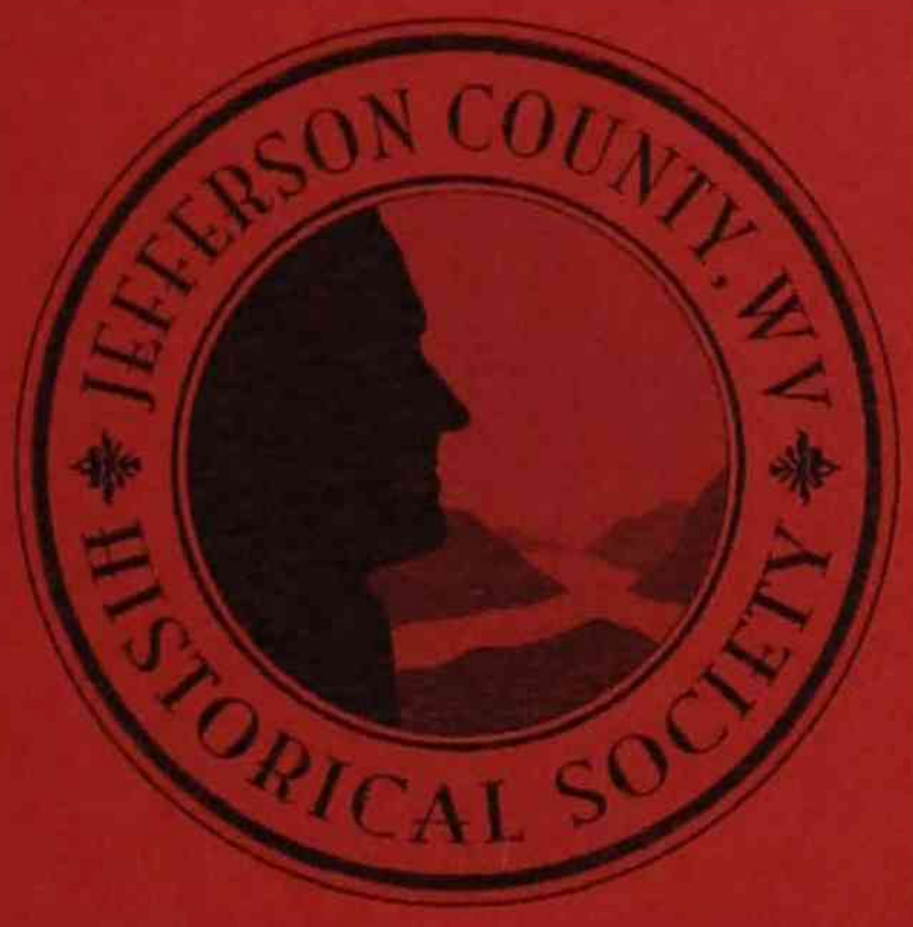
Table of Contents



Magazine of the

Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume LXXIX
December 2013

Table of Contents

Magazine of the

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Volume LXXIX December 2013

CONTENTS

Officers of the Society 3
Membership Fees 3
Publications Available 4
List of Members 5
Editor's Note 16

"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 17

Who Lived in the Matthew Frame "Community?"
Constructing a Census for a Jefferson County, Virginia Community
by Don Watts 28

John Brown
a poem by Sonja James 54

"...how I should love to know how my own dear Husband is this night"
1863 in Mr. Jefferson's County
by P. Douglas Perks 55

Summer Picnic 67

"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

© Jefferson County Historical Society, 2013

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927

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

www.jeffersonhistoricalwv.org

OFFICERS

President:	P. Douglas Perks, Shepherdstown
Vice-President:	James G. Gibson, Harpers Ferry
Treasurer:	Barbara Gibson, Harpers Ferry
Recording Secretary:	Keith Alexander, Shepherdstown
Membership Secretary:	Hugh E. Voress, Charles Town
Corresponding Secretary:	Betsy Wells, Charles Town
Guardian Editor:	Curt Mason, Summit Point
Magazine Editor:	James L Glymph, Avon Bend

Directors: Susannah Buckles Flanagan, Shenandoah Junction; William M. Drennen, Jr., Shepherdstown; Evelyn Taylor, Kearneysville; Robert O'Connor, Charles Town; Donald E. Watts, Charles Town; Carmen Creamer, Summit Point

Emeritus Officers: Roger J. Perry, John E. Stealey III

Membership: Open to all who have interest in the history of Jefferson County. Annual dues of $20 or life membership of $400 may be sent to: Membership Secretary, P.O. Box 485, Charles Town, WV 25414 or on-line: www.jeffersonhistoricalwv.org. Membership relative to receiving and being listed in the magazine is as of September 30. Payment after this date will be credited to the following year.

PUBLICATIONS

One copy of the Magazine is mailed to each person with a paid membership. Back issues, original or reprint, may be obtained by sending a check or money order to:

Jefferson County Historical Society
Post Office Box 485
Charles Town, West Virginia 25414

Or through the Society website at: jeffersonhistoricalwv.org. All publication prices include postage and handling.

1935-1964	$20
1965-1994	$15
1995-current	$10

Other publications (order same as above):

Prominent Men of Shepherdstown 1762-1962 $10

Between the Shenandoah and Potomac: Historic Homes of Jefferson County, West Virginia $49.95

DVD: *Between the Shenandoah and Potomac: An Illustrated History of Jefferson County, West Virginia* $14

The Washington Homes of Jefferson County $10

Calendar and Index to Recorded Plats in Jefferson County, West Virginia (Virginia) Courthouse, 1801-1901 $25

A Bicentennial History of Jefferson County, West Virginia 1801-2001 $8

1786-1986 Charles Town Bicentennial $15

Tombstone Inscriptions, Jefferson County, West Virginia 1687-1980 $22

Burials in Jefferson County, West Virginia, 1978-97; Supplemental to Tombstone Inscriptions to 1980 $18.

Military Operations in Jefferson County Virginia (now West Virginia) $15

The West Virginia Encyclopedia $45

DVD: *The Civil War in Jefferson County* $20

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



John Augustine Washington, IV

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, 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 private[1] 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 Seaurt[3] [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

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.

