brother was rare. Among non-related dependents, apprentice clerks and shoemakers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty were quite prevelant. If the boarder was not an apprentice, he might be an orphan under guardianship or a newly arrived resident with no established economic or social ties. In a few cases, a young female between the ages of twelve and seventeen would be living and working as a household servant. This was common in the early and mid-nineteenth century.[24]

Some households were headed by single individuals or lone spouses.

Of the twenty 1850 households of this type, almost half were headed by free female Blacks.[25] In several cases, these households contained offspring. The striking absence of a male spouse in almost every free Black family is difficult to explain. Possibly, these female heads of household had previously been slaves who, having borne children by their former masters, were manumitted. Several mulatto families residing in Scottsville in 1850 may have originated in this manner. Not only were the heads of household female and their children listed as mulatto, but their last names corresponded to that of a prominent slaveholder who lived not far from Scottsville.

The following decade saw not only a continuation of this unusual mulatto family structure, but a reduction in the size of most households. By 1860, only 4.6 members could be found in the average Scottsville family compared to 5.5 for Albemarle County.[26] In this instance, non-related boarders were not responsible for the reduction in household size. A breakdown of the 1860 household structure, when compared to a similar breakdown for 1850, reveals other sources of this change.

Breakdown of Average Household Size by Components[27]

	1850	1860
Head of Household	1.00	1.00
Spouse of Household Head	.76	.68
Offspring	2.60	1.90
Other Related Dependents	.27	.19
Non-related Dependents	.95	.80
	5.58	4.57

The average number of both non-related and other related dependents dropped by only a fraction between 1850 and 1860. One could still find numerous apprentice clerks and an occasional sister or mother boarding

in several Scottsville homes. More people were single or widowed now than in 1850, but not in any significant number. The change in family size did not result primarily from any one or combination of these factors. Instead, a pronounced decline in offspring characterized the typical Scottsville family in 1860. However, the reduction in offspring was not the result of a demographic trend towards smaller families. It was the natural outcome of a community that had recently experienced a major economic contraction.

Two demographic features underlie both the magnitude of the contraction and the severity of the decline in offspring. The percentage of residents under the age of thirty had fallen to a level not only below that of all previous decades, but significantly below the 67 per cent figure for Albemarle County. Related to this substantial aging of the population was the unusual household composition of Scottsville in 1860. Although the persistence of 1850 households to 1860 was only a third, those that did persist now composed nearly 60 per cent of all 1860 households. All previous census years had recorded an opposite occurrence. In every instance, a substantial majority of households had persisted from one decade to the next. However, never had the persistent households represented more than a third of the new decade's total.[28]

The common factor behind both the aging of the population and the unusual reversal in persistence was the collapse of Scottsville's extended economy. As trade declined and economic opportunity closed, the inflow of new families slowed to a trickle. Instead of a positive in-migration as in previous decades, Scottsville now experienced a positive out-migration. Internally, the economic collapse led to the

out-migration of many sons of residents, sons who otherwise would have established separate households in Scottsville like their 1850 counterparts (Appendix I, Table 6). Occupational opportunities had not only evaporated for the larger population of 1850, but had ceased to be promising to many sons who had reached their maturity by 1860.

The combined effect of these economic and demographic trends resulted in the reduction of offspring in most households. As families aged, offspring became independent. However, many of them did not remain in Scottsville. Furthermore, the void left by their absence was not filled by new arrivals. The result was an aging population, a population whose family size would continue to decline unless the patterns of out-migration were reversed.

James Noel was not conscious of these discontinuities. He had lived in Scottsville for many decades, and his son would remain for many more. Yet, the community around him had changed. The families were smaller and considerably older. The young, mobile boarders of 1840 had largely disappeared. The youthfulness of Scottsville's earlier years had become dissipated in the economic decline of the 1850's. Only the aging shell of the once vibrant community remained. Until,and unless, new opportunities could hold the departing sons and attract new and younger families, Scottsville would continue to age.

CHAPTER III

WORKING IN SCOTTSVILLE: 1820-1860

The early history of Scottsville is largely a story of the growth and decline of the merchant class. In turn, the history of the merchant class is intimately interwoven in the economic history of an entire region. The history of that region in its relationship to Scottsville has been traced. The effect that it had on Scottsville's population has been discussed. Yet, it is in the changing nature of occupation and livelihood that the symbiotic relationship between the countryside and the small river village on the James River can best be understood.[1]

Scottsville began as a community of small shopkeepers and modest businessmen. The trade of the neighboring farms was sufficient to support four merchants, one tavern keeper, and a ferry operator. Two of the merchants, Richard and Littlebury Moon, were partners.[2] They remained so until Littlebury Moon's death in 1827. A third merchant, Benjamin Perkins, was Littlebury's brother-in-law. It is not known whether he operated his own merchandise shop or was in some way connected to the Moon partnership.[3] John D. Moon, the fourth of Scottsville's original merchants, left few records concerning his early years in Scottsville. However, by the end of the 1820's he had apparently established a thriving mercantile business.[4]

James Noel's father, Tompson, received his Ordinary License on July 3, 1820.[5] His tavern was the first in Scottsville. Another head

of household involved in commerce was Peter Fields Jefferson. Described as a man of "shrewdness and frugality,"[6] he was the operator of Scottsville's only ferry. He was responsible for transporting many of the customers and much of the trade that gave life to this young river town. The remaining occupations of residents included one household head engaged in agriculture and another in manufacturing and the trades (Appendix III).

Throughout the decade of the twenties, the occupational structure of Scottsville remained unchanged. By 1830, the percentage of heads of households in the field of commerce had risen from 76 per cent in 1820 to only 79 per cent in 1830.[7] In addition, most of those listed in the 1830 census category of commerce were still merchants. The number of household heads involved in agriculture and manufacturing and the trades had remained constant. Only the arrival of Doctor William J. Michie brought a change in the occupational composition of Scottsville.[8] Apparently, the town and the surrounding countryside were now sufficiently populated to attract and support Scottsville's first resident physician.

However, the presence of a medical doctor and the increase of a few additional merchants did not represent any substantial change in Scottsville or in its relationship with the hinterland. Scottsville was still a very specialized service center. Except for the commercial facilities offered by the town merchants, other non-commercial services were probably performed by tradesmen in neighboring towns or by farmers who were able to provide for their own needs. The homogenous character of Scottsville's economy was necessitated by both the town's small size and the limited sphere of its external market. A few merchants and a

doctor had neither the demand nor the resources to support other specialized services. Until the market of Scottsville expanded and the town's population increased, few skilled artisans would find it worth their time and effort to settle and establish their families and businesses in such an unprofitable place.

Yet, Scottsville did not remain a small village for long. Shortly after 1831, its economy underwent a major transformation. Connected by the recently constructed turnpike to the rich agricultural counties to the west, Scottsville was now a partner in the prosperity of an entire region. Throughout the decade of the thirties, the stimulus of an expanding market brought the largest influx of population that Scottsville was ever to experience. The arrival of new settlers not only added to the list of merchants and tavern keepers, but gave rise to a new dimension of the occupational structure of the once homogenous river community.

Commercial employment still dominated the occupational scene.[9] Twenty-four of the sample forty-eight heads of households of 1840 were engaged in some branch of commerce. Yet, not all those so engaged were merchants. Hotel keepers and tavern operators were more numerous than ever before.[10] The constant in-migration of new people and the existence of a substantial settled population provided them with a profitable and loyal clientele. Also, flour and tobacco inspectors were now establishing their residences in Scottsville. Receiving a fixed fee for their particular services, they shared in the prosperity of the new decade.

Merchants, of course, were still the most significant and important element of Scottsville's commercial economy. Unlike 1830, however, they

were not a homogenous collection of modest businessmen. Some continued to operate exclusively retail businesses. Charles Grillet, for instance, owned a small general store that carried such items of local demand as satin, flannel, calico, brown sugar, salt, soap, flour, venison, mackerel and herrings, almonds, flour, tea, and numerous spices.[11] Other merchants, like Thomas Staples and John Blair, were involved in more extensive retail and wholesale operations.

Advertisements in the Staunton Spectator give an idea of the nature of these large mercantile businesses. For example, one ad suggests the magnitude of trade on which these wholesale firms depended:

Cash for Wheat

> We will give fair prices for about 50,000 bushels of wheat, delivered at Cole's Mill, or to us at Scottsville, Albemarle.[12]

Thomas Staples, who placed this particular notice, was one of many merchants who purchased the produce of the western farmers and then re-sold it for a substantial profit on the Richmond market. Price quotations that appeared in the Staunton newspaper describe how profitable this form of trade was. During much of the month of September, 1831, flour was priced at $4.40 a bushel at the Scottsville market. In Richmond, the same quantity was selling for as much as $5.25.[13] The larger merchants also rented storage facilities to farmers who wished to market their own goods in Richmond. By doing this, producers were able to by-pass the Scottsville middleman and share in the considerably higher prices offered by Richmond buyers.

Yet, commercial activities did not monopolize the Scottsville economy as they had done in earlier years. By 1840, the proportion of heads of households engaged in commerce had fallen to 53 per cent,

representing a significant decline since 1830. The absolute number of farmers had risen to five, but their relative importance among all occupations had not changed since the previous census year. Several other occupational catergories, however, experienced substantial growth. Although insignificant in 1830, the number of heads of households engaged in manufacturing and the trades rose to eleven by 1840. Approximately 25 per cent of all resident household heads were now employed in this category. Likewise, several teachers and engineers had settled in Scottsville since 1830. They represented 9 per cent of all household head occupations. Navigation also emerged as an additional element in the occupational life of Scottsville in 1840. Although only one head of household was listed in the 1840 census as engaged in this field, numerous slaves and other dependents were constantly employed in the business of the river trade and the construction and operation of the James River and Kanawha Canal.[14]

Scottsville was now more than a specialized trade center. With the expansion of the market, its economy had experienced an equal expansion in both size and structure. The merchant firm still dominated the life of this bustling river town. Yet, the needs of not only the valley farmers, but also the demands of an increasingly expanding local population necessitated the growth of numerous service and trade industries. The economy of Scottsville was moving away from its exclusive function as a commercial center for an extensive trade network. The same forces that were bringing the Scottsville merchants of 1840 to economic prominence were also initiating a differentiation of the town's occupational structure. The characteristically merchant image of Scottsville was beginning to fade.

The year 1850 witnessed a continuation of the trends begun in 1840. Although Scottsville was still dominated by the merchant class, the increasingly stagnating nature of the economy had affected its relative importance.[15] Not only had the percentage of household heads in commercial occupations fallen from 53 per cent to 38 per cent by 1850, but the absolute number of those so employed had dropped by one.[16] The 1850 census now listed only 23 of 82 heads of households in the field of commerce. However, the merchant class may not have suffered as greatly as these figures suggest. Many merchants of 1850 were not heads of households, but were residents of hotels instead. Other men involved in commerce, such as clerks, were boarders in private homes. A breakdown of all residents employed points conclusively to the continuing dominance of commercial occupations. Of the 96 residents listed as employed, 44 (46 per cent) were in the field of commerce (Appendix III). Twenty-five of these alone were merchants, and the remaining nineteen were mostly clerks.

Scottsville was still a predominantly commercial village. The merchant class had declined, but it still formed the central core of Scottsville's economy. Nevertheless, the process of differentiation had continued from 1840. By 1850, the occupational category of manufacturing and the trades was second only to commerce. Nineteen heads of households, an increase of eight since 1840, were engaged in this field. Artisans and tradesmen now represented 33 per cent of all household head occupations, or 28 per cent of all resident employment.[17] A new occupational class was clearly on the rise.

The composition of this emerging occupational group among all

residents so employed was diverse. Carpenters were the most numerous. Their services were vital to a commercial center that depended on new buildings to handle the increasing volume of valley trade. The two cabinetmakers who also resided in Scottsville at this time probably worked alongside the carpenters. Another important trade was that of wheelwrights. The demand of the valley farmers for not only new wagons to carry their produce, but for repair and upkeep facilities, offered a booming business to the several residents who practiced this craft. Of the remaining seventeen inhabitants engaged in this occupational category, their trades ranged from saddler to watchmaker, and from tailor to shoemaker (Appendix III).

Other occupational categories experienced growth, although at a more modest rate than manufacturing and the trades. Agricultural occupations were still present, but represented only 4 per cent of all resident occupations, and 8 per cent of all head of household occupations. Navigation had assumed a more important role in Scottsville's economy, although many of those engaged in this line of work were slaves and therefore not included in the 1850 manuscript census. Most workers in this particular field were employed in the operation of the canal, which had become the central transportation artery to Richmond after its link-up with Lynchburg. The census category of engineers and the professions also increased in size and importance. Four physicians now practiced in Scottsville. One dentist could also be found. Two teachers provided for the education of many of the children of Scottsville's residents. Finally, several lawyers found employment in the legal disputes that were so common in the world of commerce.[18]

Despite the great diversity of trades and the continuing differentiation of the occupational structure, Scottsville was still primarily a commercial town. Among the non-commercial occupations, many of them, directly or indirectly, depended on the valley trade. However, by 1860, the changing patterns of transportation and trade brought an end to Scottsville's commercial pre-eminence and ushered in an entirely different economic and occupational structure.

