



Magazine of the
Jefferson County
Historical Society

Volume LXXIX
December 2013

Magazine of the
JEFFERSON COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Volume LXXIX

December 2013

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"History by apprising them [citizens] of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views."

Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 14, 1781

"It is history that teaches us to hope."

Robert E. Lee, letter to Charles Marshall, 1870

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Organized May 21, 1927

To identify, present, preserve and promote the history of Jefferson County

www.jeffersonhistoricalwv.org

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EDITOR'S NOTE

One hundred fifty years ago Jefferson County became part of the new state of West Virginia composed of counties that had seceded from Virginia. Ironically, the Jefferson men who could have voted against it were away fighting for their right to secede from the United States (see the last article). They left as Virginians and came back as West Virginians. The year 1863, for the South in general, started out with what is considered General Lee's greatest battle, the decisive victory at Chancellorsville; many of Jefferson County's soldiers fought there. But even it was made bittersweet with the loss of Stonewall Jackson (born in what is now West Virginia). Later in the year fate turned on the battlefield with Lee's retreat from Pennsylvania and the collapse of the great southern bastion of Vicksburg.

This year's magazine begins with the trial and tribulations of one of the Washington family's men during the War. Not only is it a good story but it includes the image of a note signed by Abraham Lincoln.

Following this is an article that will be of interest for family perusal. Even if you do not have local relatives, the entries are quite interesting. It is a "census" based on two account books from a local merchant.

Next you will find a remarkable little poem about John Brown. It is very clever and, of course, is historically accurate.

I have already mentioned the move from Virginia to West Virginia and in our last article you can read about it in more detail, see how some of the locals took the transition and visualize the War-related conditions.

No matter whether we are in Virginia or West Virginia, Jefferson County has the same great history and is hard to beat as a place to live. Next year, I will be looking for some more of our history for publication.

As before, thanks to Vu Ngo at Progressive Printing in Martinsburg for his work in putting the magazine together.

Jim Glymph at home on the Avon Bend

“I Went To See Mr. Lincoln...”

The Story of Louisa Clemson Washington’s Visit to the White House to seek her Grandson’s release from the Old Capitol Prison.

By Walter Washington

Growing up, I heard many times the story of how my great uncle John Washington was captured as a boy by “the Yankees” while driving cattle “to safety” (meaning safe from Yankee hands) during the Civil War and taken to prison in Washington. I held in my hand the small hand-written note bearing the signature “A. Lincoln” which freed him from that prison. His plight was prominent and particularly tangible to me among the family stories of the sufferings endured during “the War,” which had claimed the lives of six members of the family, including five from Jefferson County. In doing the research for this article, however, I discovered the story to be more complicated. In 1864, at age 17, “Uncle John” had taken a job with the Confederate government in Richmond. And the record of his arrest makes no mention of cattle, but instead implicates him more directly in the Confederate war effort.



John Augustine Washington, IV

John Augustine Washington, IV, was born at Blakeley, in Jefferson County, on May 27, 1847. From childhood he suffered from tuberculosis of the spine, known as Pott’s disease, which rendered him a hunchback. His parents, Richard Scott Blackburn Washington and Christian Maria Washington, were third cousins. Richard’s father, John Augustine Washington, II, built Blakeley, which Richard later inherited. Christian

Maria was the daughter of Dr. Samuel Walter Washington of nearby Harewood and his wife Louisa Clemson Washington.

The young John Augustine was nearly 14 years old when the Civil War broke out. His uncle and namesake, John Augustine Washington, III, the last family owner of Mount Vernon, was commissioned as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army and served as aide-de-camp to General Robert E. Lee. He was killed in September, 1861, while on a scouting mission near Cheat Mountain, Virginia. Richard had enlisted as a private¹ in the Confederate army at age 38 and fought at the first battle of Bull Run. But after the death of his brother at Cheat Mountain, General Lee ordered Richard to return to Jefferson County to shoulder the responsibility of raising not only his own six children but the seven orphaned children of his fallen brother as well as the business of running two widely separated farms.²

A Job In Richmond

Because of his physical disability, the young John Augustine was not fit for military service. But he was industrious and had a bright mind and in 1864, at age 17, moved to Richmond where he served the Southern cause by taking a job in the tax office of the Confederate government. He first worked in the office of Thomas Clairborne Green of Charles Town, who was then the State Tax Collector for Virginia. In a letter to his father dated May 25, 1864, he reported:

I have got a situation in the State Collector Office for the Confederate Tax, and will keep it untill [sic] I can get a situation in a Drug Store, which I hope to do soon, I have a very pleasant time in the Tax office, there are only five in the room with me, Willie Burnett and Mr. Brown from Charlestown are in the room with me. .

He added:

I wish I had a chance of Sending a paper to you we have had a good deal of news lately, I suppose you hear it all through the Yankee papers, the Yankees were very near here, every one

1 Richard was in Botts Greys, Company G, 2nd Virginia Infantry, Stonewall Brigade.

2 At the time of his death, John Augustine Washington, III, owned Waveland, near the town of Marshall in Fauquier County, Virginia, which he had purchased with the proceeds of the sale of Mt. Vernon in 1858. His wife Eleanor had died at Waveland in 1860. His death left their seven children orphans, the oldest being just seventeen. The two families divided their time between Waveland and Blakeley.

in the city was called out, General Seaurt³ [sic] was wounded near here & was brought here where he died.

In a letter of the same date to his older sister Lizzie, he took on a brighter tone, reflecting a youthful optimism for the Southern cause — or perhaps trying to distract her from military realities:

Willie, Herbert, and myself are coming home this summer when our army gets there, so you all must look out for us.

In a letter to his mother dated June 30, 1864, he again balanced dire news of Confederate losses against the naïve hope that those losses would soon be reversed:

We hear the yankees have taken possession of Staunton and Lexington, that they have burnt the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, and all the public buildings at Staunton. Some of our troops have gone after them, I they [sic] will either Capture them or drive them away. I hope our troops will soon go down to the lower end of the valley, when they do Willie Herbert and myself are going to try and get leaves of absence and come home to see you all. You can not imagine how I want to see you all and to see the dear old place again. How I shall hate to go and see the place where the dear old house used to stand.⁴

His letter also included mention that he had been turned down finding a job at a drug store “because I don’t know anything about the drug business,” but vowed to persevere. In the meantime, on June 15, he wrote to H.G. Memminger, the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederacy, seeking a new position in the Southern bureaucracy:

Understanding that an additional clerical force is desired in your government, I beg leave to solicit an appointment and respectfully refer you to the accompanying letters.

I am sir
With high respect
Your obd’t serv’t
John A. Washington

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- 3 This is certainly a misspelling of the name of Gen. J.E.B. Stuart who was mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern near Richmond on May 11, 1864, and was brought to the city, where he died the following day.
- 4 Blakeley was gutted by a chimney fire on February 14, 1864. It was rebuilt after the war.

One of the accompanying letters of recommendation was from Thomas Clairborne Green:

Office of State Collector
Of Va, Richmond
June 15, 1864

Hon. C. G. Memminger
Secretary of Treasury

Sir

The bearer hereof John A. Washington is an applicant for a clerkship in the Second Auditor's office. He is the son of Richard B. Washington, Esq. of Jefferson County in this State, a gentleman of high standing in the County who volunteered in the beginning of the War as a private, and has sustained as might have been expected very heavy losses of property. This together with the burning of his residence has constrained his son to exert himself to make a livelihood. Young Mr. Washington is unfit for military service being physically disabled. He has been temporarily employed in my office for more than a month and I have found him to be an industrious and accurate clerk. I cheerfully recommend him for the position he seeks.

Very respectfully,
Thomas C. Green
State Collector of Va

Arrest

In his letters home, the young John Augustine wrote of traveling back to Jefferson County later in the summer of 1864. Whether he found new employment in the Second Auditor's office and when he left Richmond is unknown. What is known from military records is that on October 19, 1864, he was taken prisoner by Union forces near Markham Station in Fauquier County; Captured with him was a Lewis Benedict.⁵ The account of their arrest is contained in the following letter under which the two prisoners were delivered to the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C.:

⁵ Lewis Benedict is listed as a member of Mosby's Partisan Rangers.

Headquarters Provost Marshal General
Defences South of the Potomac
Alexandria, Va. Oct 23, 1864

T. Ingraham
Col. Prv. Mar. Washn.

Colonel:

By direction of the Prov. Mar. General, I forward you under guard:

1. Lewis Benedict
2. John A. Washington

Citizens of Fauquier Co. Va, sent into these Headqrs by Col. Gallupe from Rectortown, Va. They are supposed to belong to Mosby's Command. The officer who arrested them states that Washington was a bearer of dispatches and Benedict was acting as picket when arrested.

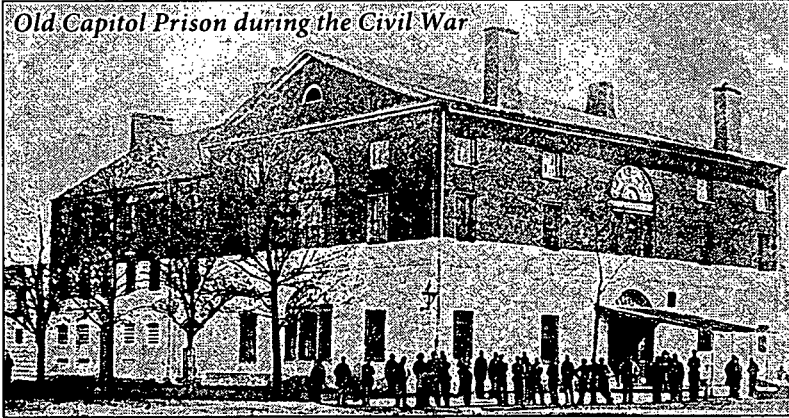
Very respy yur obt servt,
[Signature illegible]
Captn. For A. D. C.

The exact nature of the dispatches John Augustine was carrying is not revealed, but they were sufficiently incriminating that in prisoner of war records he is listed as a private in Mosby's cavalry, a designation hard to reconcile with his obvious physical disability. Those records show that he was committed to the Old Capitol Prison on October 23, 1864.

Old Capitol Prison

The Old Capitol Prison stood where the U.S. Supreme Court building stands today on Capitol Hill at the corner of 1st and A Streets., N.E., in Washington, D.C. The first building to occupy the site was a tavern and rooming house built in 1800 which catered to members of Congress. After the British occupied Washington in 1814 and burned the Capitol, a group of local investors, concerned by rumors that Congress might decide to relocate the seat of government to another city, hired architect B. Henry Latrobe, who had also been hired to rebuild the Capitol, to design a suitable temporary home.⁶ Latrobe designed a brick extension to the existing tavern at 1st and A Streets

⁶ William C Allen, History of the United States Capitol, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001), p. 107.



with sufficient meeting space⁷ to accommodate Congress during the interim.⁸ The building was known as the Brick Capitol. After Congress returned to the restored Capitol in 1819, the building then referred to as the Old Brick Capitol was ultimately converted into a boarding house used by members of Congress. Senator John C. Calhoun rented a room there, where he died in 1850.

With the onset of the Civil War, the building was converted into a prison with an original capacity of around 500 inmates. In addition to prisoners of war, it housed several Confederate spies, including, at one time, Belle Boyd of Martinsburg, and other political prisoners. Seventeen year old John Augustine was thrown into a harsh prison life there. The Old Capitol was infamous among prisoners for its strict, sometimes callous, discipline and its over-population of bedbugs.⁹ Adding to these hardships, prison guards patrolled the halls with loaded rifles and accidental discharges were not uncommon, firing bullets through the wooden walls and floors of the rooms housing prisoners, endangering their lives and limbs.¹⁰ Three meals a day were provided, but the food was crudely fixed and served. Between meals, prisoners were kept locked in their crowded rooms, save for an hour of exercise a day in the prison yard.¹¹

7 The 14th Congress, which assembled in the Brick Capitol in December, 1815, consisted of 183 Representatives and 35 Senators.

8 William C. Allen

9 Lonnie R. Speer, *Portal to Hell, Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1997), p. 82

10 Lonnie R. Speer, p. 84.

11 Lonnie R. Speer, p. 86.

A Meeting with the President

John Augustine's widowed grandmother Louisa Clemson Washington was living at Harewood at the time of his arrest. She had married Dr. Samuel Walter Washington in 1820, in Philadelphia, where they had met while he was attending medical school at the University of Pennsylvania. After his graduation that same year, they returned to Jefferson County where he set up his medical practice, living at Harewood.¹² In 1831, he was called to treat a cholera epidemic among workers completing construction of the C & O Canal. He contracted the disease and died on Oct. 12, leaving Louisa, age 26, with four young children at Harewood. She lived there as a widow for over 50 years, until her death in 1882.

Louisa had some acquaintance with the workings of Washington, D.C. Her younger brother, Thomas Green Clemson, had served as a diplomat to Belgium under President John Tyler and as Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs (then an office within the Department of Interior) under President James Buchanan. The son-in-law of Senator John C. Calhoun and a respected scientist, he was an established figure in Washington circles until the Civil War drew him back to his adopted state of South Carolina.¹³ So Louisa probably did not feel a stranger to the Capital city when, in November, 1864, she undertook a trip to the White House to seek the release of her grandson from the Old Capitol Prison.

In a letter written from Harewood on January 16, 1865, to her daughter Christian Maria, who was at Waveland in Fauquier County, Louisa related the details of her trip to see President Lincoln:

Johnny writes by me & has his likeness for you and his cousins. I do not know if you have heard what I did for him, or what only could be done at the time. He was not allowed to return home. I had to contend with Judge ----- [name omitted in original] who had filed a bill in the office about him. So Gen. Augur who said he had promised you to do for him, after saying I could take him north to school

12 Samuel Walter Washington inherited Harewood from his father, George Steptoe Washington, who died in 1809 when his son was only 12. His mother, Lucy Payne Washington, remarried in 1812 to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thomas Todd of Kentucky. Samuel Walter moved with his mother and younger brothers to Kentucky. When he reached the age of 21 he took ownership of his inheritance in Jefferson County.