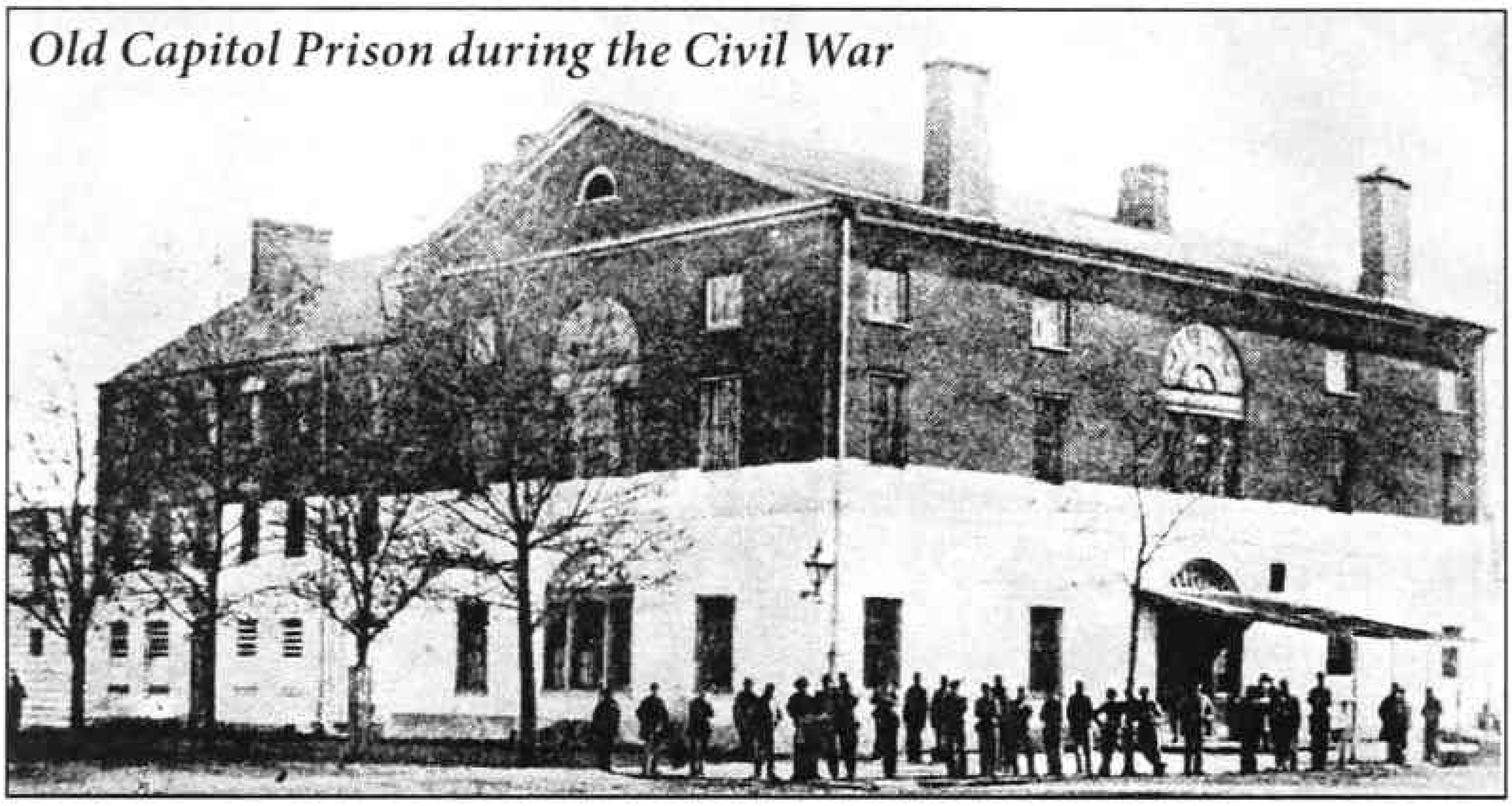
Very respy yur obt servt,
[Signature illegible]
Captn. For A. D. C.

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 space[7] 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 stationary 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

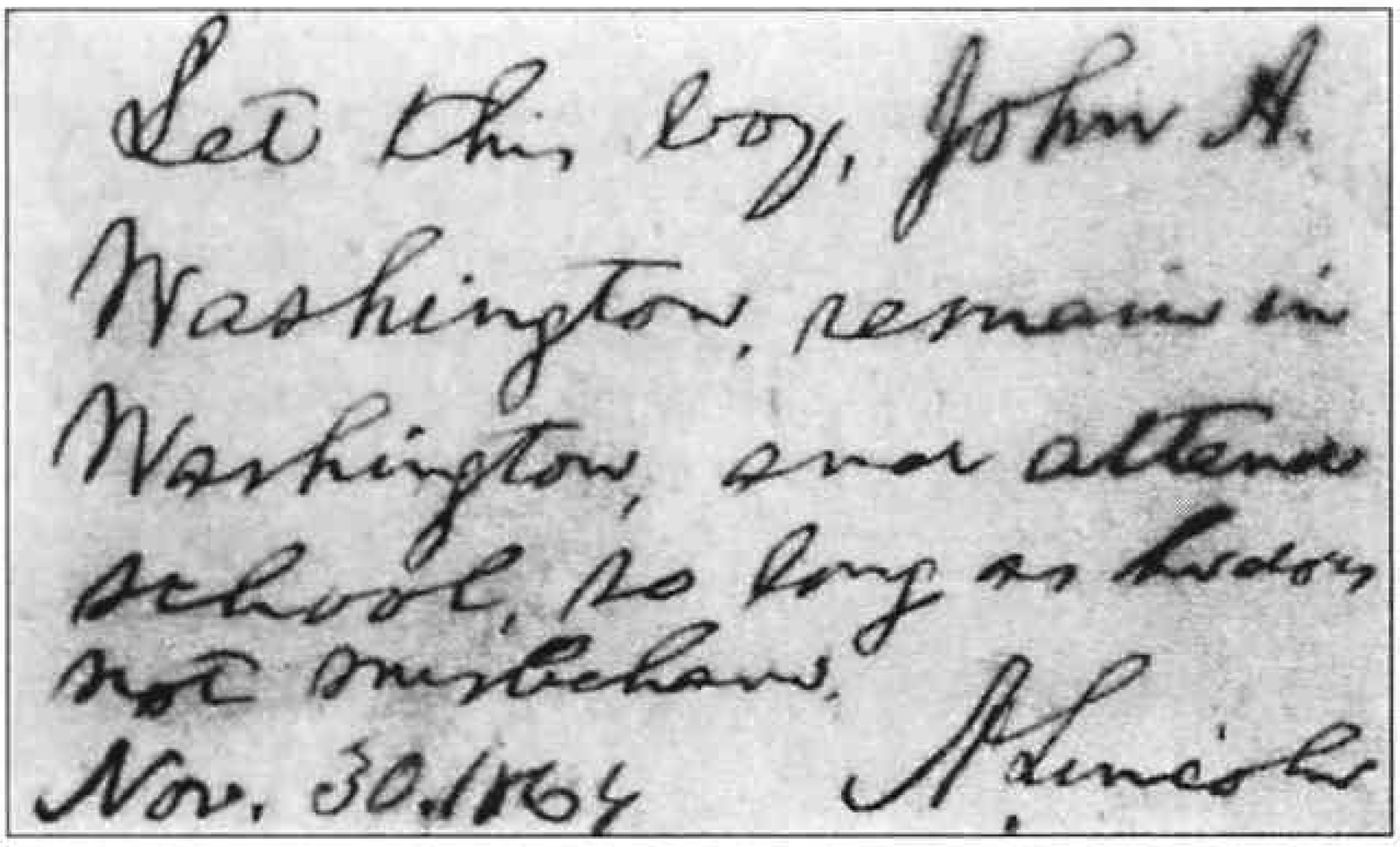
---

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 not 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 & Floride[16] 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]