The Scottsville of 1860 was totally unlike the market town of years past. Almost overnight an entire class of people had disappeared. Of the eighteen merchant heads of households in 1850, only five persisted to 1860. Furthermore, only eight of the total forty-five inhabitants engaged in commerce in 1850 were still present by 1860.[19] The merchant class and its commercial partners (clerks, tavern keepers, and hotel keepers) were no longer the dominant occupational group. Now, only seventeen heads of households were employed in commerce. More significantly, only seven listed their occupation as merchant. For the first time in forty years, the category of commerce had become a minority occupation, representing only 35 per cent of all employed household heads.[20]

This reversal in occupational structure appears even more dramatic among all employed residents (Appendix III). In 1860, only twenty-four inhabitants were engaged in commerce out of a total of seventy-four employed. From a high of 46 per cent in 1850, the proportion of commercial employment among all occupations had fallen to a relatively low 32 per cent. The disappearance of Scottsville's market to the west was responsible for this shift in occupational orientation. A new market that now extended only to the neighboring farms of Albemarle, Fluvanna, and

Buckingham Counties was hardly sufficient to support Scottsville's enormous merchant class. Consequently, only a handful of merchants remained in Scottsville by the census year of 1860. Furthermore, those that did remain were faced with a less profitable business and an even less promising future. The heyday of the merchant class had passed.

However, this is only part of the story of Scottsville in 1860. Equally significant as the decline of the merchant class was the emergence of a middle class of artisans and small manufacturers to an occupational majority. Nineteen heads of households, or 40 per cent of all, were employed in the category of manufacturing and the trades. In terms of all employed residents, the figures are even more impressive. Forty-four per cent of all Scottsville workers were engaged in this occupational field.[21] The significance of this percentage figure is more pronounced when one adds to it the middle class elements of the other occupational categories. To do so would result in a majority of well over two-thirds of all employed residents in the class of artisans, manufacturers, and small shopkeepers.

Simultaneous with the decline of the merchant class and the consequent rise of the artisan class was the sudden appearance of a class of unskilled workers. Although unskilled work had existed in the past, particularly among the slaves, it had never assumed importance among free Scottsville residents. However, by 1860 eight heads of households were classified in occupations that were clearly unskilled.[22] This represented 17 per cent of all employed household heads. The size of the percentage, however, may well overstate both the abruptness and significance of this class development. Most of the unskilled workers were free blacks, many

of whom were present in 1850. Yet, the 1850 census did not record occupations of free blacks. Consequently, the existence of an unskilled class prior to 1860 is almost certain. Nevertheless, the size of this class of unskilled workers did increase during the decade of the fifties.

The only other occupational change of importance by 1860 was the decline of navigation to a level of insignificance. The 1860 census listed not a single head of household in the field of navigation. Furthermore, among all residents employed in 1860, only one qualified as a worker in this category. He was a boatman. Again, the effects of the change in transportation and trade patterns were obvious. The volume of river trade leaving from Scottsville had shrunk to such a level that the service of only one resident boatman was needed.

The Scottsville of 1860 had come a long way since 1820. It had changed from a town of prosperous merchants to a town of neither poor nor rich artisans. Mercantile shops could still be found, but they were not the large-scale operations that had characterized Scottsville in 1840. A few firms still purchased wheat and flour and offered the conveniences of storage space. However, the most common merchant was the operator of the general store. A group of unskilled workers did exist, but they were too few in number to threaten the new middle class hegemony.

The commercial center of earlier years was now the multi-purpose service center for a greatly reduced market community. Scottsville had lost the advantage of a large volume of trade, but it gained the benefits of a fully diversified economy. Besides the existence of merchants, hotel keepers, and stagecoach drivers, the new Scottsville economy offered

its residents and neighboring customers a wide variety of services. Carpenters and bricklayers were in abundance. Wagonmakers and saddlers provided almost all the necessary equipment for local transportation. A watchmaker, a milliner, an upholsterer, a shoemaker, and many others were also available to provide for the needs of the Scottsville community. For a town that had recently suffered a major economic calamity, Scottsville still appeared to be full of life and vitality. Nevertheless, behind the continuous bustle of this river town, changes had occurred that would alter forever the lives of its remaining inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV

A PROFILE OF TWO CLASSES

The occupational history of Scottsville is more than the responses of individuals to a changing network of trade and transportation. It is also the story of men of wealth and men of modest means. As fortune would have it, only a few were to reap the prosperity of Scottsville's lucrative years. These were the merchant elite. The others were the ordinary men with ordinary ambitions. They neither succeeded nor failed. Yet, it was they in the end who inherited the weary and exhausted river town.

The Merchant Elite

Not all merchants were men of power and status. Yet, the men who were the wealthiest and most powerful were invariably merchants. These men were the merchant elite. They came from many parts of Virginia, but they all came for the same reason. Scottsville was where opportunity and fortune awaited the skillful trader and the wise businessman. However, it took more than skill and wise management to succeed, for none of these men came unprepared. Each arrived in Scottsville with the security and advantages offered by previous business experience and already accumulated wealth.

John D. Moon, one of the original Scottsville settlers, was a native of Albemarle County. His father, William Moon, was a wealthy

farmer who owned extensive amounts of land both in the immediate vicinity of Scottsville and in other sections of the county. When John D. Moon set up his mercantile concern in Scottsville, he did not start from scratch. The substantial inheritance that he received from his father provided a secure economic base upon which to build and expand his commercial business.[1] Littlebury Moon, a cousin of John D. Moon, arrived in Scottsville with a similar background of wealth and local kin ties. Prior to his settlement in Scottsville, he owned and operated a profitable business in Buckingham County. The experience he gained and the wealth he accumulated from this early commercial venture was largely responsible for his success as a Scottsville merchant.[2]

Others, such as Nathaniel Ragland and John Blair, came from Richmond. Nathaniel Ragland, for example, inherited his father's merchant business in Richmond. Renaming it Ragland and Brothers, he proceeded to establish trade connections with the rich agricultural region to the west. To accomplish this, he sent his two brothers, Joseph and Charles, to Scottsville to act as forwarding and receiving agents for the Richmond company. Although he never settled in Scottsville himself, his two brothers prospered as merchants and the firm of Ragland and Brothers continued to grow.[3] John Blair began his merchant career in a similar manner. He and his brother Thomas were partners in a Richmond commercial business. John, the younger of the two, was the logical choice to settle in Scottsville. Not only did he provide his brother with a constant supply of valley produce, but he managed to establish a respectable and thriving mercantile concern of his own in Scottsville.[4]

These and other prominent merchants remained in Scottsville for

only two decades. All of them were gone by 1860. The merchant elite were too business oriented to waste their time on a town that had no commercial future. Accordingly, they left as quickly as they came. Many of them, like John Tyler and his son, returned to Richmond, the source of their economic roots. There they would continue their trading activities with other more promising towns. Nevertheless, a few did not abandon Scottsville entirely. Several merchants continued to retain a business interest in this small river town, even though they had returned to their home operations in Richmond or elsewhere. James Mason owned and operated a flour mill in Scottsville in 1850. His capital investment was $17,000 and the value of his annual product was over $75,000.[5] By 1860, he had returned to Richmond, but his mill was still in operation under his name.[6] Most of the other members of the elite sold their Scottsville interests. For instance, Beverly Staples had owned and operated a merchant mill in Scottsville in 1850. His investment and annual product was considerably less than that of James Mason. Possibly this fact lay behind his decision to sell his mill and sever all contact with Scottsville.[7]

However, during the years that the merchant elite did reside in Scottsville, they were the men of leadership and power. They dominated the proceedings at town meetings. Usually the merchants controlled the meetings by electing one of their own to the chairmanship and, if necessary, to the position of secretary. In one such meeting, held at the Eagle Hotel in Scottsville on December 9, 1841, the merchant elite wasted no time in exercising their power. The issues at hand were too great to leave to the caprice of the common man. Scottsville had needed a bank

for a long time, and the merchants probably felt that only they were qualified to successfully petition the General Assembly. Consequently, "John Blair [a merchant] was called to the Chair and John Tyler [a merchant] appointed Secretary . . . ," whereupon a committee of merchants was formed to "ascertain and report to some future meeting, a full and accurate account of the commercial statistics of the Town of Scottsville--and furthermore, to report such a petition to the General Assembly . . ."[8]

The extent of their political and economic leadership was not limited to official town meetings. Most petition drives were initiated by members of the merchant class. Not only did their signatures appear first, but the dominant subject was almost always economic, the primary sphere of interest of these influential men. John Hartman, the owner of "a general Dry Goods, Grocery, and Commission business," often took time off from work to prepare petitions. Apparently he was rather adept at it, for he was named to head various petition committees.[9]

The merchant elite were also frequent receipients of legislative power. John D. Moon and George Woodson, both wealthy merchants, were named by an Act of Assembly to the position of commissioners for the town of Scottsville. Their duties included the laying off of "convenient lots, streets and alleys [of Scottsville]. . . ."[10] Appointments to the office of commissioner of the Staunton and James River Turnpike Company were also common among members of this class. In a notice that was printed in an 1849 issue of the Staunton Spectator, a list of commissioners included the most prominent of Scottsville's merchants.[11] Although most of the assigned legislative positions were economic in nature, they were at times political. John D. Moon and John B. Hart, both merchants, were Scottsville's first

and only Justices of the Peace between 1820 and 1860. John B. Hart, for example, was able to use his newly acquired title to further his commercial interests. Trusted and respected by his fellow Scottsville merchants, he became a central figure in the lives of many residents. Not only did he grant large numbers of personal loans, but he offered his services of trusteeship to many of his propertied friends.[12]

The positions held by the merchant elite, and the social respect they commanded, represented only the manifestations and not the sources of their dominance and authority. Instead, their power and prestige originated from their overwhelming command of the economic resources of Scottsville. Land and Slave ownership, in particular, offer an insight into the economic foundation underlying the social and political power available to these men of wealth and leadership.

In the census year of 1840, the average Scottsville household contained 7.4 slaves or, when adjusted, 5.5 (Appendix II). Merchant heads of households, on the other hand, owned an adjusted average of over 6.5 slaves.[13] Yet, not all merchants were members of the merchant elite. An examination of just those who composed the elite reveals an average ownership of slaves far above 6.5 and much closer to 10.[14] Furthermore, among all merchants a total of 155 slaves were owned, almost 50 per cent of all slaves in Scottsville as of 1840 (Appendix II). The elite of this commercial class were the masters of most of these slaves. John Montgomery, for example, owned ten male slaves, all between the ages of twenty-six and fifty-five.[15] He was a prominent merchant during the early 1840's, and his slaves performed a vital function in the affairs of his business. All ten were listed in the 1840 census as employed in the field of navigation. Apparently, they were responsible for transporting and

storing the heavy volume of trade that John Montgomery carried on with the valley farmers.

Although the average slave holdings for all merchants fell to 4.0 by 1850, it was still well above the Scottsville average of 1.9.[16] Again, the merchant elite owned most of the slaves and, as in 1840, often had ten or more in their possession. By 1860, when all the elite had departed, slave holding patterns underwent a major transformation. Unlike the census years of 1840 and 1850, when numerous households owned as many as ten or more slaves, the 1860 census revealed an entirely different distribution of slave ownership. In character with the predominantly middle class nature of Scottsville in 1860, only a few households owned as many as ten slaves. On the average, 1.5 slaves now could be found in the typical Scottsville home.[17] In addition, the merchant class was no longer an exception to this average. The elite, who had needed large numbers of slaves to handle the shipping and storage of their goods, were gone by 1860. Only artisans, shopkeepers, and minor merchants remained. They neither had the need nor the resources to warrant the ownership of large numbers of slaves.

The ownership of buildings and lots by merchants and the elite among them points towards a similar concentration of economic power. An analysis of land owned by all merchants relative to that owned by all Scottsville residents reveals a disproportionate distribution of property favoring those in commercial occupations (Appendix IV). For the years of 1830 through 1850, merchants as a group owned 71 per cent of all residentially owned lots in 1830, 83 per cent in 1840, and 59 per cent in 1850. Of greater importance is the fact that they owned a substantial majority of

all developed lots for each of the three census years mentioned above.[18]

These figures, however, do not reflect the unequal distribution of land within the merchant class itself. As with the ownership of slaves, the merchant elite were the primary lot and building owners among all residents in the field of commerce. For the census years of 1830, 1840, and 1850, only 56 per cent, 51 per cent, and 36 per cent, respectively, of all commercially employed household heads owned at least one lot (Appendix IV). Those who did own property were almost exclusively members of the merchant elite. Beverly Staples and his brother Thomas are representative examples of the commercial elite's dominance over the ownership of Scottsville's lots and buildings. In 1841, both brothers owned nine lots, each of which having a structure built upon it. Some of the structures were assessed for as much as $3,500, whereas others were valued at only $50.00. Altogether, Beverly and Thomas Staples owned over $10,000 of Scottsville real estate. Another member of the merchant elite, James Mason, not only owned lots and buildings himself, but was a co-owner of many others with several prominent Scottsville merchants.[19]

The source of the merchant elite's power was in part a derivative of this concentration of property ownership. However, the near monopoly held by these men over Scottsville's real estate was also a result of the wealth and power that had been theirs prior to and upon settlement. Accordingly, the departure of the merchant elite by 1860 had a profound effect upon the property status of the commercial class. By 1860, only 33 per cent of all residentially owned lots belonged to merchants (Appendix IV). Furthermore, merchants now controlled fewer developed lots than ever before. So extensive had been the holdings of the propertied elite, that

by 1860, the patterns of land ownership among all residents was sharply altered. In the future, no small group of men would monopolize the real and financial resources of Scottsville. Instead, a more equitable distribution of the land and buildings within the river community would reinforce the emergence of a stable class of aritsans and small shop-keepers.