13 Through his will, Thomas Green Clemson, who died in 1888, founded Clemson University.

the [illegible] day had his hands off when the Judge had taken it into public. The election caused him to leave the city & I found how long it would be for an action would be made in his favor. I went to see Mr. Lincoln and got him paroled, first, which let him from the prison and then the release after long waiting came in such severe terms, keeping him away until after the War that I saw Mr. Lincoln again who granted me the permission to allow him to stay in Washn to school. I took John with me to thank him and that he might see him. The President was very kind to him & me I must say that of him. John was desirous of staying in Washn City, did not want to go to [illegible] where Genl. Augur wanted him to go.¹⁴

The “severe terms” of his original parole “keeping him away until after the War” are laid out in a handwritten oath dated November 19, 1864 on stationery of the “Headquarters Military District of Washington, Provost Marshal’s Office”:

I the undersigned give my solemn parole of honor that I will go as far north as Phila. Penna.¹⁵, and not return South of that place during the continuance of the War, except by permission from the War Department, and that I will in the mean time render no aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States.

J.A. Washington
 Subscribed to before me
 this 19th day of November, 1864
 [Signature illegible]
 Lieut. and Adjutant

14 John Augustine’s nephew, the late Dr. John A. Washington of Charles Town, recorded this detail of his uncle’s account of the visit to the President:

Later he recalled that during his grandmother’s visit he was marched between two soldiers with fixed bayonets down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House.

15 This may have evinced a plan to have John Augustine stay with a Clemson relative in Philadelphia as suggested by Louisa’s writing of being allowed to “take him north to school.”

Louisa and her grandson left her second meeting with the President, however, bearing this handwritten note on a small card easing the terms of his parole:

Let this boy, John A.
Washington, remain in
Washington, and attend
school, so long as he does
not misbehave.
Nov. 30, 1864. A. Lincoln

Let the boy, John A. Washington, remain in Washington and attend school, so long as he does not misbehave.

Nov. 30, 1864 A. Lincoln

Louisa's January 16th letter went on to describe John Augustine's life in Washington after his release, staying with relatives, Dr. Thomas Miller, his wife and five children, while attending school, as permitted by the President's intervention:

Dr. Miller & family are very kind and wished him to be there & if sick would look after him. They concluded to receive \$15 per his board and he rides in the cars to the college. Board there would \$25. Not enough to eat. John wants to get to his Pa and head is turned to Hampton Sydney college where Mr. [illegible] has gone. But he is doing well. He had better stay where he is, if his Pa would write him to do so. I promised to go back if he had any trouble getting away. Aunt Anna & Floride¹⁶ have gone south so I have not that place to stay at now, if I return. I am writing too much now if the letter be lost. Have to be particular.

¹⁶ Anna Calhoun Clemson and Floride Elizabeth Clemson, the wife and daughter, respectively, of Thomas Green Clemson.

On February 23, 1865, John Augustine wrote to his mother telling of his life in Washington:

I suppose you have heard that I was going to school here. I am trying to study hard and make the best of my time, while I am here. I would like to be with you all very much, there is not a day that passes that I do not think of you all and wish that I were with you. I hope that I may get my release soon, and return to my home. I am staying at Dr. Miller's and am having as nice a time as could be expected under the circumstances, it is very quiet and pleasant. Very few persons ever come here, and those that do come are generally southern in their feelings, so I get along very well and have plenty of time to study in.

Aunt Mary and Mary are here, they are well and seem to be in good spirits, they have just gotten a pass to go to Alexandria to spend a week, they think of going home about the last of March. There are a good many persons from Jefferson this side of the river, I have seen three or four lately. John O. is a prisoner, and is here in the Old Capitol. Mary wrote to him to try and cheer him up.

Just six weeks later, Gen. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse and John Augustine returned to Jefferson County. Blakeley was rebuilt after the war ended, but in 1871, the financial hardship resulting from the War forced Richard to sell it and move his family to Harewood, his wife's home, to live with her mother Louisa. In partnership with C. Aisquith, John Augustine realized his earlier ambition and opened a drug store in Charles Town. He left that business, which he said was too confining, to become a founding partner of the local insurance agency Washington & Alexander (which later became Washington, Alexander and Cooke). In 1890, he married Jane Keyes Ambler, an invalid who died nine months later of tuberculosis; it was understood that he married her in order to care for her as her health declined. He was active in Zion Episcopal Church. Around 1900, he and his brother, Samuel Walter Washington, built a new home at 216 S. George Street in Charles Town, and moved there from Harewood with their widowed father, Richard, and their younger sister Christine. John Augustine

Washington, IV, died in Charles Town on August 14, 1923, at age 76. He is buried in the Zion churchyard. In an undated note on stationary bearing the heading "The Bower, Kearneysville, W.Va.," family friend Bishop Edmund Pendleton Dandridge wrote this tribute:

The summer after Mr. John Washington's death, my uncle, A. Stephen Dandridge, said to me (in substance – I cannot quote the exact words): Edmund, you don't know how I miss John Washington. He was one of the biggest men I ever knew – very much like Old George [the "Father of this Country"] but a bigger man than George in some ways – and the most perfect gentleman I ever knew. Everyone always felt comfortable with John.

Walter Washington is an attorney who lives and practices law in Charles Town.

Who Lived in the Matthew Frame “Community?”

Constructing a Census for a Jefferson County, Virginia, Community

By Don Watts

Matthew Frame emigrated to America from Northern Ireland in the late 1700s. He settled in the Charles Town area and from the 1790s through at least 1812 Frame was a merchant to the local population.

In 2012 the Jefferson County Museum acquired a copy of an extant account book that belonged to Frame. In 2013, the museum curator, Jane Rissler, discovered a second Matthew Frame ledger amongst the manuscript collections of the Perry Room in the Charles Town Library.¹

Since the Matthew Frame account books (Ledgers A and C) have been found, historians have begun deciphering the information contained within their pages. “The ledgers show a wide array of manufactured goods for sale or barter to a large clientele, many of whose descendants are in the county today or whose names are known to historians of the era.”²

In an economy based upon “subsistence-barter-borrow,”³ historians will be reading these accounts with an eye to determining what commodities were being purchased, both by Frame and his clients, and what types of exchanges this community was conducting.

The ledgers are not only interesting as to the types of products being sold and purchased, but are also an important source about the persons included in the accounts, who, in most instances, do not have accounts of their own with Matthew Frame. Also, most of Frame’s business

1 Jane Rissler. “The Museum Corner: Matthew and Ann Frame Early County Merchants.” *The Guardian*: Newsletter of the Jefferson County WV Historical Society, January 2012: 5.
Donald E. Watts. “The Museum Corner: Mysteries Surrounding Matthew Frame’s Account Ledger.” *The Guardian*: Newsletter of the Jefferson County WV Historical Society, July 2013: 3.

2 Rissler.

3 Matthew M Palus and Paul A. Shackel. *They Worked Regular: Craft, Labor, and Family in the Industrial Community of Virginus Island*. Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006.

1807 *Ferdinando Fairfax*

May 9	To 2000	By	Received of	1000
" 11	To 1	paid	Balance of	1000
" 14	To	Amount of	Money	1000
" 20	To	1	paid	1000
" 23	To	to what	of	1000
" 28	To	Amount of	Money	1000
June 1	To	1	paid	1000
" 8	To	1	paid	1000
" 15	To	to	of	1000
" 25	To	to	of	1000
Aug 6	To	to	of	1000
1808	To	Amount of	the	1000
1809	To	to	of	1000
"	To	to	of	1000
1800	To	to	of	1000
John 5	To	John	Thomas	1000
"	"	"	"	1000
"	"	"	"	1000
"	"	"	"	1000
"	"	"	"	1000
"	"	"	"	1000
June 16	To	John	Jackson	1000
" 19	To	Geo	Wright	1000
" 26	To	Amount	of	1000
" 27	To	to	of	1000
" 24	To	to	of	1000
" 30	To	to	of	1000
July 3	To	Amount	of	1000
" 4	To	Amount	of	1000
" 6	To	Amount	of	1000
" 8	To	to	of	1000
" 10	To	to	of	1000
" 13	To	to	of	1000
" 17	To	to	of	1000
" 18	To	to	of	1000
" 20	To	to	of	1000

Courtesy Jefferson County Museum

Ledger A, Folio 91, Fairfax

was conducted in pounds, shillings and pence. Where transactions occurred using US Dollars, Frame used a currency conversion of six shillings per dollar.

But my purpose here is to construct censuses of those persons who were included in the community in which Matthew Frame conducted his mercantile business. It will show that there were familiar interrelationships of "ordinary residents" with "extraordinary residents" of the "Matthew Frame community." This constructed census includes all of those persons who had accounts with Matthew Frame and also those ordinary persons who did not have direct accounts with him. These ordinary persons were given the authority to charge their purchases or borrow money on the name of the account holder.

So, what does construct a census entail?

Lorena S. Walsh, in her article *The Historian as Census Taker: Individual Reconstitution and the Reconstruction of Censuses for a Colonial Chesapeake County*,⁴ opens with this statement:

HISTORIANS of pre-industrial local communities face a challenging problem arising from the nature of the available sources and the kinds of questions asked of them.

And, in the next paragraph, she explains:

Now historians are attempting through what is termed "individual reconstitution" or "mass prosopography"⁵ to break down a rich variety of other kinds of local records by names of individuals and to reassemble thousands of separate entries into personal and family histories.

With the discovery of Frame's ledgers, researchers and historians may begin to reconstruct personal and family histories: with whom did individuals and families have relationships? Of course, other records will be necessary to paint a pictorial of the life and times of the family

4 Lorena S. Walsh. "The Historian as Census Taker: Individual Reconstitution and the Reconstruction of Censuses for a Colonial Chesapeake County." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture) Volume 38, no. 2 (April 1981): 242 - 260.

5 In historical studies, prosopography is an investigation of the common characteristics of a historical group, whose individual biographies may be largely untraceable, by means of a collective study of their lives, in multiple career-line analysis. (Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography", *Daedalus* 100.1 (1971), pp 46-71)

units: land or town tax lists; personal property tax lists; birth, death and marriage records; and probate records, just to name a few.

My decision to construct censuses covering the late 1790s to the early 1810s using the Frame account books (even though there is a 1798 Direct Federal Tax List for Berkeley County, Virginia; annual personal property tax lists for Berkeley and Jefferson counties during the same period; and an 1810 US Census, the third of the new nation) was derived from the work performed by Laura S. Walsh and Alan Macfarlane:⁶ “study periods during which rapid change occurred—periods for which artificially constructed cohorts from censuses or other listings for a single point in time may prove difficult to interpret.”⁷ The recovered evidence interpreted herein will provide historians data that they will not need to recreate and it will add to the biographies of the community and individual relationships.

I will not reassemble “thousands of separate entries into personal and family histories.” Instead, using the two Matthew Frame account ledgers, identified on their spines as A and C, I will create (not reconstitute or reconstruct) a census of this micro-society within Jefferson County, Virginia, between 1797 and 1812, using the non-census manuscript. These censuses will give the names and year or years found in the account ledgers of those residents in the community who used Frame’s store.⁸ Most members of this community are ordinary persons who had close relationships with the well-to-do.

Frame kept folios⁹ on each of his customers. The folios include dates for each transaction, both debit (due to him) and credit (paid by the customer). Found within each account are persons other than the primary account holder. Transactions for these persons (most do not have individual accounts with Frame) are of many different types, but most of the transactions result in a loan of some sort from Frame on behalf of the account holder, such as cash loans, payment for purchases made against the account holder’s account or payment on behalf of the account holder for balances owed to Frame.

6 Alan Macfarlane, et al., *Reconstructing Historical Communities*, Cambridge, 1977.

7 Walsh in fn4, page 243.

8 Watts, page 3

9 Merchants used the term folio to denote a customer’s account. A folio usually coincides with the page number in the ledger upon which the merchant keeps account of the customer’s transactions.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, in an autobiographical sketch,¹⁰ wrote of “a man of business” at the Custom House:

...one man, especially, the observation of whose character gave me a new idea of talent. His gifts were emphatically those a man of business; prompt, acute, clear-minded, with an eye that saw through all perplexities, and a faculty of arrangement that made them vanish, as by waving of an enchanter's wand.... His integrity was perfect; it was a law of nature with him, rather than a choice or a principle; nor can it be otherwise than the main condition of an intellect so remarkably clear and accurate as his, to be honest and regular in the administration of [his] affairs.

This, in my opinion, is an apt description of the man of business, one Matthew Frame. Frame's transactions, especially his correcting entries, make apparent that he viewed his business as an important representation of his integrity and honesty. Of course, without the “loose papers”¹¹ supporting the account entries, the researcher and historian must rely on the individual entries and assume they are accurate.

The “censuses” that follow index all of the persons found in Frame's ledgers and, by their placement in the accounts of the primary account holder, show possible continuity, association or relationships through personal contact between these persons. The censuses are limited to the locality of Matthew Frame's network and community. The names and sometimes occupations (“the Barber,” “weaver,” or “the Post”) may help to illustrate the demographic experience of the community, even though this is merely a cohort of the larger community. The record includes mostly male adults, but there are women, children, persons of color, both free (“Free Basil”); and enslaved (“Frame's George”) not found in other records, because public records tend to exclude those not qualified to act for themselves, such as those who may be enslaved, children and, often, women.

10 Nathaniel Hawthorne. “The Scarlet Letter.” In *Hawthorne, Collected Novels*, 115-346. New York: Library of America, 1983.

11 Pieces of paper, often merely scraps, used as reminders of actions taken, sales made or money loaned, each normally including the date, person's name and monetary amounts involved in the transaction. The papers were normally placed in folders until the actions were posted to ledgers; then, they were bound together for possible future reference. Most often, however, they were discarded, because ledgers contained the information and the “loose papers” were no longer of any consequence.

Creating censuses using the Frame ledgers for this micro-community in Berkeley (until November 1801)¹² and Jefferson County, Virginia, also fills a gap left by the loss of the First and Second United States Censuses (1790 and 1800). As I related above, this study may also be filled by using other public records. However, most of the available public records were produced in alphabetic order, not “as visited” order and few early records provide a picture of associations between persons in a small community, except what may be found in diaries or biographical histories.