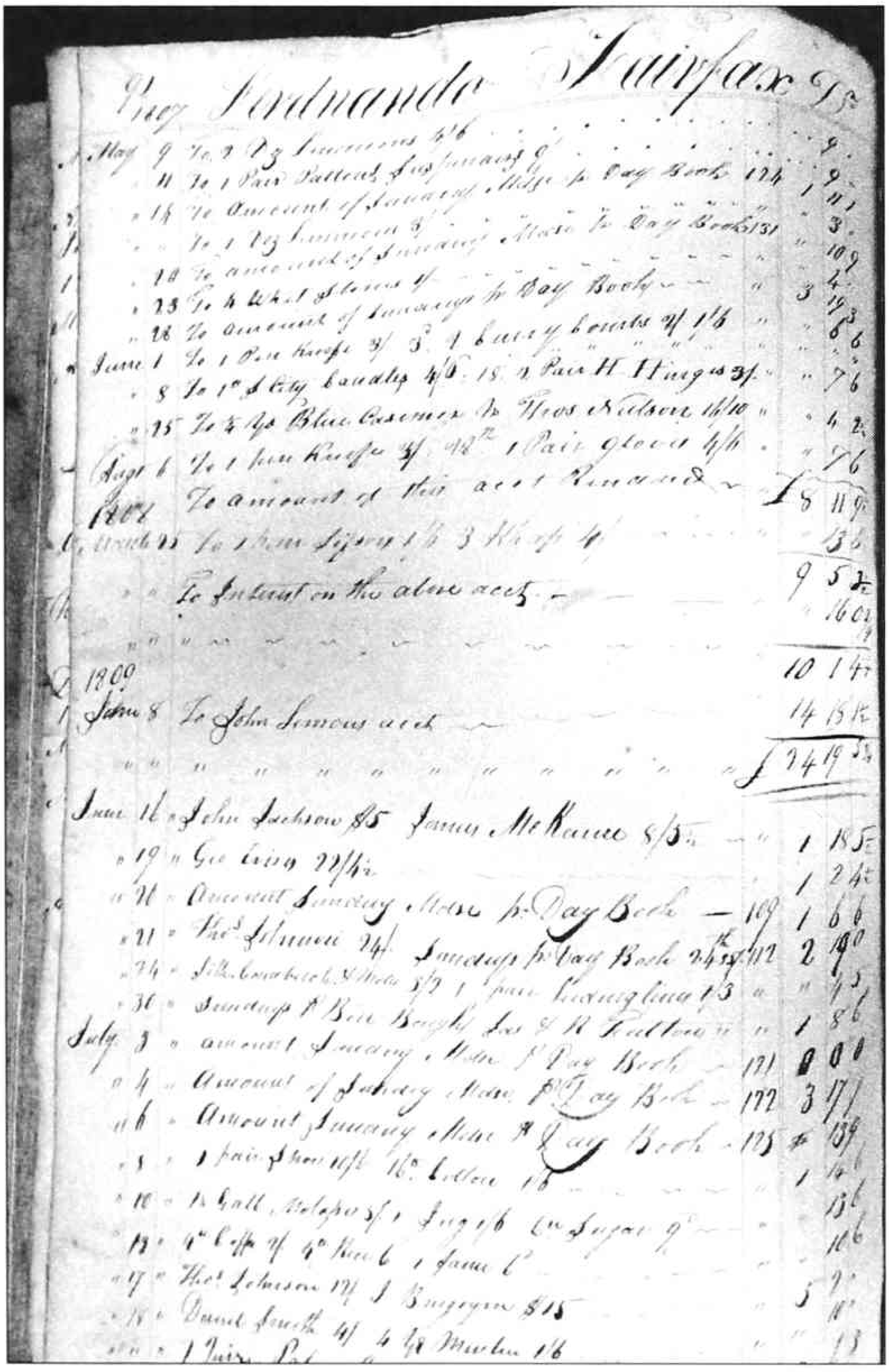
In an economy based upon "subsistence-barter-borrow,"[3] historians will be reading these accounts with an eye to determining what commodities were being purchased, both by Frame and his clients, and what types of exchanges this community was conducting.

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 Virginius Island*. Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006.



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 folios[9] 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 contra[13] 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

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
Haines		1807
Basil	Williamson	1807
Blackburn		1807
J.	Haines	1807
Henry	Haines	1807
A.	Lusbourgh	1807
A Boy		1807
Yellow John		1807
John	Miller	1808
A Boy		1808
George	Hite	1808
John	Wilson	1808

Folio 5 Wilson, Matthew:		1806-1808
Benja	Macey	1806
French	Mr.	1807
Father		1808

Folio 6 Howard, William:		1806-1809
Vincent	Moor	1806
John	Burgoyne	1807
Your Son		1807-1808
W.H.	Harding	1807
Holliss		1809
William	Hollass	1809

Folio 7 Haynia, John:		1806-1809
Iserrael	Crow	1806
Israel	Crow	1807
Eversole		1807
J.	D.	1807
Mercy [Murcy]		1807

Folio 8 Wilson, Moses Sen^{r}:		1806-1807
A negro		1806
A Woman		1806
A negro boy		1806-1807
William	Sulivan	1806-1807
Curtis	Grubb	1806
A Negro Man		1806
John	Markwood	1807
John the barber		1807
Negro		1807

Folio 9 Malin, William:		1806-1809
Howard	Mrs.	1808
John	Wilson	1807
A.	White	1807
Jas.	Wilson	1809
M.	Frame	1809

Folio 10 Alstadt, John:		1806-1809
Josiah	Alstadt	1808
Assass	Bull	1806
Asopp	Bull	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
John	Gardner	1807
Anthony	Keller	1808
Jacob	Lanciscus	1807-1808
Hugh	McDaniel	1806-1808
McDonald Mrs.		1808
Moren	Miss	1808
T	Reed	1807
Danniel	White	1806

Folio 11 Duke, James: 1806-1807

Folio 11 Johnson, Robert: 1808

Folio 13 Ranson, Matthew: 1807-1808

Folio 13 Wilson, Thomas: 1806-1809

Goldsbury Miss		1808
Son		1808
M.	Frame	1809

Folio 14 Frame, Matthew: 1806-1807

Folio 15 Haines, William: 1806-1809

Dixon		1809
John	Dixon	1809

Folio 16 Buckmaster, Zach: 1808

Washn Miss		1808

Folio 16 Johnson, William: 1806-1807

Sarah	Jackson	1806

Folio 17 Dixon, John: 1806-1809

Jas.	Bull	1807
J.	Bull	1808
John	Wood	1806-1807

Folio 18 Chambers, Aaron : 1806-1809

S.	Bostal		1807
John	Bryant		1808
M.	Frame		1807-1809
Moses	Wilson	Senr	1807

Folio 19 Cockrill, Petre: 1806-1808

James G.	Bowers	1807

Folio 22 Saunders, John: 1806-1808

Humphreys			1807
Father			1807
Moses	Wilson	Se^{nr}	1807
Samuel	Bond		1807
M.	Frame		1807
J.	Young		1807
Ezekiel	Wood		1807
John	Moor		1807

Folio 23 Blackburn, William: 1806-1810

M.	Frame	1808
Chrales	Gibbs	1810
Waggoner		1806
Moses	Wilson	1807

Folio 24 Gibbs, William: 1806-1809

Folio 25 Hickman, William: 1806-1808

M.	Frame	1807
Moses	Wilson	1808

Folio 26 Young, John: 1806-1809

M.	Wilson	1806
John the Barber		1807
Jas.	McClency	1808
Butler		1808

Folio 28 Alstadt, Jacob: 1806-1809

Bennett Mrs.		1808
John	Coo	1808
Edward	Goldsbury	1807
Thomas	Goldsbury	1807
J G	Ladd	1808
J	Lanciscus	1808
William	Murphy	1807
Murphy Mrs.		1808
George	Pulse	1808
Gabriel	Smallwood	1808
Danniel	White	1806