Further insight into the power and prestige of the merchant elite is offered by their acquisition of large amounts of land outside of Scottsville. In fact, several of these merchants were so successful that they abandoned their commercial interests and established themselves in agriculture. Benjamin Perkins and his brother-in-law, Richard Moon, fared so well with their merchant ventures that each of them purchased large amounts of land in the vicinity of Scottsville. Benjamin, for instance, acquired over 500 acres along Totier Creek by 1841. Ten years later he added several hundred acres to the original 500. Richard Moon also purchased a sizeable farm along the Hardware River, not far from Totier Creek.[20] By 1850, both men were living on their farms. In addition, both of them possessed substantial slave holdings. Richard Moon had twenty-one slaves and Benjamin Perkins had a respectable fifteen.[21]

John D. Moon, however, was by far the most successful of the Scottsville merchant elite. During the 1830's, John D. Moon conducted a thriving mercantile business. He also owned a tavern in Scottsville, from which he derived additional income. By 1841, he had accumulated sufficient funds to pruchase well over 3,000 acres, of which 1,725 lay along the Hardware River, not far from Scottsville. In addition to this considerable land holding, he also owned fifty-seven slaves in 1850.

Yet, John D. Moon was still residing in Scottsville by this date. Although he now owned a sizeable plantation, Moon had chosen not to leave Scottsville. Apparently he had decided to preserve the best of two worlds. While still maintaining his residence in the town that had been his home for years, he was able to assume the enviable role of gentleman farmer.[22]

Of course not all the members of Scottsville's merchant elite could boast of such success. Nevertheless, many of them were prosperous enough to provide their sons with positions in their mercantile firms, or, if that was not possible, they could at least offer them a substantial inheritance. Thomas Staples, for example, was successful enough to set his son up as a merchant in his own right.[23] Likewise, John Blair made certain that his son's future would be secure by bequeathing to him a share in the Blair family's Richmond business.[24] Peter F. Jefferson, a Scottsville businessman who had amassed a large fortune, left his son a substantial amount of land just outside of Scottsville. Although Peter F. Jefferson, Jr., was only a farm laborer in 1860, his status quickly changed when his father died in 1861.[25] Finally, most of the sons of the merchant elite followed their fathers' example. Except for the son of John D. Moon, none of them were residing in the Scottsville of 1860. They, like their parents, had departed for other towns where opportunity still could be found.

John S. Moon had his own reasons for remaining behind. His fortune had been made years ago and his ties were to this area. Although his father, John D. Moon, was no longer a resident, his plantation was quite close to Scottsville.[26] It was only natural for John S. Moon to stay in the community that had been his home for much of his life. Yet,

he must have felt out of place in the Scottsville of 1860. The merchant elite that he had known from his youth were all gone. In their place had come artisans and small shopkeepers. These were not the people that John S. Moon had been accustomed to working and living with from day to day. Many things had changed, and John S. Moon had no alternative but to accept them.

The Common Men

Most of the residents of Scottsville were common men who had neither economic nor political power. Yet, they did not arrive in large numbers until after 1840. Prior to that date, the merchant elite dominated the small cluster of households that constituted the original Scottsville. Only one tradesman and one tavernkeeper existed in 1820 and 1830. Among the merchants, almost all were charter members of Scottsville's merchant elite. There were few small shopkeepers and even fewer modest grocers. By 1840, however, economic growth accelerated the inflow of new inhabitants. Many of them were artisans and tradesmen. Eleven households were now involved in various crafts. Several small grocery shops also apperared, adding to the growing number of middle class occupations. The class composed of the merchant elite was still large relative to the whole population, but the occupational homogeniety of early Scottsville was dissolving rapidly by the 1840's.

The following two decades witnessed the rapid growth of the artisan class. By 1860, this class had ascended to the position of dominant social group. The merchant elite were no longer in Scottsville. Instead, small shopkeepers and grocers had taken their place. A glance

at an early issue of Scottsville's sole newspaper in 1860 reveals the changed nature of commercial trade. The only indication of the existence of the former merchant elite was an occasional advertisement, such as the one of "Tyler and Son," who had left Scottsville and were now "commission merchants" soliciting "consignments of Tobacco, Flour, Wheat, Corn, Butter, and Country Produce . . ." for their Richmond firm.[27] Otherwise, the ads of small shopkeepers and grocers dominated the advertisement page of the Scottsville Register. The ad of W. P. Brady was typical of this recently ascended class of minor merchants:

Hurray For Our Side

> I have, perhaps, as good a family Grocery as you will find in "these diggins." Just call and see it, if you don't believe it. Almost everything the family wants, from the purest and best liquors for medical purposes down to the lowest and most unimportant article kept in Grocery establishments--Give me a call.[28]

Other advertisements, however, revealed an even more fundamental change in the class structure of Scottsville by 1860. Dominating most of the page space of the Scottsville Register, there could be found notices for saddlers, blacksmiths, jewlers, tinners, druggists, and numerous other small shopkeepers and artisans. Furthermore, the 1860 census was almost a duplicate of the advertisement section of the Scottsville Register. By 1860, 44 per cent of all employed residents were artisans or small tradesmen. Their skills ranged from carpentry to wagonmaking, watchmaking to shoemaking, and upholstery to millinery (Appendix III). If one includes in this group grocers, shopkeepers, and clerks, the percentage of middle class occupations would rise to about 80 per cent of the total.

The remaining 20 per cent were mostly laborers, ditchers, and washerwomen. Significantly, almost all of these unskilled workers were free Blacks. More importantly, all employed free Blacks fell in this category.[29] Scottsville's lower class was apparently racially determined. Both reflecting and reinforcing this bias was the nature of residence among free Black families. They all lived in a single cluster of houses, located in the outer lots of the original Scottsville.[30] Just as they had the most undesirable jobs, they also had the least desirable lots.

Nevertheless, the homogeniety of Scottsville's class structure far outweighed the deviations that could be found among free Blacks. The common man now characterized the occupational and social structure of Scottsville in 1860. For example, 65 per cent of all households now owned at least one slave. Unlike earlier decades when several families owned many slaves, almost all families in 1860 owned no more than five (Appendix II). Furthermore, if one eliminates the several free Black families who owned no slaves, a total of 78 per cent of all resident families owned one or more slaves. The average slave holding, in fact, was now only 1.5 for every household.[31] The picture that emerges is that of a middle class community whose inhabitants not only shared equivalent jobs, but owned similar numbers of slaves. This phenomenon of near universal and equalitarian ownership of slaves was a marked contrast to the skewed distribution of slaves in the heyday of the merchant elite.

Although the common men of Scottsville did not own as many lots or buildings in 1860 as they did slaves, they at least controlled a larger proportion of the community's real estate than ever before (Appendix IV). In all prior decades, the merchant elite owned an overwhelming

percentage of all lots and buildings. Yet by 1850, and particularly in 1860, artisans and tradesmen owned more lots than those who were engaged in commerce. Furthermore, most of those in commerce who now owned lots were grocers and shopkeepers. More importantly, many shopkeepers and artisans who had been propertyless in 1850 were able to acquire their own lots and buildings by 1860.

At first it appears strange that during a time of economic contraction a substantial number of middle class people should acquire property. Yet, when Scottsville's market to the west was cut off by the railroad and when the prosperous merchant elite left, land and building prices fell as supply exceeded demand. Furthermore, the artisans and shopkeepers had never been the receipients of Scottsville's prosperity. Unlike the merchant elite who depended on the produce of the west, the trade industries relied on a more local and stable market of residents and neighboring farmers. Consequently, the change in trade patterns had little effect on their volume of business. Instead, the departure of the merchant elite and the collapse of the western market opened new opportunities for Scottsville's common men to acquire land and buildings that earlier had been beyond their means.

John and Spicy Napier, for example, were grocery keepers in 1850.[32] They did not own any land or buildings in Scottsville. Apparently they either rented their living and work facilities or else were employed and housed by another merchant. During the same year, a wealthy merchant by the name of Richard Moon shared the ownership of Lot 24 with another merchant. Its assessed value, including buildings, was $1,100.00.[33] A decade later, that same property had fallen so greatly in value that

Spicy Napier was able to purchase it at moderate price. Its assessed value in 1860 was only $400.00.[34] She and her brother John had finally become independent shopkeepers.

Richard Moon owned another developed lot in 1850. Its assessed value was $1,500.00. William Woodward, another Scottsville resident, did not own any land that year. However, by 1860 he was able to purchase Lot 34, the one belonging to Richard Moon. Its assessed value was now only $350.00.[35] For a modest carpenter with little more than $50.00 worth of personal property, William Woodward had come a long way.[36] Others would also come a long way. Although residents owned a minority of all lots in Scottsville, the percentage had increased since 1850 and would continue to increase over the decades to come. The middle class was on the rise. It would be only a matter of time before they finally owned their own town.

Ironically, the ability of these common men to acquire their own homes and places of work lay in the nature of the changing economy. Prosperity for the merchant elite had led to the creation of Scottsville. As Scottsville grew in population in the 1830's and 1840's, a class of artisans and tradesmen arrived to offer their services to the booming commercial town. During this intermediate period, they remained a minority whose purpose was to serve a dominant elite of merchants and gentlemen farmers. Yet, as fortune would have it, prosperity faded and the merchants departed. By forfeiture, the middle class inherited Scottsville. Strangely enough, the inheritance was beneficial. What had become dead weight to the wealthy Richmond merchants was now the means for many residents to secure a middle class life.

However, one must not overstate the benefits that the artisans and shopkeepers of Scottsville received by 1860. None of them became wealthy. In fact, those who had persisted from earlier years were still living a life that had not significantly changed since initial settlement. Charles Grillet, for instance, emigrated from France and arrived in the United States in the late 1820's. He married a woman from New Jersey, and the two of them with their first born child migrated to Scottsville in 1832. His arrival was well timed, for he was able to purchase a well situated lot in the Harrison Addition. Yet, his resources were so limited that he was restricted to opening only a small grocery store. Consequently, he was unable to profit from the valley trade. Instead, he was forced to compete for customers in a much smaller and more tightly knit community.[37]

The going was not easy at first. Debts soon overcame Charles Grillet's business, and he was forced to place his lot and building in trusteeship until his accounts were all settled. Although he managed to pay his bills in 1834, conditions remained difficult and by 1837 he again approached financial collapse. In an attempt to rescue his grocery business, he transferred all of his personal property to yet another trusteeship as security for the debts he had acquired. His business was saved, and for the next twenty years he experienced moderate success.[38]

By 1850, he owned personal property valued at $100.00 and a lot and building assessed at $700.00. However, the decade of the fifties proved to be not as promising nor as profitable as that of the forties. The death of his wife after 1850 was painful, especially since his children

had all left home prior to 1850. Furthermore, his personal fortune was reduced as he watched his Scottsville real estate decline in value. By 1860, his lot and the structure upon it were assessed at only $300.00. The change in trade patterns and the consequent departure of the merchant elite cost him $400.00. Nevertheless, he did not die a poor man. After his death in 1868, his daughter received a comfortable inheritance, a fitting monument to a man who neither succeeded nor failed.[39]

James Noel's life was not that different from that of Charles Grillet. His father, Tompson Noel, established a tavern in Scottsville in 1820. However, Tompson Noel succumbed to misfortune, for he was fatally stabbed the following year by an angered local landowner. Besides the lot and tavern that belonged to him, Tompson Noel left his family only a few modest items: one but saw, one hammer, one yoke of oxen, a horse, a wheelbarrow, and one female slave. Consequently, Nancy Noel, his wife, was forced to send most of her children to live with guardians. James and his brother Eli, however, remained with their mother and assisted her in operating the tavern. The tavern was apparently successful, for Nancy Noel was able to purchase an additional Scottsville lot in the intervening years.[40]

In 1830, Nancy Noel died. Again, James Noel received no inheritance of significance. The tavern, by previous agreement, was transferred to George Scruggs, the husband of one of James Noel's sisters and the principal guardian of Tompson and Nancy Noel's children. Later, the tavern and lot would be assigned to Eli Noel, James' elder brother. The only remaining property of importance belonging to Nancy Noel was Lot 48. It was sold to a Scottsville merchant, presumably to pay for funeral and

guardian expenses. At the age of twenty-five, James Noel was finally on his own.[41]

Receiving no inheritance and having lost the tavern to his brother-in-law, James Noel took up the trade of tailor. There are few records concerning these first years of James Noel's independence. He apparently was married during the 1830's and by 1840 he had his first and only child, John Noel. Throughout this period he remained propertyless. Nevertheless, he must have experienced moderate success, for in 1843 he purchased his first and only piece of Scottsville real estate, a lot in the Harrison Addition upon which a home had been built.[42]

James Noel did not keep the lot and building for long, however. He was no longer a young man as the decade of the fifties opened. Like so many of his artisan counterparts, the problems of security in old age and the necessity to provide for one's children led James Noel to take appropriate action. He transferred his lot and house to his only son, John Noel. In exchange, John Noel agreed to keep and care for his parents in their remaining years. By 1860, James Noel had retired and his son, John, had assumed the role of head of household.[43]

These arrangements were not unusual among artisans and tradesmen of the middle class. They did not have the resources of the wealthier landowners and merchants. Unlike the merchant elite of Scottsville who had land and money to leave as inheritance to their children, the common men of Scottsville had little to leave besides their homes and personal belongings. Thus, James Noel did what many others of his class had already done. He provided for his son's future by deeding to him his home and lot. At the same time, he provided for his and his wife's

future by insuring that his son would take care of them until their death.