This record was selected, not because of some value in the record, but because the individuals are in the record. They are “eligible” to act on their own behalf (even where they may be enslaved), pursue occupations, procure property and enter into business transactions. An advantage of having this record means we may identify non-landowners, persons of color, women and children and find persons who were in business together.

There are a number of things to keep in mind: (1) View this record as actions captured by chance. Remember, there are many who are not included, because they transacted no business with the members of the “Frame community.” Unfortunately you will not, in most instances, find information about a person’s political or religious affiliations or even literacy. (2) This is a non-comprehensive record. (3) The record suggests personal linkages between individuals, but not necessarily familial ones. (4) The data suggests who may be heads of households, taxable non-householders, sex and whether free or not. (5) The data does not, on its own, suggest population growth, value of manufacturing or agriculture activities, wealth or household makeup. (6) It does not establish the boundary of the “Frame community.” (7) It does not explain life activities of birth, death and marriage. (8) This census does not offer migration or permanence information, but it may suggest mobility because of the lack of continued evidence in the ledger. (9) The information probably will not suggest if a person is a bound servant. (10) It may be difficult to determine which persons are taxable. (11) Just because a person has an open account does not mean that the person is still living on the ending date of the account.

By using this record the historian will learn more about the individuals and community within which they lived. Also, I hope this “construction” will encourage others to undertake creating censuses for other locales or undocumented periods in the history of Jefferson County.

12 What is now Jefferson County was part of Berkeley County until 1801.

In Frame's Ledger A, 1806-1810, the first page is 3, a credit page, and the last page is 159, a debit page. The researcher will find that there are pages missing, duplicated or include more than one account on each folio page:

- (1) Whole pages missing: 1, 2, 20, 64-71, 82-84, 109, 117, 150-151;
- (2) Just Debit pages missing: 3, 12, 21, 40, 50, 57, 72, 85, 92, 95, 105, 110, 118, 123, 127, 152;
- (3) Just Credit pages missing: 11, 19, 39, 51, 56, 63, 81, 91, 94, 105, 103, 116, 122, 126, 149, 159; and,
- (4) Page numbers duplicated: 48, 56, 148 and 155.

I have exhibited the details for the primary account holders in this format: Folio Number, Surname, Given Name, and Inclusive Years. So, for persons who have carried over folios, they will have more than one folio. Here's an example for Moses Wilson, Jr.:

Folio 4 Wilson, Moses Jr.: 1807-1809

Folio 133 Wilson, Moses Jr.: 1807-1809

There may be within each folio a person or persons who have authorization to transact business under the primary account holder's name. These persons are listed in this form: Given Name (and middle initial in some cases), Surname, Title and year or years that they transacted business. The reader will find instances of transactions by "son," "daughter," "wife," "negro," and persons by given name only or by surname preceded by Mr., Mrs. or Miss.

Here is an example found in Folio 4 Wilson, Moses Jr.: 1807-1809:

Stary		1807
John the Barber		1807
B. R.	Saunders	1807
Haynia Mr.		1807
Collin	Cordele	1807
Jno	Miller	1807
Greenfield's George		1807
A Woman		1807

In folios where a surname has two dates following it, this means the person was given the authority to transact business in multiple years. Even though an individual has only one year, they still may have been involved in multiple transactions during that year.

Generally, something to keep in mind regarding missing debit pages: the debit pages in the Frame ledgers are the only pages that have the account holder's name. Where there is no debit page, but there is a contra¹³ page, one may find the carried over page and find out to whom the folio belonged. In ledger A this "rule" applies throughout; however, in ledger C beginning on page 169 and continuing through page 229, the debit page has the given name of the account holder and the credit page has the surname. So, I will include the account holder's name, either given or surname, as it applies on their page.

CENSUS LIST BY FOLIO

Matthew Frame Ledger A

<u>Folio 4 Wilson, Moses Jr.:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	Holliss		1809
Stary	1807	William	Hollass	1809
John the Barber	1807			
B. R.	1807	<u>Folio 7 Haynia, John:</u>		<u>1806-1809</u>
Haynia Mr.	1807	Iserrael	Crow	1806
Collin	1807	Israel	Crow	1807
Jno	1807	Eversole		1807
Greenfield's George	1807	J.	D.	1807
A Woman	1807	Mercy [Murcy]		1807
Haines	1807	<u>Folio 8 Wilson, Moses Sen':</u>		<u>1806-1807</u>
Basil	1807	A negro		1806
Blackburn	1807	A Woman		1806
J.	1807	A negro boy		1806-1807
Henry	1807	William	Sulivan	1806-1807
A.	1807	Curtis	Grubb	1806
A Boy	1807	A Negro Man		1806
Yellow John	1807	John	Markwood	1807
John	1808	John the barber		1807
A Boy	1808	Negro		1807
George	1808			
John	1808	<u>Folio 9 Malin, William:</u>		<u>1806-1809</u>
		Howard	Mrs.	1808
<u>Folio 5 Wilson, Matthew:</u>	<u>1806-1808</u>	John	Wilson	1807
Benja	1806	A.	White	1807
French	1807	Jas.	Wilson	1809
Father	1808	M.	Frame	1809
<u>Folio 6 Howard, William:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	<u>Folio 10 Alstadt, John:</u>		<u>1806-1809</u>
Vincent	1806	Josiah	Alstadt	1808
John	1807	Assass	Bull	1806
Your Son	1807-1808	Asopp	Bull	1807
W.H.	1807	Conway Miss		1807

13 Contra is an offset to the stores' value; it carries a balance that is intended to offset the balance of its related account.

Dobins	Mrs.	1808	<u>Folio 23 Blackburn, William:</u>	1806-1810	
John	Gardner	1807	M.	Frame	1808
Anthony	Keller	1808	Chrales	Gibbs	1810
Jacob	Lanciscus	1807-1808	Waggoner		1806
Hugh	McDaniel	1806-1808	Moses	Wilson	1807
McDonald Mrs.		1808	<u>Folio 24 Gibbs, William:</u>	1806-1809	
Moren	Miss	1808	<u>Folio 25 Hickman, William:</u>	1806-1808	
T	Reed	1807	M.	Frame	1807
Danniel	White	1806	Moses	Wilson	1808
<u>Folio 11 Duke, James:</u>		1806-1807	<u>Folio 26 Young, John:</u>	1806-1809	
<u>Folio 11 Johnson, Robert:</u>		1808	M.	Wilson	1806
<u>Folio 13 Ranson, Matthew:</u>		1807-1808	John the Barber		1807
<u>Folio 13 Wilson, Thomas:</u>		1806-1809	Jas.	McClency	1808
Goldsbury Miss		1808	Butler		1808
Son		1808	<u>Folio 28 Alstadt, Jacob:</u>	1806-1809	
M.	Frame	1809	Bennett Mrs.		1808
<u>Folio 14 Frame, Matthew:</u>		1806-1807	John	Coo	1808
<u>Folio 15 Haines, William:</u>		1806-1809	Edward	Goldsbury	1807
Dixon		1809	Thomas	Goldsbury	1807
John	Dixon	1809	J G	Ladd	1808
<u>Folio 16 Buckmaster, Zach:</u>		1808	J	Lanciscus	1808
Washn Miss		1808	William	Murphy	1807
<u>Folio 16 Johnson, William:</u>		1806-1807	Murphy Mrs.		1808
Sarah	Jackson	1806	George	Pulse	1808
<u>Folio 17 Dixon, John:</u>		1806-1809	Gabriel	Smallwood	1808
Jas.	Bull	1807	Danniel	White	1806
J.	Bull	1808	<u>Folio 29 Craighill, Nathaniel:</u>	1807-1808	
John	Wood	1806-1807	Jack	Mister	1808
<u>Folio 18 Chambers, Aaron :</u>		1806-1809	<u>Folio 29 Grubb, John:</u>	1806-1807	
S.	Bostal	1807	<u>Folio 30 Frame, Ann:</u>	1806-1809	
John	Bryant	1808	Peter	McCarty	1807
M.	Frame	1807-1809	<u>Folio 31 Haines, John:</u>	1806-1808	
Moses	Wilson	Senr 1807	M.	Frame	1808
<u>Folio 19 Cockrill, Petre:</u>		1806-1808	William	Sulivan	1808
James G.	Bowers	1807	John	Wilson	1808
<u>Folio 22 Saunders, John:</u>		1806-1808	Moses	Wilson	1808
Humphreys		1807	<u>Folio 31 McGowen, John:</u>	1807-1809	
Father		1807	Summer Mr.		1807
Moses	Wilson	Se ^{nr} 1807	<u>Folio 32 Collett, Dannial:</u>	1806-1809	
Samuel	Bond	1807	George	McCormick	1807
M.	Frame	1807	Baker	Moore	1807
J.	Young	1807	Edward	Ranson	1807
Ezekiel	Wood	1807	John	Thompson	1807
John	Moor	1807	Elisor	Thompson	1807
			William	Wist	1807
			"Your son in Baltimore		1807

<u>Folio 33 Dillow, Joseph:</u>	<u>1806-1807</u>	<u>Folio 48 Deen, Ezekial:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>
<u>Folio 33 Muse, Battle:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	Brittion Mrs.	1807
<u>Folio 34 Wilson, George:</u>	<u>1806-1808</u>	M. Frame	1808
P. B. Whitings	1807	William Haines	1809
<u>Folio 35 Stary, Nicholas¹⁴:</u>	<u>1806-1807</u>	Murphy	1807
M. Frame	1807	Thos. Reed	1807
<u>Folio 36 McMacon, John:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	Frank Roper	1807
West Mr.	1807	Wash Mrs.	1807
<u>Folio 36 Lyons, George:</u>	<u>1808</u>	Jas. Griffittus Mrs.	1807
[Account "x-out"]		<u>Folio 48 Haines, Henry:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
<u>Folio 36 Lyons, George:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	M. Frame	1808
Brother	1809	Monehan Miss	1808
<u>Folio 38 McDonald, Hugh:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	Moses Wilson	1807
V. Moor	1807	Wife	1808
John Alstadt	1807	<u>Folio 49 Fraizer, Razin:</u>	<u>1807</u>
Conway Miss	1807	Meryland Fraizer	1807
<u>Folio 41 Griggs, Thomas:</u>	<u>1806-1808</u>	<u>Folio 49 Hansacker, Jacob:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Jacob Alstat	1808	H. Haines	1809
M. Frame	1808	John Wilson	1809
<u>Folio 42 Greenfield, Gabl T.:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	<u>Folio 50 Conner, Charles:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Alexr Stuart	1808	Kirby Mr.	1807
<u>Folio 42 Smith, Slaughter:</u>	<u>1806-1808</u>	<u>Folio 52 Swarngin, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
William Morno	1807	William Serg[??]t	1807
<u>Folio 43 Sherley, Jarvis</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	Joseph Abrill	1807
Moses Wilson	1808	M. Frame	1809
M. Frame	1808	Grantom	1809
<u>Folio 44 Leetch, Arcebal:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	<u>Folio 52 Tate, William:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
<u>Folio 44 Bond, Samuel:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	<u>Folio 53 Howard, Marton:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Frances Webb	1809	Joseph Offutt	1807
<u>Folio 45 Brown, Joseph:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	Wife	1809
M. Frame	1809	J. Young	1807
Jas. Howard	1808	<u>Folio 53 Throckmorton, John:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>
James Howard	1808	William Brown	1808
Geo. Young	1808	Jas. Hite	1808
George Young	1808	M. Framè	1808
<u>Folio 47 Wood, James Doct^r:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	<u>Folio 54 Howal, Samuel:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Jas. Hogins Wife	1807	<u>Folio 54 Markwood, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Basel Games	1807	Moses Wilson	1808
Moses Wilson Senor	1808	<u>Folio 55 Dillow, William:</u>	<u>1807-1808</u>
M. Frame	1808	<u>Folio 56 Woods, Andrews:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
William Berry	1809	Mathew Frame	1807-1809
		Markwell	1809
		Moses Wilson Senr	1809

14 Stary is probably a milliner by trade.

<u>Folio 58 Palmer, John:</u>	1807	<u>Folio 78 Brown, Mrs. Iseb^l:</u>	1807
<u>Folio 58 Swain, Joshua:</u>	1808-1809	Brown	Son's Account 1807
Chambers	1808	M.	Frame 1807
<u>Folio 59 Orr, John D.:</u>	1807-1808	<u>Folio 79 Farr, Joseph:</u>	1807-1809
J. Young	1808	Thomas	Chamberlin 1807
<u>Folio 60 Cordell, Collen:</u>	1807-1810	Chamberlin	Miss 1808
Jas. Clare	1807	M.	Frame 1807
Presley Cordell	1810	James	Gowings 1809
M. Frame	1807	<u>Folio 80 Wilson, Moses Sn^r:</u>	1807
George Ware	1808	John	McAndrew 1807
Moses Wilson	1807	Negro Chas	1807
<u>Folio 62 Likins, Thomas [Cobbler]:</u>	1807-1809	Assoss	Bull 1807
William McCarty	1808	Basil	Games 1807
Welsh Mrs.	1809	Larkin	Haly 1807
Robert Beaty	1809	Paul	Durst 1807
M. Wilson Jr	1809	B.	Games 1807
W. Athey	1809	<u>Folio 81 Chamberlin, Elijah:</u>	1807-1809
<u>Folio 63 Sherley, Ephram:</u>	1807-1809	Wm.	Gasway 1808
<u>Folio 73 Welsh, Richard:</u>	1807-1809	Jacob	Kilen 1808
William Avis	1807	George	Rily 1808
Samuel Henderson	1808	<u>Folio 86 Little, William:</u>	1807-1809
Jahue Hale	1808	Profator	1807
Moses Wilson	1807	M.	Frame 1807
T. Howard	1808	<u>Folio 87 Fillet, Francis:</u>	1807-1809
M. Frame	1808	M.	Frame 1809
Avis Mr.	1808	John	Miller 1807
<u>Folio 74 Gantt, John:</u>	1807-1809	J.	Sanndry 1809
<u>Folio 75 Hammond, Thomas:</u>	1807-1810	Thos.	Th[ees]e 1808
George Hite	1808	<u>Folio 88 Devenport, Benimn:</u>	1809
<u>Folio 76 Tows, Thomas:</u>	1807-1809	M.	Wilson 1809
Brother	1809	<u>Folio 88 Lee, William:</u>	1807
<u>Folio 76 Annon, Dannial:</u>	1807-1810	<u>Folio 89 Dougherty, Patrick:</u>	1807
M. Frame	1808-1810	Moses	Wilson 1807
M. Wilson	1807-1809	<u>Folio 89 Spencer, Samuel:</u>	1807-1808
<u>Folio 77 Clare, James:</u>	1807-1809	<u>Folio 90 Harding, William H.:</u>	1807-1809
Clisco Dednt Miss	1808	Thos.	Flagg 1807
M. Frame	1808	Harding Mrs.	1809
William Jolleff Alexr ¹⁵	1809	Rodger	1807
15 "Alexr" may merely mean Alexandria, Virginia and therefore this person was not residing in Jefferson County, Virginia.		<u>Folio 91 Fairfax, Ferdnando:</u>	1807-1809
		J.	Burgoyne 1809
		Geo.	C[?] 1809
		Polly	Campbell 1809
		Jas.	Fatton 1809
		R.	Fatton 1809
		John	Jackson 1809