Folio 29 Craighill, Nathanial: 1807-1808

Jack	Mister	1808

Folio 29 Grubb, John: 1806-1807

Folio 30 Frame, Ann: 1806-1809

Peter	McCarty	1807

Folio 31 Haines, John: 1806-1808

M.	Frame	1808
William	Sulivan	1808
John	Wilson	1808
Moses	Wilson	1808

Folio 31 McGowen, John: 1807-1809

Summer Mr.		1807

Folio 32 Collett, Dannial: 1806-1809

George	McCormick	1807
Baker	Moore	1807
Edward	Ranson	1807
John	Thompson	1807
Elisor	Thompson	1807
William	Wist	1807
"Your son in Baltimore		1807

Folio 33 Dillow, Joseph:		1806-1807
Folio 33 Muse, Battle:		1808-1809
Folio 34 Wilson, George:		1806-1808
P. B.	Whitings	1807
Folio 35 Stary, Nichalas[14]:		1806-1807
M.	Frame	1807
Folio 36 McMacon, John:		1806-1809
West	Mr.	1807
Folio 36 Lyons, George:		1808
[Account "x-out"]		
Folio 36 Lyons, George:		1808-1809
Brother		1809
Folio 38 McDonald,Hugh:		1806-1809
V.	Moor	1807
John	Alstadt	1807
Conway Miss		1807
Folio 41 Griggs, Thomas:		1806-1808
Jacob	Alstat	1808
M.	Frame	1808
Folio 42 Greenfield, Gabl T.:		1808-1809
Alexr	Stuart	1808
Folio 42 Smith, Slauter:		1806-1808
William	Morno	1807
Folio 43 Sherley, Jarvis		1806-1809
Moses	Wilson	1808
M.	Frame	1808
Folio 44 Leetch, Arcebal:		1807-1809
Folio 44 Bond, Samuel:		1806-1809
Frances	Webb	1809
Folio 45 Brown, Joseph:		1807-1809
M.	Frame	1809
Jas.	Howard	1808
James	Howard	1808
Geo.	Young	1808
George	Young	1808
Folio 47 Wood, James Doct[r]:		1807-1809
Jas.	Hogins Wife	1807
Basel	Games	1807
Moses	Wilson Senor	1808
M.	Frame	1808
William	Berry	1809

14 Stary is probably a milliner by trade.

Folio 48 Deen, Ezekial:		1806-1809
Brittion	Mrs.	1807
M.	Frame	1808
William	Haines	1809
Murphy		1807
Thos.	Reed	1807
Frank	Roper	1807
Wash	Mrs.	1807
Jas.	Griffittus Mrs.	1807
Folio 48 Haines, Henry:		1807-1809
M.	Frame	1808
Monehan Miss		1808
Moses	Wilson	1807
Wife		1808
Folio 49 Fraizer, Razin:		1807
Meryland	Fraizer	1807
Folio 49 Hansacker, Jacob:		1807-1809
H.	Haines	1809
John	Wilson	1809
Folio 50 Conner, Charles:		1807-1809
Kirby	Mr.	1807
Folio 52 Swarngin, John:		1807-1809
William	Serg[??]t	1807
Joseph	Abrill	1807
M.	Frame	1809
Grantom		1809
Folio 52 Tate, William:		1807-1809
Folio 53 Howard, Marton:		1807-1809
Joseph	Offutt	1807
Wife		1809
J.	Young	1807
Folio 53 Throckmorton, John:		1808-1809
William	Brown	1808
Jas.	Hite	1808
M.	Frame	1808
Folio 54 Howal, Samuel :		1807-1809
Folio 54 Markwood, John:		1807-1809
Moses	Wilson	1808
Folio 55 Dillow, William:		1807-1808
Folio 56 Woods, Andrews:		1807-1809
Matthew	Frame	1807-1809
Markwell		1809
Moses	Wilson Senr	1809

Folio 58 Palmer, John: 1807

Folio 58 Swain, Joshua: 1808-1809

Chambers		1808

Folio 59 Orr, John D.: 1807-1808

J.	Young	1808

Folio 60 Cordell, Collen: 1807-1810

Jas.	Clare	1807
Presley	Cordell	1810
M.	Frame	1807
George	Ware	1808
Moses	Wilson	1807

Folio 62 Likins, Thomas [Cobbler]: 1807-1809

William	McCarty	1808
Welsh	Mrs.	1809
Robert	Beaty	1809
M.	Wilson Jr	1809
W.	Athey	1809

Folio 63 Sherley, Ephram: 1807-1809

Folio 73 Welsh, Richard: 1807-1809

William	Avis	1807
Samuel	Henderson	1808
Jahue	Hale	1808
Moses	Wilson	1807
T.	Howard	1808
M.	Frame	1808
Avis Mr.		1808

Folio 74 Gantt, John: 1807-1809

Folio 75 Hammond, Thomas: 1807-1810

George	Hite	1808

Folio 76 Tows, Thomas: 1807-1809

Brother		1809

Folio 76 Annon, Dannial: 1807-1810

M.	Frame	1808-1810
M.	Wilson	1807-1809

Folio 77 Clare, James: 1807-1809

Clisco	Dednt	Miss	1808
M.	Frame		1808
William	Jolleff Alexr[15]		1809

15 "Alexr" may merely mean Alexandria, Virginia and therefore this person was not residing in Jefferson County, Virginia.

Folio 78 Brown, Mrs. Iseb[l]: 1807

Brown	Son's Account	1807
M.	Frame	1807

Folio 79 Farr, Joseph: 1807-1809

Thomas	Chamberlin	1807
Chamberlin	Miss	1808
M.	Frame	1807
James	Gowings	1809

Folio 80 Wilson, Moses Sn[r]: 1807

John	McAndrew	1807
Negro Chas		1807
Assoss	Bull	1807
Basil	Games	1807
Larkin	Haly	1807
Paul	Durst	1807
B.	Games	1807

Folio 81 Chamberlin, Elijah: 1807-1809

Wm.	Gasway	1808
Jacob	Kilen	1808
George	Rily	1808

Folio 86 Little, William: 1807-1809

Profator		1807
M.	Frame	1807

Folio 87 Fillet, Francis: 1807-1809

M.	Frame	1809
John	Miller	1807
J.	Sanndry	1809
Thos.	Th[eese]	1808

Folio 88 Devenport, Benjmn: 1809

M.	Wilson	1809

Folio 88 Lee, William: 1807

Folio 89 Dougherty, Patrick: 1807

Moses	Wilson	1807

Folio 89 Spencer, Samuel: 1807-1808

Folio 90 Harding, William H.: 1807-1809

Thos.	Flagg	1807
Harding Mrs.		1809
Rodger		1807

Folio 91 Fairfax, Ferdnando: 1807-1809

J.	Burgoyne	1809
Geo.	C[?]	1809
Polly	Campbell	1809
Jas.	Fatton	1809
R.	Fatton	1809
John	Jackson	1809

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

16 Violet had a continuation folio 151, but the folio is missing.

Moler		1807
Lehue	Ellis	1807
Aaron	Chaulier	1807
Your Boys		1807
William	Rily	1807
Basil		1807
Jas & Robert Futton		1807

Folio 108 McCarty, Peter:		1807
Duke	Mrs.	1807

Folio 108 Mcmackon, James:		1807

Folio 109 Wilson, Moses Senr:		1807[17]