Looking over the past four decades, James Noel must have felt a certain satisfaction. Unlike both his father and mother who had left him no practical inheritance, James Noel had been able to see to his son's security and future. Although he could only give his son a small lot and a single building, they proved to be more than sufficient. By 1860, when John Noel took over his parents' household, he had become a teacher of music. Not only did this represent a rise in occupational status for the entire family, but it had allowed John Noel to accumulate a personal savings of well over $5,000.[44]

James Noel, like many others of his class, had come a long way. Although he would die a man of modest means, never escaping his artisan roots, his son John would experience opportunities that he had never imagined existed. In this respect, James Noel was somewhat more successful than his Scottsville counterparts. Yet, in many ways he was typical of them all. To have one's own home and to control one's own business was the dream of the antebellum common man. Scottsville's common men shared in their dreams. Although they never achieved the wealth and status of the merchant elite, most of them were able to acquire their own homes and run their own businesses. This was what success meant to Scottsville's middle class. This was also why they remained in Scottsville long after the merchant elite had gone.

They had nowhere else to go. Their lives were invested in their homes and businesses. The merchant elite, on the other hand, had every reason to leave. Without the trade of the valley farmers there was no

longer an economic rationalization for their continued presence in Scottsville. However, the artisans and tradesmen had never depended on the valley trade for their existence. Their livelihood depended on a more local and stable market, a market that was not affected by the arrival of the railroad. Thus, prosperity or not, they chose to remain in the only home they knew; and Scottsville was not a bad home. It had allowed men such as Charles Grillet and James Noel to live full and satisfying lives. The common men of Scottsville could not ask for anything more. This was what life was about, and Scottsville offered the means to achieve it.

CHAPTER V

SCOTTSVILLE AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

An Analysis of Origin: 1820-1830

As early as 1807, residents of Albemarle County were exhibiting an interest in the market that lay beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. One such resident placed an advertisement that year in the Staunton Eagle that announced to "the public, that he has rented Scotts Ferry and intends erecting additional warehouses to what he already has, for the purposes of storing Goods, Flour, etc. . . ."[1] However, the trader who placed this ad was unrealistic in his hope to attract business from the Shenandoah Valley. Although the existence of warehouses on the James River was attractive to the western farmers who needed both storage facilities and transportation services, the lack of a road by which to transfer their goods east made Scotts Ferry inaccessible for all practical purposes. Until the completion of the Staunton and James River Turnpike, Scotts Ferry (and later Scottsville) would remain in a separate world; a world that did not yet include the valley producers of the counties west of the mountains.

The world that did pertain to the Scottsville of 1820 was a small community of large landowners. For example, the Coles and Moons had arrived in Albemarle County in the mid-eighteenth century. They, along with John Scott and his brothers, owned much of the land that lay adjacent to the newly created Scottsville. Others, like the Lewis, Dyer, and

Hudson families, also owned considerable acreage that either bordered on or was in the vicinity of the property of the Scotts, the Moons, and the Coles. Together these six families dominated the social and economic life of southeastern Albemarle County in the early nineteenth century.[2]

They also dominated the early history of Scottsville. Land records for 1819 reveal that forty of Scottsville's original fifty-four lots were owned by thirteen members of these six families. In addition, these thirteen individuals owned well over 21,000 acres, all of which were located in the general vicinity of the river community. Among the remaining lot owners of 1819, all resided within the southeastern portion of Albemarle County. Although these men did not own as much land as the dominant lot owners, they were prosperous and substantial farmers for the most part.[3]

The initial settlement of Scottsville was a reflection of these patterns of land ownership and kinship that had brought about the founding of the community in 1818. Four of the original eight settlers were members of the Moon family. Two of them were brothers, one was a nephew of the two brothers, and the last was a second cousin of the two brothers. Furthermore, a fifth household, run by Benjamin Perkins, was tied to the four related Moon families (Appendix I, Table 6). His wife was the sister of Littlebury Moon, one of the first merchants in Scottsville.[4] The remaining three households were not related to the Moon clan. However, two of them did have origins in Albemarle County. William Gibson's family, for example, was located near Stony Point in the northern part of the county. Peter Fields Jefferson, on the other hand, was the member of a very prominent family of central Albemarld County. His uncle was

Thomas Jefferson who lived not far from Charlottesville.[5] Finally, the Noel family appears to have come from Albemarle County, but no records are available to confirm this.

Settlement was not the only factor coincidental with and guided by origin and kinship. Of the six household heads engaged in commerce in 1818, five of them were interrelated. The Moon clan had a monopoly on the merchant trade of early Scottsville. Littlebury Moon and Richard Moon were co-owners of a Scottsville store until the death of Littlebury Moon in 1827.[6] John D. Moon was apparently a business partner of his cousin-in-law, Benjamin Perkins, although by 1830 he established his own commercial operation.[7] The remaining Moon household head, Archer Moon, was not connected directly with his relatives, but nevertheless he was engaged in commerce.

A visitor to Scottsville in 1820 would not have been surprised by this close correlation of occupation and settlement with kin and land ties. It made sense. The Scottsville of 1820 was the natural outgrowth of the market needs of the neighboring landowners. A glance at the business ledger of Littlebury and Richard Moon reveals that the early trade of Scottsville was conducted primarily with local farmers.[8] Among the most prominent customers were members of the six families who controlled not only the lots of Scottsville, but much of the surrounding land. The Moons, in particular, were frequent and loyal customers of their relatives' store. In fact, it must have been like a gathering of the clan on many shopping days, for a total of twenty-three members of the Moon clan were listed in the pages of the ledger book. Other names that were listed included those of almost every landowner that lived in the vicinity of Scottsville.

The ledger book of Littlebury and Richard Moon was more than an account of sales. It was also an economic census of the families that belonged to the market community of early Scottsville. In this respect, the ledger book offers not only a rationale behind the emergence of Scottsville, but an explanation for its pattern of settlement. By 1818, a local market existed that was capable of supporting a small town. Responding to this development and to their own desires for a shipping depot for their produce, the landowning families of southeastern Albemarle County purchased and established the town of Scottsville. Furthermore, control by this group over the affairs of Scottsville was codified by an act of the General Assembly of Virginia. In deference to their social and economic status, representatives of the Coles, Dyer, and Hudson families were the first trustees appointed for the town of Scottsville.[9] Thus, in every aspect the Scottsville of 1820 was a mirror reflection of the existing kinship and landholding patterns that characterized southeastern Albemarle County.

Just as Scottsville was an extension of the local economy, so was it also a product of local speculative interests. Many of the local landowners realized that Scottsville's potential was more than that of a local shipping depot for tobacco. For years the question of a turnpike to the west had been discussed. These men were aware of the profits that could be had, should such a road be built. The Moons, in particular, were cognizant of the opportunities that would open upon completion of a western turnpike. They not only owned huge tracts of land which produced large quantities of tobacco, but they also had the resources to establish stores and warehouses to handle both the existing trade of the county and

the potential trade of the valley. The Moons who finally settled in Scottsville in 1820 were amply prepared to realize the speculative dreams of the neighboring families. That they did realize those dreams is witnessed by the overwhelming success of such men as John D. Moon and his cousin, Richard Moon.

The decade following initial settlement brought few changes to the community of Scottsville. By 1830, its market had not yet expanded beyond the boundaries of the immediate area. Even the composition of its population continued to be local. A doctor had arrived from as far as Charlottesville, but that was the extent of Scottsville's experience with the outside world.[10] Accordingly, the same pattern of kinship ties from ten years ago characterized the Scottsville of 1830. Richard and John D. Moon were still living in Scottsville with their cousin-in-law, Benjamin Perkins, and his brother, Daniel Perkins.[11] Besides these four families, four other households were related through marriage. James Noel's sister, Frances Noel, had married George Scruggs, a recent settler in Scottsville. Likewise, Doctor William Michie married the sister of a prominent Scottsville merchant.[12] In all, 53 per cent of all 1830 households were related to at least one other household (Appendix I, Table 6).

Scottsville remained a social and economic appendage of the surrounding countryside. Both its population and the nature of its kinship ties were a direct inheritance from the families who shopped and traded in the town. Although the turnpike had been completed as early as 1827, its impact had not yet been felt. The Scottsville of 1830 was still one year away from becoming a part of the world that lay beyond the Blue

Ridge Mountains. Shortly after 1831, however, the small village cluster on the James River entered into its second phase of community development.

The Commercial Phase: 1830-1850

During the decades of the 1830's and the 1840's, Scottsville experienced a phenomenal growth in population; a growth that resulted in not only a new community but in a new relationship with a larger and more distant market. The in-migration that characterized this period completely altered the local nature of the Scottsville community. Unlike the earlier immigration that had come from the farms of Albemarle County, the immigrants of the 1830's came mostly from counties to the east and west of Albemarle.[13] Furthermore, a substantial number of these people came from other towns and cities. Richmond, in particular, was the source of many of these settlers. Men like James Mason and John Tyler were not pioneers like their Scottsville merchant counterparts, the Moons. They already had their own businesses in Richmond. They came to Scottsville only after the potential market to the west had opened. The other merchants and tradesmen who followed them were guided by similar attitudes of caution and profit making.

The effects of the migration were apparent by 1840. Scottsville was no longer a social and economic reflection of the immediate hinterland. Instead, it was a cosmopolitan mixture of families of various origins, some of which had never experienced an agrarian way of life. Yet, it was not a town of strangers. The intimacy and association provided by kin ties continued into the following decades, although under a different form. The ties between male siblings became the dominant blood relationship in these years of economic growth and expansion (Appendix I, Table 6).

It provided many of Scottsville's residents with not only a convenient mode of migration and settlement, but the means by which they could assimilate themselves into a new environment.

In part, the ties between male siblings can be seen as an adaptive kin form created by the need to deal with a commercial world. During the first years of Scottsville's existence, kinship ties had been varied. There was no economic necessity favoring one form over the other. As long as the kinship group could remain intact, there was no need to differentiate its membership by economic or social relationships. Consequently, when several of the Moon families settled in Scottsville, they came not in specialized kin groups (such as sibling pairs), but as members of a larger group that encompassed the entire Moon clan of Albemarle County. The importance and endurance of these ties during and immediately after settlement are demonstrated by the large number of Moons who shopped in the stores of Richard, Littlebury, and John D. Moon.

However, the settlers who came after 1830 did not have an established kin network to depend on for economic assistance and social association. Instead, they brought with them to Scottsville that part of their original kin groups which could most facilitate their transition into and their success within the adopted community. The merchant elite, in particular, exemplified the utility of this sibling relationship. Of the ten Scottsville household heads related in this manner in 1840, several of them were members of the merchant elite.[14] The Staples brothers benefited greatly from their sibling ties. Both Thomas and Beverly Staples were merchants who, by 1850, were able to reap much of the prosperity offered by the lucrative western trade.

The extent of the sibling ties is not limited to the relationship between brothers of separate households. In fact, numerous homes contained dependent siblings who had not yet established their own households. John Hartman, for example, originally lived in Richmond. By 1832, he established a mercantile concern in Scottsville that he described as "a general Dry Good, Grocery and Commission business . . ." and "our object is to sell as much as possible in large quantities, particularily to persons who purchase to sell again. . . ."[15] John, however, had no intention of tackling such a large venture alone. His brother Henry had accompanied him to Scottsville. Although John Hartman was the owner of the store, his brother served as his business manager.[16] Henry Hartman remained an assistant to John until 1840, at which time he established his own household and business.

The relationship between brothers-in-law also offered an avenue to assimilation and economic success. John S. Martin, for example, was the business partner of Thomas Staples. He was also married to Thomas' sister Martha. Both Thomas and John prospered during the two decades following their arrival. They not only shared a mercantile concern, but they jointly owned land within and outside of Scottsville.[17] By 1850, both men were securely in the ranks of the merchant elite. Part of their success was undoubtedly related to their common kin ties.

The 1840 pattern of kinship relations between residents not only continued into 1850, but by then had become considerably more extensive. Twenty-two heads of households were now related by sibling ties, representing over a quarter of all Scottsville families in 1850.[18] Furthermore, an additional ten households were related through other connections (Appendix I).

A total of 40 per cent of all 1850 households were related to at least one other family. This of course does not include the numerous households that contained dependent brothers. If these relationships are included with those that existed between households, then well over 40 per cent, and probably 50 per cent, of the total population of Scottsville in 1850 was part of some extended family structure that primarily involved male siblings.

The Scottsville of 1850 was not a town of strangers. For many residents who otherwise would have been on their own without assistance or association, sibling ties provided the means by which to both procure a livelihood and to secure social companionship. Although the merchant elite profited from these relationships the most, the men of the middle class also benifited from them. Many sibling pairs were engaged in non-commercial activities. Joseph and Samuel Beal, for example, arrived in Scottsville shortly before 1840. Each was employed in manufacturing and the trades.[19] During the decade of the forties, both Joseph and Samuel were often in debt.[20] Yet by 1850, Samuel was established as a flour inspector and Joseph was an independent cooper. Moreover, they were the joint owners of Lot 142, upon which they built their separate homes.[21] Although their success was modest, they had fulfilled the dream of the common man. They owned their own homes and land. Kinship was certainly a primary factor in this outcome.