Thos.	Johnson	1809	R.	Wilson & Tucker	1808
John	Lemon	1809	M.	Frame's George	1808
James	McKance	1809			
Melone Miss		1809	<u>Folio 101 Wilson, Moses Senr:</u>		<u>1807</u>
Thos.	Nelson	1807	Adam	Brown	1807
Daniel	Smith	1809	John	the barber	1807
<u>Folio 93 Frame, Matthew:</u>		<u>1807-1807</u>	James	McMacon	1807
Basil		1807	Richard	Crow	1807
Davis	Doctr	1807	Samuel	France	1807
Cherry	Capt	1807	S.	French	1807
Frame	Mrs.	1807	Jo'	Young	1807
Sullivan		1807	Barber		1807
Ja' J.	Brown	1807	Ja'	Duke	1807
Sulivan	Mrs.	1807	<u>Folio 102 Fraizer, Jonathan:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>
Tho'	Reed	1807	G.	Coats	1807
Wat	French	1807	Cooper Mrs.		1808
<u>Folio 94 Gardner, John:</u>		<u>1807</u>	Duke's	Son	1808
<u>Folio 94 Pies, Henry:</u>		<u>1807</u>	Peter	Haines	1808
<u>Folio 95 Wright, Samuel:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>	Philop	Haines	1808
<u>Folio 96 Brown, Adam:</u>		<u>1808-1809</u>	J. Miller	Talor	1808
M.	Frame	1808	For Son		1807-1808
<u>Folio 97 Grubb, John:</u>		<u>1807-1808</u>	For Daughter		1808
John	Haines	1807	<u>Folio 103 Saunders, John:</u>		<u>1806-1808</u>
<u>Folio 98 Hagley, Isaac:</u>		<u>1807</u>	M.	Frame	1808
<u>Folio 98 Violet, Edward¹⁶:</u>		<u>1807-1808</u>	Oliver		1808
<u>Folio 99 Humphreys, George & Ino:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>	A negro		1808
George	Washington	1807	Father		1808
Morton	Howard	1808	<u>Folio 103 Fouke, Charles:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>
M.	Frame	1807	M.	Frame	1809
Frame	Mrs.	1808	Robndett Mr.		1808
<u>Folio 100 Hite, Robert G.:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>	<u>Folio 104 McMacon, John & Jas.:</u>		<u>1807-1809</u>
John	Flagg	1809	Rich ^d	Crow	1807
J.	Spangler	1809	Davis	Mrs.	1807
<u>Folio 100 Brackenridge, Mrs.:</u>		<u>1807</u>	Mary	Eckart	1807
Brackenridge	Daughter	1808	John	Davis	1807
Crawley		1808	John	M'Makin	1809
Nancy	Crow	1808	<u>Folio 105 Fraizer, Meryland:</u>		<u>1807</u>
Farden	Mr.	1808	<u>Folio 107 Frame, Matthew:</u>		<u>1807-1807</u>
McP		1808	Tho'	Reed	1807
Edward	Roberts	1808	Jo'	McCarthy	1807
John	Spence	1808	John	Cedge	1807
16 Violet had a continuation folio 151, but the folio is missing.			Lucy	French	1807
			John	Helix	1807
			F.	Avery	1807
			Nancy	Reed	1807
			Jason	Goings	1807
			George	Snider	1807
			H.	Pies	1807

Moler		1807	William	Berry	1807	
Lehue	Ellis	1807	B[?]	Brown	1807	
Aaron	Chaulier	1807	Matthew	Anderson	1807	
Your Boys		1807	Jas	Farr	1807	
William	Rily	1807	Tho ^s T.	Edmonson	1807	
Basil		1807	Cylas	Glasscock	1807	
Ja ^s & Robert Futton		1807	Purnal	Miss	1807	
Folio 108 McCarty, Peter:		1807	Jas.	Howard	1807	
Duke	Mrs.	1807	J.	Gardner	1807	
Folio 108 McMackon, James:		1807	Folio 116 Miller, John:		1807-1808	
Folio 109 Wilson, Moses Sen ^r :		1807 ¹⁷	Folio 116 Russell, Samuel:		1807-1808	
Folio 111 Lemon, John:		1807-1809	John	Coyle	1807	
Lucy	Frank	Miss	1807	Folio 119 McPherson, Samuel:	1807	
Tate	Mrs.		1808	Folio 119 Devenport, John:	1807-1809	
A Negro			1807	William	Hickman	1807
Folio 112 Frame, Matthew:		1807-1807	M.	Wilson	1807	
Petre	McCarty		1807	Folio 120 Wilson, Moses:	1807-1808	
Alex ^r	Cordele		1807	Sylas	Glasscok	1807
Wm	Berry		1807	A negro		1807
John	Saunders		1807	Benj ^a	Massy	1807
Hannah			1807	Ja ^s	Duke	1807
Free Basil			1807	George		1807
Petre	Haines		1807	Frames Petre		1807
G & L	Humphreys		1807	Basil		1807
Andrew	Wood		1807	McDonnold		1808
Nancy			1807	Purnal	Mrs	1808
Folio 113 Clark, John:		1807-1809	French		1808	
William	Conway		1808	Sulivan		1808
John	Jackson		1807	B.	Games	1808
James	McMakin		1808	Your Son Matthew		1808
Jonathan	Robinson		1808	A negro		1808
A Negro			1808	Lucy	French	1808
Geo.	Ware		1808	Folio 121 Frame, Matthew:		1807-1808
A Negro			1807	James	McLaughlin	1807
To the Barber			1807	Ja ^s	Luke	1807
Your Negro			1807	Danial	Young	1807
Jasper			1808	Cato		1808
Folio 115 Wilson, Moses Sen ^r :		1807	F.	Fetteth		1808
Aaron	Chambers		1807	Sulivan		1808
William	Hickman		1807	Petre	McCarty	1808
the Barber			1807	Jas	Clare	1808
Nathaniel	Harnet		1807	Ezekiel	Dun	1808
Richard	Welsh		1807	Michael	Wysong	1808
Ja ^s	Duke		1807	Danial	Lupton	1808
17 Folio 109 is missing; however, folio 101 states that the information was carried over to folio 109 for Moses Wilson, Senior.				John	Haines	1808
				Folio 122 Harris, George:		1807-1808

<u>Folio 124 Anderson, Mahlon:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	Benj ^a	Massy	1808	
Downey & Lyons	1808-1809	Geo	Hite	1808	
Wm.	Holm	1809	John	Wilson	1808
Jas.	McCleney	1807	Haines	Mr.	1808
E.	Oldham	1807	Petre	Haines	1808
			Rich ^d	Leoillin	1808
<u>Folio 125 Painter, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>				
<u>Folio 125 Tucker William:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	<u>Folio 133 Wilson, Moses Jr.:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>		
Jacob	Lekeal	1807	Blackburn	1808	
Daughter		1809	John	Wilson	1808
			H.	Haines	1808
<u>Folio 126 Stary, Nichalas:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>		Humphreys		1808
			Tho ^s	Flagg	1808
<u>Folio 128 Kercheval, Benj^a:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>		Tomson		1808
Andrew	Southart	1808	Jno	Wilson	1808
R.	Fulton	1809	Frame's George		1808-1809
Son		1808	Greenfield's George		1808
			Will the Weaver		1808
<u>Folio 128 White, John:</u>	<u>1808</u>		Bryan	Mrs.	1808
M.	Frame	1808	A Man		1808
			Jas.	Crawley	1808-1809
<u>Folio 129 Haines, John Junr:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>		Geo.	Hite	1808
Crawley		1809	A negro		1808
Matthew	Frame	1808-1809	Crawley		1809
S.	French	1808	H.	Isler	1809
Betsey	Hains	1809	J.	Anderson	1809
Phillips		1809	The Barber		1809
John	Wilson	1808	William	Berry	1809
John	Young	1808	Flagg	Mr ^t .	1809
			W[]son	Mr ^t .	1809
<u>Folio 130 Wilson, Moses Sen^r:</u>	<u>1808</u>		John	Wilson	1809
Shirly	Mr ^s	1808	Moler		1809
The Flaxbraker		1808	Stary		1809
Michael	Wysong	1808	A negro		1809
Barber	Hess	1808	John	Young	1809
Jessy	Purnal	1808	Joseph	Blackburn	1809
S.	Suthern	1808			
Dannial	Lupton	1808	<u>Folio 134 Craighill, Price:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	
Hite		1808	H.	Haines	1809
Crow	Miss	1808			
French	Miss	1808	<u>Folio 134 Ostin, Thomas:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	
<u>Folio 131 Lemon, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	<u>Folio 134 Wilson, Moses</u>	<u>1808</u>		
Danl	Hynia	1808	Howard		1808
P.	Crow	Miss	Jas	Hogin	1808
Michael	Powers	1809	A negro		1808
			Benj ^a	Massy	1808
<u>Folio 132 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1808-1808</u>		William	Morrow	1808
McMakin		1808	brow	Miss	1808
Tho ^s	Reed	1808	Humphreys		1808
Philop	Haines	1808	Jacob	Haines	1808
Lyons		1808	Jessy	Purnall	1808
William	Malin	1808	J.	Saunders	1808
Jroal	Fuse	1808	George	Hite	1808

Michael	Killinbarger	1808	Brackenridge	1808
Crow	Miss	1808		
Nancy	Crow	1808	<u>Folio 140 Collett, Dannial:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>
A Boy		1808	Diviond Wife	1809
Jarvis	Shirly	1808	Geo. McCormick	1809
M.	Killinbarger	1808	Baker Moore	1808
Adam	Brown	1808	<u>Folio 141 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1808-1808</u>
Purnal		1808	Bryan Mr.	1808
William	Berry	1808	Peter Haines	1808
			Geo Hite	1808
<u>Folio 136 Wilson, Moses Jr.:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>		Tho ^e Thomson	1808
C. G.	Richter	1809	Tho ^e Reed	1808
Hedwell		1809	John Burgoyne	1808
Russel		1809	Reed & Hess	1808
<u>Folio 136 Williams, Samuel:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>		Tucker	1808
			Jasper Thomson	1808
<u>Folio 137 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1808-1808</u>		John Wilson	1808
Petre	Haines	1808		
Your Boys		1808	<u>Folio 142 Clark, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
Markwood		1808	Free Jonathon	1808
J.	Wilson	1808	Jonathan	1809
Watter	French	1808		
Philop	Haines	1808	<u>Folio 143 Tate, William:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
John	Haines	1808	Hite	1809
John	Griggs	1808	Marton Howard	1809
Hatways		1808		
Davenport	Mr.	1808	<u>Folio 144 Wilson, Moses Sr.:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>
Stary		1808	John Anderson	1808
R.	Avery	1808	Richd Williams	1808
Larkin	Haley	1808	A Negro	1808
Tho ^e	Reed	1808	George	1808
Jasper	Thomson	1808	J. Markwood	1808
			Samuel Russel	1808
<u>Folio 138 Wilson, Moses Senr.:</u>	<u>1808</u>		James Wood D ^r	1809
Watter	French	1808	M. Frames Nan	1809
Jessy	Purnal	1808	Benjamin Davenport	1809
Thomson		1808	Samuel Wright	1809
Petre	Haines	1808	Wibb	1809
Tho ^e	Reed	1808	James Haines	1809
Humphreys		1808	Ja ^e Crawley	1809
The Barber		1808	Andrew Wood	1809
Avery		1808	Geo Wash	1809
A Woman		1808	Haines Tanner	1809
Mr. Frames George		1808	Crumswile M ^r	1809
Rily	M ^r	1808	Shirley	1809
J.	Wilson	1808	Patrick Spritts	1809
Tho ^e	Thomson	1808	John ^r Conway	1809
B.	Goyne	1808	James Wilson	1809
John	Haines	1808	Geo Hite	1809
M.	Killingbarger	1808	Cha ^e G. Richter	1809
			Mr. Frames Georg	1809
<u>Folio 139 Wright, Samuel:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>		Cordell	1809
M.	Frame & Co.	1809	John Miller	1809

<u>Folio 145 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	Crawley & Wilson	1809
Crage	Mr.	A.	Chambers
H.	Haines	R.	Welsh
George	Ware	Moore	the Post
A.	Woods	Andrew	Woods
Jarvis	Shirley	Stary	
Peggy	Wilson		
William	Brown	<u>Folio 154 Welsh, Richard:</u>	<u>1809</u>
Adam	Brown	William	Avis
Chas. G.	Rictor	Wm. & Mrs. S.	Douglass
Jas.	Wood		
	the barber		
	Dr.		
<u>Folio 146 Dixon, John:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	<u>Folio 156 Lemon, John:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>
His Negro	1809	Ferdenando	Fairfax
			1809
<u>Folio 147 Wilson, David:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	<u>Folio 157 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1809-1809</u>
Paul & Virginia	1809	Bradshaw	
		Jacob	Haines
		William	Shirley
<u>Folio 148 Brackenridg, Thomas:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>	George	
Wm.	Tate	Wall	
	1810	Joseph	Brown
<u>Folio 148 Stary, Nichalas:</u>	<u>1807-1809</u>	Shope	Mr.
M.	Frame	Richard	Crow
	1809	Tho'	Reed
<u>Folio 149 Alstadt, John:</u>	<u>1806-1809</u>	Tho'	Perry
Barton	Miss	Clymer	Mr.
William	Conway	French	Mrs.
Jonah	Cooper	James	Ring
Joe	Galloway a Negro	J.	Throckmorton
Sarah	Jett	Francis	Fillett
A	Keller	E.	Haines
Philops			
John	Sutton		
Jonathan	Negro	<u>Folio 158 Haines, John Junr:</u>	<u>1808-1809</u>
		French	Mr.
			1809
<u>Folio 153 Frame, Matthew:</u>	<u>1809-1809</u>	<u>Folio 159 Graay, Thomas:</u>	<u>1809</u>
Ja'	M ^c Laughlin		
Peter			
Isaac		<u>Folio 162 Wilson, Moses Sen^r:</u>	<u>1809¹⁸</u>
Free Isaac			
Geo. C.	Cordele		
Cr[?]	M'		
Chas. O.	Brian		

18 Folio 162 is missing; however, folio 144 states that the information was carried over to folio 162 for Moses Wilson, Senior.