Folio 111 Lemon, John:			1807-1809
Lucy	Frank	Miss	1807
Tate	Mrs.		1808
A Negro			1807

Folio 112 Frame, Matthew:		1807-1807
Petre	McCarty	1807
Alexr	Cordele	1807
Wm	Berry	1807
John	Saunders	1807
Hannah		1807
Free Basil		1807
Petre	Haines	1807
G & L	Humphreys	1807
Andrew	Wood	1807
Nancy		1807

Folio 113 Clark, John:		1807-1809
William	Conway	1808
John	Jackson	1807
James	McMakin	1808
Jonathan	Robinson	1808
A Negro		1808
Geo.	Ware	1808
A Negro		1807
To the Barber		1807
Your Negro		1807
Jasper		1808

Folio 115 Wilson, Moses Senr:		1807
Aaron	Chambers	1807
William	Hickman	1807
the Barber		1807
Nathaniel	Harnet	1807
Richard	Welsh	1807
Jas	Duke	1807

William	Berry	1807
B[?]	Brown	1807
Matthew	Anderson	1807
Jas	Farr	1807
Thos T.	Edmonson	1807
Cylas	Glasscock	1807
Purnal	Miss	1807
Jas.	Howard	1807
J.	Gardner	1807

Folio 116 Miller, John:		1807-1808

Folio 116 Russell, Samuel:		1807-1808
John	Coyle	1807

Folio 119 McPherson, Samuel:		1807

Folio 119 Devenport, John:		1807-1809
William	Hickman	1807
M.	Wilson	1807

Folio 120 Wilson, Moses:		1807-1808
Sylass	Glasscok	1807
A negro		1807
Benja	Massy	1807
Jas	Duke	1807
George		1807
Frames Petre		1807
Basil		1807
McDonnold		1808
Purnal	Mrs	1808
French		1808
Sulivan		1808
B.	Games	1808
Your Son Matthew		1808
A negro		1808
Lucy	French	1808

Folio 121 Frame, Matthew:		1807-1808
James	McLaughlin	1807
Jas	Luke	1807
Danial	Young	1807
Cato		1808
F.	Fetteth	1808
Sulivan		1808
Petre	McCarty	1808
Jas	Clare	1808
Ezekiel	Dun	1808
Michael	Wysong	1808
Danial	Lupton	1808
John	Haines	1808

Folio 122 Harris, George:	1807-1808

17 Folio 109 is missing; however, folio 101 states that the information was carried over to folio 109 for Moses Wilson, Senior.

Folio 124 Anderson, Mahlon:		1807-1809
Downey & Lyons		1808-1809
Wm.	Holm	1809
Jas.	McCleney	1807
E.	Oldham	1807

Folio 125 Painter, John:		1807-1809
Folio 125 Tucker William:		1807-1809
Jacob	Lekeal	1807
Daughter		1809
Folio 126 Stary, Nichalas:		1807-1809
Folio 128 Kercheval, Benj[a]:		1808-1809
Andrew	Southart	1808
R.	Fulton	1809
Son		1808
Folio 128 White, John:		1808
M.	Frame	1808
Folio 129 Haines, John Junr:		1808-1809
Crawley		1809
Matthew	Frame	1808-1809
S.	French	1808
Betsey	Hains	1809
Phillips		1809
John	Wilson	1808
John	Young	1808
Folio 130 Wilson, Moses Sen[r]:		1808
Shirly	Mr[s]	1808
The Flaxbraker		1808
Michael	Wysong	1808
Barber	Hess	1808
Jessy	Purnal	1808
S.	Suthern	1808
Dannial	Lupton	1808
Hite		1808
Crow	Miss	1808
French	Miss	1808
Folio 131 Lemon, John:		1807-1809
Danl	Hynia	1808
P.	Crow Miss	1808
Michael	Powers	1809
Folio 132 Frame, Matthew:		1808-1808
McMakin		1808
Tho[s]	Reed	1808
Philop	Haines	1808
Lyons		1808
William	Malin	1808
Jroal	Fuse	1808
Benj[a]	Massy	1808
Geo	Hite	1808
John	Wilson	1808
Mr.	Haines	1808
Petre	Haines	1808
Rich[d]	Leoillin	1808
Folio 133 Wilson, Moses Jr.:		1807-1809
Blackburn		1808
John	Wilson	1808
H.	Haines	1808
Humphreys		1808
Tho[s]	Flagg	1808
Tomson		1808
Jno	Wilson	1808
Frame's George		1808-1809
Greenfield's George		1808
Will the Weaver		1808
Bryan	Mrs.	1808
A Man		1808
Jas.	Crawley	1808-1809
Geo.	Hite	1808
A negro		1808
Crawley		1809
H.	Isler	1809
J.	Anderson	1809
The Barber		1809
William	Berry	1809
Flagg	Mr[s].	1809
W[ ]son	Mr[s].	1809
John	Wilson	1809
Moler		1809
Stary		1809
A negro		1809
John	Young	1809
Joseph	Blackburn	1809
Folio 134 Craighill, Price:		1808-1809
H.	Haines	1809
Folio 134 Ostin, Thomas:		1808-1809
Folio 134 Wilson, Moses		1808
Howard		1808
Jas	Hogin	1808
A negro		1808
Benj[n]	Massy	1808
William	Morrow	1808
brow	Miss	1808
Humphreys		1808
Jacob	Haines	1808
Jessy	Purnall	1808
J.	Saunders	1808
George	Hite	1808

Michael	Killinbarger	1808
Crow	Miss	1808
Nancy	Crow	1808
A Boy		1808
Jarvis	Shirly	1808
M.	Killinbarger	1808
Adam	Brown	1808
Purnal		1808
William	Berry	1808

Folio 136 Wilson, Moses Jr.:		1807-1809
C. G.	Richter	1809
Hedwell		1809
Russel		1809

Folio 136 Williams, Samuel:		1808-1809

Folio 137 Frame, Matthew:		1808-1808
Petre	Haines	1808
Your Boys		1808
Markwood		1808
J.	Wilson	1808
Watter	French	1808
Philop	Haines	1808
John	Haines	1808
John	Griggs	1808
Hatways		1808
Davenport	Mr^{s}.	1808
Stary		1808
R.	Avery	1808
Larkin	Haley	1808
Tho^{s}	Reed	1808
Jasper	Thomson	1808

Folio 138 Wilson, Moses Sen^{r}:		1808
Watter	French	1808
Jessy	Purnal	1808
Thomson		1808
Petre	Haines	1808
Tho^{s}	Reed	1808
Humphreys		1808
The Barber		1808
Avery		1808
A Woman		1808
Mr. Frames George		1808
Rily	M^{r}	1808
J.	Wilson	1808
Tho^{s}	Thomson	1808
B.	Goyne	1808
John	Haines	1808
M.	Killingbarger	1808

Folio 139 Wright, Samuel:		1807-1809
M.	Frame & Co.	1809
Brackenridge		1808

Folio 140 Collett, Dannial:		1806-1809
Diviond Wife		1809
Geo.	McCormick	1809
Baker	Moore	1808