Not all residents, of course, had brothers residing with them in Scottsville. In some cases, young men between the ages of twenty and thirty apprenticed themselves to other heads of households. Quite often they served as clerks to the merchant elite. A total of seven non-related

clerk-apprentices resided in Scottsville by 1850.[22] Yet they accounted for only a few of those who lived in Scottsville during the years of its greatest commercial expansion. Another relationship existed that not only offered assistance to recently arrived settlers, but was a symbol of Scottsville's growing involvement with the outside world.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the expansion of Scottsville's market led to the creation of larger and more specialized mercantile operations. There now existed alongside the general store the wholesale and forwarding firms of the Richmond based merchants. The purpose of these firms was to purchase large quantities of valley produce and transfer that produce to Richmond for marketing. The manner in which this was done took several forms. Often a Richmond firm would hire an outside individual to be its "forwarding merchant and agency commission." David Hedrick, for example, served as the Scottsville forwarding agent for a large Richmond company for several years. His duties included not only the marketing of the usual grocery items, but also the large-scale purchasing of valley produce.[23]

This was not the only system used by merchants to forward their produce to Richmond, however. Among brothers who owned or operated their own firms in Richmond, the common practice was for one of the brothers to settle in Scottsville and to act as the forwarding agent for the company. One example of this is John Blair, who arrived in Scottsville in the capacity of forwarding agent for his elder brother, Thomas Rankin Blair.[24] Although John soon outgrew this relationship by forming his own forwarding company, it provided an essential base for his later success. Yet another example of the importance of the extended sibling tie is seen

in the experiences of Nathaniel Ragland and his two brothers, Charles and Joseph. Both Charles and Joseph began their merchant careers as forwarding agents for their elder brother, Nathaniel. Nevertheless, they managed to go beyond that relationship and to become successful and independent businessmen in their own right.[25]

The significance of the multifaceted sibling tie transcends the assistance and security it offered the families that settled in Scottsville. Of greater importance, it symbolized the fundamental changes that transformed the quiet river village of 1820 into the booming commercial town of 1840 and 1850. Scottsville was now the market and shipping center of an entire region, drawing residents from the eastern portion of the state and drawing customers from the Blue Ridge and beyond. Scottsville was part of a much larger world than ever before. In his 1835 gazetteer, Joseph Martin wrote that "Scottsville carries on an extensive trade . . . with the counties of Nelson, Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Bath, Pendleton, and Pocahontas."[26] This was a larger market than ever before.

Petitions and ledgers demonstrate the nature and magnitude of this newly established market that now linked Scottsville with the western counties. One business ledger, belonging to the Scottsville firm of John Tyler and Company, is filled with entries that not only suggest a tremendous volume of trade, but describe an entirely different clientele from the one that filled the pages of Littlebury Moon's ledger.[27] During the 1830's and 1840's, farmers who brought their produce from the valley also brought their business to Scottsville. Consequently, merchants such as John Tyler were able to profit doubly. They were able to not only

purchase the valley produce for marketing in Richmond, but they were able to sell much of their merchandise stock to a new and more distant clientele. The valley farmers who received payment or credit for their agricultural goods were quite aware of the low prices that merchants like John Tyler offered.[28] By purchasing their supplies from Scottsville stores, the western farmers played an integral role in the expansion of the river community.

Petitions in particular indicate the quantity and quality of Scottsville's economic and social ties with the western counties during the 1830's and 1840's. In one Scottsville petition, dated December 31, 1836, over 4,000 signatures were collected.[29] Furthermore, the signatures were ordered according to the counties they represented. Those counties that appeared included not only those listed in Joseph Martin's gazetteer, but also several counties to the east of Albemarle and to the west of Augusta and Bath Counties. This particular petition also reflected the concern of the valley producers with the issues that were central to Scottsville's existence. Indeed, residents of the western counties not only supported Scottsville in its attempt to acquire a bank at this time, but they continued to support Scottsville until its petition was accepted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1848.

Newspaper accounts offer a more intimate insight into the economic relationship that tied Scottsville to the western counties. Not only did the Staunton Spectator carry the advertisements of numerous Scottsville merchants, but it often printed articles dealing with its commercial neighbor to the east. One article referred to Scottsville as "a place, in my opinion, in the prosperity and business of which we have great interest,

as it is becoming the market for nearly all our surplus products."[30] Other articles reported the minutes of Scottsville's town meetings in detail. Apparently the editor of the Staunton Spectator felt that the concerns of Scottsville were also the concerns of the valley inhabitants.

The reverse was also true. Scottsville's residents who read the Staunton Spectator in the 1840's might well have been alarmed at the growing friendship between Staunton and Winchester. As the decade of the 1840's wore on, that friendship thrived at the expense of the commercial prosperity of Scottsville. By 1850, the subject of Winchester and the recently built railroad to the north completely consumed the pages of the Staunton Spectator. No longer could the name or the subject of Scottsville be found in the editorials and articles of the valley newspaper. Even the advertisements of Scottsville merchants had disappeared from the back page of the Staunton Spectator. Scottsville's market to the west was rapidly disintegrating.

However, the effects of this development were not immediately felt. In 1850, Scottsville still had the air of a cosmopolitan center. Its streets were crowded with wagons, and visitors continued to talk of the prosperous future that awaited the village that was just now "waking up."[31] Yet the future would not be so kind to the community of Scottsville as many hoped and claimed. By 1860, Scottsville's commercial era had come to a halt with the deterioration of the turnpike and the victory of the railroad. Scottsville's economic and social ties with the countryside would now contract to a level comparable to its precommercial period. Scottsville would now enter its third phase, the inward thrust.

The Inward Thrust

The tremendous out-migration that characterized Scottsville during the decade of the fifties and the simultaneous contraction of its market had lasting effects on the community and the people of this once prominent river town. The elements that had made Scottsville a part of a much larger world were all gone. The merchant elite had returned to their homes and businesses in Richmond and elsewhere. Even the diverse group of boarders that had played such a vital role in Scottsville's earlier history had become few in number by 1860. In addition, no significant in-migration had occured to replace the families who had departed during the decade of the fifties. As a result, the community of Scottsville had fewer new members than ever before. So many families had left and so few had replaced them that the Scottsville of 1860 was an aging and fragmented reflection of what it had been in 1850.

In more important ways, Scottsville was quite unlike its former self. The occupational structure of 1850 changed as the community adapted to the smaller market of the surrounding farms. There was no longer a lucrative trade to support a class of large and wealthy merchants. In their place came a group of small grocers and shopkeepers. The nature of the reduced market could at least support these men with a continuous, although modest, flow of trade. More importantly, artisans and tradesmen had emerged as the dominant class of Scottsville in 1860. They now gave to Scottsville an entirely new image. The community was no longer the residence of merchant elite and gentlemen farmers. It was the home of common men like the Beals, the Grilletts, and the Noels.

Scottsville was experiencing an inward thrust. Turning away from

the external world of Staunton and Richmond, it now turned in upon itself, the only direction in which it could go. Its network of kin relationships returned to a pattern similar to that of 1820 and 1830. Unlike the immigrants of the commercial decades, many of the residents were now of local origins. In fact, the list of 1860 residents included several family names that represented dominant kin groups in southeastern Albemarle County.[32] Family names such as Coleman, Cleveland, and Drumheller appeared in the census of the corporate community of Scottsville for the first time. These and at least sixteen other resident household names had been listed in the ledger book of Scottsville's first merchant, Littlebury Moon, as far back as 1821.

The population of Scottsville was overwhelmingly local in 1860. Relationships among households reflected this inward thrust. Male sibling ties were now insignificant. Those pairs of brothers that remained were holdovers from previous decades.[33] The economic necessity that had created these relationships no longer existed. Instead the market conditions of 1860 gave rise to a pattern of kinship that was less specialized and more reflective of the local distribution of wholistic kin groups. Although only 34 per cent of all resident households were related to at least one other, many more had diverse ties with the families that lived on the farms just outside of Scottsville. Even among residents themselves, kinship ties were more diverse than during the previous two decades. Other than the three sibling pairs who lingered on, the major relationships included sisters, sisters-in-law, and cousins (Appensix I, Table 6). Furthermore, several sons of previous residents were still residing in Scottsville by 1860. Had their fathers lived until 1860, the distribution of kinship

ties within the community would have been considerably more analagous to the relationships that dominated the social life of the surrounding countryside.

However, there were second generation households present in 1860 that housed dependent, first generation parents. John Noel, for example, represented the new middle class son who had ascended to the position of head of household without leaving his parents. Other sons like William Brady were living alone. William's father, James Brady, had died several years prior to 1860. Yet he had seen to his son's future by transferring part of his property to William before his death.[34] By 1860, William was a successful tavernkeeper.[35] He had gone farther in his early years than his father, a saddler, had gone in his entire life.

The inward turning was everywhere. Scottsville had settled down to a new pattern. It was a more relaxed, less bustling community. Strange faces had given way to the familiar ones of neighbors and outlying farmers. Scottsville was much smaller now, but it was a much more manageable society. The business ledger of a Scottsville merchant during the 1850's serves as an example of the new Scottsville community.[36] As one thumbs through the ledger pages, one is struck by the preponderance of residential entries. Occasionally a local farmer, and sometimes a western one, makes his appearance, but not on the scale of past decades. The day by day routine is characterized by the frequent visits of Scottsville residents. In fact, this local store had become a social institution in itself. Almost all residents passed through its doors in the period of a week, and often two or three times in a single day. The town of Scottsville had visibly turned in upon itself.

The streets were more quiet now. The descendants of John Noel and William Brady would never know the quality or quantity of experience that had enveloped the lives of Scottsville's original settlers. New arrivals would be few; so few, in fact, that over the following ten decades population would remain at a level equivalent to 1860.[37] Those who did come would not find the Scottsville that existed from 1830 to 1850. During those expanding and prosperous years, Scottsville had an almost cosmopolitan atmosphere to its daily routine. Many of its buildings and lots were owned by people who had no personal involvement in the community. That was no longer true by 1860. Eighty-eight per cent of all lots and 80 per cent of those developed were owned by residents, their kin, or former residents who were now deceased.[38]

Nevertheless, despite the inward thrust, Scottsville had not returned to the village life of 1820. A very unique and stable society had emerged from the chaos of earlier years.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Social Order: 1820-1850

Scottsville was a peaceful town in 1820. Its community was anchored in an agricultural society whose stability rested upon an abundance of land and the maintenance of kinship bonds. Social order was not a problem in southeastern Albemarle County. The availability of huge tracts of land in the early eighteenth century had provided the means for extensive kin groups to grow and flourish by 1820. The residents of early Scottsville were the sons of these kin groups. Although they had left agriculture, their lives had not changed. They still maintained daily contact with most members of their extended families. In fact, the Scottsville general store of 1820 was much more than a way to make a living. It was the way that men like Littlebury Moon could maintain a close association with their parents, their siblings, and their cousins.

The world of these original settlers was compact and warm. Their social and economic needs were met by the families that surrounded them. Their lives were regulated by the same patterns and rythmns that controlled the lives of their landed relatives. Yet these bonds of social order could function only in a small and closed community. The in-migration that followed the census year of 1830 undermined these conditions of social order. Scottsville was no longer a stable appendage of an agricultural society. Instead, Scottsville was now an independent

commercial center, undergoing the strain of flux and change.

Population grew at a rapid rate during this period. By 1835 the small river village trebled its original size, and by 1840 it quadrupled it.[1] More importantly, the in-migration brought new families whose roots were in other counties and other cities. So numerous were these immigrants that they continually outnumbered residents of local origin throughout the duration of Scottsville's commercial phase. Furthermore, the increase in population during these two decades was so great that each new census year witnessed the arrival of an entirely new community. Although a majority of each decade's residents persisted to the next, each new decade was overwhelmingly characterized by new settlers. Sixty-six per cent of the 1830 households persisted to 1840. Yet, the persistent 1830 families represented only sixteen per cent of all 1840 households. The same persistence patterns held for 1840 and 1850. Fifty-eight per cent of the sample 1840 households persisted to 1850. However, they composed only 33 per cent of the families that resided in Scottsville that year.[2]

Other than the instability inherent in these tremendous demographic shifts, the existence of a large surplus of young males added abnormal features to the community of Scottsville. Many were boarders who not only lacked local family ties, but whose persistence rates were almost nil. Just as they suddenly came in large numbers between 1830 and 1840, they departed as quickly by 1850. As discussed earlier, the decrease in household size from 1840 to 1850 was primarily a result of their disappearance.

It is remarkable that Scottsville managed to survive these

tumultuous decades of population movement and economic change. That it did survive signifies an underlying social order that held this river town together for twenty years. Several forces, in particular, existed that stabilized and ordered the lives of Scottsville's new inhabitants. Sibling ties were a primary factor in the maintenance of social order and stability. Many of Scottsville's residents in this period were unfamiliar with the people and countryside of southeastern Albemarle County. They had left their homes for an alien community. Yet, many of these settlers found a way to relieve the difficulty of assimilation into a new society. They came in sibling pairs. This arrangement offered not only economic benefits but gave the arriving immigrants a sense of familiarity and security they would not have had alone. Consequently, their assimilation into the community of Scottsville was achieved more quickly and with less personal strain.

However, a society of sibling pairs was still a society of dissimilar elements. It took a more universal force to unite the disparate families of Scottsville into a single community. The common purpose behind their settlement was the social cement that bound these mobile households together. Most had come to share in the prosperity of the western market. Their decisions and actions were rooted in the same drive for profit and economic success. Although the definition of economic success differed for each social group, the common motivation was still present. It was as though Adam Smith's invisible hand was guiding the lives of both the artisans and merchants of Scottsville. The social order was intact.

Towards a New Stability

The decade of the 1850's witnessed the emergence of a new Scottsville community. Simultaneously, the basis for a new and enduring social order was created.

The out-migration of these years relieved the Scottsville community of both its foreign and most unstable elements. Among the mobile boarders, only two per cent persisted from 1850 to 1860.[3] Although boarders still represented a significant proportion of the population, they were, nevertheless, a greatly reduced proportion. In addition, the boarders of 1860 were potentially more stable than their predecessors of previous years.[4] More importantly, the large population of merchants who had come from distant counties and cities were returning to their homes. In their place came residents whose roots were considerably more local. The kinship bond between Scottsville and the hinterland was now reasserted. The social cohesion of 1820 and 1830 would again play a major role in the maintenance of social order.