Matthew Frame Ledger C

In Frame's Ledger C, 1797-1812, the first page is page 1, a credit page, and the last page is 245, a debit page. The researcher will find that there are pages missing, page numbers not used or include more than one account on each folio page. Also, of note, in this ledger, is this statement in Folio 55 for Lancelott Lee: "To an error in old Ledger [Book] March 19".

- (1) Whole pages missing: 3, 15, 25, 36-39, 49, 66, 72-74, 107-109, 121, 136-137, 144, 152-159, 165-168, 173-174, 186, 190-191, 194-195, 201-202, 205-216; 218-219;
- (2) Just Debit pages missing: 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 26, 40, 50, 62, 67, 67, 75, 77, 83, 86, 90, 95, 102, 110, 122, 125, 138, 141, 160, 162, 164, 169, 171, 175, 180, 187, 192, 196, 203, 217, 224, 230, 235, 238;
- (3) Just Credit pages missing: 2, 6, 9, 12, 14, 24, 35, 48, 61, 65, 71, 76, 82, 85, 89, 94, 101, 106, 120, 124, 135, 140, 143, 151, 161, 163, 170, 172, 179, 185, 189, 193, 200, 204, 225, 229, 234, 237, 245; and,
- (4) Page numbers not used: 43 and 68.

As I explained earlier regarding names on account holders folios: generally, the debit pages in the Frame ledgers are the only pages that have the account holder's name. Where there is no debit page, but there is a contra page, one may find the carried over page and find out to whom the folio belonged. However, in ledger C beginning on page 169 and continuing through page 229, the given name is on the debit page the account holder and the surname is on the credit page. So, I will include the account holder's name, either given or surname, as it appears on their page.

In this ledger the researcher will find instances where Frame has been entered into partnerships with Gibbs ("Frame & Gibbs"), Haynies ("Frame & Haynies") and "Frame & Co." The postings state that account holder's existing balances were carried over to these other partnerships.

<u>Folio 2 Sanders, Cyrus:</u>	1798-1799	<u>Folio 11 Millar, James:</u>	1798-1800
<u>Folio 5 Fouk, Charles:</u>	1798-1799	J. Shirley	1800
<u>Folio 5 Sewell, Timothy:</u>	1798-1799	<u>Folio 11 Brooks, William:</u>	1798-1799
<u>Folio 6 Owen, Thomas:</u>	1798-1801	Martin Howard	1799
J. Hammond Mr	1801	<u>Folio 12 Smith, John:</u>	1798-1799
<u>Folio 8, Whiting, Francis:</u>	1798-1799	<u>Folio 12 Wilson, Moses Junr:</u>	1798-1799
Drew Mr ^s	1798	<u>Folio 14 Baylor, Robert:</u>	1798
John Millar Taylor	1798	<u>Folio 14 Wager, John Senr:</u>	1798-1800
Davis Doct ^r	1799	<u>Folio 17 Johnstone, William:</u>	1798-1799
Sawney	1797-1799	<u>Folio 18 Dutrow, Michael:</u>	1798-1799
Joseph Crane	1799	Ephraim Shirley	1799
<u>Folio 9 Hite, George:</u>	1798-1801		

<u>Folio 19 Gibbs, Ann Mr:</u>	<u>1798-1800</u>	<u>Folio 31 New House:</u>	<u>1798</u>
nann	1800	E.	Davis
Wm	Gibbs		1798
	1800		
<u>Folio 19 John, Millar: Taylor:</u>	<u>1797-1800</u>	<u>Folio 31 Davenport, Abraham:</u>	<u>1800-1801</u>
Caty	Moody		
Henry	Gantt	<u>Folio 32 Deen, Ezekiel:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>
John	Gantt	Saffal	Mr ^s
William	Lee	Wm	Harris
John	Frame	Shope	Mr ^s
	1799		1799
	1799		
<u>Folio 20 Reiley, Eli:</u>	<u>1798-1800</u>	<u>Folio 33, Cross, John:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>
Kellenbarger	Geo. A	Profator	M ^r
John	Anderson	Tessy	Hollis
	1798	David	Patton
	1798	Thomas	Cartwell
<u>Folio 21 Tate, George:</u>	<u>1798-1802</u>	John	Bryant
E.	Christians	Thomas	Flagg
C.	Christians	Peter	M ^c Carty
Patrick	Sprint	E.	Bull
George	Hite	Moses	Wilson
	1800	Elia	Figg
	1800		1799
<u>Folio 22 Mosier, Philip:</u>	<u>1798-1801</u>	<u>Folio 34 Shirley, John:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>
John	Anderson	John	Hanines
	1798		1799
<u>Folio 23 Collins, Christopher:</u>	<u>1798-1800</u>	<u>Folio 35 Muse, Battaille:</u>	<u>1798-1801</u>
Maria		Mrg	Muse
Polley	Williams	George	Deibler
	1800	Benjamin	M ^c Bride
	1800		1800
<u>Folio 24 Gardner, Joseph:</u>	<u>1798</u>	<u>Folio 40, Lee, William:</u>	<u>1798-1800</u>
<u>Folio 27, Greenfield, Gab:</u>	<u>1798-1802</u>	Grubbs	Mill
Wm	Lausen	M.	Frame
John	Camble	Jenny	Mill
Bull	Doc ^t	F.	Fairfax
Maning	M ^r		M ^r
Clark			1799
Thomas	Flagg		
W ^m	Gibbs	<u>Folio 41 Fry, Christian:</u>	<u>1798-1802</u>
	1802		
<u>Folio 28 Crane, Joseph:</u>	<u>1798-1802</u>	<u>Folio 42, Howard, William:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>
David		Moses	Wilson
John	Frame		1798
Anderson		<u>Folio 44, Grooms, Abraham:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>
Mildred	Howard	John Pear	Your son
Harming	McKnight	Wife	
Samuel	Washington		1799
Flagg	M ^r	<u>Folio 45 Flagg, Thomas:</u>	<u>1798-1802</u>
	1802	Jonathon	Moore
<u>Folio 29 Stuart, James:</u>	<u>1798-1799</u>	Vincent	Moore
Hutt & Co	John	Reasin	Ridgway
Thomas	Cartwell	Wm	Cherry
Games	Basil	Jacob H.	Maning
Gabriel	Nource	Rob ^t	Whittit
Bull	Doctr	Ja ^s	Brown
David	Griffith	Reason	Ridaway
	1801		1800

<u>Folio 46 Colraven, James:</u>	1798-1800	Your Negro Andrew	1801
Van Rutherford	1798		
<u>Folio 47 Hains, John:</u>	1798-1799	<u>Folio 58 Rutherford, Van:</u>	1798-1799
Jack Beverly Whitings	1799	Lancelot Lee	1798
Wm Cherry	1799	Frances Adams	1798
Curry	1799	R. Carter	1799
John Frame	1799	Grubbs Mill	1799
Samuel Brisco	1799	<u>Folio 59 Tate, Magnus Senr:</u>	1798-1799
Perry Mrs	1799	Tom Johnson	1798
		William Connell	1798
<u>Folio 48 Shope, William:</u>	1798-1800	Joseph Baley	1798
William Wilson	1798	William Connel	1798
		John Stephens	1799
<u>Folio 51 Cherry, William Senr:</u>	1798-1799	Moses Wilson	1799
M. Wilson	1798		
Daughter	1798	<u>Folio 60 Washington, George:</u>	1798-1800
John Haines	1799		
		<u>Folio 61 Griffeth, David:</u>	1798
<u>Folio 52 Alstott, Jacob:</u>	1798-1801		
Joseph Blackburn	1798-1799	<u>Folio 63 Sanderson, Doctr:</u>	1798-1804
Barnley Coplar	1798		
James Boach	1798	<u>Folio 64 Davis, Jo^s W. Doctr:</u>	1798-1800
James Conoway	1799		
John Haines	1799	<u>Folio 65 Craghill, Nathaniel:</u>	1798-1800
Sarah Davis	1799		
Susey Velson	1799	<u>Folio 67 Warke, Geo:</u>	1799-1802 ¹⁹
Sharlot	1799	Milton	1802
Thomas Cantwell	1799	Joseph Rodgers	1800
Rich Willas	1799		
		<u>Folio 69 Christian, Edward:</u>	1798-1799
<u>Folio 53 Cherry, William Junr:</u>	1798-1800		
		<u>Folio 70 Bull, Ezekiel Doctr:</u>	1798-1799
<u>Folio 54 Buchanan, Alex^r Pitt:</u>	1798-1802	Profator M ^r	1798
William Gibbs	1802	William Lawson	1798
		G. Greenfield	1798
<u>Folio 55 Lee, Lancelot:</u>	1798-1799	John Frances	1798-1799
John Millor Taylor	1798	Lock M ^r	1798
William Shaw	1798	John Miller	1798
Thomas Perry	1799	White M ^r	1798
William Piper	1799	Frances Neale	1798
Thomas Haile	1799	Wm Carnal	1798
Vincent M ^c Kinney	1799	Henry Flowers	1798
Wm Shaw	1799	Maning M ^r	1799
		Basil Games	1799
<u>Folio 56 Clare, James:</u>	1798-1800	John Cross	1799
John Anderson	1800	Samuel Hibbens	1799
David Griffith	1800	Frances Neal	1799
		Wm Carrol	1799
<u>Folio 57 Gaunt, Edward:</u>	1798-1801	Hugh M ^c Danil	1799
George James	1798	Smith Cammell	1799
John Garner	1798	William Carrel	1799
Robert Cannihan	1798		
Lock M ^s	1798		
Robert Carnihan	1798		

¹⁹ There is no Dr (debit) page 67. Cr (credit) page states: "This Settled between Geo Warke M. Frame June 21th 1802"

<u>Folio 71 Shirley, Robert:</u>	1798-1799	Neale & Fendle	1799
<u>Folio 76 Beaty, William:</u>	1798	Benj ^a M ^c Bride	1799
<u>Folio 78 Hammond & Brown:</u>	1798-1799	Haile	1800
Catesby	1799	Molaughlin M ^r	1800
<u>Folio 79 Ridgaway, Reason:</u>	1798-1799	<u>Folio 92 Frame, Ann M^{rs}:</u>	1799
Shewbridg M ^{rs}	1799	Allabau	1799
<u>Folio 80 Nource, Gabriel:</u>	1798	Ricketts & Newton	1799
Basil Games	1798	Miller & Burkley	1799
<u>Folio 80 Bryant, John Sen^r:</u>	1799-1800	<u>Folio 93 Howard, William:</u>	1799-1800
<u>Folio 81 Maning, Jacob:</u>	1799-1803	Shewbridge M ^{rs}	1799
Matthew Frame	1799	<u>Folio 94 Carter, Robert:</u>	1799-1801
<u>Folio 82 Bustill, Benjamine:</u>	1799	<u>Folio 95 Johnsons, William:</u>	1799-1800
<u>Folio 82 Williams, Patrick:</u>	1799	Joseph Crane	1800
David Johnson	1799	Wm Eroin	1800
<u>Folio 84 Griffith, David:</u>	1799	<u>Folio 96 Haines, John:</u>	1799-1800
<u>Folio 85 Sturt, Thomas:</u>	1799-1800	George Young	1800
<u>Folio 86 Sherley, Walter:</u>	ND	Curry F. Cantwell	1800
<u>Folio 87 McPherson, Daniel</u>	1799-1800	Rutherford's Joe	1799
John Crafton	1799	Conner M ^r	1800
<u>Folio 88 Christian, Edward Cap^t:</u>	1799-1802	<u>Folio 97 Sherley, Walter:</u>	1799-1800
John Anderson	1800	Crage M ^r	1800
Edward Gault	1801	<u>Folio 98 Deen, Ezekel:</u>	1799-1800
<u>Folio 89 Vilatt, Edward:</u>	1799-1800	Peggy Howard	1799
Jessey White	1799	A Man	1799
<u>Folio 91 Bull, Ezekiel Docter:</u>	1799-1800	Balors Toby	1799
George Hite	1799	Levi Connel	1800
John Frances	1799	<u>Folio 99 Gantt, Henry:</u>	1799-1802
A Negroe Man	1799	William Carrell	1799
White M ^{rs}	1799	Thomas Perry	1799
piper M ^{rs}	1799	Sally Macom Miss	1799
Francis Neale	1799	Isaac Hagley M ^r	1800
John Nale	1799	John Frances	1800
Hale Miss	1799	William Climer	1800
Thomas Hale	1799	Jn ^o M ^c Pherson Mill	1799
Tho ^s Haile	1799	John M ^c Pherson Mill	1799
Samuel Hibben	1799	<u>Folio 100 Tate, Magnus Sen^r:</u>	1799-1800
Hairfield Limberlick	1799	Thomas White	1799
Fendle Trimmer	1799	Your Wagoner	1799
Josiah Flagg	1799	William Johnson	1799
Joseph Nource	1799	Nelson	1799
William Cherry	1799	Thomas Wilson	1799
John Neale	1799	John Miller	1800
		<u>Folio 101 Rutherford & White:</u>	1799-1801
		<u>Folio 103 Sherley, John:</u>	1799-1801
		Robt Johnston	1800