Folio 141 Frame, Matthew:		1808-1808
Bryan	Mr^{s}.	1808
Peter	Haines	1808
Geo	Hite	1808
Tho^{s}	Thomson	1808
Tho^{s}	Reed	1808
John	Burgoyne	1808
Reed & Hess		1808
Tucker		1808
Jasper	Thomson	1808
John	Wilson	1808

Folio 142 Clark, John:		1807-1809
Free Jonathon		1808
Jonathan		1809

Folio 143 Tate, William:		1807-1809
Hite		1809
Marton	Howard	1809

Folio 144 Wilson, Moses S^{r}:		1808-1809
John	Anderson	1808
Richd	Williams	1808
A Negro		1808
George		1808
J.	Markwood	1808
Samuel	Russel	1808
James	Wood D^{r}	1809
M. Frames Nan		1809
Benjamin Davenport		1809
Samuel	Wright	1809
Wibb		1809
James	Haines	1809
Ja^{s}	Crawley	1809
Andrew	Wood	1809
Geo	Wash	1809
Haines	Tanner	1809
Crumswile	M^{r}	1809
Shirley		1809
Patrick	Spritts	1809
John	Conway	1809
James	Wilson	1809
Geo	Hite	1809
Cha^{s} G.	Richter	1809
Mr. Frames Georg		1809
Cordell		1809
John	Miller	1809

Folio 145 Frame, Matthew:		1808-1809
Crage	Mr^s.	1808
H.	Haines	1808
George	Ware	1808
A.	Woods	1808
Jarvis	Shirley	1808
Peggy	Wilson	1808
William	Brown	1808
Adam	Brown	1808
Chas. G.	Rictor	the barber 1809
Jas.	Wood	Dr. 1809

Folio 146 Dixon, John:	1806-1809
His Negro	1809

Folio 147 Wilson, David:	1808-1809
Paul & Virginia	1809

Folio 148 Brackenridg, Thomas:		1808-1809
Wm.	Tate	1810

Folio 148 Stary, Nichalas:		1807-1809
M.	Frame	1809

Folio 149 Alstadt, John:		1806-1809
Barton	Miss	1809
William	Conway	1809
Jonah	Cooper	1809
Joe	Galloway a Negro	1808
Sarah	Jett	1809
A	Keller	1809
Philops		1809
John	Sutton	1809
Jonathan	Negro	1809

Folio 153 Frame, Matthew:		1809-1809
Ja^s	M^cLaughlin	1809
Peter		1809
Isaac		1809
Free Isaac		1809
Geo. C.	Cordele	1809
Cr[?]	M^r	1809
Chas. O.	Brian	1809

Crawley & Wilson		1809
A.	Chambers	1809
R.	Welsh	1809
Moore	the Post	1809
Andrew	Woods	1809
Stary		1809

Folio 154 Welsh, Richard:		1809
William	Avis	1809
Wm. & Mrs. S.	Douglass	1809

Folio 156 Lemon, John:		1807-1809
Ferdenando	Fairfax	1809

Folio 157 Frame, Matthew:		1809-1809
Bradshaw		1809
Jacob	Haines	1809
William	Shirley	1809
George		1809
Wall		1809
Joseph	Brown	1809
Shope	Mr^s.	1809
Richard	Crow	1809
Tho^s	Reed	1809
Tho^s	Perry	1809
Clymer	Mr^s.	1809
French	Mrs.	1809
James	Ring	1809
J.	Throckmorton	1809
Francis	Fillett	1809
E.	Haines	1809

Folio 158 Haines, John Junr:		1808-1809
French	Mr.	1809

Folio 159 Graay, Thomas:	1809

Folio 162 Wilson, Moses Sen^r:	1809[18]

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.

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

Folio 19 Gibbs, Ann Mr[s]:		1798-1800
nann		1800
Wm	Gibbs	1800

Folio 19 John, Millar: Taylor:		1797-1800
Caty	Moody	1799
Henry	Gantt	1797
John	Gantt	1797
William	Lee	1799
John	Frame	1799

Folio 20 Reiley, Eli:		1798-1800
Kellenbarger	Geo. A	1798
John	Anderson	1798

Folio 21 Tate, George:		1798-1802
E.	Christians	1798
C.	Christians	1798
Patrick	Sprint	1800
George	Hite	1800

Folio 22 Mosier, Philip:		1798-1801
John	Anderson	1798

Folio 23 Collins, Christopher:		1798-1800
Maria		1799-1800
Polley	Williams	1800

Folio 24 Gardner, Joseph:		1798

Folio 27, Greenfield, Gab[l]:		1798-1802
Wm	Lausen	1798
John	Camble	1798
Bull	Doc[r]	1798
Maning	M[r]	1798
Clark		1798
Thomas	Flagg	1800
W[m]	Gibbs	1802

Folio 28 Crane, Joseph:		1798-1802
David		1798
John	Frame	1799
Anderson		1799
Mildred	Howard	1799
Harming	McKnight	1799
Samuel	Washington	1801
Flagg	M[r]	1802

Folio 29 Stuart, James:		1798-1799
Hutt & Co	John	1798
Thomas	Cartwell	1799
Games	Basil	1798
Gabriel	Nource	1798
Bull	Doctr	1799
David	Griffith	1801

Folio 31 New House:		1798
E.	Davis	1798

Folio 31 Davenport, Abraham:		1800-1801

Folio 32 Deen, Ezekiel:		1798-1799
Saffal	Mr[s]	1799
Wm	Harris	1799
Shope	Mr[s]	1799

Folio 33, Cross, John:		1798-1799
Profator	M[r]	1798-1799
Tessy	Hollis	1798
David	Patton	1798
Thomas	Cartwell	1799
John	Bryant	1799
Thomas	Flagg	1799
Peter	M[c]Carty	1799
E.	Bull Docter	1799
Moses	Wilson	1799
Elia	Figg	1799

Folio 34 Shirley, John:		1798-1799
John	Hanines	1799

Folio 35 Muse, Battaille:		1798-1801
Mrg	Muse	1799
George	Deibler	1799
Benjamin	M[c]Bride	1800

Folio 40, Lee, William:		1798-1800
Grubbs	Mill	1800
M.	Frame	1799
Jenny	Mill	1799
F.	Fairfax M[r]	1799

Folio 41 Fry, Christian:		1798-1802

Folio 42, Howard, William:		1798-1799
Moses	Wilson	1798

Folio 44, Grooms, Abraham:		1798-1799
John Pear Your son		1799
Wife		1799

Folio 45 Flagg, Thomas:		1798-1802
Jonathon	Moore	1801
Vincent	Moore	1801
Reasin	Ridgway	1801
Wm	Cherry	1798
Jacob H.	Maning	1798
Rob[t]	Whittit	1798
Ja[s]	Brown	1800
Reason	Ridaway	1800

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

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

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

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

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

20 In William Lee's account Frame has posted this entry on the Cr page: "By Frame & Gibbs and M[n] Frame Cr in Frame & Gibbs books".