However, the changes that occured in this decade were most profoundly felt among the residents who remained. Although only 33 per cent of the households of 1850 persisted to 1860, a total of 52 per cent of 1860 families had been present during the previous decade. In fact, those who had left were primarily the boarders (a persistence rate of 2 per cent) and the merchants (a persistence rate of 17 per cent). Those who had stayed were either artisans and tradesmen or residents of local origin. For the first time in four decades, the turnover of population had not left the old residents in a minority. Their new majority reflected a continuity that would be essential to the future stability of Scottsville.[5]

One aspect of this continuity was the overall aging of the population by 1860. Thirty-six per cent of all residents were over thirty years of age. This compared with 21 per cent in 1840 and 28 per cent in 1850. Scottsville had shed its frontier image.[6] The surplus of young males had been replaced by a more normal distribution of family structures. Furthermore, the youthfulness that characterized most of Scottsville's families in the earlier years was gone. Instead, a mixture of young and old families now constituted the new Scottsville community. Besides recently married couples with few or no offspring, there were for the first time elder first generation residents living alone. In most cases their spouses were dead and their offspring were living elsewhere.

Of greater importance was the fact that Scottsville's first stable second generation was beginning to take root. In 1850, several sons of the merchant elite had established their own households. Yet, they left with their fathers in the wake of the collapse of the western market. However, sons of small shopkeepers and artisans reached their maturity by 1860. Young men like John Noel and William Brady did not leave Scottsville, just as their fathers had not. Instead they stayed, for Scottsville offered a means of livelihood which it had not offered to the sons of the merchant elite.

The continuity offered by second generation households, however, was limited by the nature of economic opportunities available. Although sons like John Noel and William Brady remained behind, other sons of Scottsville left by 1860. The limited market that Scottsville enjoyed could support only a few sons. Consequently, the inward thrust was accelerated by the migration of many offspring. Nevertheless, this did

not undermine the social order of Scottsville. The departure of many sons only accentuated the provincialism and the inward turning of the community upon itself. It did not alter the continuity and stability that the presence of several second generation households represented.

Continuity and persistence were not the only factors behind the new stability. Demographic trends also played a major role in the maintenance of social order. Population, for instance, fell by 53 per cent from 1850. Scottsville was now a much smaller and more manageable community. Furthermore, population growth in the future would fluctuate only slightly, for by 1950 Scottsville would still remain a thinly populated town.[7] The river community would no longer undergo the disruption and disorder of a large population in constant flux. Instead, it would experience a smaller population which would remain relatively constant in its composition. Although the loss of contact with the larger world would narrow the scope of experience and understanding of Scottsville's residents, it would at least offer the security of a predictable future.

By 1860, Scottsville had settled down to a new pattern of stability. Its economic and social ties with the surrounding world had contracted to the levels of 1820 and 1830. Yet this did not mean that Scottsville had reverted back to the viilage of 1820. The Scottsville of 1860 was far more than a collection of general stores and warehouses. A complete social system had arisen which would insure the continued order and harmony of the Scottsville community.

Numerous voluntary associations arose by 1860. As early as 1838 residents formed "the Scottsville lyceum, for literary and scientific purposes. . . ."[8] Other associations were established in later years.

Among these were the Young Men's Christian Association, the Sons of Temperance, the Washington Society, the Volunteer Company, and the Masonic Lodge.[9] These and other associations, in addition to kinship ties and demographic factors, would insure the continuity and cohesion of the social community.

The emergence of a viable newspaper by 1860 was also a central factor in the life of the new Scottsville community. Scottsville's first newspaper appeared in the early 1830's. The Scottsville Aurora intended to be not only a paper of "commercial character" but one that "shall always be lent to pull down the petty aristocracies which are sometimes springing up. It will try to forget men, whilst it cleaves to principles."[10] The editors, however, did not cleave to Scottsville. They and their paper were gone by 1840. In the early 1850's another Scottsville paper was published. The Christian Intelligencer, edited by a minister, purported to spread the influence of religion and morality. Included in its pages were mostly religious tracts, although an occasional advertisement or list of price quotations could be found.[11] By 1860, however, the Scottsville Register was in circulation. This newspaper would serve the residents of Scottsville for many years to come.

Churches were also an important addition to Scottsville's growing body of social institutions. The first church was Presbyterian, and was built shortly after 1830. Scottsville's second church was Methodist. It was built along Main Street in 1833. By 1840, Scottsville was the home of a Baptist church, located on Harrison Street. Episcopalians, however, had to worship at Christ Church in Glendower until their own church was finally built in 1875. Today, all four of these churches remain in operation.[12]

The strength and durability of Scottsville's churches and associations rested on two features that underlay the community of 1860. First, the small physical size of Scottsville permitted continuous contact among residents. Whether in the grocery stores or on the streets, neighbors were able to meet and to renew the social ties that bound them to one another. Furthermore, the ability of the community to provide its members access to middle class status was essential. As long as men like Charles Grillet and James Noel could experience the success of owning a home and a lot, the future stability of Scottsville was assured.

All of these components provided the social foundation for the new Scottsville community of 1860. A new stability now had been reached after four decades of social change. Possibilities for contact with the larger community that was once Scottsville's domain were diminished. Yet future generations would grow up in a more stable and secure environment. Scottsville would now begin to function more as a social unit and less as an impersonal commercial center.

John L. Brady, editor of the Scottsville Register, wrote in 1860 that "Scottsville is now in a more prosperous and thriving condition than it has been for some time past. Everybody is doing well and making money. . . . This leaves no doubt of the prosperity of our town. Look out Charlottesville."[13] His statement was more mythical than real. A stable and enduring relationship between town and country would insure the continuation of Scottsville, but not the prosperity of which John L. Brady dreamed. Those dreams would be relegated to the dusty corners of the Scottsville Museum. Life would continue at a more modest pace; not prosperous enough for the merchant elite, but sufficient for the dreams and

ambitions of Scottsville's common men. This was a befitting legacy to four decades of social change.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. Joseph Martin, A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer (Charlottesville, Virginia: 1835), p. 117.

2. Robert L. Goldstone, "Historical Geography of Scottsville, Virginia" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1953), p. 5.

3. Ibid., p. 10.

4. Ibid., p. 14.

5. Legislative petition of October 28, 1789, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

6. Ibid.

7. Legislative petition of November 6, 1790,and of November 25, 1795, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

8. Legislative petition of December 5, 1817, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

9. Virginia, Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia (1818), Vol. 1818, p. 157.

10. Ibid., p. 192.

11. Goldstone, "Historical Geography," p. 18.

12. Legislative petition of January 28, 1831, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

13. Notice, Staunton Spectator, December 23, 1831.

14. Advertisement, Staunton Spectator, December 2, 1831.

15. Legislative petition of March 2, 1836, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

16. Legislative petition of January 14, 1842, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

17. Newton Jones, "Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia, 1819-1860" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950), p. 65.

18. Letter to the Editor, Staunton Spectator, December 30, 1831.

19. E. S. Adby, Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833 to October, 1834, Vol. II (London: J. Murray Press, 1835), p. 274.

20. "Correspondence of the Planter," The Southern Planter X (June, 1850), p. 167.

21. Goldstone. "Historical Geography," p. 34.

22. Business ledger of John Tyler and Company, Scottsville Museum, Scottsville, Virginia.

23. Notice, Staunton Spectator, January 10, 1839.

24. Goldstone, "Historical Geography," p. 35.

25. Ibid., p. 34.

26. Ibid., p. 41.

27. Lewis Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1966).

Chapter II

1. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1820), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix I for information on compilation of population data.

2. Fifth Census of the United States, 1830 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1830), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix I for information on compilation of population data.

3. Information concerning Scottsville's market during this period was derived from Legislative Petitions of 1820-1830, Virginia State Library, Richmond; and Albemarle Ledgers, 1821-1828, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

4. Land Books, 1820, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

5. Ibid., 1830.

6. Ibid., 1836.

7. The population figure for 1835 is an estimate based on the ratio of developed lots to households. See Appendix I for details on compilation.

8. Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1840), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix I for details on compilation.

9. Land Books, 1840, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia.

10. Deed Book 31, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia, p. 205; and Insurance Policy No. 7992, Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, May 14, 1833, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

11. Based on unpublished research on Manchester, Michigan, by John Schlotterbeck, Graduate History student at the University of Virginia.

12. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1850), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix I.

13. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1860), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix I.

14. Land Books, 1850, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia.

15. Ibid., 1860.

16. Slaves are excluded from this discussion for reasons stipulated in Appendix II. Likewise, slaves have been omitted from the population figures of the previous discussion. See Appendix II.

17. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1820.

18. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820 (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1821), p. 24.

19. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1830; and Fifth Census of the United States, 1830 (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1832), p. 84.

20. Advertisement, Staunton Spectator, December 2, 1831.

21. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1840; and Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 (Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives, 1841), p. 204.

22. See Appendix I for population characteristics tables derived from manuscript and printed censuses, 1820-1860.

23. See Appendix I for population characteristics.

24. Mary Catharine Murphy, Guardian's Bonds of Albemarle County, Virginia, 1783-1852 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1969).

25. Data on Black families extracted from 1850 and 1860 manuscript censuses, Albemarle County, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

26. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850; and Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853), pp. 242-296.

27. Derived from 1850 and 1860 manuscript census data, Albemarle County; and from Appendix I population tables.

28. See Appendix I, Table 3.

Chapter III

1. The following discussion focuses primarily on occupations by head of household. Appendix III explains this procedure.

2. Ledger book of Richard and Littlebury Moon, Albemarle Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

3. Mary A. Moon, Sketches of the Moon and Barclay Families (Chattanooga, Tennessee: By the Author, 1938), p. 58.

4. Ledger book of John D. Moon, Moon Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virinia.

5. Auditors Item 290, Merchant Licenses of 1820, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

6. Rev. Edgar Woods, Albemarle County in Virginia (Bridgewater, Virginia: C.J. Carrier Co., 1956), p. 237.

7. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1820 and 1830. See Appendix III for tables on occupational distribution.

8. Information concerning the identity of merchants and the presence of a medical doctor was derived from advertisements placed in 1830 editions of the Staunton Spectator and the Virginia Advocate.

9. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1840. See Appendix I and III for details concerning compilation of sample population and occupational distribution among that sample.

10. Advertisements, Staunton Spectator, 1838 and 1848.

11. Deed Book 35, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia, p. 287.

12. Advertisement, Staunton Spectator, September 6, 1838.

13. Ibid., September 9, 1831.

14. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1840. Based on sample of forty-five households. See Appendix I and III.

15. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

16. The decline in merchant occupations is understated since 1840 figures are based on a 72 per cent sample. See Appendix I and III.

17. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850. See Appendix III for occupational distribution.

18. Mansucript Census, Albemarle County, 1850. See Appendix III.

19. Manuscript Censuses, Albemarle County, 1850 and 1860. Based on findings of persistence by occupation.

20. See Appendix III for breakdown of commercial category.

21. See Appendix III for breakdown of manufacturing and the trades category.

22. See Appendix III for breakdown of unskilled category.

Chapter IV

1. Mary Anna Moon, Sketches of the Moon and Barclay Families (Chattanooga, Tennessee: By the Author, 1938), p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 58.

3. Margaret M. Strong, Geneology of the Ragland Families (St. Louis, Mo.: By the Author, 1928), p. 14.

4. This information was extracted from entries for John Blair in Deed Books, Albemarle County Courthouse.

5. Industrial Census of the United States, 1850 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1850), Virginia State Library, Richmond.

6. Industrial Census of the United States, 1860 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1860), Virginia State Library, Richmond.

7. Industrial Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

8. Legislative Petition of January 14, 1842, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

9. Article, Staunton Spectator, December 2, 1831.

10. Virginia, Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia (1831), Vol. 1830-1831, p. 282.

11. Notice, Staunton Spectator, August 22, 1849.

12. This information was extracted from entries for John Hart in Deed Books, Albemarle County Courthouse.

13. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1840. See Appendix II.

14. Ibid., 1840. This data is based on the examination of census statistics for those clearly identifiable as members of the merchant elite.

15. Ibid., 1840.

16. Slave Census of the United States, 1850 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1850), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix II.

17. Slave Census of the United States, 1860 (unpublished manuscript census for Albemarle County, Virginia, 1860), Alderman Library, University of Virginia. See Appendix II.

18. Appendix IV provides a breakdown of lot and building ownership among residents and among those commercially employed.

19. All data concerning individual lot and building ownership was extracted from 1841 Land Books, Albemarle County Courthouse.

20. Land Books, 1841 and 1850, Albemarle County Courthouse.

21. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850; and Slave Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

22. Biographical information concerning John D. Moon was derived from the following sources: Ledger book of John D. Moon, Moon Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Notice, Staunton Spectator, December 2, 1831; Land Books, 1841, Albemarle County; Slave Census, Albemarle County, 1850; Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

23. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

24. Will Book 15, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia, pp. 425-427.

25. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850. See earlier discussion on Peter F. Jefferson in Chapter II. Also, Rev. Edgar Woods' Albemarle County in Virginia offers a short biographical sketch of Peter F. Jefferson.

26. Mary Anna Moon's Sketches of the Moon and Barclay Families offers a fairly detailed account of the major events in the lives of both John D. Moon and his son, John S. Moon.

27. Advertisement, Scottsville Register, February 25, 1860.

28. Ibid., April 20, 1861.

29. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860.

30. Residential location of free Blacks determined by their order of appearance in the 1860 Manuscript Census and by information provided by 1860 Land Books for Albemarle County.

31. Slave Census, Albemarle County, 1860. See Appendix II.

32. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

33. Land Books, 1850, Albemarle County.

34. Ibid., 1860.

35. Ibid., 1860.

36. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860.