R.	Rutherford	Mill	1800	Thomas	Haile	1800
Kerchavelle	M ^r		1800	James	White	1800
<u>Folio 104 Cross, John:</u>			<u>1799-1801</u>	Henry Gantts	Negroe	1800
Your Negroe	Humphrey		1799	John	Chamlin	1800
Sam			1799	Wilson	M ^r	1800
Negroe James			1799	<u>Folio 117 Sherley, Walter:</u> 1800		
Peter	Rust		1800	John	Wimmer	1800
John	Sherley		1800	John	Doyle	1800
Hammond & Brown			1800	<u>Folio 118 Wilson, Moses:</u> 1800		
Humphrey			1801	Battaile	Muse	1800
Grui[?] George			1801	David	Patton	1800
<u>Folio 105 Washington, George:</u>			<u>1799-1800</u>	Van	Rutherford	1800
Joseph	Crane		1799	Robert	Sweany	1800
David	Griffith		1800	Griffiths James		1800
<u>Folio 106 Gantt, John:</u>			<u>1799-1800</u>	Ann the cook		1800
Jn ^p	Frances		1799	Miller		1800
Lees George			1799	John	Miller	1800
Sally	Macom		1799	Aris Negroe	M ^s	1800
Wm	Late		1799	A negroe		1800
Edward	Gantt		1799	John	Sutton	1800
A negroe			1800	<u>Folio 119 Lee, Lancelott:</u> 1800		
<u>Folio 111 Dutroe, Micheal:</u>			<u>1799-1801</u>	James	Duke	1800
John the Beaber			1800	Frances	Whiting	1800
<u>Folio 112 Groomes, Abraham:</u>			<u>1799-1800</u>	Baylor Gabriel		1800
Groomes	M ^s		1800	Henry	Grimes	1800
Your son			1800	James	Figg	1800
daughter			1800	Wm	Shane	1800
<u>Folio 113 Hutt, John:</u>			<u>1799-1801</u>	William	Piper	1800
Matthew	Wilson		1800	John	Miller	1800
Moses	Wilson		1800	Nathaniel	Taylor	1800
Bull	Docter		1800	<u>Folio 120 Tate, Magnus Senr:</u> 1800		
H.	Gantt		1800	Ridgaways Anthony		1800
<u>Folio 114 Wilson, Moses:</u>			<u>1800</u>	Henry	Isler	1800
Negroe Man			1800	<u>Folio 123 Cherry, William Senr:</u> 1800		
Jacob	Tablor		1800	John	Gill	1800
Battaile	Muse		1800	James	Stephenson	1800
Wife			1800	John	Anderson	1800
Fry	M ^r		1800	Thos	Flagg	1800
Washingtons Mingo			1800	George	Hite	1800
<u>Folio 115 Hains, John:</u>			<u>1800</u>	Amos	Davis	1800
Wm	Hall		1800	David	Humphreys	1800
Mealon	Anderson		1800	Andrew	Haines	1800
Crage	M ^s		1800	John	Wimmer	1800
<u>Folio 116 Bull, Ezekiel Docter:</u>			<u>1800-1801</u>	Michael	Dutroe	1800
John	Frances		1800	Flagg	M ^s	1800
Frances	Neale		1800	Henry	Haines	1800
				Buckmaster	M ^r	1800
				<u>Folio 124 McPherson, John:</u> 1800		

<u>Folio 124 Haines, Andrew:</u>	1800	Your negroe Robbin	1800
<u>Folio 125 Howard, William:</u>	1800-1801	John Campbell	1800
<u>Folio 126 Lee, William:</u>	1800-1802 ²⁰	<u>Folio 132 Johnsons, William:</u>	1800-1801
Lawson Hathaway	1800	Wm Cherry	1800
George Deibler	1800	Larking Hailey	1800
Wm Shaw	1800	Saml Abbett	1800
Salley Lee	Miss 1801	<u>Folio 133 John, Miller Taylor:</u>	1800-1803
Frame & Gibbs	1801	Alburtis	1800
<u>Folio 127 Wager, John:</u>	1800-1802	<u>Folio 134 Wilson, Moses:</u>	1800
Wm Watters	1800	Haines	1800
Richard Owens	1800	R. Crawley	1800
W. Cherry	1800	M. Martin	1800
William Gibbs	1802	Bull Docter	1800
<u>Folio 127 Bryant, John:</u>	1800-1801	Robert Carnahan	1800
<u>Folio 128 Wilson, Moses:</u>	1800	Robert Sweney	1800
Robert Sweany	1800	<u>Folio 135 Cherry, William:</u>	1800
William Gromes	1800	Geo Bowman	1800
Rich ^d Haslip	1800	A negroe	1800
Collet M ^o	1800	John the Barber	1800
The Dockman	1800	<u>Folio 139 Washington, George S.:</u>	1800-1805
The boys	1800	Wm Hill	1800
John Bryant	1800	Joseph Dean	1801
James	1800	David Griffith	1801
Richard Crow	1800	<u>Folio 140 Gantt, John:</u>	1800-1801
Rich ^d Crow	1800	John Frances	1800
<u>Folio 129 Davis, Jo^s W.:</u>	1800-1806	<u>Folio 142 Deen, Ezekiel:</u>	1800-1803
Mildred Howard	1800	Spangler M ^r	1801
Andrew Haines	1801	Hailes M ^o	1801
Gibbs M ^r	1800	William Mealon	1801
A. Davenport	1802	Rutherfords Addam	1801
<u>Folio 130 Deen, Ezekiel:</u>	1800	Wm Clime	1801
Levie Connel	1800	Polley Jackson	1801
Cooper M ^o	1800	Thomas Hailes	1802
Aseph Bull	1800	Jessey Masey	1802
A Woman	1800	<u>Folio 143 Baylor, Richard:</u>	1800-1801
Sprint M ^o	1800	<u>Folio 146 Wood, James Docter:</u>	1800-1803
John Haines	1800	<u>Folio 147 Groomes, Abraham:</u>	1800-1801
Peter Haines	1800	Geo Deibler	1801
John Anderson	1800	Son Zack	1801
John Gill	1800	<u>Folio 148 Bryan, John:</u>	1801
Joseph Hagley	1800	David Humphreys	1801
<u>Folio 131 Griffith, David:</u>	1800-1801	<u>Folio 149 Collins, Christopher:</u>	1801-1802
20 In William Lee's account Frame has posted this entry on the Cr page: "By Frame & Gibbs and M ^{rs} Frame Cr in Frame & Gibbs books".		<u>Folio 150 Wilson, Moses:</u>	1801
		Micheal [?]	1801

James	English	1801	Folio 182 Shirley, Ephrem:	1803-1804
<u>Folio 151 Page, William B:</u>		1801	<u>Folio 183 Thatcher, D. Durst:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 161 Muse, Battaile:</u>		1801	Johnston	1803
<u>Folio 163 Stephenson, James:</u>	1801-1806		Spangiller	1803
<u>Folio 169 Neale, [no given name]:</u>	1803		M.	Frame
<u>Folio 170 [no surname], Gabriel:</u>	1803		John	Miller
<u>Folio 171 Davis, [no given name] Jun^r:</u>	1803 ²¹		Dust	Miss
Father	1803		<u>Folio 184 Sherley, Walter:</u>	1803
Frame & Haynie	1803		John	Stanford
<u>Folio 171 Martin, [no given name]:</u>	1804		Frame & Gibbs	1803
Frame & Haynie	1804		<u>Folio 185 [no surname], John:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 172 [no surname], Eliza Mrs:</u>	1803		<u>Folio 187 Lee, [no given name]:</u>	1803
Your Sollen	1803		<u>Folio 188 Howard, William:</u>	1803-1804
<u>Folio 175 Gibbs, [no given name]:</u>	1803		Son	1803
Wm	Gibbs	1812	Frame & Haynie	1803
M.	Frame & Co.	1803	<u>Folio 189 [no surname], Cyrus:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 176 Shirley, Robert Sen^r:</u>	1803		<u>Folio 189 [no surname], Thomas:</u>	1803
Lury	Sherley	1803	<u>Folio 192 Shipmon, [no given name]:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 177 Gaunt, John:</u>	1803-1806		<u>Folio 192 Howard, [no given name]:</u>	ND
George	Hite	1803	<u>Folio 193 [no surname], Isaac:</u>	1803
James	Clare	1803	Haynie	M ^r
Frame & Haynie		1803	<u>Folio 193 [no surname], Robert:</u>	1803
John	Haynie	1800	<u>Folio 196 Worcke, [no given name]:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 178 Dust, Paul:</u>	1803		John	Payton
Caty		1803	<u>Folio 196 Mitchell, [no given name]:</u>	1803
<u>Folio 179 Spangiller, Móssis:</u>	1803		<u>Folio 197 Wilson, Mosis:</u>	1803-1805
William	Brown	1803	Wimmer	M ^s
Forbey	Mr	1803	Simon	
<u>Folio 180 Cherry, William:</u>	1803 ²²		A man	1803
Henry	Baker	1803	A negro	1803
Humphrey	Mr	1803	Price	M ^s
Frame & Haynie		1803	Frames Nancy	M ^r
<u>Folio 181 Anderson, John:</u>	1803		E.	Gantt
John	Humphreys	1803	A boy	
<u>Folio 182 Claspey, Robert:</u>	1803		M.	Wilson
			<u>Folio 198 Cross, John:</u>	1803-1804
			<u>Folio 198 Glasscock, Travis:</u>	1803-1804
			Frame & Haynie	1804
			<u>Folio 199 Miller, James:</u>	1803

21 In Davis, Junior's account Frame has posted this note on the Dr page: "Amt Brot to Frame & Haynies".

22 In William Cherry's account Frame has posted on the Cr page: "By amt of y^r Debt carried to Frame & Haynies Ledger".

<u>Folio 200 [no surname], Michael:</u>	1803-1804 ²³	M.	Ransom	1809
John Haynie	1804	Tiffin		1810
<u>Folio 203 Miller, [no given name]:</u>	1803	J.	Hill	1810
<u>Folio 204 [no surname], Francis:</u>	1804	James	Short	1805-1809
<u>Folio 217 Davis, [no given name]:</u>	1806	Wm	Cherry	1810
<u>Folio 217 Cormick[no given name]:</u>	1803	Richard	Cherry	1810
<u>Folio 217 Davis, [no given name]:</u>	1806	John	Cherry	1810
<u>Folio 220 Peyton, John:</u>	1803	<u>Folio 227 Tate, George:</u>		1803-1804
John Haynie	1803	George	Hite	1803
Wark	1803	Frame & Haynie		1804
George Speplers	1803	<u>Folio 227 Chambers, Aaren:</u>		1809-1810
<u>Folio 221 Downey, John:</u>	1803	<u>Folio 228 Kenedy, John:</u>		1803-1804
<u>Folio 221 Haynea, John:</u>	1809	Frame & Haynie		1804
<u>Folio 221 Kerchval, Benjamin:</u>	1810	<u>Folio 228 Offutt, Samuel:</u>		1809
<u>Folio 222 Collett, Daniel:</u>	1803-1804	<u>Folio 228 Wyson, Micheal:</u>		1810-1812
Haynie	1803	John	Cassday	1810
John Haynie	1804	M.	Frame	1812
Ares	1803	<u>Folio 229 [no surname], Joseph:</u>		ND
<u>Folio 222 Malin, William:</u>	1809	<u>Folio 229 Gibbs, William:</u>		1809-1810
<u>Folio 223 Humphrey, John & David:</u>	1803	<u>Folio 229 Wilson, Moses Senr:</u>		1809-1810
<u>Folio 223 Johnson, Robert:</u>	1809	Futton		1810
<u>Folio 223 McPherson, Daniel:</u>	1809	C. G.	Richter	1810
<u>Folio 224 [no surname], John:</u>	1803	B.	Hess	1810
Humphrey M'	1803	Thos	Plow	1810
Frame & Gibbs	1803	Orrs John		1810
<u>Folio 224 Wilson, Thomas:</u>	1809	Andrew	Woods	1810
<u>Folio 224 McPherson, William:</u>	1809	Stephenson & Griffith		1810
<u>Folio 225 Fairfax, [no given name]:</u>	1803	<u>Folio 231 Alstadt, Jacob:</u>		1809
<u>Folio 226 Cherry Dec^d, The Estate of William:</u>	1803-1810	<u>Folio 231, Smallwood, Thomas:</u>		1809
Frame & Gibbs	1803	<u>Folio 232 Muse, Battle:</u>		1809
Frame Mrs	1804	<u>Folio 232 Williamson, [no given name]:</u>		1809
R. Weathernton	1805	M.	Wilson	1809
Geo Hite	1805	<u>Folio 233 McMakin, John:</u>		1809-1810
Davis Doctr	1806	<u>Folio 233, Lyons, George:</u>		1809-1810
G. Hite	1806	John	Lyons	1810
John Haines Black Smith	1808	<u>Folio 234 Crane, Joseph:</u>		1809
		John	Haynie	1809
		<u>Folio 234 Frame, Anne:</u>		1809-1810
		Lyons		1810
23 In <u>Folio 200 [no surname], Michael,</u>		<u>Folio 236 Greenfield, Gab' P. J.:</u>		1809-1810
is the entry stating: "To amount Cr in the		<u>Folio 236 Shirley, Jarvis:</u>		1809-1810
Book with John Haynie.."				