Table of Contents

James English 1801

Folio 151 Page, William B: 1801

Folio 161 Muse, Battaile: 1801

Folio 163 Stephenson, James: 1801-1806

Folio 169 Neale, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 170 [no surname], Gabriel: 1803

Folio 171 Davis, [no given name] Jun[r]: 1803[21]
Father 1803
Frame & Haynie 1803

Folio 171 Martin, [no given name]: 1804
Frame & Haynie 1804

Folio 172 [no surname], Eliza Mrs: 1803
Your Sollen 1803

Folio 175 Gibbs, [no given name]: 1803
Wm Gibbs 1812
M. Frame & Co. 1803

Folio 176 Shirley, Robert Sen[r]: 1803
Lury Sherley 1803

Folio 177 Gaunt, John: 1803-1806
George Hite 1803
James Clare 1803
Frame & Haynie 1803
John Haynie 1800

Folio 178 Dust, Paul: 1803
Caty 1803

Folio 179 Spangiller, Mossis: 1803
William Brown 1803
Forbey Mr 1803

Folio 180 Cherry, William: 1803[22]
Henry Baker 1803
Humphrey Mr 1803
Frame & Haynie 1803

Folio 181 Anderson, John: 1803
John Humphreys 1803

Folio 182 Claspey, Robert: 1803

Folio 182 Shirley, Ephrem: 1803-1804

Folio 183 Thatcher, D. Durst: 1803
Johnston 1803
Spangiller 1803
M. Frame 1803
John Miller 1803
Dust Miss 1803

Folio 184 Sherley, Walter: 1803
John Stanford 1803
Frame & Gibbs 1803

Folio 185 [no surname], John: 1803

Folio 187 Lee, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 188 Howard, William: 1803-1804
Son 1803
Frame & Haynie 1803

Folio 189 [no surname], Cyrus: 1803

Folio 189 [no surname], Thomas: 1803

Folio 192 Shipmon, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 192 Howard, [no given name]: ND

Folio 193 [no surname], Isaac: 1803
Haynie M[r] 1803

Folio 193 [no surname], Robert: 1803

Folio 196 Worcke, [no given name]: 1803
John Payton 1803

Folio 196 Mitchell, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 197 Wilson, Mosis: 1803-1805
Wimmer M[rs] 1803
Simon 1803
A man 1803
A negro 1803
Price M[rs] 1803
Frames Nancy M[r] 1803
E. Gantt 1803
A boy 1803
M. Wilson 1803

Folio 198 Cross, John: 1803-1804

Folio 198 Glasscock, Travis: 1803-1804
Frame & Haynie 1804

Folio 199 Miller, James: 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".

Folio 200 [no surname], Michael: 1803-1804[23]
John Haynie 1804

Folio 203 Miller, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 204 [no surname], Francis: 1804

Folio 217 Davis, [no given name]: 1806

Folio 217 Cormick[no given name]: 1803

Folio 220 Peyton, John: 1803
John Hainey 1803
Wark 1803
George Speplers 1803

Folio 221 Downey, John: 1803

Folio 221 Haynea, John: 1809

Folio 221 Kerchval, Benjamin: 1810

Folio 222 Collett, Daniel: 1803-1804
Haynie 1803
John Haynie 1804
Ares 1803

Folio 222 Malin, William: 1809

Folio 223 Humphrey, John & David: 1803

Folio 223 Johnson, Robert: 1809

Folio 223 McPherson, Daniel: 1809

Folio 224 [no surname], John: 1803
Humphrey M[r] 1803
Frame & Gibbs 1803

Folio 224 Wilson, Thomas: 1809

Folio 224 McPherson, William: 1809

Folio 225 Fairfax, [no given name]: 1803

Folio 226 Cherry Dec[d], The Estate of William: 1803-1810
Frame & Gibbs 1803
Frame Mrs 1804
R. Weathernton 1805
Geo Hite 1805
Davis Doctr 1806
G. Hite 1806
John Haines Black Smith 1808
M. Ransom 1809
Tiffin 1810
J. Hill 1810
James Short 1805-1809
Wm Cherry 1810
Richard Cherry 1810
John Cherry 1810

Folio 227 Tate, George: 1803-1804
George Hite 1803
Frame & Haynie 1804

Folio 227 Chambers, Aaren: 1809-1810

Folio 228 Kenedy, John: 1803-1804
Frame & Haynie 1804

Folio 228 Offutt, Samuel: 1809

Folio 228 Wyson, Micheal: 1810-1812
John Cassday 1810
M. Frame 1812

Folio 229 [no surname], Joseph: ND

Folio 229 Gibbs, William: 1809-1810

Folio 229 Wilson, Moses Sen[r]: 1809-1810
Futton 1810
C. G. Richter 1810
B. Hess 1810
Thos Plow 1810
Orrs John 1810
Andrew Woods 1810
Stephenson & Griffith 1810

Folio 231 Alstadt, Jacob: 1809

Folio 231, Smallwood, Thomas: 1809

Folio 232 Muse, Battle: 1809

Folio 232 Williamson, [no given name]: 1809
M. Wilson 1809

Folio 233 McMakin, John: 1809-1810

Folio 233, Lyons, George: 1809-1810
John Lyons 1810

Folio 234 Crane, Joseph: 1809
John Haynie 1809

Folio 234 Frame, Anne: 1809-1810
Lyons 1810

Folio 236 Greenfield, Gab[l] P. J.: 1809-1810

Folio 236 Shirley, Jarvis: 1809-1810

23 In Folio 200 [no surname], Michael, is the entry stating: "To amount Cr in the Book with John Haynie.."

Folio 237 Bond, Samuel:			1809
Folio 237 Leech, Archibald:			1809
Folio 239 Hansacker, Jacob:			1809-1810
Folio 239 Hammond, Thomas:			1810
M.	Wilson		1810
Folio 240 Conner, Charles:			1809
Folio 240 Frame, Matthew:			1810-1812
P.	Sprint		1810
J.	Miller		1810
W^{m}	Stephenson		1810
John	Kesidey		1810
Wood	Doct^{r}		1810
Jos	Bradshaw		1811
Joseph W. Davis			1811
Geo.	Harris		1811
Ja^{s}	Shephrd		1811
W^{m}	Gibbs	Dec^{d}	1811
Samuel	Offort		1811
M. Frame & Co.			1811
Tho^{s}	Hammond		1811
Thomas	Grady		1811
Michel			1811
W^{m}			1811
A.			1811
Tho^{s}			1811
E.			1811
Wysong			1812
Gibbs			1812
Woods			1812
Likens		ND	
Deen		ND	
Folio 241 Downy, John:			1809-1810
M.	Frame		1810
Folio 241 Stary, Nicholas:			1810
M.	Frame		1810
Bradshaw	M^{rs}		1810
Geo	Jackson		1810

Since this record provides associations between persons in a small community and is not recorded in a standard census format, for a donation of $5.00 to the Jefferson County Historical Society in the author's name, the author will send the requestor an electronic document depicting all persons, by year, who appear in the Frame ledgers. The requestor may send an e-mail to Origins@Frontier.com with 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.