37. The above biographical information concerning Charles Grillet is based on Deed Book 30, Albemarle County, p. 71; and Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

38. The above biographical information concerning Charles Grillet is based on Deed Book 31, Albemarle County, p. 205; and Deed Book 35, Albemarle County, p. 287.

39. The above biographical information concerning Charles Grillet is based on Land Books, 1850, Albemarle County; Manuscript Censuses, Albemarle County, 1850 and 1860; Land Books, 1860, Albemarle County; Will Book 28, Albemarle County, p. 178.

40. The above biographical information concerning James Noel is based on Auditors Item 290, Merchant Licenses of 1820, Virginia State Library, Richmond; Wood, Albemarle, p. 257; Will Book 7, Albemarle County, p. 160.

41. The above biographical information concerning James Noel is based on Mary Catharine Murphy, Guardian's Bonds of Albemarle County, Virginia, 1783-1852 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1969), p. 87; Deed Book 29, Albemarle County, p. 436.

42. The above biographical information concerning James Noel is based on Manuscript Censuses, Albemarle County, 1830, 1840, and 1850; Deed Book 40, Albemarle County, p. 378.

43. The above biographical information concerning James Noel is based on Deed Book 44, Albemarle County, p. 379; Manuscript Census, Albemarle County 1860; Land Books, 1850 and 1860, Albemarle County.

44. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860.

Chapter V

1. Advertisement, Staunton Eagle, November 13, 1807.

2. Sketches of all six of these families can be found in Rev. Edgar Woods, Albemarle County in Virginia (Bridgewater, Virginia: C.J. Carrier Co., 1956).

3. Information concerning property status of 1819 lot owners is extracted from Land Books, 1819, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

4. Geneological information on original Moon families and their allied families of Scottsville is located in Anna M. Moon, Sketches of the Moon and Barclay Families (Chattanooga, Tennessee: By the Author, 1938).

5. Woods, Albemarle County, pp. 235-238.

6. Ledger book of Richard and Littelbury Moon, Albemarle Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

7. Ledger book of John D. Moon, Moon Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

8. Ledger book, Albemarle Ledgers.

9. Virginia, Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia (1818) Vol. 1817-1818, p. 157.

10. Advertisement, Virginia Advocate, August 20, 1830.

11. Manuscript Census, Albemarle, 1830.

12. William L. Norford, Marriages of Albemarle County and Charlottesville (Charlottesville, Virginia: Jarman Press, 1956).

13. Most of the immigrants who entered Scottsville in this period were not listed in the 1830 census. Furthermore, advertisements in the Staunton Spectator for this period give hints as to the origins of many of these early settlers.

14. Appendix I, Table 6 offers a statistical distribution of kinship ties over the decades in question.

15. Advertisement, Staunton Spectator, May 18, 1832.

16. Ibid., December 23, 1831.

17. Land Books, 1840 and 1850, Albemarle County; and Woods, Albemarle County, p. 319.

18. See Appendix I, Table 6 on kinship ties.

19. Legislative Petitions of the 1830's; and Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1840.

20. Deed Books 29 and 30, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia, pp. 455 and 29. Also, all other deed entries for Samuel and Joseph Beal were consulted.

21. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850; and Land Books, 1850, Albemarle County.

22. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850.

23. Notice, Staunton Spectator, November 29, 1838.

24. Biographical information for John Blair derived from all entries under his name in Deed Books, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia.

25. See Chapter IV, merchant elite.

26. Joseph Martin, A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer (Charlottesville, 1835), p. 117.

27. Ledger book of John Tyler and Company, Scottsville Ledgers, Scottsville Museum, Scottsville, Virginia.

28. Article, Staunton Spectator, December 30, 1831.

29. Legislative Petition of December 31, 1836, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

30. Article, Staunton Spectator, December 30, 1831.

31. "Correspondence of the Planter," The Southern Planter X (June, 1850), p. 167.

32. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860. I compared this list to all previous census periods to establish origins of 1860 residents in terms of families whose roots were primarily in southeastern Albemarle County.

33. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1850 and 1860.

34. Will Book 24, Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia, p. 91.

35. Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860.

36. Ledger Book of J.B. Jones, Duke Ledgers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

37. See Chapter II, Figure 5.

38. See Appendix IV, Table 11.

Chapter VI

1. See population graph, Figure 5.

2. See persistence chart, Appendix I, Table 3.

3. Manuscript Censuses, Albemarle County, 1850 and 1860.

4. Based on the fact that the names of many boarders were of local origin. This supports the assumption that they would be more persistent, and therefore more stable, in the future. Source consulted was the Manuscript Census, Albemarle County, 1860.

5. See persistence chart, Appendix I, Table 3.

6. Population and sex compostion charts, Appendix I, Table 1.

7. See population graph, Figure 5.

8. Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia (1838), Vol. 1838, p. 176.

9. Article, Scottsville Register, February 25, 1860.

10. Article, Staunton Spectator, December 23, 1831.

11. Christian Intelligencer, October 9, 1852, and April 22, 1854.

12. Virginia Moore, Scottsville on the James (Charlottesville, Virginia: Jarman Press, 1969), pp. 57-59.

13. Article, Scottsville Register, February 25, 1860.

APPENDIX I

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Population Compilation

The methodology with which I chose to investigate the history of Scottsville depended on a complete list of heads of households, their occupations, and their family structures (including local kin ties when available). The compilation of this list for each decade of Scottsville's history was not an easy task. Except for the 1850 manuscript census, every other population census presented major problems. The 1820 and 1860 censuses made no reference to the household boundaries of Scottsville. This obstacle was overcome by investigating the peripheral households that surrounded an identifiable focus of residential families. Compilation of the 1820 list was further aided by a list of probable residents for that year drawn from geneological research.

Population calculations for the remaining two decades proved to be more difficult. The manuscript censuses for 1830 and 1840 listed household heads not by order of encounter, but by alphabetical order. To surmount this difficulty, I first attempted to estimate the probable number of heads of households that could have resided in Scottsville for the years of 1830 and 1840. I based these estimates on both written sources (gazetteers, newspapers, and geneologies) and on the near perfect correlation I found between the number of developed town lots and the number of households for the years of 1820, 1850, and 1860. The estimates

I arrived at were quite compatible with all economic and historical data on Scottsville during this period. Next, using diverse sources such as petitions, newspapers, geneologies, land books, insurance records, deed books, and other printed and manuscript materials, I was able to locate all fifteen heads of households for 1830, as previously estimated. Then I located and recorded the appropriate census data for each of the fifteen families.

Compilation of the 1840 list of residents, however, proved more elusive. Using the same procedures as before, I reached a probable estimate of 61 households for the census year of 1840. I was able to positively identify 45 of them by name through intensive use of search materials similar to those of 1830. The remaining 16 could not be located. Consequently, all my calculations for 1840 are based not on the actual population, but on a 72 per cent sample. However, the size of this sample is sufficiently large to yield accurate data on family and occupational structure for purposes of comparative analysis.

One important aspect of my methodological procedure should be noted. The manuscript censuses of 1850 and 1860 were the only ones to record the individual names and occupations of dependents. This had two effects on my research. First, I was able to examine family composition in detail for only the last decade of my study. The structure of family during the first three decades was necessarily dealt with in a more general and speculative manner. Second, the incomparability of census data, in terms of the listing of dependents in later enumerations as opposed to their omission in earlier ones, led me to use the household as a primary unit of calculation in the comparative analysis of social

change between decades. Although technical reasons persuaded me to accept the household unit as my central measure of change, there was a conceptual justification for this procedure. Households, and not the individual members, were the fundamental units of community.

An example of the use of the household unit to measure demographic change can be seen in my calculations of persistence over four decades. Instead of checking the persistence of all residents (which is technically impossible), I trace only households from decade to decade. If either the household head or an identifiable dependent of the same last name survived to the next decade as a head of household, then I regarded that as a persistent household. There are difficulties with this procedure, but I believe it is the most accurate gauge of social continuity under the existing data restraints.

Kin Determination

Because of the small size of Scottsville's 1820 population and the common last name of so many of its residents, I was able to investigate the kin network of original Scottsville in detail. However, the decades following settlement involved increasingly larger numbers of households. Consequently, I limited myself to examining only those relationships composed of male siblings, fathers and sons, and daughters or sisters of residents married to other residents. I further restricted my research to only kin ties between heads of households for reasons analagous to those stated in the section on population compilation.

In a few cases I did discover other relationships between households. However, they were mostly accidental findings, since no effort

was made to go beyond the primary relationships described above. Accordingly, it should be noted that my calculations probably understate the importance of kinship in Scottsville's history. There are many cases of brothers who lived together, one the dependent of the other. In addition, more distant ties of cousin and nephew certainly existed, as they did in 1820. Nevertheless, the primary relationships that I have focused upon were probably the most important in terms of the settlement of Scottsville and the maintenance of its social order. Chapter Five is devoted largely to this topic.

Tables One through Six present most of the demographic data uncovered in my research.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS BY AGE AND SEX
FOR SCOTTSVILLE: 1820-1860[a]

1820

Age[b]	Male	Female	Sex Ratio[c]	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	3	9	33	36%
10-15	2	2	100	12%
16-25	4	5	80	28%
26-44	5	1	500	19%
45 & over	1	1	100	5%
Totals	15	18	83	100%

1830

Age	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	15	13	115	38%
10-19	5	6	83	15%
20-29	11	6	183	23%
30-39	7	5	140	17%
40-49	3	1	300	6%
50 & over	1	-	-	1%
Totals[d]	42	31	142	100%

1840

Age	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	45	42	107	29%
10-19	43	37	116	27%
20-29	45	24	190	23%
30-39	18	17	106	11%
40-49	18	4	450	7%
50 & over	4	4	100	3%
Totals[e]	173	128	135	100%

TABLE 1

1850

Age	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	60	56	107	25%
10-19	57	50	114	23%
20-29	58	51	114	24%
30-39	39	25	148	14%
40-49	13	18	73	7%
50 & over	18	15	120	7%
Totals	245	215	114	100%

1860

Age	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	31	26	119	23%
10-19	28	25	112	22%
20-29	31	17	189	19%
30-39	23	19	121	17%
40-49	12	9	133	9%
50 & over	12	13	93	10%
Totals	137	109	126	100%

Source: Manuscript Censuses for 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860.

[a]Free population only.

[b]Age categories in the 1820 Manuscript Census are not comparable to later Censuses.

[c]Sex Ratio is defined as the number of males per 100 females.

[d]1830 population characteristics for free Whites and free Blacks contain incompatible age categories. Consequently, free Blacks are omitted from the 1830 calculations.

[e]Population characteristic calculations for 1840 have the same limitations as those of 1830. Also, these figures are based on a sample of 45 families out of an estimated 61.

TABLE 1 (continued)

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS BY AGE AND SEX FOR ALBEMARLE COUNTY: 1820-1860

1820

Age[a]	Sex Ratio[b]	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	103	33%
10-15	94	14%
16-25	92	19%
26-44	119	20%
45 & over	101	14%

Total Sex Ratio: 104

Free Pop. Totals
White: 8,715
Black: 373

Slave Pop.: 10,669

1830

Age[c]	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	108	33%
10-19	106	23%
20-29	106	16%
30-39	104	11%
40-49	119	7%
50 & over	80	10%

Total Sex Ratio: 105

Free Pop. Totals
White: 10,555
Black: 484

Slave Pop.: 11,690

1840

Age	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	106	31%
10-19	100	23%
20-29	107	18%
30-39	101	10%
40-49	105	7%
50 & over	106	11%

Total Sex Ratio: 104

Free Pop. Totals
White: 10,492
Black: 612

Slave Pop.: 11,809

1850

Age	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	107	26%
10-19	109	24%
20-29	111	19%
30-39	108	12%
40-49	108	8%
50 & over	102	11%

Total Sex Ratio: 107

Free Pop. Totals
White: 11,825
Black: 587

Slave Pop.: 13,338

TABLE 2

1860

Age	Sex Ratio	% Of Total Pop.
0-9	104	27%
10-19	98	23%
20-29	98	17%
30-39	104	12%
40-49	106	9%
50 & over	102	12%

Total Sex Ratio: 102

Free Pop. Totals
White: 12,103
Black: 606

Slave Pop.: 13,916

Source: Printed Censuses, 1820-1860.

[a]1820 Age categories are not comparable to later census categories. Also, population characteristics listed in the tables are for free population only.

[b]Sex Ratio is defined as the number of males per 100 females.

[c]Free Blacks are excluded in 1830 and 1840 calculations. Their ages were categorized differently from those of free whites in the census data.

PERSISTENCE OF SCOTTSVILLE HOUSEHOLDS
OVER FOUR DECADES[a]

Year	Number of households present that census year	Number of households that persist to the next census year	Percentage of households that persist to the next census year	% of households in this census year that were present in the previous census year
1820	8	5	63%	---
1830	15	10	66%	33%
1840[b]	45	26	58%	16%
1850	82	27	33%	31%
1860	53	---	---	52%

Source: Manuscript Censuses, 1820-1860.

[a]Persistence is measured in terms of at least one member of the household persisting to the following decade as a head of household.

[b]This is based on a sample of 45 households out of an estimated 61.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN SCOTTSVILLE: 1820-1860

Household Size	Number of Households				
	1820	1830	1840[a]	1850	1860
1	2	2	2	3	7
2	3	3	6	9	8
3	-	2	3	10	7
4	-	1	2	15	8
5	1	-	7	9	6
6	-	2	1	9	5
7	-	2	4	13	3
8	1	1	7	1	3
9	-	1	3	6	2
10 or more	1	1	10	7	4
	8	15	45	82	53

Source: Manuscript Censuses, 1820-1860.