<u>Folio 237 Bond, Samuel:</u>	1809	Michel	Wysong	1812
<u>Folio 237 Leech, Archibald:</u>	1809	W ^m	Gibbs	1812
<u>Folio 239 Hansacker, Jacob:</u>	1809-1810	A.	Woods	1812
<u>Folio 239 Hammond, Thomas:</u>	1810	Tho ^s	Likens	ND
M. Wilson	1810	E.	Deen	ND
<u>Folio 240 Conner, Charles:</u>	1809	<u>Folio 241 Downy, John:</u>		1809-1810
<u>Folio 240 Frame, Matthew:</u>	1810-1812	M.	Frame	1810
P. Sprint	1810	<u>Folio 241 Stary, Nicholas:</u>		1810
J. Miller	1810	M.	Frame	1810
W ^m Stephenson	1810	Bradshaw	M ^{rs}	1810
John Kesidey	1810	Geo	Jackson	1810
Wood Doct ^r	1810	Since this record provides associations between		
Jos Bradshaw	1811	persons in a small community and is not		
Joseph W. Davis	1811	recorded in a standard census format, for a		
Geo. Harris	1811	donation of \$5.00 to the Jefferson County		
Ja ^s Shephrd	1811	Historical Society in the author's name, the		
W ^m Gibbs	Dec ^d 1811	author will send the requestor an electronic		
Samuel Offort	1811	document depicting all persons, by year, who		
M. Frame & Co.	1811	appear in the Frame ledgers. The requestor may		
Tho ^s Hammond	1811	send an e-mail to Origins@Frontier.com with		
Thomas Grady	1811	Frame Ledger Census in the subject line.		

Mr. Donald E. Watts does business as Origins: Historical Research. He has worked as a professional researcher since June 2007. Mr. Watts is a lifetime member and on the board of directors of the Jefferson County Historical Society and board member and treasurer of the Old Charles Town Library, Inc.

ERRATA

Last year the two top entries of Table 1 on page 24 of Don Watt's "Fourth Census..." were accidentally omitted.

Table 1

FOURTH US CENSUS, 1820, FOR JEFFERSON COUNTY, VIRGINIA									
Enumerator Districts	Enumerator's Page Numbers	White	Slave	Free Colored Persons	What Occupation Engaged In			Total Number in Household	Cross Foot Total
					Agriculture	Commerce	Manufactures		
Total Jefferson County, Virginia		8,900	4,133	247	1,610	71	881	13,087	13,280
Charles Town	1 - 2	803	284	32	14	27	126	1097	1119

John Brown

By Sonja James

December 2, 1859

John Brown, grip me
as I story the hour with words
never meant to be uttered.

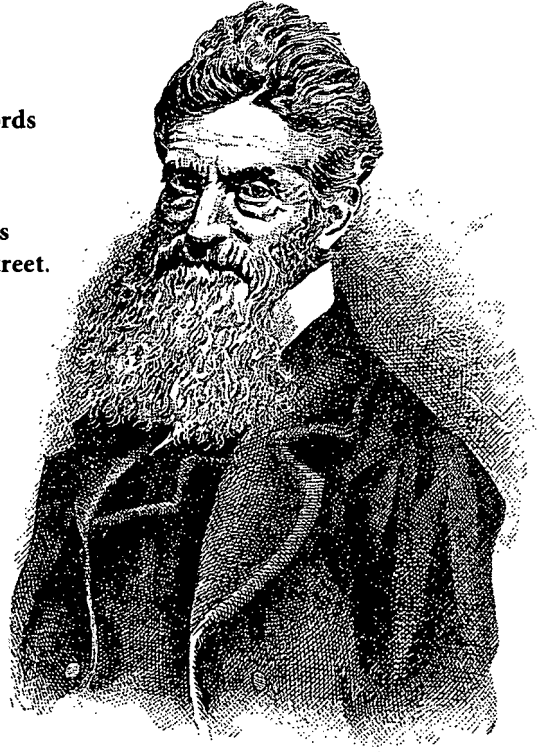
Death by hanging.
Body of controversy swings
from gallows on Samuel Street.

Silent the eyes.
Silent the hands.
Silent the feet.

And yet, hear it:
a calling,
a summons

perfect like a blue window
opening
opening

to let the soul
wing it—
eternally free.



*Sonja James is the author of three collections of poetry: *Calling Old Ghosts to Supper* (Finishing Line Press, 2013), *Children of the Moon* (Argonne House Press, 2004), and *Baiting the Hook* (the Bunny & the Crocodile Press, 1999). Her poems have appeared in *FIELD*, *The Iowa Review*, *Beloit Poetry Journal*, *32 Poems*, *Court Green*, *The South Carolina Review*, *Verse Daily*, and *Poet Lore*, among others. Among her honors are two Pushcart Prize nominations. In 2007, she was the co-winner of the Sotto Voce Award. She has contributed book reviews to *The Montserrat Review*, *Smartish Pace*, and *The Journal*. In addition, she served as an associate editor of *Antietam Review* for three years. She has two sons and resides in Martinsburg, West Virginia.*

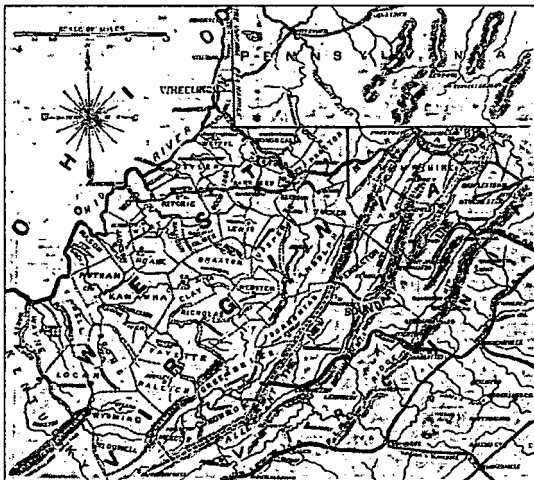
“...how I should love to know how my own dear Husband is this night”

1863 in Mr. Jefferson’s County

By P. Douglas Perks

*“Mr & Mrs Mason spent the day with me – Mr Lublette here in the evening – to know if I wished to hire Henry – Beautiful day.”*¹ With this entry in her daily journal, Ann Amelia Hooff welcomed in the year 1863. On an optimistic note she acknowledges that in spite of how her life has changed, it was a beautiful day.

When 1863 dawned in the war-torn United States, Jefferson County was still in Virginia. In the 20 months since the Commonwealth had seceded from the Union, delegates from several western Virginia counties had met, principally in Wheeling, to determine how they could remain loyal to the United States. Their solution was to secede from Virginia forming the new state of West Virginia. The 35th Star was added when 48 of Virginia’s western counties joined the Union, not including Berkeley and Jefferson County.



<http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/newstate.html>

Map of the New State of West Virginia. New York Herald, December 14, 1862.

1 Elizabeth B. Connelly *The Journal of James Lawrence Hooff – Charlestown, Virginia (now Charles Town, West Virginia) October 17, 1859 – June 1, 1864*. Page 156.

However, because of its strategic location, Jefferson County, Virginia could still become Jefferson County, West Virginia. Article I, Section 2 of the new state's constitution stipulated two things. First it specified the 44 western counties in West Virginia. It then described a process whereby the state's eastern boundary could be expanded. In December 1862, the eastern boundary was described by the Allegheny Mountains. The territory which is today West Virginia's eastern panhandle was not within the state's original boundary.

The new state constitution divided the eastern panhandle into two districts. The first district included the counties of Pendleton, Hardy², Hampshire³, and Morgan. The second district included Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick⁴ counties. The sequence for each district's vote to join West Virginia was specified in the constitution.

According to the constitution the first election had to be held in the district made up of Pendleton, Hardy, Hampshire, and Morgan counties. After their vote, if the district agreed to become a part of West Virginia, then and only then could a vote be taken in the second district which included Jefferson County. This eliminated the possibility that the district comprised of Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick counties would be separated from the rest of West Virginia by four Virginia counties.

On April 3, 1862, voters from Hampshire, Hardy, and Pendleton counties cast a total of 465 votes in favor of the West Virginia Constitution. Only three votes in opposition were recorded. According to the certified results there were "No Returns" from Morgan County. Based upon this election the entire district, including Morgan County which apparently had not held an election, became the 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th counties of the new state.⁵

One reason why no vote was held to ratify the new state constitution in the district which included Jefferson County became apparent when the Lincoln administration promulgated the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation declared that "*all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against*

2 In 1866 Grant County was formed from the western half of Hardy County and named for Union Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant.

3 In 1866 Mineral County was formed from the western half of Hampshire County and named for its coal reserves.

4 A vote to determine if Frederick County would be part of West Virginia was never held.

5 By comparison, in the Presidential election of 1860, 2,007 votes were cast in Hampshire County, 1,323 in Hardy County, 582 in Morgan County, and 750 in Pendleton County.

*the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.*⁶ The next section of the proclamation specified the states or parts of states which were at that time considered to be in rebellion against the United States. Regarding the status of Virginia the proclamation said this:

...and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth[})

The Lincoln Administration considered Jefferson County to “*be in rebellion against the United States,*” so there could be no vote in Jefferson County. Until Jefferson County was not “*in rebellion,*” her citizens would not have the opportunity to decide if they would remain in Virginia or become part of West Virginia. However, because Jefferson County was “*in rebellion,*” on January 1, 1863, 3,960 enslaved people who lived south of the Potomac, west of the Blue Ridge, and east of the Opequon became free men and women. It is interesting to note that when the Emancipation Proclamation took effect, Berkeley County was not included among Virginia’s counties “*in rebellion.*”⁷

In the presidential election of 1860, Jefferson County had overwhelmingly supported the Constitutional Union candidate John Bell⁸. When Virginia men gathered in February 1861, to decide the Commonwealth’s fate in the Union, Jefferson sent not one but two men to Richmond to support Union over secession. On two separate occasions Logan Osburn followed Jefferson County’s mandate and voted in favor of the Union⁹.

But regardless of this Union sentiment Uncle Sam took a back seat to Virginia. “I am a son of Virginia. & Her destiny shall be mine”¹⁰ was the

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- 6 Library of Congress. *The Emancipation Proclamation*. January 1, 1863. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/emancipation_proclamation/transcript.html. August 25, 2013.
 - 7 Library of Congress. *The Emancipation Proclamation*. August 25, 2013.
 - 8 West Virginia Division of Culture and History. *A State of Convenience: The Creation of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/1860presidentialvote.html>. September 2, 2013.
 - 9 Osburn voted against resolutions for secession on April 4 and April 17, 1861. The other Jefferson County delegate, Alfred Madison Barbour, voted against the April 4th resolution and was absent for the vote on the 17th.
 - 10 Logan Osburn to Robert Y. Conrad, June 6, 1861. Letter in the archives of the Jefferson County Museum, Charles Town, West Virginia.

credo of the day, and on May 23, 1861, when Virginians held the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession, Jefferson County supported secession by a vote of 813 in favor to 365 opposed. In just a matter of days Jefferson County reversed course and chose secession over Union. Her neighbor to the west, Berkeley County, held firm to their support of the Union and cast 1,303 votes against secession to just 508 votes in favor.¹¹

As further evidence of allegiance to Virginia, Jefferson County sent five infantry companies, four companies of cavalry, and one artillery battery into Confederate service. In his book *Historic Jefferson County*, esteemed historian Doctor Millard Kessler Bushong estimates that upwards of 1,600 men from Jefferson County fought for the Confederacy.¹² That number is remarkable in light of the fact that the census of 1860 recorded 5,299 white males of all ages in the county. Thus 30 percent of the total number fought for the South.¹³

In a perfect world daily life in Jefferson County during the four years of The War would have been the same as any other county in the United States in either the north or the south. Every war disrupts civilian life. Jefferson County, Virginia was of strategic importance to both armies because Jefferson County was the northern gateway to the Valley of the Shenandoah and because the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad traversed the county on its way west.

Initially it appeared that Jefferson County would be under control of the Confederate army. When Colonel Thomas J. Jackson took command at Harper's Ferry in April 1861, he reported to General Robert Lee that "*this place should be defended with the spirit which actuated the defenders of Thermopylae.*"¹⁴ But Jackson's replacement, Brigadier General Joseph Eggleston Johnston, thought differently. Instead of a position which must be defended at all cost, Johnston wrote to Lee: "*I regard Harper's Ferry as untenable.*" On June 13, Johnston ordered the evacuation of Harper's Ferry. This opened the door for Union occupation and their army seized the

11 *New River Notes*. http://www.newrivernotes.com/historical_antebellum_1861_virginia_voteforsecession.htm. September 4, 2013.

12 Millard Kessler Bushong. *Historic Jefferson County* (Boyce, Virginia; Carr Publishing Company, Inc., 1972) p. 205.

13 United States Census Records. 1860 Jefferson County, Virginia - Males. <https://www.censusrecords.com/search?state=virginia&censusyear=1860&county=jefferson&gender=male>.

14 Dennis E. Frye, *Harpers Ferry Under Fire*, The Donning Company Publishers, Virginia Beach, Virginia, 2012. Page 15.

opportunity. With few exceptions, from the fall of 1861 Jefferson County was occupied by the United States Army until war's end.

Thus when the Union army established a garrison at Harper's Ferry and set up forward positions which guarded both of the railroads and also the river crossings on the Shenandoah and the Potomac, the men in blue received less than a cordial welcome on most occasions. What they found were the friends and families of the men in Confederate service. They discovered that Jefferson County was "*in rebellion against the United States.*"

On March 26, 1863, western Virginians returned to the polls. The United States Congress had granted conditional approval for the creation of the new state of West Virginia. The final hurdle required voters to approve an amendment to the state constitution. Dubbed the Willey Amendment in recognition of its sponsor, United States Senator Waitman Thomas Willey, the change required the gradual emancipation of slaves. The referendum was held under the protection of Union troops who dispersed any opposition to the amendment, and these same troops also made sure that no Confederate soldiers, Confederate sympathizers, or opponents of West Virginia statehood were permitted to exercise their right to vote.¹⁵

On March 26th Ann Amelia Hooff described what she observed from her family's farm located just two miles to the east east of Charlestown:

George took load of flour to the Ferry - home at 7 PM - Mr Mason went down to H Moore and borrowed 1 Bushel of clover seed from him - I am to return the seed next spring & if I can pay him \$16 - confederate money - Mrs Chew here - Gert walked home with her - Windy - squal [sic] in the morning -¹⁶

Hooff's entry is revealing. Like many women her husband James was away from home serving in the Confederate Army.¹⁷ It is obvious that while her husband is away she is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the farm. She clearly demonstrates her bargaining skills by arranging to return seed next year from this year's crop. Her daily record also illustrates one of the perils of a wartime economy. Hooff promised to pay

15 *A State of Convenience: The Creation of West Virginia*. September 12, 2013.