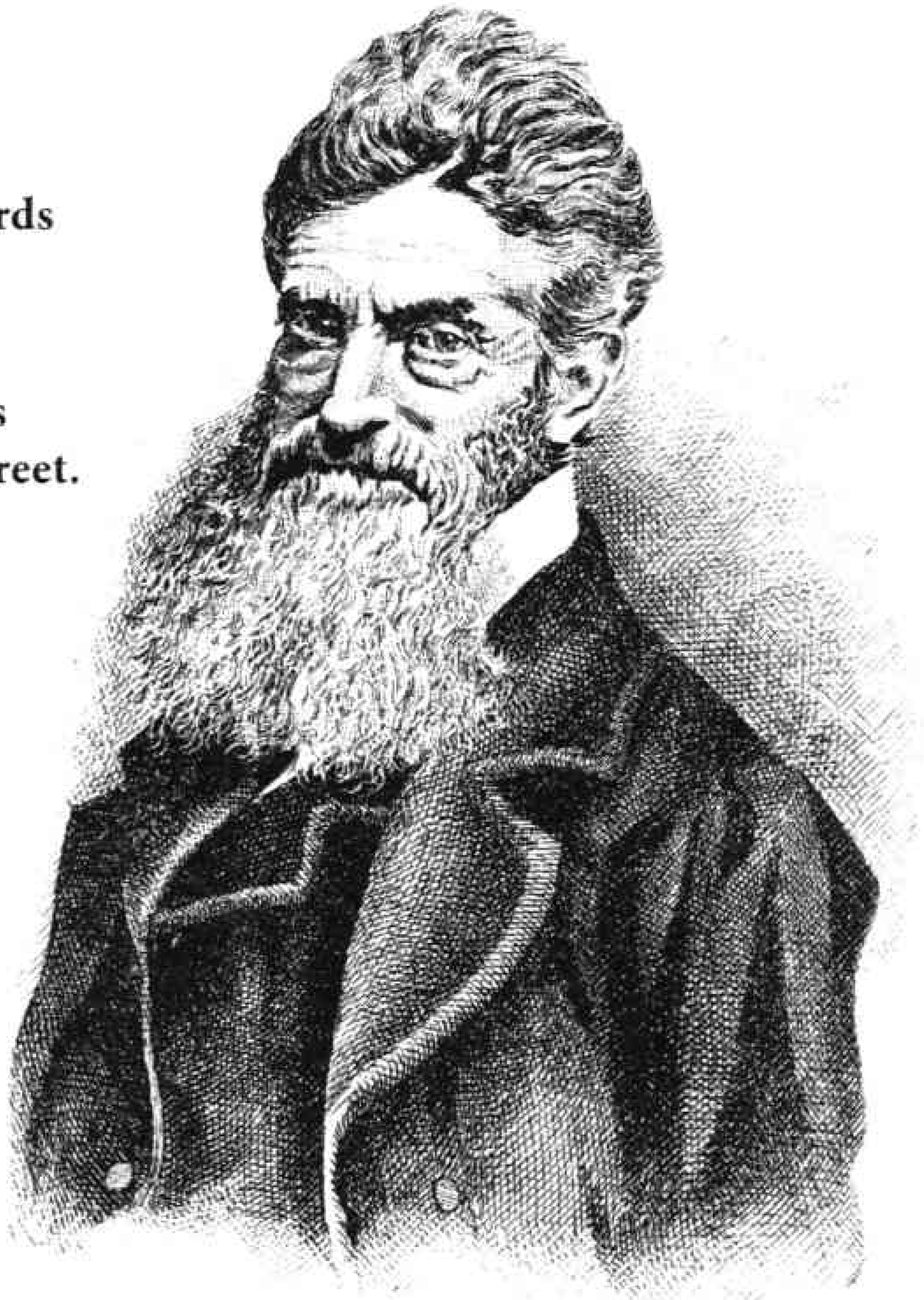
Death by hanging.
Body of controversy swings
from gallows on Samuel Street.

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.

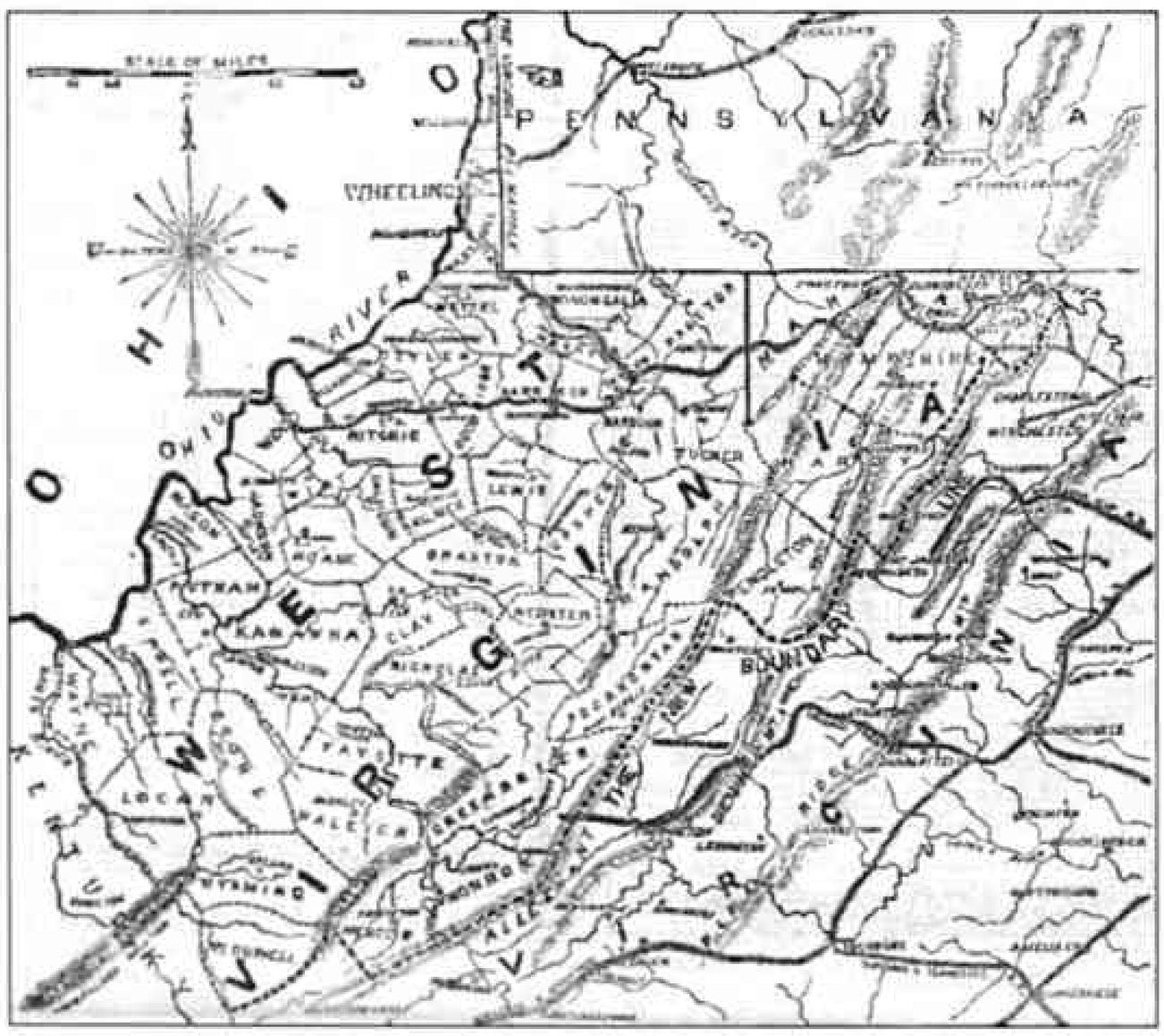
"...how I should love to know how my own dear Husband is this night"

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, Hardy[2], Hampshire[3], and Morgan. The second district included Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick[4] 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 Bell[8]. 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 Union[9].

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

---

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 counterfit."* 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*

---

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

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 & Allie[31] & 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.