[a]Based on a sample of 45 households out of an estimated 61.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFSPRING IN
SCOTTSVILLE HOUSEHOLDS: 1820-1860

Number Of Offspring	Number of 1850 households with this number of offspring	% of same	Number of 1860 households with this number of offspring	% of same
0	20	25%	20	38%
1	13	16%	11	21%
2	11	13%	1	2%
3	8	10%	9	17%
4	11	13%	4	8%
5	8	10%	2	4%
6 or more	11	13%	6	10%
	82	100%	53	100%

Source: 1850 and 1860 Manuscript Censuses.

TABLE 5

KIN RELATIONSHIPS IN SCOTTSVILLE
OVER FOUR DECADES

Year	Total number of households	Number of households related to at least one other	% of same	Number[a] married sisters/ daughters	Number male sibling pairs	Number father son pairs	Other[b]
1820	8	5	63%	1	1	-	2
1830	15	8	53%	3	1	1	1
1840[c]	45	13	30%	4	5	1	2
1850	82	32	40%	6	11	4	-
1860	53	18	34%	-	3	-	12

Sources: Manuscript Censuses, 1820-1860; Printed Geneologies; Wills and Deeds of Albemarle County.

[a]Includes only daughters and sisters of residents married to other Scottsville residents.

[b]Unless the relationship was obvious, such as sister-in-law, cousin or nephew by the same last name, no exerted effort was put forward to go beyond the three main kin relations listed above. Consequently, the figures may well understate the prevalence of kin ties. The 1860 data listed above as "other" includes several widows of deceased males who have surviving brothers, and four related Mulatto families.

[c]Based only on the sample population of 45 households.

TABLE 6

APPENDIX II

THE SLAVE POPULATION

Slaves were undoubtedly a significant factor in the lives of the residents of Scottsville. Yet I have not included them in my demographic analysis for two reasons. First, the manuscript population censuses of 1820 through 1840 and the slave censuses of 1850 and 1860 are not clear as to the residential status of slaves. A notation in the 1850 printed census states that the census of slaves for that year was not necessarily an accurate count of those who actually resided in Scottsville. In many cases, a slave who was listed after a resident's name was only owned by the resident. He did not reside in Scottsville. John D. Moon, for example, owned well over fifty slaves. However, it is unlikely that they all lived in Scottsville, particularily since the 1840 census listed their occupations as agricultural.

Second, the existence of slaves in the household poses several methodological problems. In particular, the relationship of slaves to the household is difficult to define. In some cases, they undoubtedly lived in the resident's home and partook in the daily routine of life there. Others, such as the large number of slaves who worked on the canal, had more tenuous ties, if any, to their masters' households. The dilemna posed by these two problems has forced this study to focus primarily on the free population of Scottsville.

Only in Chapter Four is the ownership of slave discussed. This

chapter deals with the class nature of Scottsville during the four decades under study. Accordingly, slaves are treated as property and therefore as indicators of class status. To accomplish this, I calculated average slave holdings for particular socioeconomic classes. Since the data on slave ownership is not in question, this procedure is valid. However, the averaged data on slave holdings, when adjusted by eliminating large slave owners (such as John D. Moon with fifty-three slaves), does yield a figure that is approximate to the average number of slaves that actually resided in the typical Scottsville home. Data derived in this manner reveals that throughout Scottsville's history most families housed between two and five slaves. This suggests that slaves were not only an integral part of many households, but were a significant proportion of each year's population between 1820 and 1860.

For one census year, however, I was able to derive an accurate slave population figure. By 1860, large slave holdings among residents were negligible, thereby eliminating to a large extent the conflict between ownership and residence. It now seemed probable that most slaves listed under a resident's name would also be members of that resident's household. Guided by this assumption, I arrived at a credible slave population figure for 1860. This calculation made it possible to generate a composite 1860 population figure for both slave and free inhabitants of Scottsville. This was vital to my comparative analysis of population growth before and after 1860 (Chapter II, Figure 5).

The table that follows (Table 7) presents an overview of slave ownership among all residents of Scottsville. Equivalent data for Albemarle County is included for purposes of comparison. Note that the aggregate

figure for 1840 slave ownership is based on a sample of 45 families. I calculated this by first finding the average slave holdings of all 1840 sample households. Next, I multiplied that average by the estimated 61 households present in 1840. The figure of 333 is the product of this procedure. However, frequency calculations of slave ownership were necessarily limited to the 1840 sample of 45 households.

SLAVE OWNERSHIP OVER FOUR DECADES

Slave Ownership In Scottsville

	1820	1830	1840[a]	1850	1860
Total slaves owned[b]	51	131	333	284	153
Number of households owning slaves	8	12	39	51	34
Percentage of households owning slaves	100%	80%	87%	62%	65%
Average no. slaves in household	6.5	8.7	7.4	3.3	3.0
Adjusted average[c]	4.2	---	5.5	1.9	1.5

Frequency of Slaves Owned Among All Scottsville Households

	Number of Households				
Number of Slaves Owned	1820	1830	1840[a]	1850	1860
0	0	3	6	31	19
1-5	4	1	15	36	29
6-10	2	4	14	9	2
11-15	2	5	7	3	1
16 & over	---	2	3	3	2

Slave Ownership In Albemarle County

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Average no. slaves in household	6.3	5.9	5.6	6.5	5.9
Percentage of households owning slaves[d]	---	---	---	58%	55%

TABLE 7

Slave Ownership By Economic Class
In Scottsville[e]

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Number of slaves owned by residents	51	131	333	284	153
Number of slaves owned by residents engaged in Commerce	36	110	155	81	45
Percentage of slaves owned by residents engaged in Commerce	70%	97%	47%	29%	29%
Number of slaves owned by Resident Farmers who previously were members of the Merchant Elite	---	---	129	105	---
Percentage of slaves owned by Resident Farmers who previously were members of the Merchant Elite	---	---	38%	37%	---

---

Sources: 1820-1860 Manuscript Censuses and 1850-1860 Slave Censuses.

[a]All 1840 figures based on data from sample, and then adjusted to estimated population size.

[b]Not necessarily inhabitants.

[c]Adjusted averages calculated by eliminating households with an excessive number of slaves (over 15).

[d]Approximations only.

[e]All calculations done in terms of heads of households.

TABLE 7 (continued)

APPENDIX III

THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The calculations that follow were done primarily in terms of occupations of household heads. I chose this methodological procedure for reasons similar to those stated in Appendix I. First, no occupations were listed in the 1830 manuscript census. However, I was able to compile a list of all household head occupations by consulting newspapers, business ledgers, insurance records, and various geneological data. The absence of names of dependents in the 1830 census precluded an equivalent investigative search for their occupations. Second, occupational data from the 1820 and 1840 censuses presented a problem of comparability with the 1850 and 1860 censuses. Unlike the later ones, the 1820 and 1840 enumerations included both the occupations of free residents and the occupations of slaves. Consequently, there was no way to differentiate occupation by status of dependency, since no names were listed except for those of household heads. Thus, because the occupations listed in the 1820 and 1840 censuses included those of slave dependents who were not included in later censuses, I was able to use only head of household occupations for the purposes of comparative analysis.

Accordingly, I have used only the 1850 and 1860 censuses to portray the occupational distribution among all free Scottsville residents. For every other decade, including inter-decade comparisons, occupational analysis is done solely on the basis of household heads. Technical

difficulties persuaded me to adopt this approach, but there was a conceptual justification for its use. As stated in Appendix I, the household unit was fundamental to the structure of the community. To the extent that this is valid, I have felt justified in limiting much of my analysis to the household unit.

One qualification must be added. I was able to locate occupations for all heads of households for the census years of 1820 through 1840. However, the census of 1850 omitted occupations for 22 of the 82 household heads present that year. This is partly explained by the systematic omission of free Blacks who were employed. The 1860 census was more complete. Only five out of 53 heads of household occupations were omitted. These omissions should be kept in mind when examining the following tables on occupational structure for Scottsville from 1820 to 1860.

OCCUPATIONS BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:
SCOTTSVILLE: 1820-1860[a]

Year	Commerce	Agriculture	Engineers And The Learned Professions	Navigation of Rivers, Canals And Lakes	Manufacturers And The Trades	Not Known
1820	6	1	These two categories were not included in 1820 census		1	---
1830	12	1	1	---	1	---
1840[b]	24	5	4	1	11	---
1850[c]	23	8	5	5	19	22
1860	17	2	2	---	19	5

Sources: Manuscript Censuses, 1820-1860; and Newspapers and Geneological sources for 1830 heads of households.

[a]Based on actual 1820 and 1840 Manuscript Census categories.

[b]Based only on 1840 sample of 45 household heads.

[c]Both 1850 and 1860 census returns included more detailed breakdowns of occupations. These are listed below. Furthermoe, the 1860 census included occupations not compatible with any of the official census categories. I have labeled these under "unskilled."

1850

Commerce

18-merchants
2-clerks
1-hotel keeper
1-flour inspector
1-stage driver

Agriculture

5-farmers
3-managers

Navigation

1-laborer
1-boatman
2-boat builders
1-boat inspector

Manufacturing & Trades

1-wheelwright
1-cabinet maker
2-saddlers
2-coopers
1-printer
3-carpenters
1-miller
1-watchmaker
4-tailors
3-shoemakers

Engineers & Professions

1-dentist
1-physician
2-teachers
1-contractor

TABLE 8

1860

Commerce	Agriculture	Navigation	Engineers & Professions	Unskilled
7-merchants	1-overseer	0	1-medical doctor	3-laborers
1-shopkeeper	1-farmer		1-music teacher	1-ditcher
3-grocers				4-washerwomen
1-druggist				
1-tavernkeeper				
1-hotelkeeper				
2-speculators				
1-inspector				

Manufacturing & Trades

7-carpenters
2-wagonmakers
2-master shoemakers
1-drapemaker
1-blacksmith
1-master tinner
1-foundry worker
1-master saddler
1-watchmaker
1-bricklayer
1-cabinetmaker

TABLE 8 (continued)

OCCUPATIONS AMONG ALL SCOTTSVILLE RESIDENTS: 1850 and 1860

1850	1860
Commerce	Commerce
25-merchants	8-merchants
14-clerks	1-shopkeeper
1-hotelkeeper	1-tavernkeeper
2-inspectors	3-grocers
2-stage drivers	1-druggist
	6-clerks
Agriculture	1-inspector
7-farmers	1-hotelkeeper
2-managers	2-speculators
Engineers & Professionals	Agriculture
1-contractor	1-overseer
1-dentist	1-farmer
4-physicians	
2-teachers	Engineers & Professionals
2-lawyers	1-artist
	1-music teacher
Navigation	1-medical doctor
2-boatmen	
4-boatbuilders	Navigation
1-laborer	1-boatman
Manufacturing & Trades	Manufacturing & Trades
5-carpenters	9-carpenters
2-cabinetmakers	3-bricklayers
5-tailors	3-wagonmakers
1-miller	2-master saddlers
2-saddlers	1-master tinner
1-watchmaker	1-tinner
2-wheelwrights	1-watchmaker
1-printer	2-master shoemakers
2-coopers	1-shoemaker
4-shoemakers	1-foundry worker
1-blacksmith	1-cabinetmaker
	1-upholsterer
	2-blacksmiths
	1-drapemaker
	1-milliner
	2-saddlers
	Unskilled
	4-washerwomen
	7-laborers
	1-ditcher

Source: 1850 and 1860 Manuscript Censuses.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OCCUPATIONS IN SCOTTSVILLE: 1820-1860

Year	Commerce	Agriculture	Engineers & Professions	Navigation	Manufacture & Trades	Unskilled
1820	76%	12%	---	---	12%	---
1830	79%	7%	7%	---	7%	---
1840	53%	11%	9%	2%	25%	---
1850	38%	13%	8%	8%	33%	---
1860	35%	4%	4%	---	40%	17%
			Percentage Distribution of All Resident Occupations			
1850	46%	9%	10%	7%	28%	---
1860	32%	3%	4%	19%	44%	16%

Source: Tables 8 and 9.

TABLE 10

APPENDIX IV

LOT OWNERSHIP

There is considerable data that can be extracted from the Albemarle County Land Books. The table that follows presents a general outline of lot ownership by residential and economic status over four decades. I have utilized this data in Chapter Four to construct a class analysis of Scottsville.

LOT OWNERSHIP IN SCOTTSVILLE
OVER FOUR DECADES

	1820	1830	1835	1840	1850	1860
Percentage of all lots owned by residents	14%	40%	51%	63%	48%	30%
Percentage of all lots owned by former residents or kin[a]	8%	11%	8%	5%	28%	58%
TOTAL:	22%	51%	59%	68%	76%	88%
Percentage of all developed lots owned by residents[b]	25%	---	40%	54%	32%	30%
Percentage of all developed lots owned by former residents or kin	20%	---	14%	5%	32%	50%
TOTAL:	45%	---	54%	59%	64%	80%
Percentage of all residents owning at least one lot	37%	40%	50%	37%	20%	30%
Percentage of all residents owning at least one developed lot	25%	33%	32%	31%	17%	25%
Percentage of lot-owning residents who are also Merchants	66%	71%	---	83%	59%	33%
Percentage of developed lot-owning residents who are also Merchants	100%	71%	---	62%	65%	38%
Percentage of all merchants owning at least one lot	50%	56%	---	51%	36%	41%[c]

Source: Albemarle County Land Books, 1820, 1830, 1835, 1840, 1850, 1860.

TABLE 11

[a]Former residents include those deceased or emmigrated.

[b]Developed lots include developed half lots when under separate ownership.

[c]Due to small size of sample, this figure may not be fully significant.

TABLE 11 (continued)

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