16 Connelly. Page 163.

17 James Lawrence Hooff was a Quartermaster Sergeant in the 2nd Virginia Regiment..

Mr. Moore in “confederate money.” On March 30th she paid Mr. Webster “\$10 in Virginia money” for a calf. On April 19th she reported that Mr. Lloyd told her “*the Confederate money paid him by Mr Mason for the cow proved to be counterfeit.*” Cash transactions are complicated by the type of currency required for payment and the existence of counterfeit money. Both contribute to inflated prices.

Her entry is also revealing in what she does not write. On the day when western Virginians were to decide the fate of enslaved men and women in the new state of West Virginia, Hooff made no mention of an election in Jefferson County.

The Hooff family was very cognizant of both local and national events. There is ample evidence of this in their farm journal. Here are a few examples:

On the morning of October 17th, 1859, James Lawrence Hooff reported:

*At 9 ½ AM being in field Joe Starry rode out in haste & communicated the fact that whites and negroes had possession of the Ferry & were killing citizens.*¹⁸

Hooff joined the Jefferson Guards and responded to “the Ferry” where they and other militia units succeeded in surrounding John Brown and his men, forcing Brown to seek refuge in the armory’s fire engine and guard house.

James Lawrence Hooff was present on the morning of December 2nd, 1859, when John Brown was executed in Mrs. Hunter’s field, just to the south of the Jefferson County Courthouse. Hooff observed, “*He [Brown] walked firmly up on the gallows. He said nothing – was hung in his daily clothes – placed in his coffin & sent to the Ferry at evening under an escort.*”¹⁹

As tension mounted, the nation went to the polls to select a new president. Before he cast his vote on November 6th, 1860, Hooff said, “*This is the eventful day & as the skies are auspicious & the day beautiful, so may I hope will be the result.*”²⁰

Although he did not record his opinion of John Bell’s victory in Jefferson County,²¹ when the men of the county met to discuss reports of the potential secession of states to the south, James Hooff was very much involved. On

18 Connelly. Page 1.

19 Connelly. Page 8.

20 Connelly. Page 59.

21 In the Presidential election of 1860 in Jefferson County John Bell received 959 votes, John Breckinridge 458, and Stephen Douglas 440. Abraham Lincoln received no votes.

December 17th, 1861, he wrote:

*This is an eventful day in the history of our county. The South Carolina convention meets to settle the condition of the states going out of the confederacy & I trust in god all may go well, but the skies are dark. I have to day to narrate a very disagreeable scene in our court house. An adjourned meeting of Friday last week, was held to day in court house to take some action in regard to the present political crisis.*²²

Following this “eventful day” Jefferson County selected two men, both of them pro-Union, to represent the county at the upcoming Virginia secession convention. About their election Hooff said. “Attended meeting in town of which I was chairman, that nominated A Hunter & Lucas for convention. Osborne & Barbour were nominated by the opposite faction – or Union men.”²³ On February 4th, 1861, decidedly displeased with the result, Hooff reported the election result, “Osborne & Barbour are elected by majority – I am sorry for it.”²⁴

There is commentary in the Hooff journal about every significant political event. If it happened and was of national or local importance, they wrote about it and on many occasions James Lawrence Hooff was an active participant. The Hooff family was very politically astute. If there had been an election on March 26th, 1863, Ann Amelia Hooff would have known about it and written about it in her journal.

In early 1863, the Union garrison at Harper’s Ferry was commanded by Brigadier General John Reese Kenly. Approximately 12,000 Union soldiers were encamped at strategic locations around Jefferson County, a number which almost doubled the county’s population. General Orders No. 25 required an inventory of, “all houses, stores, the number of permanent residents, and the number and description of all transient residents.” It stated further that: “All persons not showing honest occupations or a lawful reason for their presence will be sent across the river.”²⁵ A simple visit to friends was regulated by the Union provost marshal who issued a pass which granted permission for the bearer to travel at a specified time to a specified place. Methodically the Union army was bringing the civilian population under

22 Connelly. Page 65.

23 Connelly. Page 70.

24 Connelly. Page 72.

25 Frye. Page 117.

its control. There soon would be conclusive evidence of Union control in at least a portion of Jefferson County, Virginia.

With statehood just around the corner, West Virginians went to the polls on May 28th, 1863, to select the men who would run the new state. Arthur Ingrahm Boreman of Wood County was elected the first governor of West Virginia. The *Wheeling Intelligencer* had been a strong proponent of West Virginia statehood. Its June 5th, 1863 edition reported the election results:

The new State of West Virginia held its first election of State Legislature and county officers on Thursday, May 28th. The Union State Ticket, which was placed in nomination on the 6th ult., was elected without any opposition. A few of the counties being held by the rebels, no election was held in them except for State officers, etc., belonging to the rebel order of things.

The newly elected officers of the new commonwealth are favorably known. The Governor elect, Arthur I. Boreman, is said to have been a member of the convention that carried Virginia out of the Union – he opposed the secession movement with all his energy. He has been indefatigable in his exertions to recruit soldiers for the Union Army. The Treasurer and Auditor just elected, Campbell Tarr and Samuel Crane, held the same positions in the government of old Virginia. Mr. Crane is one of the ablest Orators of the new State, and signalized himself a year ago by delivering a series of public addresses reviewing the public career of Senator Carlile. He is an able man, statesmanlike and thoroughly loyal. The other officers elect are J.E. Royers, Secretary of State; A.B. Caldwell, Attorney General; and Judge Ralph L. Berkshire. William A. Harrison and James H. Brown, of the Court of Appeals.²⁶

Note the comment about counties not under Union control, “no election was held in them except for State officers, etc.” So, on May 28th, 1863, where did that leave Jefferson County?

Exercising Article I, Section 2 of the West Virginia Constitution, state officials “ordered an election to allow the residents of Jefferson and Berkeley counties to determine whether their counties should be located in West

*Virginia or Virginia.*²⁷ Polls in Jefferson County were open at just two locations – Shepherd’s Town and Harper’s Ferry, presumably because they were the only locations physically under control of the Union army. To that extent it was reported that: “*Union troops were stationed outside polling places to intimidate those who might vote for Virginia. Despite local support for Virginia, residents who actually filled out ballots voted overwhelmingly to place both counties in West Virginia.*”²⁸

The official vote tally indicated that a total of 250 votes were cast in Jefferson County on the question of “Virginia? or West Virginia?” According to those results, 52 of the 53 votes cast at Harper’s Ferry supported West Virginia over Virginia. At Shepherd’s Town the result was similar with 196 votes in favor of West Virginia with just one vote cast for Virginia. The results beg the question: Under those conditions, who cast a vote for Virginia?

If one tries to put the May 28th, 1863 vote in context, several things must be taken into consideration. First is the total number of votes cast. Less than three years prior to the West Virginia statehood vote, 1,857 votes were cast in Jefferson County in the 1860 presidential election. Some of that number were most certainly men who were in the Confederate Army when the May 1863 vote was held. Who knows where they were at that time? Even if at home, would they have been permitted to vote? For these men who were actively supporting “*the rebellion*” the answer is most certainly “no.”

What about the Jefferson County residents who remained at home? If you take the statement, “*Union troops were stationed outside polling places to intimidate those who might vote for Virginia*” to heart, would Edmund Jennings Lee been permitted to vote at Shepherd’s Town? Would Alfred Madison Barbour been permitted to vote at Harper’s Ferry?

To another point, Alexander Robinson Boteler did an analysis of the election at Shepherd’s Town. According to his research when the polls were closed in what would become the oldest town in West Virginia, only 19 votes had been cast – 18 for West Virginia and just one vote for Virginia. In addition, Boteler found that four of the 18 votes cast for West Virginia were, in his opinion, “*illegal voters.*”²⁹ So the questions remain: Were 19 votes cast in Shepherd’s Town, or was the correct total 197? Were these votes cast by “legal” voters?

27 West Virginia Division of Culture and History. *West Virginia Statehood*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehoo.html>. August 28, 2013.

28 *West Virginia Statehood*. August 28, 2013.

29 Bushong. Page 274.

Regardless, the state of West Virginia acted quickly. On November 2nd, 1863, the Legislature of West Virginia passed, “An ACT admitting the county of Jefferson into, and making the same, part of this state.”³⁰ The act stipulated that:

WHEREAS, by an act of the general assembly of the state of Virginia, entitled “An Act giving consent to the admission of certain counties into the new state of West Virginia, upon certain conditions,” passed February fourth, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, it was, among other things, enacted that at the general election on the fourth Thursday of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, it should be lawful for the voters of the district composed of the counties of Frederick and Jefferson, or either of them, to declare by their votes whether the counties of the said district should be annexed to and become part of the state of West Virginia, and the consent of the said general assembly was thereby given for the annexation to this state of such district, if a majority of the votes polled therein should so determine; provided, that this legislature should also consent and agree to the said annexation; after which all jurisdiction of the state of Virginia over the district so annexed should cease;

And whereas, it was further provided by the said act, that it should be the duty of the governor of the state of Virginia to ascertain and certify the result of the said vote as other elections are certified, and Francis H. Pierpont, governor of the state of Virginia, did, on the fourteenth day of September, in the present year, after reciting that polls were opened in the said county of Jefferson, on Thursday, the twenty-eighth day of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, on the question of annexation to the said new state, certify, under his hand and the less seal of the state of Virginia, that from the returns made to the executive department thereof, a very large majority of the votes cast at the said election were in favor of the said annexation [my emphasis] of the said county of Jefferson to the state of West Virginia...

Fait accompli. Regardless of who was or who was not present to vote on May 28th, 1863, “a very large majority of the votes cast at the said election were in

30 A State of Convenience: The Creation of West Virginia. September 12, 2013.

favor of the said annexation." Jefferson County, Virginia was now Jefferson County, West Virginia. The men who marched away to the credo, "I am a Virginian" would return "home" to Jefferson County, West Virginia.

In the fall of 1863 The War's devastation began to spread beyond the factories in Harper's Ferry. On October 18th, 1863, the courthouse was destroyed when Confederate Brigadier General John Daniel Imboden used artillery fire to attack the Union garrison in Charlestown commanded by Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson. Although Imboden succeeded in capturing most of Simpson's force, the Union army retained control of Charlestown. The court house, market house, and jail lay in ruins.

The fall also marks a change in the tenor of Ann Amelia Hooff's entries in her journal. In just one week in October 1863 she reported almost daily visits to her farm by Union soldiers looking for food or supplies. On the 21st, *"some Federal troops came up the meadow this evening – tried hard to kill my turkeys – but did not succeed – they killed Mrs Risslers ducks."* On the next day *"4 Federal soldiers here looking at the horses – 15 came after dinner & took Cole & Allie³¹ & killed a good many fowls – took about 12 lbs of the butter the milk etc – they seemed much excited – I did not go near the barn yard."* On the 23rd, *"Yankees came this evening & took Pet, Jewel & Nance."* The Hooff's now have only two work horses left. The situation gets worse on the 24th when Ann Amelia reported that *"so many Yankees going about I am afraid for the hands to leave the house – They [Union soldiers] brought Jewel & Nance back – did not suit."³²* It is apparent that with the increased presence of the Union army coupled with the army's constant need for supplies, area farms were going to be impacted.

But for the Hooff family, the news would get worse. On Sunday, December 13th, 1863 Ann Amelia Hooff wrote these words:

Sunday – No one here – I walked to Mrs Chews to inquire of a rumor that has reached me to-day – it has been reported that Mr Hooff is wounded & some say he is dead – God in mercy spare me this blow – my heart is well nigh broken with its burden of cares – but this will be more than I can bear I fear – I put my trust in my Savior – I place all in His hands – tomorrow I hope will bring me tidings that my precious

31 These are horses owned by the Hooffs. Allie was Ann Amelia's favorite and she had just learned to ride her.

32 Connelly. Page 182.

Husband is spared to me – God grant that there are many days of happiness in store for us & that we may so live here on this earth as to be able to say at the last hour – Come Lord Jesus – Come quickly – Amen –³³

Good news arrived on December 15th:

Aldrege Chew brought me a letter from Mr H – he is well – I thank my God, for so soon granting my prayer...In mercy oh my God spare my Husband to me.³⁴

Ann Amelia Hooff's journal entry on December 25th, 1863, most certainly summarized the feelings of many Jefferson Countians on that day:

Christmas Day – It does not seem like the happy days I have spent a few years ago – how I should love to know how my own dear Husband is this night - & how he has spent this day – most of his thoughts I know have been of me & our little ones...2 Yankees here & killed 2 turkeys of Mrs Risslers – More moderate this evening – Mr McCurdy sent me \$20.³⁵

At the end of 1863, Virginia had lost her Jefferson County. When The War began, Jefferson County's strategic location was noted by both armies and the reality of that importance transformed the county from farmland to battleground. Jefferson's citizens struggled to maintain some semblance of normalcy in the face of an ever-increasing presence of the Union army and the Confederate resistance to this presence. It would be a daily challenge.

P. Douglas Perks, a Native of Jefferson County, is Assistant Curator of the Jefferson County Museum. He is a frequent speaker on Jefferson County History, the author of "Mr. Jefferson's County" in The Guardian, and a contributing author to The Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society.

33 Connelly. Page 187.

34 Connelly. Pages 187-188.

35 Connelly. Page 188.

Summer Picnic

This year the picnic was hosted by John and Carmen Creamer at their home, Locust Grove. At last, after having rain for three years, it was a dry day and the deviled eggs were safe.

Locust Grove was built by William B. Willis in 1841-2 on land that originally belonged to Lawrence Washington, the General's half-brother. It was acquired in 1851 by Robert Vinson Shirley who lived there until his death in 1912. His son George Thomas Shirely's daughter Julia Grantham Shirely married John Phillip Creamer, Jr. the father of the current owner.

The house is being carefully restored under the watchful eye of Carmen, the archeologist, and is evolving nicely.

Thanks to the Creamers, the caterer Magnolia Tree, the organizer Betsy Wells and to all the members and guests that brought the fantastic food.

